AL-ADABIYAH: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam
http://al-adabiyah.uinkhas.ac.id/

Community Perceptions of the Use of Orang Cadiak Services and Their Implications for Aqidah Values: A Case Study in Durian Gadang Hamlet, Pariaman City

M. Aqil Shahzada,[1] Rido Putra[2]*
*ridoputra@fis.unp.ac.id
[1,2] Universitas Negeri Padang, Indonesia

Abstract

Purpose: This study investigates community perceptions of the use of *Orang Cadiak* services, the forms of assistance attributed to these practitioners, and how participants interpret such practices in relation to *aqidah* in Durian Gadang Hamlet, Pariaman City. Method: The study employed a qualitative case study design involving six purposively selected participants: four residents who had used *Orang Cadiak* services to locate lost property, one knowledgeable non-user, and one religious leader. Data were collected through semi-structured interviews, non-participant observation, and documentation. The data were analyzed inductively through data condensation, data display, conclusion drawing, thematic coding, cross-participant comparison, and examination of divergent cases. Credibility was strengthened through source and method triangulation, reflexive notes, and an audit trail. Participant codes and identifying details were anonymized to protect individuals in the small community. Main Findings: Participants' perceptions formed an interpretive continuum rather than a binary division between acceptance and rejection. The continuum comprised confidence in specialized abilities, pragmatic consultation as *ikhtiar*, uncertainty and attribution to coincidence, and religious rejection. *Orang Cadiak* were associated with healing, consultation concerning personal and economic problems, and assistance in locating lost property. The perceived implications for *aqidah* depended not simply on consultation itself, but on the user's intention, the source to which efficacy was attributed, and belief in independent supernatural power or unseen knowledge. Novelty/Originality: The study challenges the assumption that all users possess equivalent beliefs or that consultation automatically indicates weakened *aqidah*. It introduces an interpretive continuum that separates lived experience, causal attribution, and normative religious evaluation. Contribution: The findings enrich discussions of traditional knowledge, lived religion, and Islamic religious education and support culturally responsive, non-stigmatizing *aqidah* education.

Keywords: *Aqidah* values; community perceptions; *ikhtiar*; Islamic religious education; *Orang Cadiak*; traditional knowledge

Introduction

The use of traditional or spiritually mediated services remains part of the social reality of many Indonesian communities, including the community of Durian Gadang Hamlet in Pariaman City. Locally referred to as *Orang Cadiak*, practitioners of these services are commonly believed to possess specialized knowledge or abilities that can assist individuals in addressing problems that are perceived as difficult to resolve through ordinary means. Their services may include alternative healing, consultation regarding personal and family matters, spiritual protection, and assistance in locating lost property (Yuniarto et al., 2022). Community members may therefore consult such practitioners not only for health-related concerns but also for occupational problems, livelihood uncertainties, and the recovery of missing belongings (Fitriani & Syamsumarlin, 2017).

The persistence of these practices should not be interpreted simply as evidence that traditional beliefs have survived despite scientific and technological development. Rather, traditional knowledge often remains meaningful because it is embedded in local understandings of personhood, morality, causality, misfortune, and social relations. Research in Indonesia has shown that traditional and religious healing may coexist with modern forms of knowledge instead of being entirely displaced by them (Suryani & Jensen, 1992; Woodward, 1985). Recent research also demonstrates that beliefs in supernatural causation and the use of traditional or alternative practitioners continue to influence how Indonesian individuals and families interpret problems and choose sources of assistance (Subu et al., 2022). In the Minangkabau context specifically, traditional healing constitutes part of a broader and interconnected system of local knowledge involving customary values, religion, and community experience (Stark & Hassan, 2023).

Accordingly, *Orang Cadiak* should not automatically be treated as an exact synonym for *dukun*. The term must first be understood in its local, emic context because its meaning, social legitimacy, forms of expertise, and relationship with Islamic authority may vary across communities. Studies of traditional healing in Indonesia indicate that culturally transmitted healing knowledge may involve herbal remedies, ritual practices, mantras, spiritual interpretations, or combinations of these elements (Suyami et al., 2025). Therefore, analytically equating all *Orang Cadiak* practices with a single category of shamanism risks overlooking differences among practitioners, services, methods, and community interpretations. This study consequently uses the term *Orang Cadiak* as employed by the participants while examining how its meaning is constructed within the social and religious setting of Durian Gadang Hamlet.

From an Islamic perspective, seeking solutions to life's difficulties is permissible as part of human effort (*ikhtiar*), provided that the means employed are consistent with Islamic teachings and do not compromise dependence upon Allah. *Tawhid*, as the central principle of Islamic creed (*aqidah*), affirms the absolute oneness of Allah and His position as the ultimate

source of power, knowledge, and assistance (Senia et al., 2025). Islamic religious education similarly regards the strengthening of *aqidah* as a foundation for developing faith, piety, and moral conduct so that the principle of *tawhid* can guide everyday decisions (Zakariah, 2024). Al-Ghazali's conception of sound *aqidah*, as discussed by Hadi and Saputra (2024), further emphasizes the importance of protecting belief from understandings considered inconsistent with Islamic doctrine.

Nevertheless, the relationship between consulting an *Orang Cadiak* and a person's *aqidah* cannot be determined solely from the act of consultation. A more careful assessment must consider the user's intention, the form of assistance requested, the ritual or method involved, the source to which efficacy is attributed, and the extent to which the practitioner is believed to possess access to supernatural or unseen knowledge. This distinction is particularly important because community members may interpret the same practice differently. Some may understand it as a culturally familiar form of *ikhtiar*, whereas others may regard reliance on supernatural abilities attributed to a human practitioner as incompatible with *tawhid*. The study therefore distinguishes among Islamic normative principles, religious leaders' interpretations, and the lived meanings articulated by community members.

Previous studies have identified several factors that sustain the use of traditional practitioners, including inherited cultural traditions, personal experience, perceived effectiveness, family testimony, and social influence. Yuniarto et al. (2022) found that trust in supernatural abilities contributed to the continuing social presence of traditional practitioners. Bakti (2018) emphasized that traditional practitioners may continue to perform recognizable social functions within their communities, while Sinaga (2025) demonstrated that intergenerationally transmitted traditions can reinforce public trust in such practices. Research on traditional healing likewise suggests that personal experience and culturally shared narratives can validate practices even when their underlying mechanisms differ from those recognized by modern scientific knowledge (Suyami et al., 2025; Woodward, 1985).

Perception is consequently central to understanding why community members accept, reject, or remain ambivalent toward *Orang Cadiak*. Perception involves the organization and interpretation of information through which individuals assign meaning to their social environment (Faqi et al., 2024). In the present context, perceptions are not produced by religious understanding alone; they may also be shaped by previous experiences, reported success or failure, family recommendations, local narratives, education, and the urgency of the problem being faced. Community responses should therefore not be reduced to a rigid opposition between belief and disbelief. They may instead represent a spectrum ranging from strong confidence in the practitioner's special abilities to pragmatic experimentation, conditional acceptance, uncertainty, attribution to coincidence, and rejection on theological grounds.

Although previous studies have examined the persistence, social functions, and cultural foundations of traditional practitioners, limited attention has been given to how members of a Minangkabau community interpret the use of *Orang Cadiak* specifically for locating lost property and negotiate that experience in relation to *ikhtiar*, divine assistance, unseen knowledge, and *tawhid*. Earlier research has generally focused on traditional healing or public belief in practitioners at a broader level (Bakti, 2018; Sinaga, 2025; Yuniarto et al., 2022). Consequently, the interpretive processes through which users attribute the recovery or non-recovery of lost property to the practitioner, ordinary human effort, coincidence, or divine intervention remain insufficiently understood.

To address this gap, the present case study investigates community perceptions of the use of *Orang Cadiak* services in Durian Gadang Hamlet, Pariaman City. It is guided by the following research questions: (1) How do community members perceive and evaluate the use of *Orang Cadiak* services, particularly in efforts to locate lost property? (2) What personal, social, cultural, and religious considerations shape their acceptance, rejection, or ambivalence toward these services? and (3) How do participants interpret these practices in relation to *ikhtiar*, reliance upon Allah, claims concerning unseen knowledge, and the values of *aqidah*?

Academically, the study contributes a context-sensitive account of how traditional knowledge, social experience, and religious reasoning intersect within a Minangkabau community. Rather than determining the theological status of participants solely from their use or rejection of *Orang Cadiak*, it examines how they themselves articulate the boundaries between culturally recognized assistance and beliefs perceived as inconsistent with *tawhid*. In practical terms, the findings may support religious leaders, educators, and community stakeholders in developing forms of *aqidah* education that are empirically informed, culturally responsive, and non-stigmatizing (Hadi et al., 2024; Senia et al., 2025; Zakariah, 2024).

Method

Research Design

This study employed a qualitative case study design to investigate community perceptions of the use of *Orang Cadiak* services, particularly for locating lost property, and how participants interpreted these practices in relation to the values of *aqidah*. A qualitative design was appropriate because the study sought to understand meanings, experiences, beliefs, and socially situated interpretations rather than measure predetermined variables or produce statistical generalizations (Roosinda et al., 2021). The case study design enabled the researchers to examine the phenomenon within its specific social, cultural, and religious context and to draw on multiple sources of evidence.

The bounded case was the use and interpretation of *Orang Cadiak* services among selected community members in Durian Gadang Hamlet, Pariaman City, West Sumatra. The study focused particularly on experiences related to locating lost property, while information concerning healing and consultation services was treated as contextual evidence of the broader social role attributed to *Orang Cadiak*. Fieldwork was conducted from May to August 2026. Durian Gadang Hamlet was selected purposively because community members in this location were known to have experience with, or knowledge of, consulting *Orang Cadiak* when attempting to locate lost belongings.

The study adopted an interpretive orientation. Participants' accounts were understood as context-dependent interpretations shaped by personal experience, family and community narratives, local cultural knowledge, and religious understanding. Accordingly, the researchers did not treat participants' statements about supernatural ability, successful recovery, or divine assistance as independently verified facts. Instead, such statements were analyzed as participants' interpretations and causal attributions concerning the events they had experienced.

Participants and Sampling

The primary data were obtained from six participants selected through purposive sampling. Purposive sampling was used because participants needed to possess direct experience or contextually relevant knowledge concerning the phenomenon under investigation (Kaharuddin, 2021). The participants comprised four community members who had previously consulted an *Orang Cadiak* in relation to lost property, one community member who was familiar with the practice but had chosen not to use the service, and one religious leader who was knowledgeable about Islamic teachings concerning *ikhtiar*, assistance, unseen knowledge, *tawhid*, and *aqidah*.

Participants were eligible for inclusion if they were adult residents of Durian Gadang Hamlet, had direct experience with or substantial knowledge of *Orang Cadiak* practices, were able to describe their views and experiences, and voluntarily agreed to participate. Individuals who had only heard of the practice without sufficient contextual knowledge or who were unwilling to discuss their experiences were not included.

The participants were analytically differentiated according to their roles. Community members with direct experience were treated as the principal participants because their narratives provided evidence regarding the decision to consult an *Orang Cadiak*, the consultation process, their expectations, and their interpretation of the outcome. The non-user and the religious leader were treated as contextual participants whose accounts helped explain community-level opposition, religious evaluations, and alternative interpretations of the practice. Their statements were not considered substitutes for the lived experiences of service users.

The adequacy of the six-participant sample was assessed in terms of information power rather than statistical representativeness. Information

power depends on the specificity of the sample, the focus of the research aim, the quality of the interview dialogue, the use of relevant theoretical concepts, and the depth of the analytical strategy (Malterud et al., 2016). The sample was considered suitable for an in-depth, context-bounded analysis because the study had a narrowly defined focus and included participants with specific experience or knowledge relevant to the research questions. Nevertheless, the limited number and localized character of the participants restricted the transferability of the findings.

Secondary data were obtained from books, peer-reviewed journal articles, relevant documents, the Qur'an, hadith literature, and other academic sources related to traditional practitioners, community perceptions, local culture, *tawhid*, and *aqidah* (Sugiyono, 2013). Religious texts and academic literature were used as interpretive and contextual sources rather than as substitutes for empirical data.

Researcher Role and Reflexivity

The researcher served as the primary research instrument and was supported by a semi-structured interview guide, an observation guide, field notes, and documentation records. As the primary instrument, the researcher was directly involved in recruiting participants, conducting interviews, observing the research setting, organizing the data, and interpreting participants' accounts.

Because the topic involved religious beliefs and potentially stigmatized practices, reflexivity was maintained throughout the research process. The researcher recorded methodological and reflective notes concerning personal assumptions, religious perspectives, interactions with participants, and decisions made during coding and theme development. Particular attention was given to the possibility that the researcher's own understanding of *aqidah* could influence interview questions and interpretations. The analysis therefore distinguished among participants' descriptions, the religious leader's evaluation, relevant Islamic normative concepts, and the researcher's analytical interpretation.

Data Collection

Data were collected through semi-structured interviews, non-participant observation, and documentation. The interview guide was developed from the research questions and relevant literature. It covered the following domains: participants' understanding of *Orang Cadiak*; the circumstances that led them to use, reject, or evaluate the service; the process of locating lost property; expectations before consultation; interpretations of successful or unsuccessful outcomes; sources of information and social influence; perceptions of supernatural ability and unseen knowledge; and understandings of *ikhtiar*, reliance upon Allah, *tawhid*, and *aqidah*.

Individual interviews were conducted in a private and mutually agreed location. Indonesian or Minangkabau was used according to each participant's preference to enable participants to explain culturally specific

meanings in their own terms. With participants' permission, interviews were audio-recorded and supplemented by field notes documenting contextual information, nonverbal expressions, and the researcher's initial reflections. Each interview lasted approximately 30 to 60 minutes. Follow-up clarification was conducted when an account was unclear or when additional contextual information was needed. Audio recordings were transcribed verbatim. Statements delivered in Minangkabau were translated into Indonesian for analysis and subsequently into English for publication, while their contextual meanings were preserved.

Non-participant observation was used to develop a contextual understanding of the social setting in which *Orang Cadiak* services were discussed and interpreted. Observation focused on relevant community interactions, descriptions of the consultation setting, locally used terminology, and social responses to the practice. The researcher did not claim to have observed a ritual or consultation directly unless such access actually occurred and was documented in the field notes.

Documentation included field notes, interview transcripts, participant recruitment records, anonymized research memos, relevant local documents, and scholarly or religious materials connected to the research focus. Each source was recorded in a data log specifying its type, date, relevance, and use in the analysis. Observational and documentary materials were used to contextualize, support, or challenge interpretations derived from the interviews.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was conducted concurrently with data collection and followed an inductive and iterative process. Inductive analysis allowed categories and meanings to be developed from the empirical material rather than imposed entirely in advance (Qomaruddin & Sa.diyah, 2024). Data management involved three interconnected activities: data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing. Data condensation included selecting relevant material, simplifying lengthy accounts, assigning initial codes, and grouping related segments. Data displays were developed in the form of participant matrices, coding tables, thematic maps, and comparisons across participant groups. Conclusions were progressively developed and repeatedly checked against the transcripts, field notes, and documentary evidence.

To make the analytical process more transparent, thematic analysis was conducted through six recursive phases adapted from Braun and Clarke (2006). First, the researchers familiarized themselves with the data by repeatedly reading the transcripts and field notes. Second, initial codes were assigned to meaningful segments of data. Examples of preliminary codes included "special ability," "family recommendation," "urgent effort," "successful recovery," "coincidence," "religious prohibition," "reliance on Allah," and "knowledge of the unseen." Third, related codes were grouped into candidate themes. Fourth, candidate themes were reviewed against the coded extracts and the complete dataset. Fifth, each theme was defined and named

according to its central interpretive meaning. Sixth, the findings were written by integrating analytical explanations, participant quotations, contextual evidence, and relevant literature.

The analysis compared accounts within and across participant categories. Particular attention was given to differences among strong acceptance, pragmatic use, uncertainty, attribution to coincidence, and religious rejection. Negative or divergent cases were actively examined. For example, an account that interpreted consultation as ordinary *ikhtiar* or attributed the recovery of property to coincidence was analyzed alongside accounts that attributed the outcome to the practitioner's special ability. This procedure prevented the findings from being reduced to a simple binary distinction between acceptance and rejection.

The implications for *aqidah* were analyzed through specific interpretive dimensions: the participant's intention in seeking help, the capability attributed to the practitioner, the perceived source of efficacy, claims concerning unseen knowledge, the distinction between ordinary human effort and supernatural intervention, and the participant's understanding of reliance upon Allah. The study did not infer a change in a participant's *aqidah* solely from the act of consulting an *Orang Cadiak*. Instead, it examined how participants themselves negotiated the practice in relation to Islamic concepts and how the religious leader evaluated these interpretations.

Trustworthiness

The trustworthiness of the study was addressed through source triangulation and method triangulation (Mekarisce, 2020). Source triangulation involved comparing accounts provided by former users of *Orang Cadiak* services, a non-user community member, and a religious leader. Method triangulation involved comparing interview data with observational notes and documentary materials. Triangulation was not used merely to seek identical statements across sources. It was also used to identify convergence, inconsistency, ambiguity, and differences in interpretation.

Several additional strategies were used to strengthen credibility, dependability, confirmability, and transferability. Credibility was supported through follow-up clarification, the use of verbatim quotations, and participant confirmation of key factual or interpretive points where appropriate. Dependability was supported through an audit trail documenting recruitment, interview procedures, coding decisions, theme development, and revisions to the analytical framework. Confirmability was strengthened through reflexive notes, peer discussion of the coding and themes, and examination of negative cases. Transferability was supported through a detailed description of the research setting, participant characteristics, local terminology, and the social and religious context of the practice.

The study was reported with reference to the Consolidated Criteria for Reporting Qualitative Research, particularly the items concerning the research team, participant selection, research setting, data collection, analysis, and reporting of findings (Tong et al., 2007). The Standards for

Reporting Qualitative Research were also used to improve methodological transparency and the coherence among the research problem, design, analysis, interpretation, and limitations (O'Brien et al., 2014).

Ethical Considerations

Before data collection, participants received an explanation of the study's purpose, procedures, voluntary nature, expected duration, possible sensitivity, confidentiality arrangements, and their right to decline a question or withdraw without penalty. Informed consent was obtained before each interview. The researcher also sought permission from the relevant community authority and followed the applicable institutional procedures for ethical approval or exemption.

Participant identities were protected through alphanumeric codes rather than personal names or recognizable nicknames. Potentially identifying details, including specific occupations, family relationships, and unusual experiences, were generalized when their disclosure could enable recognition within the small community. Audio recordings, transcripts, consent records, and field notes were stored securely and accessed only for research purposes. Because the subject concerned potentially stigmatizing religious judgments, the findings were presented using non-stigmatizing language and did not classify individual participants as having committed theological wrongdoing. Normative religious evaluations were clearly attributed to the religious framework or to the participants who expressed them.

Results and Discussion

Results

Data were obtained from six participants from Durian Gadang Hamlet, Pariaman City. Four participants, identified as AZ, KH, AD, and FK, had used *Orang Cadiak* services to obtain information about lost property. The other participants provided community and religious perspectives on the practice. The findings revealed that participants did not hold a uniform position. Instead, their perceptions ranged from confidence in the practitioner's special abilities to pragmatic acceptance, uncertainty, attribution to coincidence, and rejection on religious grounds.

The findings were organized into three main categories: community perceptions of *Orang Cadiak* services, the forms of services attributed to *Orang Cadiak*, and participants' interpretations of the practice in relation to *aqidah*.

Community Perceptions of the Use of *Orang Cadiak* Services

Participants' perceptions were shaped by personal experience, information received from family members and other community members, expectations concerning the practitioner's abilities, and their understanding of Islamic teachings. Although the participants could initially be grouped according to acceptance or rejection, the findings indicated that their positions were more varied than a simple binary classification.

1. Confidence in the Special Abilities of *Orang Cadiak*

AZ described an *Orang Cadiak* as a person who possessed specialized knowledge that was not available to everyone. According to AZ, this knowledge enabled the practitioner to assist with problems that could not easily be resolved through ordinary means. KH expressed a similar view and perceived an *Orang Cadiak* as someone capable of helping community members address problems considered beyond the abilities of ordinary people.

These accounts reflected relatively strong confidence in the practitioner's capabilities. This confidence was connected not only to personal experience but also to information and stories circulating within families and the wider community.

2. Pragmatic Acceptance as a Form of *Ikhtiar*

FK interpreted the use of *Orang Cadiak* services as one possible form of *ikhtiar*, or human effort, undertaken when an individual was attempting to resolve a difficult problem. This position did not necessarily indicate unconditional belief in every claim associated with the practitioner. Instead, consultation was understood as an additional effort made while seeking a solution.

FK's position demonstrated that acceptance could be pragmatic rather than absolute. The use of the service was framed as an attempt to obtain assistance rather than as an explicit declaration that the practitioner independently possessed supernatural power.

3. Uncertainty and Attribution to Coincidence

AD had previously used *Orang Cadiak* services but remained uncertain about their effectiveness. AD considered the possibility that the result attributed to the consultation might have occurred coincidentally. This account showed that previous use did not automatically produce firm belief in the practitioner's abilities.

AD's position occupied an intermediate category between acceptance and rejection. The experience was neither fully dismissed nor treated as conclusive evidence of extraordinary ability. This uncertainty is important because it demonstrates that service users may continue to question how an outcome should be interpreted.

4. Rejection Based on Religious Understanding

EM regarded reliance on *Orang Cadiak* as a practice that could lead to *shirk* when a person attributed excessive or independent power to the practitioner. EM associated the continuation of the practice with an inadequate understanding of Islamic teachings and emphasized that assistance should ultimately be sought from Allah.

DF similarly distinguished between making reasonable efforts to locate lost property and placing trust in the special abilities of an *Orang Cadiak*. According to DF, searching for lost property was a legitimate human effort,

but believing that the practitioner possessed extraordinary knowledge or power was religiously problematic.

These accounts indicate that rejection was based primarily on participants' interpretations of *tawhid* and the proper source of assistance. EM and DF did not reject the act of searching for lost property. Their objections concerned the type of capability attributed to the practitioner and the dependence placed upon that capability.

Forms of Services Attributed to *Orang Cadiak*

Participants described three principal forms of services associated with *Orang Cadiak*: healing, consultation concerning life problems, and assistance in locating lost property. These services suggest that *Orang Cadiak* occupied a broader social role than that of a practitioner consulted for only one type of problem.

1. Healing Services

KH explained that community members consulted *Orang Cadiak* for healing as well as for other purposes. AZ referred to the practice of *pagar badan*, which was performed for newborn children and was believed to provide protection against *palasik*. FK described *bedah ayam*, a practice involving the examination of a chicken to identify the presumed cause of an illness before treatment was provided.

These accounts show that the healing practices attributed to *Orang Cadiak* could include protective, diagnostic, and curative elements. However, the available interview material does not establish how frequently these practices were used, how the procedures were performed, or how their outcomes were evaluated.

2. Consultation Concerning Life Problems

Participants also associated *Orang Cadiak* with consultation regarding marriage, partner compatibility, domestic life, livelihood, and business success. AZ explained that such services could be used to obtain guidance about partner compatibility and anticipated married life. KH stated that some community members consulted *Orang Cadiak* in connection with the success of their trading activities.

These services indicate that the social role attributed to *Orang Cadiak* extended beyond illness and lost property. Participants described the practitioner as a possible source of guidance when people faced uncertainty concerning personal relationships or economic activities.

3. Assistance in Locating Lost Property

AZ, KH, AD, and FK reported having used *Orang Cadiak* services in connection with lost property. AZ had lost a motorcycle, while FK had lost a chicken. Both items were subsequently recovered after the participants had consulted an *Orang Cadiak*. KH and AD also reported receiving information or directions concerning the possible location of missing property.

These findings must be interpreted carefully. The available data establish that the recovery occurred after consultation, but they do not independently demonstrate that the consultation caused the recovery. AZ and FK associated the sequence of events with the assistance they had received, whereas AD explicitly recognized coincidence as a possible explanation. The findings therefore represent participants' causal interpretations rather than verified evidence of the practitioner's effectiveness.

Interpretations of the Practice in Relation to *Aqidah*

Participants' interpretations of the relationship between *Orang Cadiak* services and *aqidah* centered on three issues: the source of assistance, the nature of the capability attributed to the practitioner, and claims concerning knowledge of unseen matters.

EM considered the practice potentially inconsistent with *tawhid* if users believed that an *Orang Cadiak* possessed independent supernatural power. EM emphasized that Muslims should undertake efforts permitted by Islamic teachings while directing their ultimate dependence and requests for assistance to Allah.

DF made a distinction between ordinary efforts and belief in extraordinary human capability. Searching for a lost object, asking other people for information, and following observable clues were regarded as reasonable forms of effort. By contrast, believing that an *Orang Cadiak* independently knew the location of an object through access to unseen knowledge was considered inconsistent with DF's understanding of Islamic teachings.

FK's interpretation of consultation as *ikhtiar* and AD's uncertainty about whether the outcome resulted from coincidence demonstrate that the relationship between the practice and *aqidah* was not understood identically by all participants. The findings do not establish that using the service automatically changed or damaged a participant's *aqidah*. Rather, they show that the perceived religious implications depended on the intention of the user, the source to which efficacy was attributed, and the degree of power or unseen knowledge believed to be possessed by the practitioner.

Summary of the Findings

The findings reveal four distinguishable orientations toward *Orang Cadiak*: confidence in special abilities, pragmatic consultation as *ikhtiar*, uncertainty accompanied by attribution to coincidence, and rejection based on religious understanding. Participants also associated *Orang Cadiak* with healing, consultation concerning personal and economic problems, and assistance in locating lost property.

The religious significance of the practice was interpreted primarily through the distinction between reasonable human effort and dependence on a practitioner believed to possess supernatural power or access to unseen knowledge. These findings demonstrate that community perceptions should not be reduced to a uniform acceptance or rejection of *Orang Cadiak*.

Discussion

Perception as an Experiential and Socially Constructed Process

The variation among the participants supports Walgito's (2004) view that perception involves receiving, organizing, identifying, and interpreting stimuli before forming an evaluation of an object or event. Participants did not respond to *Orang Cadiak* solely on the basis of abstract religious knowledge. Their responses were also shaped by personal experience, stories of successful assistance, family recommendations, social information, and their interpretation of the outcomes of previous consultations. This finding is consistent with Nisa et al. (2023), who explain that perception develops through information processing, memory, and experience.

The findings extend this argument by demonstrating that acceptance was not a single or uniform category. AZ and KH expressed relatively strong confidence in specialized ability, FK interpreted consultation pragmatically as *ikhtiar*, and AD retained the possibility that the result was coincidental. These positions constitute a continuum of causal attribution rather than a simple division between believers and non-believers. Personal experience did not necessarily produce certainty, as demonstrated by AD's continued doubt after using the service.

Berger's social construction perspective, as discussed by Nugroho and Diputra (2023), helps explain how accounts of *Orang Cadiak* abilities can acquire social legitimacy. Information repeatedly communicated through family and community interaction may become part of a shared social reality. Once stories of successful assistance circulate within a community, they may influence expectations before consultation and interpretations afterward. A recovered object may consequently be understood as confirmation of the practitioner's ability, particularly when alternative explanations are not equally emphasized.

This pattern is consistent with studies showing that traditional and religious interpretations of causality remain influential in Indonesia. Subu et al. (2022), for example, found that supernatural, religious, and cultural explanations shaped both understandings of illness and decisions to use traditional or alternative practitioners. Although the present study concerns lost property rather than illness, both contexts involve uncertainty, limited control, and the search for an intelligible explanation or source of assistance.

Orang Cadiak as a Social and Cultural Resource

The services described by participants included healing, protection of newborn children, diagnosis through *bedah ayam*, consultation concerning marriage and livelihood, and assistance in locating lost property. This range indicates that *Orang Cadiak* may perform several overlapping social functions. The practitioner may be approached as a healer, adviser, interpreter of uncertainty, and source of culturally recognized knowledge.

This finding supports Bakti's (2018) argument that traditional practitioners continue to perform social functions within their communities.

It also accords with Sinaga's (2025) finding that intergenerational transmission contributes to the continuity of trust in traditional practitioners. Such continuity does not necessarily indicate the absence of modern knowledge. Instead, community members may use different systems of explanation and assistance for different types of problems.

Woodward (1985) demonstrated that traditional healing in an Indonesian Muslim context cannot be understood separately from the moral and religious worldview in which it is embedded. Similarly, Suryani and Jensen (1992) showed that traditional healing and modern professional practices could coexist within the same social setting. The present findings suggest a comparable form of pluralism. Community members may undertake ordinary searches, consult relatives, pray, and seek information from an *Orang Cadiak* without necessarily perceiving these actions as mutually exclusive.

The local meaning of *Orang Cadiak* also requires attention. The term should not automatically be translated as *dukun* or treated as a homogeneous category. Traditional Minangkabau knowledge encompasses interconnected cultural, philosophical, religious, and healing domains (Stark & Hassan, 2023). Consequently, the authority attributed to an *Orang Cadiak* may derive from several sources, including inherited knowledge, community recognition, perceived experience, religious language, and reports of successful assistance.

Suyami et al. (2025) similarly found that Indonesian traditional healing practices can combine local knowledge, supernatural interpretations, ritual actions, and inherited cultural understandings. These practices remain meaningful because they provide culturally intelligible explanations for experiences that community members consider difficult to address through ordinary means. The relevance of such literature to the present study lies not in equating all traditional practitioners but in demonstrating that local concepts of efficacy and causality are socially and culturally situated.

Negotiating *Ikhtiar*, Coincidence, and Extraordinary Ability

One of the most important findings is the distinction among consultation as *ikhtiar*, belief in special ability, and attribution to coincidence. FK framed the consultation as an effort to seek a solution, while AD questioned whether the apparent outcome was merely coincidental. These positions reveal interpretive negotiation after the consultation occurred.

The recovery of AZ's motorcycle and FK's chicken after consultation was meaningful to the participants. Nevertheless, temporal sequence alone cannot establish causation. The fact that an item was recovered after visiting an *Orang Cadiak* does not demonstrate that the practitioner caused or accurately predicted the recovery. The academically defensible conclusion is that participants attributed varying degrees of significance to the consultation.

This distinction has methodological and theoretical importance. If every successful recovery is treated as proof of extraordinary ability, the analysis reproduces participants' beliefs without critical examination. Conversely, if

every account is dismissed in advance as irrational, the analysis fails to explain why the experience was persuasive to the participant. A qualitative interpretation must therefore examine how the participants constructed causal relationships, how uncertainty was managed, and how alternative explanations were accepted or rejected.

The variation among AZ, KH, FK, and AD suggests that community members exercise different levels of epistemic commitment. Some accounts indicate confidence, while others indicate pragmatic experimentation or unresolved doubt. This interpretation is more analytically useful than classifying all four participants simply as accepting the practice.

Religious Interpretation and the Values of *Aqidah*

The religious implications of using *Orang Cadiak* services were evaluated through participants' understandings of the source of assistance and the limits of human knowledge. Senia et al. (2025) explain that *tawhid* requires recognition of Allah as the ultimate source of power and assistance. Hadi et al. (2024), drawing upon Al-Ghazali, similarly emphasize the role of sound *aqidah* in protecting individuals from beliefs considered inconsistent with Islamic teachings.

EM's and DF's accounts reflect this normative framework. Their primary concern was not the act of searching for lost property but the attribution of independent supernatural power or unseen knowledge to a human practitioner. DF's distinction between reasonable effort and belief in extraordinary ability is especially important because it prevents all forms of help-seeking from being treated as theologically identical.

The data, however, do not justify concluding that every participant who consulted an *Orang Cadiak* had experienced a deterioration of *aqidah*. The study did not measure changes in belief before and after consultation, nor did it provide longitudinal evidence of religious change. The findings instead identify a perceived theological risk. According to EM, DF, and the normative sources used in the study, this risk arises when a person attributes independent efficacy, ultimate assistance, or knowledge of unseen matters to someone other than Allah.

The discussion must therefore distinguish three analytical levels. The first is the participant's lived interpretation, such as FK's understanding of consultation as *ikhtiar*. The second is the religious evaluation articulated by EM and DF. The third is the researcher's interpretation based on the conceptual framework of *tawhid* and *aqidah*. Keeping these levels separate reduces the risk of presenting a normative judgment as though it were a direct empirical finding.

Contribution to Islamic Religious Education

The findings have implications for Islamic religious education because they reveal that community responses cannot be addressed effectively through condemnation alone. Participants' decisions were related to uncertainty, social testimony, personal experience, and culturally available forms of assistance.

Educational interventions that discuss only prohibition may fail to address the experiential reasons that make *Orang Cadiak* services persuasive.

A more context-sensitive approach should help community members distinguish between ordinary human assistance and claims to independent supernatural power. It should also encourage critical reflection on causal attribution, testimony, coincidence, *ikhtiar*, prayer, *tawakkul*, and the Islamic understanding of unseen knowledge. Religious education can thereby strengthen *aqidah* without stigmatizing individuals who have consulted traditional practitioners.

Community education should also engage local religious leaders and culturally knowledgeable figures. Since trust is socially produced, correction and clarification are likely to be more effective when communicated through respected community relationships rather than through abstract theological instruction alone. This approach is consistent with the social nature of perception identified by Walgito (2004), Nisa et al. (2023), and Nugroho and Diputra (2023).

Limitations and Directions for Further Research

The findings must be interpreted within the boundaries of the case. Only six participants were included, and they were selected purposively from one hamlet. The results therefore cannot represent all residents of Durian Gadang Hamlet, Pariaman City, or Minangkabau society. The appropriate claim is that the study identified several patterns among the six participants.

The available results were based mainly on researcher paraphrases of interview accounts. Verbatim excerpts from the interview transcripts are needed to demonstrate the relationship between the raw data and the identified themes. Although observation and documentation were identified as data collection methods, the supplied findings did not include specific observational episodes or documentary evidence. These sources should be incorporated explicitly if they were collected.

The study also did not include the perspectives of *Orang Cadiak* practitioners. Consequently, the analysis explains community perceptions but cannot establish how practitioners define their knowledge, methods, religious position, or relationship with clients. Future studies could compare users, non-users, religious leaders, and practitioners while maintaining strong ethical safeguards.

Finally, the identification of participants through codes does not automatically guarantee anonymity in a small community. Details such as the loss of a motorcycle or chicken, gendered forms of address, and a participant's religious role may enable local recognition. These details should be reviewed carefully before publication.

The study demonstrates that perceptions of *Orang Cadiak* are shaped by an interaction among personal experience, socially circulated information, pragmatic efforts to solve problems, uncertainty concerning causality, and religious understandings of *tawhid*. The participants' positions ranged from

confidence in specialized abilities to pragmatic consultation, doubt, and religious rejection.

The principal contribution of the study is therefore not evidence that *Orang Cadiak* services are effective or that their use automatically damages *aqidah*. Its contribution lies in showing how community members negotiate culturally recognized assistance, uncertain outcomes, ordinary effort, unseen knowledge, and reliance upon Allah. This more differentiated interpretation provides a stronger basis for culturally responsive Islamic religious education and further research on local religious practices.

Conclusion

This study found that the six participants' perceptions of *Orang Cadiak* services could not be adequately understood through a simple division between acceptance and rejection. Their positions ranged from confidence in the practitioner's specialized abilities to pragmatic consultation as a form of *ikhtiar*, uncertainty and attribution to coincidence, and rejection based on religious understanding. This variation in causal attribution was more analytically significant than initially assumed because it challenged the binary classification of community responses. The findings also showed that *Orang Cadiak* services extended beyond assistance in locating lost property to healing and consultation concerning personal, marital, and economic problems. In relation to *aqidah*, the religious concern did not arise automatically from the act of consultation, but from the intention of the user, the source to which efficacy was attributed, and the belief that a practitioner independently possessed supernatural power or knowledge of unseen matters.

Scientifically, this study strengthens previous findings that personal experience, family narratives, culturally transmitted knowledge, and social interaction contribute to the continuing legitimacy of traditional practitioners. At the same time, it questions the validity of treating all users as possessing the same level of belief or assuming that consultation automatically indicates a deterioration of *aqidah*. The study introduces an interpretive continuum consisting of confidence, pragmatic use, uncertainty, and religious rejection. This continuum enriches scholarly discussions of traditional knowledge, help-seeking practices, lived religion, and Islamic religious education by distinguishing participants' empirical experiences from religious leaders' normative evaluations and the researcher's theological interpretation.

This study was limited to six purposively selected participants from one hamlet and a specific case involving *Orang Cadiak* services. Its findings cannot therefore be generalized to all residents of Durian Gadang Hamlet, Pariaman City, or Minangkabau society. The study was also limited by its reliance on self-reported experiences, the absence of *Orang Cadiak* practitioners' perspectives, and the limited presentation of verbatim interview, observational, and documentary evidence. Future research should involve a larger and more diverse group of users, non-users, religious leaders, and practitioners across several locations. It should also incorporate detailed

interview quotations, systematic observation, stronger ethical safeguards, and comparative or longitudinal analysis. In practice, religious leaders and educators are encouraged to develop culturally responsive and non-stigmatizing *aqidah* education that helps community members distinguish reasonable *ikhtiar* from the attribution of independent supernatural power or unseen knowledge to human practitioners.

References

Bakti, I. S., Alwi, A., & Saifullah, S. (2018). Eksistensi dukun di Tanah Gayo. *Jurnal Sosiologi USK (Media Pemikiran & Aplikasi), 12*(2), 111–127.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77–101.

Faqi, A. F., Hasrul, M., Amaliyah, A., Iskandar, I., & Munandar, M. A. (2023). Persepsi mahasiswa sebagai pemilih pemula terhadap normalisasi politik uang dalam pemilihan umum. *Integritas: Jurnal Antikorupsi, 9*(1), 17–30.

Fitriani, K., Syamsumarlin, S., & Janu, L. (2017). Persepsi masyarakat terhadap Sando Monggoki'i (dukun peramal benda yang hilang) di Kelurahan Kulahi, Kecamatan Wawotobi, Kabupaten Konawe. *ETNOREFLIKA: Jurnal Sosial dan Budaya, 6*(3), 267–274.

Hadi, B. K., Wati, D. S., Saputra, M. A., Zaelani, A. Q., & Hadi, D. G. R. (2024). Kesohihan akidah di luar empirisme: Menjawab kritik Guru Gembul melalui metode rasional dan kausalitas. *El-Fikr: Jurnal Aqidah dan Filsafat Islam, 5*(2), 155–178.

Kaharuddin. (2021). Kualitatif: Ciri dan karakter sebagai metodologi. *Equilibrium: Jurnal Pendidikan, 9*(1), 1–8.

Kartina, Zakariah, A., & Novita. (2024). Peran pendidikan agama Islam dalam mengembangkan potensi intelektual peserta didik. *Jurnal Intelek Insan Cendikia, 1*(7), 2901–2907.

Malterud, K., Siersma, V. D., & Guassora, A. D. K. (2016). Sample size in qualitative interview studies: Guided by information power. *Qualitative Health Research, 26*(13), 1753–1760.

Mekarisce, A. A. (2020). Teknik pemeriksaan keabsahan data pada penelitian kualitatif di bidang kesehatan masyarakat. *Jurnal Ilmiah Kesehatan Masyarakat: Media Komunikasi Komunitas Kesehatan Masyarakat, 12*(3), 145–151.

Nisa, A. H., Hasna, H., & Yarni, L. (2023). Persepsi. *KOLONI: Jurnal Multidisiplin Ilmu, 2*(4), 213–226.

Nugroho, A. H., & Diputra, T. B. (2023). Religious fanatic subjects in the postmodernism era: The meta-theory of the sociology of religion Peter L. Berger. *BELIEF: Sociology of Religion Journal, 1*(1), 1–10.

O'Brien, B. C., Harris, I. B., Beckman, T. J., Reed, D. A., & Cook, D. A. (2014). Standards for reporting qualitative research: A synthesis of recommendations. *Academic Medicine, 89*(9), 1245–1251.

Qomaruddin, & Sa'diyah, H. (2024). Kajian teoritis tentang teknik analisis data dalam penelitian kualitatif: Perspektif Spradley, Miles, dan Huberman. *Journal of Management, Accounting and Administration, 1*(2), 77–84.

Roosinda, F. W., Lestari, N. S., Utama, A. A. G. S., Anisah, H. U., Siahaan, A. L. S., Islamiati, S. H. D., Astiti, K. A., Hikmah, N., & Fasa, M. I. (2021). *Metode penelitian kualitatif*. Zahir Publishing.

Senia, N. N., In, H., Aditya, M., & Agung, Y. (2025). Tafsir Al-Qur'an pada pemahaman konsep tauhid dalam Islam. *Jurnal Studi Islam dan Hukum Syariah, 3*(2), 429–435.

Sinaga, A. E. A., & Asriwandari, H. (2025). Kepercayaan masyarakat Kota Jakarta pada praktik perdukunan: Studi kasus jasa dukun sebagai penglaris dagangan. *Jurnal Ilmiah Wahana Pendidikan, 11*(6.A), 22–34.

Stark, A., & Hassan, A. A. (2023). The manifoldness of traditional knowledge: The example of the Minangkabau society in West Sumatra, Indonesia. *KEMANUSIAAN: The Asian Journal of Humanities, 30*(2), 39–55.

Subu, M. A., Holmes, D., Arumugam, A., Al-Yateem, N., Dias, J. M., Rahman, S. A., Waluyo, I., Ahmed, F. R., & Abraham, M. S. (2022). Traditional, religious, and cultural perspectives on mental illness: A qualitative study on causal beliefs and treatment use. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies on Health and Well-Being, 17*(1), Article 2123090.

Sugiyono. (2013). *Metode penelitian kuantitatif, kualitatif, dan R&D*. Alfabeta.

Suryani, L. K., & Jensen, G. D. (1992). Psychiatrist, traditional healer and culture integrated in clinical practice in Bali. *Medical Anthropology, 13*(4), 301–314.

Suyami, S., Fakhriati, F., Syahrul, N., Ma'rifat, D. F., Sumarno, S., Nurwanti, Y. H., Mumfangati, T., Yusuf, M., Hapsari, P. N. F., & Dewi, T. N. L. (2025). Sawan: Exploring the knowledge and wisdom of Javanese traditional healing practices. *Cogent Arts & Humanities, 12*(1), Article 2451517.

Tong, A., Sainsbury, P., & Craig, J. (2007). Consolidated criteria for reporting qualitative research: A 32-item checklist for interviews and focus

groups. *International Journal for Quality in Health Care, 19*(6), 349–357.

Walgito, B. (2004). *Pengantar psikologi umum*. Andi.

Woodward, M. R. (1985). Healing and morality: A Javanese example. *Social Science & Medicine, 21*(9), 1007–1021.

Yuniarto, B., Kolbi, D. R., Marliani, R., & Mamlakah, T. (2022). Persepsi masyarakat terhadap dukun dalam pandangan Islam. *Jurnal Sosial dan Sains, 2*(11), 1160–1169.