

---

## POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN TRADITIONAL SOCIETY (CASE STUDY OF 2009 LEGISLATIVE ELECTION IN KANEKES VILLAGE)

**Eddy Suryanjari<sup>1</sup>, Suhanto<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup> Jakarta Institute of Social and Political Sciences, Indonesia,

<sup>2</sup> International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, National  
University, Jakarta Indonesia,

[enny.suryanjari@iisip.ac.id](mailto:enny.suryanjari@iisip.ac.id) , [suhanto@civitas.unas.ac.id](mailto:suhanto@civitas.unas.ac.id)\*

\* *Corresponding author*

**Abstract:** This study examines the political participation of the Baduy community in the form of voting in the 2009 Legislative Election. According to their belief, the Baduy are not assigned to participate in the General Election. To respect government regulations, they participated in elections 3 times with few participants (3%). In 2009 the Baduy community participated in the General Election with the number of participants reaching 21% of the Permanent Voters List. This study aims to determine the factors causing the increase in voter turnout. Qualitative research methods. Data collection techniques through in-depth interviews, observations, and literature searches. Research results: the increase in political participation in the form of voting in the 2009 General Election in Kanekes village was caused by persuasion by the Golkar party legislative candidate, H. Kasmin, to the customary government. Persuasion is done using traditional communication, namely face to face, the communicator is a person who is well known so that the communicant believes in the content of the message received. Finally, the traditional leaders agreed to hold the general election in Kanekes village. After the election was approved by traditional leaders, the Golkar party's success team consisting of Baduy people conducted a campaign to the citizens by utilizing primordial ties, namely ethnic ties.

**Keywords:** local bossism, traditional communication, political participation.

---

Submission	:	May, 23 <sup>rd</sup> 2022
Revision	:	June 19 <sup>th</sup> 2022
Publication	:	August 30 <sup>th</sup> 2022

---

### INTRODUCTION

This study discusses local elites' influence on traditional communities' political behavior by taking the case of the Baduy people who live in Kanekes village. Like the characteristics of traditional communities in general, the Baduy people live in a somewhat remote area, using simple equipment, depending on forest products, the social system is kinship, and the legal system is customary law. The existence of customary law that applies in traditional societies is sometimes contrary to the

interests of the state. In this case, the state's interest in holding the General Election is to elect the legislative and executive leaders.

Political parties as organizations participating in the General Elections have prepared themselves as well as possible. Among them is conducting recruitment to prepare superior candidates who will be included in the General Election. Political parties also arrange winning strategies according to the targets that have been set. From the perspective of political parties, there is a base area and an unoccupied one. Kanekes can be said to be a no man's land because it is inhabited by Baduy people who have their customs regulations and do not participate in activities outside their customs.

The Baduy community is included in the customary community according to the definition of the 1999 congress of the Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago which stated that "indigenous peoples are communities that live based on hereditary origins on an indigenous territory, which has sovereignty over land and natural resources, and socio-cultural life regulated by customary law and customary institutions that manage the sustainability of community life". The essence of the Baduy philosophy of life is 'without change' which is formulated as follows:

*'Lojor teu meunang dipotong, pendek teu meunang disambung, gunung teu meunang dilebur, lebak teu meunang dirakrak, mun ngadek kudu saclekna mun neukteuk kudu sateukna mun nilas kudu sapasna, nu lain dilainkeun nu enya dienyakeun ulah gorok ulah linyok'*. Meaning: "The length cannot be cut, the short cannot be joined, the mountain cannot be destroyed, the valley cannot be damaged, if it is slashed or cut it must be appropriate, if it is cut it must be according to its size if it is peeling it must be just right, what is wrong is declared wrong." what is true is declared true must not deceive and lie'.

The philosophy of 'without change' is stated in the *pikukuh karuhun* (doctrine of the ancestral mandate) requiring the Baduy community to be imprisoned, namely refraining from destroying nature to maintain a balance of functions and benefits for the welfare and harmony of the lives of all humans. To carry out *pikukuh karuhun*, the Baduy must distance themselves from modern life. They live by relying on natural resources. The belief and value system adopted is to reject modernization, including technological progress. Baduy people do not use electricity, do not listen to the radio, do not watch television, do not use telephones and the Inner Baduy do not use motorized vehicles and do not use footwear. They eat from their fields and self-made clothes. By their belief of '*wiwitan*', the lifestyle of the Baduy community adheres to a pattern of simplicity by being 'earth ascetics'. They perform this role obediently.

This tradition makes them isolated from the outside world. Baduy residents do not know formal education (school) because they are afraid that it will damage traditional values. They try to live independently and refuse outside help. In general, it can be said that the Baduy community is closed to things that come from outside their community, including closing themselves off from the dynamics of political life in Indonesia.

However, this does not mean that the Baduy people do not recognize the national (state) government. The Baduy customary government system has a structure

related to the state. The Baduy government system uses two structures which are combined into a Baduy government system. The first, the structure that refers to the Baduy customary government, and the second, is the structure that refers to the village government. The customary government structure is called the kapuunan system. *Puun* is the highest leader who controls customary law and the order of people's lives and who adheres to the teachings of *Sunda Wiwitan*. *Puun* consists of three people, namely *Puun Cibeo*, *Puun Cikartawarna*, and *Puun Cikeusik*. Neither of them can leave their territory. They have the authority as decision makers and determine customary law that applies based on the results of consultations with customary institutions and at the same time guarantees the continuity of the implementation of customary law in the Baduy community. They are often called *tangtu tilu*. (Kurnia & Sihabudin: 2010).

Meanwhile, the structure that refers to the national government is in *Jaro Pamarentah*. In the village government structure, *jaro pamarentah* is called the village head. By Law no. 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government and Law no. 33 of 2004 concerning Financial Balance between the Central and Regional Governments, the Kanekes village government structure also underwent change with village government in general, Kanekes village was led by a village head. The thing that distinguishes Kanekes village from other villages is that in Kanekes village there is no Village Representative Body (BPD) because there is already a traditional institution.

*Jaro Pamarentah* is a balancing system between the state and the Baduy customary system. Administratively, *Jaro Pamarentah* is responsible to the national government above him, namely the sub-district head, while traditionally he is responsible to the highest customary leader, namely the *puun*. *Jaro pamarentah* has a strategic position because it must accommodate the interests of customs and the interests of the state.

One of the interests of the state raised in this research is holding General Elections to elect representatives of the people and government leaders. General Election is a state program that must be followed by every citizen who has met the requirements. The Indonesian government urges every citizen who has met the requirements to exercise their right to vote. Thus, abstaining (not voting) is highly discouraged. However, the Baduy customary government does not advise its citizens to vote in the general election because it is not by customary regulations as conveyed by Ayah Mursid, a traditional Baduy figure.:

*'Please do not equate and force the same in terms of election activities, because Baduy is not entrusted with/obligated to interfere in enlivening the country, but we must guide and advise leaders, if Baduy citizens participate in voting or support political parties, it means we are no longer obedient to confirm the mandate of wiwitan. The risk of togetherness and unity of the Baduy people will be destroyed'. (destroyedihabudin: 2010)*

In a democratic system, the issue of voting or not voting (often called the white group or Golput) is an individual right. Golput is part of human rights or basic human rights that need to be respected and protected. Everyone can follow his conscience

not to vote for certain reasons related to the quality of political parties, legislative candidates as well as presidential or vice-presidential candidates who nominate in the General Elections market. However, Golput has never been recommended, even some political parties have criticized the existence of Golput.

This is different from the Baduy community in Kanekes village. Their not voting does not mean that they voted for Golput. Even though the Baduy community is part of Indonesian citizens and has the right to vote, because the Baduy community is bound by the customs that they have adhered to for many years, it is difficult for anyone, including election organizers, to intervene and force Baduy people to vote. The task of socializing election activities is not only the task of the General Elections Commission (KPU) but also carried out by political parties. Political parties as an organization that aims to seize or maintain power have four functions, namely the function of political socialization, political communication, political recruitment, and conflict management. The Golkar Party recruited Kasmin, a native Baduy who had left the Baduy village so that he was no longer bound by customary regulations. After living outside Baduy Kasmin converted to Islam, then entered formal school while continuing his work as a trader selling products produced by Baduy people such as palm sugar, durian, honey, and other agricultural products. Almost every farmer comes to Kasmin to sell his wares. Therefore, his name is very well known by the Baduy people. In 1997 Kasmin received an award as the 'Pioneering Youth' for his services in marketing Baduy products. In 1999 with the approval of the *kapu'uan*, Kasmin served as a member of the MPR as a group representative representing isolated communities. Since then, Kasmin is very well known in the Lebak area. In 2004 Kasmin was prepared by the Golkar party to run as a legislative candidate and was realized in the 2009 Legislative Election.

The debate about participation in the general election in Kanekes village started in 1984, but the customary government still asked residents to pray for who won or their term *lunang* is short for *milu kanu meunang* (follow who wins). The elections held in Kanekes village in 2004 only fulfilled the requirements, because there were no more than 150 participants for the entire village with a population of approximately 10 thousand people. According to Gabriel A. Almond, as quoted by Mas'od and MacAndrews (2001), one of the conventional forms of political participation is voting. Even though in an undemocratic political system, general elections are not held to provide opportunities for the people to influence government policies, but rather to provide support to the political system and the ruling elite. Whatever the goal of the general election, what is emphasized here is that voting activities can be referred to as political participation activities.

The phenomenon emerged in the 2009 election when Kasmin became one of the legislative candidates. There has been a significant increase in the number of Baduy people exercising their right to vote. If in the 2004 election there were less than 150 voters, in the Banten province election 400 people exercised their right to vote, then in the 2009 election, the situation changed drastically. From about 6,322 people registered in the DPT (Permanent Voters List), there are approximately 1272 Outer Baduy residents who come to TPS (polling stations). Inner Baduy residents do not give their voting rights when the General Election is held because it coincides with

the Kawalu ceremony, which is a ritual that must be carried out by the Baduy indigenous people. Based on the problems that have been formulated above, the following research questions are asked: 1). Why is there an increase in political participation in the form of voting in the 2009 Legislative Election in Kanekes village? 2). What is the role of legislative candidate H. Kasmin in winning the general election in Kanekes village?

Traditional societies are always interesting to be studied by many researchers. This is because in traditional societies there are many unique things found in their socio-cultural life and beliefs. Traditional people who are indigenous people often receive more attention from the government in the sense of receiving guidance so that they can live like modern societies.

Research on the attitudes and behavior of indigenous peoples in election activities has been written by several researchers. Among them, Yance Arizona (2010) wrote about the noken system in elections in Papua. In Yahukimo Regency, Papua province, in the 2009 general election, the election was carried out using a traditional mechanism. The voting ballots are represented by the tribal chiefs. put in a typical Papuan bag called "Noken." Before voting, they first consulted about which party and who would be elected. The mechanism of the noken model emphasizes the role of adat in building democracy. This system has been in use since the 1971 general election.

Novia Rahmat (2016) examined the influence of the *kuncen* (customary head) in the traditional community of Kampung Naga, Neglasari Village, Salawu District, Tasikmalaya Regency in the 2014 Presidential Election. *Kuncen* directs and recommends candidates nominated in the presidential election (pilpres) to indigenous peoples. Although the *kuncen* verbally does not instruct its citizens to vote for one candidate, the *kuncen's* choice of one candidate tends to be followed by its citizens. Indigenous people consider the choice of *kuncen* to be the best choice that will lead Indonesia and ensure a better life for the people in the future. This is due to the charisma factor of the *kuncen* which makes the indigenous people feel reluctant, to trust and obey the *kuncen*.

Munadi (2011) wrote about the Samin community (*sedulur sikep*) who live in Mbombong Hamlet, Baturejo Village, Sukolilo District, Pati Regency, Central Java Province. They live in groups that separate themselves formally from the general cultural order. Not in school, not involved with the dynamics of modern life. If there are election activities, they vote but only to fulfill their obligations as citizens. This study finds that the political culture of the Samin community is parochial.

The author examines the influence of local elites on the political behavior of traditional communities by taking the case of the Baduy community living in Kanekes village on the political participation of the Baduy community. This research was appointed because the Baduy people have their customs which refers to their belief that they do not need to be involved in activities outside Baduy including general election activities.

The phenomenon that occurs is that there is an increase in election participants in traditional villages that have customary regulations that are not following government regulations. Legislative candidates try to get votes from the villagers by

cooperating with village officials, persuading traditional leaders, and ordering residents to vote for this legislative candidate. Thus, the concepts used to analyze the above phenomena are local bossism from John T Sidel (2005). Sidel builds the concept of local bossism, namely a person or group of people who control economic, social, and political life. Sidel said that local bosses are power brokers who have a monopoly on the economy and resources of violence in their jurisdiction. Economic resources are obtained not from hereditary wealth but are obtained after holding power. Wealth is earned by manipulating the state. This means that they use the state to fulfill their interests at the local level.

The second concept is traditional society from Harold Crouch (1982) who says that the characteristics of the traditional society include people taking things for granted. It is static and hardly changes. If there is a change, it is evolutionary, unable to carry out social mobility, is obedient to his beliefs/religion, and has strong kinship ties.

The political communication model used in traditional society is done face-to-face. According to Lazarsfeld as quoted by Maswadi Rauf (1993, p. 24) face-to-face contact is the most important factor in changing voters' choices. Furthermore, Maswadi explained that a close relationship with fellow members of the community who are well known and trusted is a guarantee that the information conveyed by the figure is worth following. The nature of direct face-to-face relationships allows the communicant to get more information from opinion leaders.

In this case, traditional communication is used to convey messages to the local community to carry out the simplest political participation, namely voting in elections. In a traditional society where political recruitment is carried out with a patronage pattern, the form of community political participation contains more or fewer elements of mobilization. Mobilized political participation is described by Huntington and Nelson (1994). While the traditional tool used as the reason for the election of legislative candidates is the primordial bond. This bond is a spiritual factor that glues the origin of lineage, ethnicity, culture, and religion. According to Clifford Geertz, primordial bonds are closely related to the idea of 'overpowering'. The essence of primordiality is affection.

## METHOD

This research uses a qualitative and a case study approach, namely exploring phenomena (cases) that are limited by time and activity. Primary data collection techniques are carried out by in-depth interviews while secondary data is obtained from documents. The phenomenon that will be generalized is the change in the political behavior of the Baduy community in Kanekes Village, Leuwidamar District, Lebak Regency, Banten Province.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Baduy community is divided into two major groups, namely the Inner Baduy group and the Outer Baduy group. The Baduy Dalam group is called '*Urang Tangtu*'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pasal 1 ayat (48) Peraturan Desa Kanekes No. 01 Tahun 2007 tentang Saba Budaya dan Perlindungan Masyarakat Adat Tatar Kanekes (Baduy)

who obey customary law and are strong in carrying out the mandate of their ancestors. While the Outer Baduy group is called '*Urang Panamping*'<sup>2</sup> which means companion because they live outside the Baduy area and accompany the Inner Baduy community.

The characteristics of the Inner Baduy (*Urang Tangtu*) and Outer Baduy (*Urang Panamping*) can be seen in the way they dress. The male *urang tangtu* wears a white *kutung* (shirt without buttons), under the *aros*, which is a kind of short cloth that is tied with a cloth like a shawl. *Aros* is dark in color. Besides that, *urang tangtu* wears a white headband. For men *panamping*, wear a black shirt, black shorts and a blue or black headband with a batik pattern. The Baduy community is a traditional society with strong customary law.

They adhere to a belief called *Sunda Wiwitan*, namely the teaching of maintaining natural harmony using asceticism (simple living and staying away from worldly activities). As indigenous peoples, they have their government structure called *Kapuunan*. *Puun* is the highest leader who controls customary law and the order of people's lives. *Kapuunan* are in the Inner Baduy which consists of *Cibeo kapuunan*, *Cikartawarna kapuunan* and *Cikeusik kapuunan*. Each *kapuunan* has different duties and authorities but refers to one guideline, namely *pikukuh karuhun*. *Pikukuh karuhun* is the embodiment of the *Sunda Wiwitan* teachings. The implementation of the *kepuunan* customary government is carried out by the *jaro*. *Jaro* as a *puun* mandate has the authority to regulate the implementation of the life of the Baduy community, starting from social relations with the community, scheduling traditional ceremonies, disseminating customary law to Baduy residents to maintaining security and order. *Jaro* who oversees bridging state affairs with indigenous peoples is called *jaro pamarentah*. Administratively, *Jaro Pamarentah* (village head) is responsible to the national government above him, namely the sub-district head, while traditionally he is responsible to the highest customary leader, namely the *puun*. This customary government system is only implemented in the Baduy area and binds all Baduy residents. The government system does not involve the Indonesian political system, so the Baduy are not oriented to the national political system.

Although the national political system is not involved, it does not mean that the Baduy customary government system is disconnected from the national political system. There is a customary institution that connects the national government called *jaro pamarentah*. As the village head of *Jaro Pamarentah*, he must submit to state policies, including carrying out General Elections (*Pemilu*). However, the customary government does not recommend the Baduy community participate in the general election because it is not by customs regulations. If there is an election activity, then the Baduy traditional leader will remind the community that the Baduy people do not participate in voting but pray that the leader elected in the election will be able to carry out the people's mandate.

---

<sup>2</sup> Pasal 1 ayat (49) Peraturan Desa Kanekes No. 01 Tahun 2007 tentang Saba Budaya dan Perlindungan Masyarakat Adat Tatar Kanekes (Baduy)

With a population of about 10 thousand people, the Baduy community is the target of many political parties. However, everything is hampered by customary regulations. Nevertheless, there is a political party that can break through the customary regulations, namely the Golkar party. This party applies a different strategy, namely a cadre of Baduy people who have come out of customary regulations. In this case, the party installed H. Kasmin, a native Baduy son, as a legislative candidate.

H. Kasmin lives outside Baduy and works as an entrepreneur. One of its efforts is to accommodate and market local Baduy products. So even though it's out of tradition, it still maintains a good relationship. Even H. Kasmin has a special place in the eyes of Baduy residents because of his role as a trader who markets Baduy products. It should be noted that the livelihood of the Baduy people is farming with the main product of fruits such as bananas, durians, rambutans, and petai, which are perishable, therefore they must be sold immediately. If farmers market their produce, it will take a long time, especially for farmers from the Inner Baduy, who are not allowed to use vehicles but only walk. To overcome this, farmers need a pool that can accommodate fruits quickly. H. Kasmin accommodates most of the produce of the Baduy population.

In addition to buying agricultural products, H. Kasmin also buys home industry items such as palm sugar, honey, and handicrafts, and he even collects the results of logging the expensive albizia wood. H. Kasmin's persistence in marketing agricultural products and developing the handicrafts of the Baduy community was awarded by President Soeharto as the National Youth Pioneer in 1997. What H. Kasmin has done for Baduy reflects one of the characteristics of local bosses.

His career in politics began when H. Kasmin became acquainted with many businessmen, most of whom were cadres of the Golkar party. Not long after that he joined and began working in the Golkar party. Initially, the Golkar party was formed by the New Order Regime as a political machine to gain votes during the general election. In the Banten area, in addition to the Golkar party, the New Order regime also created the PPPSBBI (Banten Martial Arts and Cultural Arts Association) to maintain regional political stability. PPPSBII members are the Banten champions. H. Kasmin's career increased when he entered the PPPSBBI network and in 2004 served as chairman of the Lebak Regency PPPSBBI. Most of the PPPSBBI members are businessmen, and it is under this PPPSBBI link that H. Kasmin has obtained many government projects, especially in the construction sector. Since then, H. Kasmin has been trusted to serve as chairman of GAPEKSINDO (Indonesian National Construction Company Association) in the Lebak district. A year later, in 2005, H. Kasmin served as treasurer of the DPD Golkar party in the Lebak district. In 2009 he served as chairman of the DPD Golkar party in the Lebak district.

As a Golkar party cadre, H. Kasmin was nominated as a member of the Banten provincial DPRD. One of the targeted voices is Kanekes village, which is inhabited by the Baduy community. One of the strategies adopted is to create a WAMMBY (Wadah Musyawarah Baduy Community) to obtain government programs and social assistance from the government to meet the needs of the Kanekes community.



During his tenure as chairman of WAMMBY, many things have been done for the welfare of Kanekes, including maintaining subsistence security, including in the legal field, namely fighting for the customary rights of the Baduy region; In the economic field, it is carried out by accommodating agricultural products and seeking access for Baduy traders, as well as participating in government programs in preserving the environment with economically valuable plants, and in education by involving Baduy residents in Functional Literacy activities. and Social Assistance from the Ministry of Social Affairs which aims to meet the needs of the Baduy community

These efforts are then explained one by one. In the field of subsistence security, H. Kasmin seeks to support the struggle to obtain customary rights to Baduy land as stipulated by Regional Regulation no. 32/2001 concerning the Protection of the Ulayat Rights of the Baduy Community. This Regional Regulation is very important because the Baduy community in dealing with their territory is regulated and limited to their *ulayat* area, so it needs to be protected. Protection, in this case, is explained in article 1 paragraph 3 which reads: 'Protection is a series of activities carried out by the Regional Government and the community in protecting the Baduy community structure from disturbing/destructive efforts originating from outside the Baduy community'.

With this regional regulation, most of the problems in the Baduy area have been resolved, namely the problem of land grabbing. Before the local regulation was issued, many residents from outside Baduy cultivated crops in the area. They also released their livestock in Baduy farmers' fields which caused damage to crops, and some even stole wood in the Baduy forest. With this regional regulation, arable lands taken by residents outside Baduy must be handed back to the Baduy community. Kasmin's role as chairman of WAMMBY is very meaningful to approaching the national government and customary government levels.

Another characteristic of local bosses is that they are government brokers, namely looking for government programs that suit the needs of the Baduy community. An example is involving the Baduy community in the GNRL program (National Movement for Forest and Land Rehabilitation), which is a government program that aims to restore, maintain and improve the function of forests and land so that the area can function as watershed protection (DAS), preventing floods, landslides, erosion and at the same time supporting the productivity of forest and land resources and conserving biodiversity. This program is expected to reduce the amount of degraded forest area. One of the activities is planting various trees to maintain biodiversity.

WAMMBY as a forum to accommodate the aspirations of the Baduy people whose main livelihood is farmers tries to create a program to improve the welfare of the Baduy community where the program is in line with government programs. WAMMBY took the initiative to partner with the Ministry of Forestry to carry out tree planting in the Citarum-Ciliwung watershed. The proposal from the Baduy farmer group is to plant commodity trees that are in demand by the market such as albizia trees, sugar palms, durians, petai, and rambutans.

This partnership was realized by providing 32,800 albazia seeds to be planted in an area of 29.8 ha and 8,400 rubber seeds to be planted in an area of 21 ha. So, the total area of land planted with albizia and rubber seedlings is 50.8 ha with a total number of 41,200 seedlings. (WAMMBY 2008 document). The provision of these seeds is quite significant for the welfare of Baduy farmers.

Another activity carried out by WAMMBY is improving the education sector. As a Baduy person who cares about education, H. Kasmin wants the Baduy community to advance in education. Kasmin's main reason for leaving Baduy customs was to get a formal education. The development of the era requires that someone must have the ability to read and write. This is a basic need for Baduy residents to carry out various transactions, both simple and modern transactions. This demand is felt by the young generation of Baduy who have the desire to be able to communicate effectively. Kasmin through WAMMBY seeks to include Baduy residents in a government program called Functional Literacy.

Functional literacy is related to pure illiteracy, namely people who cannot read, write, and count at all with any literacy system. The aim is to increase knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic, as well as functional skills to improve their standard of living. H. Kasmin as the head of WAMMBY proposed a functional literacy program to increase the potential and skills of the Baduy community, considering that traditional leaders forbade Baduy residents to attend formal schools.

H. Kasmin tried to approach the kokolot that basic education was needed as a provision for Baduy children to face the challenges of the times. Therefore, routine activities are needed to equip the Baduy community with reading, writing, and arithmetic skills. This teaching can be carried out formally in a container of activities called functional literacy. H. Kasmin's approach has resulted in the approval of Functional Literacy activities on the condition that they do not interfere with customary activities. (H. Kasmin interview 2015)

In the end, the socialization and technical guidance of the Functional Literacy tutor in Kanekes (Baduy) village were inaugurated on November 25, 2007, at SDN Bojongmenteng III. The socialization was attended by the Head of Leuwidamar Sub-district, Koramil, Polsek, other government officials, teachers, Inner Baduy figures, and journalists. The journalists were deliberately invited to report that in Baduy there was already a teaching and learning process. According to H. Kasmin, this is to dispel the notion that the Baduy are an underdeveloped tribe that does not follow the flow of modernization.

As the organizer of Functional Literacy (KF) activities, WAMMBY formed a team to organize the KF program in Kanekes village. This activity is divided into 25 groups based on the region (village), each group has a leader and tutor. (WAMMBY 2008 document). From the many activities above, it can be concluded that what H. Kasmin has done for Baduy reflects one of the characters of the local boss.

The implementation of the Legislative General Election in Kanekes village in 2009 was inseparable from the role of H. Kasmin who took part in WAMMBY and as a native Baduy who was well known and trusted by traditional leaders so that he could negotiate with the customary leaders. All activities carried out by H. Kasmin on behalf of the Golkar party are called political linkage. In 2009 the population of

Baduy reached about 11 thousand people with the number of adults around 6 thousand people. From the perspective of political parties, this data is read as 6 thousand votes that have not been occupied. Thus, there is an opportunity to get those votes in the nearest general election. The Golkar Party has a target to get these votes. The strategy implemented is to recruit Baduy natives to become party cadres and when they are ready, they will be proposed as election contestants.

The reason for preparing a cadre of native Baduy people is based on the character of the traditional Baduy community which closes itself off from the outside world. In matters of a principal nature, they only want to talk to people who are well known and trusted. People who are well known and trusted can be foreigners or Baduy people who have come out of customary regulations but still establish friendships at home. H. Kasmin managed to form a strong kinship bond because, despite his busy schedule, he still made time to visit Baduy villages, both Outer Baduy and Inner Baduy villages, at least once a month. (H. Kasmin interview).

Negotiations conveyed persuasively are the best way for the Baduy community. To carry out the socialization of the Legislative Election in Kanekes village, persuasion communication is needed first considering the nature of the people who reject the general election. In campaign management, Venus (2007) quotes Parrot (1993): 'Campaigns are inherently persuasive communication activities activities on is at the heart of the campaign. Thus, every campaign action in principle is an act of persuasion. Pace, Peterson, and Burnett (1979) define persuasion as an act of communication that aims to make the communicant accept the communicator's view of something or take a certain action. While Johnson (1994) a more specific definition is a transactional process between two or more people where there is an attempt to reconstruct reality through the exchange of symbolic meanings which then results in voluntary changes in beliefs, attitudes, and or behavior. (Venus, 2007).

The persuasion to socialize the 2009 Legislative Election in Kanekes village was carried out by two parties, namely the state through the KPUD and the political party Golkar through H. Kasmin. Other political parties could not campaign in Kanekes village because it was forbidden by the traditional leaders. Thus, it can be concluded that the factors that caused H. Kasmin to negotiate with traditional leaders were primordial factors based on kinship ties. H. Kasmin managed to form a strong kinship bond because, despite his busy schedule, he still made time to visit Baduy villages, both Outer Baduy and Inner Baduy villages, at least once a month. (H. Kasmin interview).

H. Kasmin's efforts to influence the mindset of Baduy traditional leaders can be classified as cultural brokers. According to Hiroko Horikoshi (1987), cultural brokers function as agents of change, inspiration, and mediators in society. As a motor of change that moves from the cultural elite. Hiroko added that to enter the political space requires two social capitals, namely authority, and charisma. In this case, H. Kasmin entered the political space with the social capital of charisma. Meanwhile, Geertz (1960) provides a similar definition of a cultural broker but with a more specific goal, namely, to bridge two groups or persons who have different cultural systems, to reduce conflict or create change. (Refer to 'bridging, linking or

mediating between groups or persons of differing cultural systems to reduce conflict or produce change').

H. Kasmin as a legislative candidate has an interest in the implementation of the General Election in Kanekes village because it requires votes from Baduy residents. Therefore, the H.Kasmin success team tried to lobby the adat government to allow its citizens to vote. Lobbying in essence is an attempt to maximize the use of communication techniques to influence other parties who initially tend to refuse, to agree, or gain support. Lobbying is an informal and persuasive effort carried out by one party who has certain interests to attract support from parties who are considered to have influence or authority so that the desired target is achieved. In this case, the target to be achieved is to influence customary government policies and gain support, to win the general election. The method used by the H. Kasmin team is to build traditional communication in the form of face-to-face and persuasion.

In the political field, persuasion is interpreted as an invitation, persuasion, and seduction in a non-violent form carried out by political communicators to the community as communicants. The goal is to create a feeling of responsiveness in other people (the voting public). Persuasion is done by using traditional political communication. Effective political communication is done face-to-face. According to Lazarsfeld as quoted by Maswadi Rauf (1993, p.24), face-to-face contact is the most important factor in changing voters' choices. Furthermore, Maswadi explained that a close relationship with fellow members of the community who are well known and trusted is a guarantee that the information conveyed by the figure is worth following. The nature of direct face-to-face relationships allows the communicant to get more information from opinion leaders. This is by the condition of the Baduy community who do not use any communication media except face-to-face.

The above concept is applied in political communication in Baduy where the communicators are figures who are well known by the customary government, namely H. Kasmin, and *jaro Dainah* as *jaro pamarentah* (village head). They carry out persuasion by making direct contact with Baduy traditional leaders. Baduy people's obedience to their leader is very hibiwith the character of the Baduy community which has a high level of conformity. This is evidenced by the prohibition of participating in elections with the low level of participation of Baduy citizens in elections. When in the 2009 Legislative Election there was one of the original Baduy sons who became a legislative candidate for the Banten Provincial DPRD, namely H. Kasmin., the Baduy community was asked to participate. As previously explained, H. Kasmin is an influential Baduy figure among the Baduy elite as well as the layman. As community leaders/local bosses who hold important positions such as the chairman of the Lebak district PPPSBBI, the chairman of the Golkar Party DPD in the Lebak district, the chairman of Gapekindo, and a former member of the Indonesian People's Consultative Assembly, the traditional leaders feel reluctant to refuse his wishes. Meanwhile, in the eyes of the Baduy community, they get a good impression because their role in helping Baduy farmers is very significant, starting from collecting field products, seeking market access, protecting the Baduy area by

fighting for the Rights to Baduy Communal Land, as well as protecting the Baduy community.

H. Kasmin's contribution to the Baduy community has been recognized by residents as well as by the Baduy elite. The community assesses that what H. Kasmin has done so far has been enjoyed by the Baduy community, including the elite (Baduy figures). As stated by *Jaro Daenah*, the point is that the public can accept H. Kasmin as a legislature not only because of fellow Baduy people but more than that, the public can judge what H. Kasmin's actions are. (*Jaro Pamarentah* interview).

The success of the negotiations and persuasion carried out by H. Kasmin and *Jaro Pamarentah* resulted in an agreement to hold the Legislative Election in Kanekes village. The General Election was attended by 44 political parties with 113 permanent candidates consisting of 76 men and 37 women. (Document of KPUD Lebak 2008). Legislative elections took place simultaneously on April 9, 2009. If in other areas there are many pictures of political parties and photos of legislative candidates, this is not the case with Kanekes village. In this Baduy village, there are no posters or attributes of the parties participating in the election. The election atmosphere was only found in *Dainah's jaro* house in the form of a poster containing 44 picture signs and the number of participants in the 2009 election and a banner that read 'Success of the Election'. These posters and banners were given by the KPU. Before the general election took place, the event was opened with remarks from *jaro pamarentah* (village head), namely *jaro Dainah*. In his speech, *Jaro Dainah*, who is part of the H.Kasmin success team, inserts the vote: "Relax, the calm chooses, and the most important thing is right on target. Adjust according to the customary agreement, choose the one that is close,". What is meant by 'choose close' is H. Kasmin. The language used is also a mixture of the Indonesian and Sundanese dialects of Baduy. Language shows a primordial bond.

After finishing the speech from *Jaro Dainah*, the event continued with the direction of the Chairperson of the Sapin Voting Organizing Group (KPPS), who is also the Secretary of Kanekes Village. H.Sapin is one of the successful teams of H.Kasmin. In this briefing, Sapin reminded Baduy residents about how to vote, starting from taking ballots, how to check, to putting ballots into the ballot box.

Customary regulations that prohibit legislative candidates from campaigning in Baduy villages mean that almost all Baduy residents do not know many candidates for legislative members. The only legislative candidate they knew was H. Kasmin. Overall, the election in Kanekes village took place in an orderly and safe manner. In principle, the Baduy choose '*lunang*' which stands for *milu* (join) who wins, meaning that whoever wins the Baduy will admit it. The Baduy must pray for the victorious leader so that he can carry out his duties well. Of the 6,322 permanent voter lists who came to cast their votes, 1272 (document PPK Leuwidamar District). When compared with the results of the previous general election in 2004, the 2009 general election experienced a significant increase. In 2004 the permanent voter list was approximately 6000, but only 150 voted. The increase in political participation of Baduy citizens in 2009 reached 750%.

After completing the voting process, the committee immediately started counting the votes. The results of the vote count of parties and members of the Banten

provincial DPRD obtained from the Leuwidamar sub-district show that H. Kasmin received the most votes in Kanekes village reaching 3803. When viewed from the Golkar party contestants, H. Kasmin was the most superior with 3803 votes, followed by H. Suparman, SH, M.Si as many as 896, H. Rudi E. Suherman, S.E as many as 490, KH. Salman Alfarisy received 146. Other candidates received less than 30 votes, and some even received no votes at all. This shows the success of the H.Kasmin success team that won votes not only in Kanekes village but also at the sub-district level.

The results of the 2009 legislative elections in Kanekes village showed an increase in the political participation of the Baduy community in the form of voting for candidate H. Kasmin. If we look at the characteristics of the traditional Baduy community who are not familiar with the concept of General Election, it can be assumed that the political participation carried out by Baduy residents is not one hundred percent autonomous. Huntington and Nelson distinguish political participation into two types, namely autonomous political participation and mobilized political participation. Autonomous political participation is the self-awareness to influence government decision-making, while mobilized political participation occurs if there are other people outside the actors who influence government decision-making. The differences in the types of political participation are not dichotomous and can be sharply distinguished from one another. Therefore Huntington (1994) tends to say 'the two are one spectrum. The point in the spectrum that separates mobilized participation from autonomous participation is arbitrary.

In a traditional society where political recruitment is carried out with a patronage pattern, the form of community political participation contains more or fewer elements of mobilization. Mobilized political participation is described by Huntington and Nelson (1994) as follows:

*"Mobilized participants are stimulated to behave in ways that aim to influence the government, without them taking an interest in, or even having to be aware of, the impact their actions have on the government. They act on instructions, and they are to a large extent or wholly driven by loyalty, love, respect, or fear, towards a leader, or by a desire to obtain benefits for which they believe the leader's opinion is given".*

Huntington's theory can be used to answer the problem of increasing political participation in Baduy residents which has an impact on H. Kasmin's victory as a candidate for the Banten provincial DPRD.

## CONCLUSION

Baduy people are indigenous people who live on Baduy ulayat land in Kanekes village. As indigenous peoples, they have their government structure called *Kapuunan*. *Puun* is the highest leader who controls customary law and the order of people's lives.

The implementation of the *kepuunan* customary government is carried out by the *jaro*. *Jaro* as a *puun* mandate has the authority to regulate the implementation of the

life of the Baduy community, starting from social relations with the community, scheduling traditional ceremonies, disseminating customary law to Baduy residents to maintaining security and order. *Jaro* who is in charge of bridging state affairs with indigenous peoples is called *jaro pamarentah*. Administratively, *Jaro Pamarentah* (village head) is responsible to the national government above him, namely the sub-district head, while traditionally he is responsible to the highest customary leader, namely the *puun*. This customary government system is only implemented in the Baduy area and binds all Baduy residents. The government system does not involve the Indonesian political system so the Baduy are not oriented to the national political system.

Although the national political system is not involved, it does not mean that the Baduy customary government system is disconnected from the national political system. There is a customary institution that connects the national government called *jaro pamarentah*. As the village head of *Jaro Pamarentah*, he must submit to state policies, including carrying out General Elections (Pemilu). However, the customary government does not recommend the Baduy community participate in the general election because it is not by customary regulations.

One of the election participants named H. Kasmin is a Baduy who has broken away from customary regulations. Living outside Baduy as a businessman and being a member of the Golkar party. It is estimated that the number of votes that can be obtained in Kanekes village is around six thousand. Therefore, H. Kasmin tried to persuade traditional leaders to allow their citizens to participate in the general election.

As a local boss, the strategy taken by H. Kasmin is to use the WAMMBY institution (Wadah Musyawarah Baduy Community) to seek government programs and social assistance from the government to meet the needs of the Kanekes community, including providing legal power over the customary land inhabited by Baduy residents, involving residents in the GNRHL project (National Movement for Forest and Land Rehabilitation), involving residents in the Functional Literacy program. The role of H. Kasmin as the chairman of WAMMBY can be accepted by the Baduy community. This has become one of the considerations for the customary government to accept H. Kasmin's proposal for citizens to participate in election activities.

In the end, the traditional leader allowed the election in Kanekes village. The number of DPT (Permanent Voters List) is 6322, while the number of those who cast their votes is 1272. When compared with the results of the previous election in 2004, the 2009 General Election experienced a significant increase. In 2004 the permanent voter list was approximately 6000, but only 150 voted. The increase in political participation of Baduy citizens in 2009 reached 750%. The type of political participation carried out by the residents of Kanekes village is more or less a mobilization element considering that the residents in this village do not access information about the election, including not knowing candidates except H. Kasmin.

## REFERENCES

- Almond, Gabriel A. (1974). *Comparative Politics Today*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company.
- A.P, Sumarno. (1989). *Dimensions of Political Communication*. Bandung: PT Citra Aditya Bakti.
- Bendix, Reinhard. (1966). *Max Weber An Intellectual Portrait*. London: Methuen & Co Ltd.
- Budiardjo, Miriam. (2008). *Basics of Political Science*. Jakarta : PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Budiardjo, Miriam. (1991). *Various Thoughts on Power and Authority*. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.
- BPS. (2013). *Leuwidamar. District Regional Statistics 2013*.
- Crouch, Harold. (1982). *Political Development and Modernization*. Jakarta: Service Foundation.
- Danim, Sudarwan. 2000. *Research Methods for the Behavioral Sciences*. Jakarta: Bumi Aksara.
- Directorate of Isolated Community Development, Ministry of Social Affairs RI. (1989). *Isolated Community Development Information*.
- Djoewisno, M.S. (1986). *Portrait of Baduy Community Life*. Bandung: PT Cipta Pratama.
- Eisenstadt, S.N. (1968). *Comparative Perspectives on Social Change*. USA: Little, Brown, and Company.
- Fredrik, Barth. (1988). *Ethnic Groups and Their Boundaries*. Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press.
- Geertz, Clifford. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Basic Book, Inc.
- Geertz, Clifford. (1960). The Javanese Kijaji: The Changing Role Of A Cultural Broker, In: *Comparative Studies In Society And History*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Jan., 1960), 228-249
- Hiroko Horikoshi. (1987). *Kiai and Social Change*. Jakarta: LP3ES
- Huntington, Samuel P & Nelson, Joan. (1994). *Political Participation in Developing Countries. (Sahat Simamora, Translator)*. Jakarta : PT Rineka Cipta.
- HuMa, (2003). *Struggling to Oversee Public Policy: A Study of Public Involvement Models in Drafting Village Regulations and Regional Regulations*. Jakarta:HuMa.
- Irfani, Fahmi. (2011). *Jawara Baduy: A Study of Social, Political and Cultural*. Jakarta: Young Progressive Moslem Press.
- Khadafi, Rizal (ed). (2010). *1945 Constitution & Amendments*. Jakarta: Bukune .
- Koentjaraningrat. (1985). *Culture, Mentality, and Development*. Jakarta: PT Gramedia.
- Koentjaraningrat (ed). (1993). *Isolated Communities in Indonesia*. Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Kurnia, Asep & Sihabudin, Ahmad. ( 2010). *It's time for Baduy to talk*, Jakarta: PT Bumi Aksara.
- Report of the Regional Conference of the Golkar Party DPD 2009-2015
- Lerner, Daniel. (1958). *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East*. The Free Press



- Mas'oeed, Mohtar and Mac Andrews, Colin. (2001). *Comparison of Political Systems*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Moleong, Lexy J. (1999). *Qualitative Research Methodology*. Bandung : PT Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Muhaimin, Yahya., & MacAndrews, Colin. (1985). *Political Development Problems*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press
- Najib, Moh. (2008). *Functional Literacy Program*. Pasuruan: Indocam Prima.
- Kanekes Village Regulation No. 1 of 2007 concerning Cultural Saba and Protection of Kanekes Tatar Indigenous Peoples (Baduy).
- Lebak Regency Regional Regulation No. 32 of 2001 concerning Protection of the Ulayat Rights of the Baduy Community.
- Lebak Regency Regional Regulation No. 13 of 1990 concerning Customs and the Baduy Traditional Institution.
- Prihantoro, Feri. (2006). *Sustainable Life of the Baduy Tribe Community*, BINTARI (Bina Karta Lestari) Foundation, Asia Good ESD Practice Project.
- Pye. , Lucian, W. (1966). *Aspects of Political Development*. USA: Little, Brown & Company.
- Rahmat, Novia. (2016). The Influence of Kuncen in Indigenous Peoples of Kampung Naga, Neglasari Village, Salawu District, Tasikmalaya Regency in the 2014 Presidential Election. Thesis. Digilib.uin-suka.ac.id
- Rauf ,Maswadi & Nasrun ,Mappa. (1993). *Indonesia and Political Communication*. Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Reinhard, Bendix. (1966). *Max Weber An Intellectual Portrait*. London: Methuen & Co Ltd.
- Romli, Lili (2007). Champion and Local Political Mastery in Banten Province (2001-2006). Dissertation, University of Indonesia
- Rush , Michael & Althoff, Phillip. (1971). *Introduction to Political Sociology*. Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada.
- Sidel, John T. (2005). Bossism and Democracy in the Philippines, Thailand and Indonesia, in Harriss, John et al (ed). *The Politicization of New Local Political Democracy*. Jakarta: Demos.
- Soekanto, Soerjono. (1983). *Sociological Theory of Social Change*. Jakarta: Ghalia Indonesia
- Sujarwo. (2008). *Basic Concepts of Functional Literacy Education, Yogyakarta State University*.
- Regent Decree No. 590/Kep.233/Huk/2003 concerning the Determination of Detailed Boundaries of Land Rights of the Baduy Indigenous Peoples in Kanekes Village, Leuwidamar District, Lebak Regency.
- The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and its Amendments.
- Law Number 10 of 2008 concerning General Elections for the People's Representative Council, Regional Representative Council, and Regional People's Representative Council.
- Law No. 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government.

Law No. 33 of 2004 concerning Financial Balance between Central and Regional Governments Venus, Antar. (2007). *Manajemen Kampanye*. Bandung: Symbiosis Rekatama Media.

Wilodati, Baduy Community Cultivation System, upi.edu.FPIPS- *Jurnal Baduy*.

Yin, Robert K. (1996). *Case Study: Design and Method*. Jakarta: Raja Garfindo Persada.