



Political wisdom of the Kajang "Ammatoa" indigenous community in South Sulawesi

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ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:

Local wisdom; Politics; Indigenous Communities; Kajang; South Sulawesi.

How to cite:

Latief, M.I., Syam, R. (2022). Political wisdom of the Kajang "Ammatoa" indigenous community in South Sulawesi. ETNOSIA: Jurnal Etnografi Indonesia. 7(2): 167 - 182.

DOI:

[10.31947/etnosia.v7i2.21990](https://doi.org/10.31947/etnosia.v7i2.21990)

ABSTRACT

Democracy, which is implemented in Indonesia through general elections (Elections), places the community as a whole as the holder of people's sovereignty. This is guaranteed in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (UUD). However, the implementation of people's sovereignty is still a problem, because there is still a low understanding of the people's sovereignty that they have, especially in elections. One component of society that also has political sovereignty is indigenous communities, especially in South Sulawesi, namely the Kajang "Ammatoa" indigenous community. Therefore, this study examines the meaning of political sovereignty in the Kajang indigenous community "Ammatoa" and the local wisdom owned and implemented in the 2019 elections, including the 2020 Regional Head Election (Pilkada) in Bulukumba Regency. The method used is descriptive qualitative, and the processed data is primary and secondary. This research begins with the identification and formulation of problems, data collection, data processing, and analysis, including data classification and reduction, drawing conclusions, and verification. The results of this study; (1) Although the Kajang indigenous community is closed, the application of democratic values has been realized for a long time and has become its main local wisdom in choosing leaders called "ammatoa" (traditional chairmen). That is, "ammatoa" is democratically elected and not because of the principle of blood or hereditary ties (traditional leadership); (2) The meaning of democracy and political wisdom, also expressed in elections and regional elections, "ammatoa" as a leader gives freedom to its citizens to choose according to their beliefs without any intervention. So, even though there are "ammatoa" children who became Caleg in the 2019 elections, they were not elected; (3) responsibility as a citizen is also evident in the high level of participation of the Kajang indigenous community in elections and regional elections, even though initially there were cultural and administrative obstacles. This proves that the Kajang indigenous community has practiced the meaning of popular sovereignty for a long time and has become a form of political wisdom. As a suggestion, it is necessary to make a follow-up study that captures the meaning of people's sovereignty in other indigenous communities as a reference in formulating inclusive election policies in Indonesia.

1. Introduction

Elections are one way to determine the direction of travel of the nation while determining who is most worthy to exercise the power of the country's government. Even in universal history, elections are instruments of realizing popular sovereignty that intend to form a legitimate government and a means of articulating the aspirations and interests of the people. A healthy election is honest, open, and without political or psychological pressure from others.

From this perspective, the development of democracy in Indonesia is characterized by a very fundamental change in the political system as a result of the reform movement. The change can be seen in the political policy orientation of a power-centered system (Government power) turned into a people power (people power). Various changes in the regulation (laws and regulations in the political field), also strengthened the change in the political paradigm.

The fundamental change was the formulation of a democratic regional election system, the result of amendments I to IV of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945 at the beginning of the reform. As stated in Article 1, paragraph (2), which reads, "sovereignty is in the hands of the people and is exercised according to the Constitution". Then it is described in Law Number 32 of 2004 and has been amended into Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government, which regulates the direct election of regional heads.

In the context of regional head elections (Governor, Regent, and Mayor), as mandated in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, Article 18 paragraph (4) states that the Governor, Regent, and Mayor, each as the head of the provincial, district, and city regional government, are democratically elected. According to Asshiddiqie (2002;28), the word democratically elected is flexible, including the meaning of direct regional head elections by the people or by the DPRD. However, the sovereignty of the people in choosing their leaders, is carried out directly, generally, freely, confidentially, honestly, and fairly (LUBER JURDIL), which then becomes a principle in the laws and regulations related to regional elections as well as general elections (elections).

Direct Regional Head Elections (Pilkada) in Indonesia, starting in 2005 until now (have entered the fourth wave), and the Law governing the implementation of Regional Elections has also undergone 4 (four) changes starting from the rules of Government Regulation instead of Law (PERPPU) Number 1 of 2014 concerning the election of Governors, Regents, and Mayors. Then it changed to Law Number 1 of 2015 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents, and Mayors. Then it changed again to Law Number 8 of 2015 concerning changes to Law Number 1 of 2015 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents, and Mayors. Finally, is Law Number 10 of 2016 concerning the election of Governors, Regents, and Mayors, which is an amendment (revision) to Law Number 8 of 2015.

In fact, since 2015, simultaneous regional elections have been held inspired by the decision of the Constitutional Court (MK) through Decision Number 14 / PUU-XI / 2013, which decided to hold simultaneous elections, namely combining the implementation of legislative elections (Pileg) and presidential/vice presidential

elections (Pilpres). Also, to answer the problems of the previous regional elections, this simultaneous regional election is expected to solve the high political costs and social conflicts that have arisen so far.

Meanwhile, regulations regarding General Elections (Elections), are also simplified with the birth of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, which is a merger of 3 (three) laws governing the implementation of elections, legislative elections, and presidential/vice presidential elections. In terms of the electoral system, there are also many changes, but the fundamental thing is that citizens are given the freedom to choose the candidate for the leader they want through a direct election system (no longer with a representative system).

However, the regulations governing the implementation of direct elections and regional elections, it is considered that many people have not reflected efforts to realize the demands for people's sovereignty in every political activity. A new phenomenon that has emerged, community participation, especially among vulnerable groups, especially indigenous communities (including remote indigenous communities) in Indonesia, is still untouched by good political education. As a result, most vulnerable groups exercise only procedural democracy, but very few understand the true meaning of democracy, especially its sovereignty.

Of course, this is contrary to democratic principles, namely, universality, equality, freedom, secrecy, and transparency. The sovereignty of the people or the people is sovereign in determining and choosing its leaders, degraded by the low level of political education whose implications threaten the development of democracy, especially the enforcement of people's sovereignty and the integrity of elections and regional elections. In fact, in fact, simultaneous elections and regional elections, are defined as elections carried out by the people who have the right to cast their votes directly according to the will of their conscience, without intermediaries, simultaneously at the same time. (Mannan, 2019:40).

Conceptually, the nature of popular sovereignty, namely; (a) unity (unite), seen in the process of lawmaking, prosecution of justice, and the like; (b) round, undivided (indivisibility), sovereignty cannot be fragmented; (c) may not be surrendered (inalienability), meaning that sovereignty may not be sold, mortgaged or gifted, and; (d) remains, does not change (imprescriptibility) however long the sovereignty remains in the hands of the people, does not shrink and does not diminish. Thus, it can be understood that there are at least four principles of popular sovereignty, namely: freedom, equality/equality, majority vote, and accountability. The first two principles are more the essence of people's sovereignty (called essential principles), and the second is procedures for exercising people's sovereignty (called procedural principles).

In the context of others, it is mentioned that political participation becomes one of the important aspects and is a hallmark of political modernization. Results of studies conducted by Prasetyo (2019; 101) assert that political participation, especially among novice voters, is based on an awareness of the importance of participation in politics. Because of the various political decisions made and implemented by the Government that is related to and affect citizens, citizens have the right to participate in determining

these political decisions. Therefore, Prasetyo (2019;102) emphasized that novice voters strongly disagree with the existence of a group that does not want to vote for the white group (Golput). Because in the view of novice voters, political participation is not only aimed at influencing the government's decision mechanism, but also has other interests, namely as a means of control for the running of a system. Even further, political participation is a medium for developing a political system, so the political mechanism is alive and running by the process and its goal of stability and success. This is in line with the research conducted by Zubaidi et.al (2020;79), which emphasizes that the development of the current political system that is oriented towards increasing people's political participation is accommodated by the development of the role of digital media and no longer in conventional media. This shows that a country's political system will grow and develop and encourage the achievement of democratization and participation in society if digital media also plays a role in people's political literacy.

Therefore, democracies generally think more people's participation in each election will be better. In its implementation, high participation indicates that citizens follow and understand political issues and want to involve themselves in such activities. On the contrary, a low level of participation is generally considered a sign of lack of favor in a democracy, since it can be interpreted that many citizens do not pay attention to the issue of statehood (Budiardjo, 2008:369).

In the context of democracy, the implementation of elections that have been running 11 (eleven) times in Indonesia (from the first election in 1955 to the simultaneous elections in 2019), still leaves several problems, one of which is that people's political participation is still procedurally oriented and has not reflected the quality of democracy. Even in certain groups of society, such as vulnerable groups, elections do not seem as inclusive as has always been echoed. That is why the democratic process in Indonesia has not been fully felt by all communities, especially vulnerable groups such as people with disabilities, the poor, and slums, including indigenous and remote communities. The political behavior of this group is generally relatively passive and pessimistic. Because they do not feel directly the urgency of participation in regional elections.

According to Santoso (2014;1), the need to discuss the participation of indigenous communities in elections indicates that our elections have so far not been completed in ensuring their inclusiveness. That is why, the inclusiveness of a specific entity, such as indigenous peoples, in the democratic process has become an increasingly prominent issue in recent years. The problem is that election inclusion for indigenous communities is inevitable, but its implementation must be seated to fulfill democratic principles, namely equality, and participation.

The study of indigenous communities in elections and regional elections, specifically in the Province of South Sulawesi (South Sulawesi) as the focus area of this research, is centered on the Kajang community or indigenous community "Ammatoa" as one of the largest indigenous communities in South Sulawesi. Interestingly, although the Kajang indigenous community is relatively closed, and remote and still maintains the values and norms of their community, they also remain obedient as Indonesian citizens, including in terms of involvement in elections and regional elections.

Various studies examining the political involvement of the Kajang indigenous community, as was done by Chaerul (2018), Rinali (2020), and Uddin (2019), emphasized that the political participation of the Kajang indigenous community in the 2014 elections and the 2018 regional elections, was relatively active. It is shown that generally, the indigenous community of Kajang not only participates in voting and voting at polling stations (Polling Stations), but there are also those involved in becoming a successful team of candidates. However, the voting behavior of the Kajang indigenous community tends to remain primordial. However, not all of them are so. In the outer Kajang indigenous community, their political behavior has begun to be rational, due to the increasingly open interaction with the outside world of the customary area.

However, these studies, none of them describe the values of local wisdom that the Kajang indigenous community has in democracy and in choosing leaders both at the local and national levels. Therefore, this study wants to illustrate; (1) the meaning of political sovereignty understood by the Kajang indigenous community as Indonesian citizens; (2) democratic values that exist in the Kajang indigenous community as a form of political wisdom owned, and; (3) forms of social exchange in the elections and elections of the Kajang indigenous community.

The perspectives used are sociology, anthropology, and politics, as well as theoretical analysis using the theory of symbolic interactionism and social exchange

2. Method

This qualitative research uses phenomenological methods because it is considered more capable of answering research questions formulated previously. The informants of this study were 7 people consisting of the Kajang traditional leader (ammatoa), members of the Kajang indigenous community, local community leaders, and organizers of elections and regional elections. Informants were selected using purposive sampling. Informants are individuals who can represent the views, thoughts, attitudes, and behaviors of a group.

The data used are primary data obtained based on direct results in the field, collected based on in-depth interviews with several informants that have been determined and carried out repeatedly and adjusted to the needs of the required information.

Meanwhile, secondary data as supporting data to strengthen primary data was obtained from the organizers of elections and regional elections in Bulukumba district, namely the General Election Commission of Bulukumba district, the Election Supervisory Agency of Bulukumba district, and the Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) of Bulukumba Regency. The research process lasts for approximately 2 (two) months (starting from June to August 2022).

The process of qualitative data analysis is carried out in three steps. First, data reduction is the selection process, focusing on simplification, abstraction, and transformation of rough data obtained from the research field. Second, the presentation of data (data display) is a description of a collection of information arranged that allows one to draw conclusions and take action. Presentation of the data used, in the form of narrative text. Third, conclusion drawing and verification, in this process, the researcher makes

conclusions loosely and remains open and skeptical, but conclusions have been provided. As long as the research is ongoing, each conclusion set will be continuously verified until a valid and reliable conclusion is reached.

3. Result and discussion

The Kajang indigenous people, "Ammatoa", is one of the hundreds of indigenous communities in Indonesia that inhabit the Indigenous Area in Bulukumba regency, South Sulawesi Province. The distance traveled using a four-wheeled vehicle from Makassar (the capital of South Sulawesi) to Bulukumba regency is about 185 kilometers or 4 hour drive. From Bulukumba city to the Kajang traditional area is also still about 1-hour drive to the east and the vehicles used to go to the customary area are only by motorbike (two-wheeled vehicle). However, the vehicle is only used outside the Area and is not allowed to enter the Area.

Administratively, the Kajang indigenous community area is located in Kajang District and is among the second largest of the 10 sub-districts in Bulukumba. Because it has 19 villages/kelurahan, one of these villages, Tana Toa village, is an area where the Kajang "Ammatoa" indigenous community lives. The population is also large, with 3,395 inhabitants consisting of 1,666 males and 1,729 females. The population of Tana Toa village is the fourth largest out of 19 villages in the Kajang sub-district (the largest being Tanah Jaya, Bonto Baji and Tambangan and Tambangan then Tana Toa) (data Disdukcapil Bulukumba, 2021).

Specifically for Tana Toa village, because it has become a customary area or special area, it has also been divided administratively that there are hamlets that are inside the area and some are outside the area. The number of hamlets in Tana Toa is 9 (Nine), and within the traditional area, there are 7 hamlets, namely Benteng hamlet, Tombolo hamlet, Pangi, Sobbu, Luraya, Balangbina, and Bongkina hamlet. While the other 2 hamlets are outside the traditional area, namely Balagana hamlet and Jannaya hamlet. That is why there is a division often called inner Kajang and outer Kajang. This means that Kajang is a customary area that is not easy for migrants to enter, including the Bulukumba people themselves, if they do not get permission, because in this area, very strict rules apply. Meanwhile, the outer Kajang is an area that is no longer included in the exclusive (closed) territory of the Kajang indigenous community. (data Disdukcapil Bulukumba, 2021).

The exclusivity of the Kajang indigenous community is characterized by the culture that is owned both as tangible and intangible. The culture appears, starting from the use of clothes that are all black for both women and men and not allowed to use clothes outside of black. Especially men, they must use passapu (head covering) as a symbol and characteristic of the Kajang "Ammatoa" indigenous community.

Then, all activities in the area are carried out in harmony with nature. Therefore, the Kajang indigenous community does not recognize transportation such as bicycles or motorcycles, let alone cars. Within the Area, there must be no vehicles, and all residences and places of cultivation (agriculture) are reached on foot. Interaction between residents of the Kajang Dalam community is also carried out by visiting each other on foot, even

though they have to travel to several hamlets in the area. There is also a rule passed down for generations, that in Kajang Dalam, it is not allowed to use electricity for lighting or other means. If it is nighttime, all the houses will look dark, and this kind of life has been carried out for decades and has become a characteristic of the Kajang indigenous community. It has also become a hereditary tradition, which has always maintained authenticity by all Kajang indigenous communities.

Likewise, although the younger generation of the Kajang indigenous community is given the freedom to take education outside the area, and some are even students in the city of Makassar when they return to their community, they must still use all-black clothes, they cannot use mobile phones or laptops as their community identity even though outside the area they also wear modern clothes, using a mobile phone or laptop and such.

The indigenous and cultural values in the Kajang "Ammatoa" indigenous community, are not only physical in nature but, more fundamentally, the social and juridical values that bind them as a social entity and, at the same time, direct every behavior, attitude, and action of members of the Kajang indigenous community. Therefore, in daily life, the interactions that arise are regulated in a life guideline contained in Pasang ri Kajang.

Pasang ri Kajang is a guideline for the life of the Kajang indigenous people, which consists of a collection of ancestral mandates. The values contained in Pasang are considered sacred by the Kajang community, which, if not implemented in daily life, will adversely affect the collective life of the Kajang indigenous community. The adverse impact is destroying the ecological balance and the social system.

From the perspective of Patimah et.al (2020,57), Pasang ri Kajang is one of the local cultures found in the Kajang "Ammatoa" customary area whose existence, until now, is inseparable from the role of parents and the Kajang indigenous people in teaching or delivering Pasang ri Kajang using lecture methods and practices in their activities in their generations.

However, it is the father's role that is dominant in guiding his son about the Pasang ri Kajang culture because Pasang is better understood by the head of the family. As stated by one of the Kajang community leaders :

"Injo Passangnga ri Kajang loheangngi na isse buru'nea ni banding bahinea, jadi punna rie' kujama a'rurung anakku na rie' hubunganna mange ri passangnga kupauangngi. Appada injo punna a'lampaa na'bang kaju, kupauang to'mi rie' kaju kunjo mange ri borongnga tala kulle ni ta'bang napakua pappasang "

(it means: "The pairs of ri Kajang are more in the hands of men than by women. If I work on something and it has something to do with Pasang, then I will let you know. Similarly, when I go to cut wood, I will convey that there is wood that cannot be cut down because of its origin from the Tide. (interview with Kajang traditional figures, Ihffah et.al, 2020, 58).

In this context, the Kajang indigenous people behaving and carrying out actions are always in line with Pasang ri Kajang. In addition, the Kajang indigenous people also reject all things that smell of modernization. Of course, the Kajang indigenous community will only always accept what their ancestors inherited. As well as parents, they teach their children the Tide they received from their ancestors. This is in line with

the view of Setyaningrum (2018), that it is very important to empower local culture because it can create harmony, harmonize life is maintained and lead people to always behave and behave wisely towards the environment.

In line with this, then Pasang is interpreted as information from ancestors, which is passed down orally from generation to generation. Pasang contains an understanding of the mandate, fatwas, advice, guidance, warnings, and reminders for the community. This is the way of life of the Kajang indigenous community; with Pasang, they develop a process of community and culture.

One of the dimensions of the social life of the Kajang indigenous community is its ability to understand, interpret, and interact with the wider life, especially in nation and state. Life tends to be closed, remote, and far from the noise of nature, making these indigenous communities attract attention to be studied and research their life patterns over time. In particular, it concerns the contribution of the Kajang indigenous community to political and democratic development, both at the local and national levels. This is what will be described, in the following presentation.

- **Meaning and Value of Democracy in the Kajang Indigenous Community**

The life of the Kajang indigenous community, which is far from the crowds, progress, and social change, in passing, gives the impression that they (the residents of the Kajang indigenous community) do not want to interact intensively with residents outside their community. Because they have their laws and rules. Likewise, customs and traditions are highly guarded as a system of values and morality that directs the behavior, attitudes, and actions of the community. However, this impression is not entirely true because, the Kajang indigenous community, with Ammatoa (chairman or traditional leader), is also aware of its position as a citizen and citizen of the Indonesian people.

That is why, in the process of nationality and statehood as well as the political process (election of members of the DPR, President, Governor, and Regent), all residents of the Kajang indigenous community also participate as voters and some even become legislative candidates (caleg). This means that the Kajang indigenous community has local wisdom values (local wisdom) in the field of politics that have also been imprinted in their lives.

According to Awaluddin, a member of the General Election Commission (KPU) of Bulukumba Regency, Ammatoa (Chairman or Leader of Kajang Custom) supports the implementation of elections and regional elections, as part of the Government and outside of customs. Awaluddin explained:

"Ammatoa's support, one of which is by ordering its citizens to exercise their right to vote. Nevertheless, Ammatoa did not exercise his suffrage or did not vote because his views had to be fair. If he chooses, then he doesn't think he's doing justice. But Ammatoa's wife and children, all ordered to exercise her suffrage " (interview results date 25 June 2022).

This confirms that Ammatoa's role in encouraging its indigenous communities to participate in political events (Elections and Regional Elections), is very high. However, in the process, Ammatoa showed local wisdom in his behavior and attitude, namely, not wanting to vote so as not to be trapped in the electoral process and still maintain the principle of justice. This reflects the value of wisdom as a leader to continue to encourage

his community to participate as citizens, but still uphold the democratic principle mandated in the Pasang, namely maintaining noble values and being in an impartial position (impartial).

That is why, in democratic processes such as the General Elections (Elections) and Regional Head Elections (Pilkada) both of South Sulawesi province and Bulukumba district, residents of the Kajang indigenous community, participate in totality. Changes in the political system caused the change of the electoral system from indirect to direct elections and now the system of direct elections simultaneously. Likewise, from the principle of elections, which was once an obligation (new order era) to rights (in the reform era), it has caused people's political behavior to change to be more open, free, and participatory.

The meaning of political sovereignty as stipulated in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (UUD), which places the people as the holders of sovereignty to choose their leaders, has also become part of the democratic values that exist in Pasang ri Kajang. From the perspective of symbolic interactionism, the value of democracy as the political wisdom of the Kajang indigenous community from the beginning has been formed in the mind due to the internalization of Pasang ri Kajang's teachings on leaders and leadership. These values are then actualized to position the supposed role in politics (self) in the context of interactions between individuals and groups.

In its development, the democratic value was then transformed in the wider life of society including political participation in elections and regional elections. The internalization of democratic values in the Kajang "Ammatoa" indigenous community, has indeed been taught and practiced for a long time. The process of determining and determining "Ammatoa" (traditional head or aged person), produced from the democratic process, has become valuable in Pasang ri Kajang.

According to Samad, Kajang indigenous community leaders, historically – since long ago, the Kajang indigenous community, has practiced the real democratic process. Samad explained:

"Determination of "Ammatoa", carried out in the form of selection and not because of bloodline and blood ties or due to the presence of intervention. But it is elected, and the electoral process is carried out democratically. The process of determining Ammatoa is carried out by a traditional council called " tau annang tau lima " (in which there are anrong bako Matoa and anrong bako Malolo. Anrong bako matoa's duties as a tribunal determine the specific criteria for Ammatoa candidates. In its history, the process of selecting Ammatoa has been carried out in advance. Usually, the preparation is as early as 3 or at most 5 years. One of the criteria commonly used is that the candidate for Ammatoa must be " Tau Kintarang " (one who has been illuminated by a full moon). While waiting for the process of determining "Ammatoa", then usually those who carry out the duties of Ammatoa are returned to the 5 traditional stakeholders called " Abborang Assiasah ". It was they who consulted to determine the acting (Acting) Ammatoa " (interview date 22 June 2022)

From the "Ammatoa" electoral process, it is illustrated that the Kajang indigenous community has long been implementing and practicing democratic principles. Even in his daily life, democratic values have become local wisdom in his social system. This can be seen in the community's behavior, which not only obeys all the ancestral teachings in

Pasang ri Kajang but also gives his family the freedom to determine his own life. That is why, in the Kajang indigenous community, their younger generation, many attend school and continue to study outside the customary area (territory). There are even those who have gone to college and earned a bachelor's degree.

This proves that although the Kajang indigenous community maintains its traditions, they allow their children or citizens to develop themselves. However, the rule of law contained in Pasang ri Kajang but enforced. All residents of the community, when entering the Kajang customary area (Area), must obey the rules, one of which is wearing all-black clothes (clothing) and men using passapu (headbands) as a symbol of their community.

The electoral process of "Ammatoa" as part of political wisdom, also shows the process of institutionalization or institutional democracy in the existing power structure in the Kajang indigenous community. In the institutional structure of the Kajang indigenous community, in addition to being led by Ammatoa (traditional chairman) or aged parents, 26 traditional stakeholders (adat butta) were also formed.

The democratic process carried out in determining (voting) "Ammatoa", also colors the behavior, attitudes, and actions of "Ammatoa" in the implementation of elections and regional elections. The attitude that Ammatoa shows is to be very open and give freedom to its citizens (its community) to make their own choices without being intervened by Ammatoa. If you want, you can definitely and will be followed by the citizens. But Ammatoa did not behave like that, he gave his citizens the freedom to make their choices. For Ammatoa, all the candidates, whether caleg or candidates for regent, governor, or president, are his children. Therefore, it is not good to even violate if you side with one of the candidates.

The democratic principles and attitudes expressed by "Ammatoa", are inseparable from the mandate in Pasang ri Kajang. According to Samad, a leader of the Kajang indigenous community, the philosophy of democracy has existed for a long time in the Tide, as well as the existing mandate like this (in Kajang Language):

"Injo nikuaya Kalompoang simkammaji Bola-Bola palettekan, baju-baju pakkasampeang, nipalele sere'mimatoi nikuaya. Kalompoang punna rieji sirattang nakapaleang, nanadongkoki pangngellai" (that is to say; leadership is like a transferable cottage/house, and it is like a shirt that can be removed and dried in the sun at any time, because the name of greatness or throne is rotated if it meets the conditions and criteria and of course because of His will". (interview results date 22 June 2022).

This principle is used by "Ammatoa", so that the political behavior revealed by the traditional leader of the Kajang community is impartial or neutral (impartial) and democratic. That is, it provides freedom and opportunity for its citizens to make their own choices. The political wisdom that "Ammatoa" reveals to be fair and impartial, is evidenced by allowing his biological son to campaign alone to win the contest for the Legislative Candidate (Caleg) of the DPRD (Regional People's Representative Council) of Bulukumba Regency.

As a result, the biological son of "Ammatoa" Caleg from a political party could not win voters' votes in the Indigenous community where his Father was the traditional

chairman. Instead, the one who won was another Caleg who also happened to be a resident of the Kajang indigenous community. If "Ammatoa" wants to help her child, it's easy. All residents can be instructed (ordered) to choose their children, and of course, the biological son of "Ammatoa" will be elected to the Bulukumba DPRD. The number of voters in the Kajang customary area exceeds the minimum to win and sit as a member of the Bulukumba regional parliament. The "Ammatoa" attitude is also followed and followed by its citizens.

From the perspective of symbolic Interactionism, it is clear that the local wisdom is based on the motivation to act on the meaning they give to other people, things, and events. Political wisdom is part of the local wisdom of the Kajang indigenous community, created through Pasang as a language used to communicate with other parties in the community, and "Ammatoa" positions itself as a person who practices and secures all the admonitions in Pasang ri Kajang.

In line with the view of Herbert Mead (deep Ritzer 2014,357), Political wisdom in the context of symbolic interactionism develops through social processes both in social structures and in the process of individual experience. Therefore, in the process of internalizing democratic values in the Kajang indigenous community, it is carried out in several stages, which Mead describes as the stage of imitation (play stage), the stage of ready-to-act (game stage), and the stage of acceptance of collective norms (Generating Stage).

At the imitation stage, democratic values in Pasang ri Kajang are taught by parents to their children through the process of verbal communication and through behavior and actions. In this stage, the citizens of the Kajang indigenous community, "Ammatoa," have understood the meaning of democracy in social life and have formed in their respective minds. However, not only is it understood as a local value and wisdom, democracy in the next stage is actualized in the form of action on its interaction with its community. In this context, members of the community (self) begin to practice democratic behavior in their social life, including in choosing leaders (game stage). The last stage is the process of maturation of democracy, both in behavior, attitudes, and actions that characterize local wisdom and are accepted as collective norms (generating stage).

Therefore, the meaning of the democratic process carried out in determining (voting) "Ammatoa", also colors the behavior, attitudes, and actions of "Ammatoa" in the implementation of elections and regional elections. The attitude that Ammatoa shows is to be very open and give freedom to its citizens (its communities) to make their own choices without intervening. For Ammatoa, all the candidates, whether caleg or candidates for regent, governor, or president, are his children. Therefore, it is not good to even violate if you side with one of the candidates. This is a great learning of democracy. Even to maintain his neutrality, "Ammatoa" decided not to vote.

- **Democratic Values and Political Wisdom of the Kajang Indigenous Community**

Democratic values, as the political wisdom of the Kajang indigenous community, are not only reflected in the local and national political processes (Elections and Regional Elections) in the form of political participation as voters. However, "Ammatoa" also

gives the opportunity and flexibility to the citizens of his community to participate as legislative candidates (Caleg) and even candidates for Regent or Deputy Regent in the Regional Elections in Bulukumba.

This kind of attitude and behavior, according to Awaluddin, the Commissioner of KPU Bulukumba, made several Kajang residents become Caleg. Beginning explains:

"Ammatoa's political wisdom and policies provide freedom for its citizens, making many Kajang people also become Caleg. Because of this commitment, Ammatoa also allows Caleg's successful teams to campaign in indigenous Areas as long as they adhere to the rules in the customary Areas". (interview date 24 July 2022).

In terms of political participation by the Kajang indigenous community, it illustrates that the participation shown gives the impression that they are generally active. Since the 2014 elections, the 2015 regional elections, the 2018 regional elections, the 2019 elections, and the 2020 regional elections, the participation rate of the Kajang indigenous community in choosing national and local leaders has been quite high. For details, it can be seen in the table below:

Table 1. Participation of kajang indigenous communities in elections and regional elections

No.	Political Activities	Number of Voters (org)	Participation Rate (%)	Information
1.	2014 general election	3.188	84,5	Who exercised suffrage = 2,482 voters
2.	Pilbup 2015	3.091	93,6	Who exercised suffrage = 2,893 voters
3.	Pilgub 2018	2.753	61,9	Who exercised suffrage = 1,705 voters
1.	2019 general election	2.904	75,21	Who exercised his suffrage = 2,184 voters
2.	Pilbup 2020	2.604	71,9	who exercised suffrage = 1,874 voters

Source : Processed KPU Bulukumba Data

Description:

- Pilbup = Election of Bulukumba Regent
- Pilgub= South Sulawesi Governorship Election
- Number of Voters = Male + Female

The data above illustrates and proves that the participation of the Kajang indigenous community in the elections and regional elections is quite high. The Kajang indigenous community is administratively located in the Tana Toa village area of the Kajang district. The participation rate is compared to other villages in the Kajang district. Even in the 2014 elections and the 2015 Bulukumba district regent election (Pilbup), it was among the highest participation in the Kajang district (out of 19 villages). From 2014 to the 2020 Pilbup, the participation of the Kajang indigenous community (Tana Toa village), was included in the top 3 (three) villages with the highest voter participation in the Kajang district.

The high voter participation in the Kajang "Ammatoa" indigenous community, is not something that takes place naturally (naturally). But reality confirms that local wisdom

in the politics of the Kajang indigenous community has grown and developed into values that are also reflected in Pasang.

According to Samad, the leader of the Kajang indigenous community, the freedom to choose leaders such as Caleg and regional heads, including the President, has become part of the values taught in Pasang ri Kajang. As mentioned in Language Pasang:

“Tak sekrea hattu rie tau sipinangkakan toi nilaksukan ri lino, kangkangna siluserang Kalompoangnani karangnuan nikalakbira “

(meaning: every time or epoch and era will give birth to its leader because of its destiny. So the successor of the leadership because of the wishes of many people) " (interview dated July 20, 2022).

That is why the spirit underlying the development of the democratic values of the Kajang indigenous community is based on the principle of equal rights. So that the freedom to choose the candidate for the leader he wants, both in the elections and regional elections, is guaranteed without intervention. In this context, the residents of the Kajang indigenous community stated that each had the choice of determining the caleg or leader he wanted in the regional elections or elections, without intervention.

Therefore, it is also interesting in the exercise of political sovereignty in the Kajang indigenous community, that both male and female voters have complete freedom to determine the chosen candidate. So, it is not always the choice of the husband, for example, that his wife and children will also be chosen. It is precise that sometimes there are differences in the choice of the husband and the choice of his wife and children. This is what the residents of the Kajang indigenous community think, is a common thing and has often been practiced in elections and regional elections.

This kind of social reality, at the same time, confirms that the political wisdom of the Kajang indigenous community is not only reflected in the attitudes, behaviors, and actions of its traditional figures such as "Ammatoa". But it is also internalized and socialized in the attitudes and actions of its people so that democratic values and sovereignty become indicators of awareness to carry out more active political participation in elections and regional elections.

The political wisdom possessed by the Kajang "Ammatoa" indigenous community, as well as an explanation and answer to the political participation shown since the 2014 elections, the 2015 Bulukumba election, the 2018 South Sulawesi governor's election, the 2019 election, and the 2020 Bulukumba pilbup.

- **Forms of social exchange of Kajang indigenous communities.**

However, in every election or regional election contestation, the orientation of all candidates is to win the competition (competition). Therefore, not a few democratic processes are also harmed by the Practices which undermine democracy itself. Many studies on elections and regional elections in Indonesia illustrate these negative practices, including money politics, identity politics, negative campaigns, and black campaigns, to acts of intimidation to win power struggles in elections and regional elections.

This condition is also seen in the election process, and regional elections carried out by the Kajang indigenous community. Since "Ammatoa" has allowed and given the Caleg freedom to campaign within the Kajang customary area (while still adhering to the rules within the Region), Caleg's successful teams are also trying to win the hearts of voters within the customary area in their way.

According to Samad, a leader of the Kajang indigenous community, it is undeniable that how successful teams approach the community varies. Some explained that the Caleg program is not even a few who give the lure of material if residents want to vote for their candidates. Samad further explained:

"In this context, there are usually successful teams that use common patterns to win the hearts of voters in the Kajang indigenous community. For example, some are distributing necessities, some are for black cloth or clothes (because the clothes of the Kajang people must be black), and usually, the successful team is people in the region ". (interview dated July 18, 2022).

But in Samad's view, the distribution of necessities and black clothes or clothes carried out by the successful team did not have much influence on voters in the Kajang indigenous community. Because generally, they already have criteria for who is worth choosing. One of the criteria must be Caleg, who comes from the Kajang community and is not an outsider. Because it must meet the elements of Tau Kintarang (people who have been illuminated by the full moon).

From the perspective of social exchange, the political behavior revealed by the Kajang indigenous community is interpreted as an intrinsic typology (social relations). Choosing a potential leader, especially Caleg, is based on long-standing social relationships. Voters already know the track record, quality and competence, and commitment of the candidate they vote for.

This is in line with the developed macro theory of social exchange by Peter Blau (deep Ritzer, 2014,448), that the typology of social exchange is based on intrinsic, extrinsic, and mixed approaches (a combination of intrinsic and extrinsic). Exchange analysis is one of the analyses that seriously and unequivocally talks about how power can arise in exchange relations.

The way the Kajang indigenous community determines the criteria for selecting candidates to be elected in elections and local elections and gives the mandate to become a leader, is in line with Blau's theory of Social Exchange, that something that is exchanged becomes important not because it has economic value but because it shows an emotional commitment (or rather a moral commitment).

In Blau's view, an exchange would be extrinsic if it only served as a tool for the other's reward and not for the relationship itself. So in an extrinsic exchange, a reward has the possibility of being detached from the exchange relationship. A concrete example of this extrinsic exchange can be seen in any economic transaction.

The fact that social exchange occurs in the Kajang indigenous community, in the Blau typology, is predominantly intrinsic. Although in reality, there is also a successful Caleg team that also uses a basic food approach to attract voters' votes (extrinsic typology), the

criteria used by voters in the Kajang indigenous community, are more about the emotional commitment and social relationships that have been established for a long time.

Moreover, in practical politics, residents of Ammatoa Kajang still use Pasang as a reference. One of them is that they are anti-money politics because, according to him, sogok money is synonymous with eating "paksoso" (illegitimate money). It is prohibited, as it does not correspond to the values and norms in Pasang.

4. Conclusion

From the explanation above, there are several conclusions regarding the political wisdom of the Kajang "Ammatoa" indigenous community, as follows; (1) the meaning of democratic values in the Kajang indigenous community, has been going on for dozens or even hundreds of years ago (since the existence of the community). This value has become a local wisdom that has grown and is embedded in the behaviors, attitudes, and actions of Kajang (Ammatoa) traditional leaders and their citizens. Local wisdom, in the form of political wisdom in the Kajang indigenous community, began to be practiced at the time of the election of "Ammatoa" (traditional leaders or aged parents). This means that although these indigenous communities are closed, remote, and far from progress – in their social life, they have long practiced democratic values; (2) This political wisdom not only radiates in their social life (internal), but from the beginning, the Kajang indigenous community also realized that they are part of the Indonesian society, nation, and state. Therefore, the political participation of the Kajang indigenous community in the elections and regional elections is very active and very high compared to other villages in the Kajang sub-district of Bulukumba district; (3) High political participation, also due to the "Ammatoa" factor as a traditional leader which provides the greatest opportunity and flexibility for its citizens to participate in elections and regional elections. This political wisdom, made the indigenous people of Kajang not only voters but also some who participated as Caleg; (4) The influence of "Ammatoa" in the democratic process, has become a political wisdom that teaches an excellent lesson in democracy.

In addition to providing opportunities and flexibility to participate in elections and regional elections, "Ammatoa" also never considered intervening in its citizens to win Caleg or certain groups. Even the biological son of "Ammatoa" who became Caleg in the 2019 elections, was not elected because from the beginning, "Ammatoa" positioned himself as an impartial leader even with his family, and; (5) in making their choice, the residents of the Kajang indigenous community have their criteria as stipulated in Pasang ri Kajang. One is to be "Tau Kintarang" (the one who once illuminated the full moon). That is why, the model of social exchange shown in elections and regional elections, is more of an intrinsic typology (social relationship) than an extrinsic (material) typology. Therefore, campaign patterns with money politics strategies are not effectively carried out in the Kajang indigenous community.

Thus, political wisdom, as part of the local wisdom of the Kajang indigenous community "Ammatoa", has become a learning of democracy that has been practiced long before the practice of democracy in the life of the nation and state was carried out. As a suggestion,

further research needs to be made to examine the values of democracy and political sovereignty in other indigenous communities that number in the hundreds in Indonesia.

Conflicts of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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