The Role Of Indigenous Chiefs In Local Political Communication: An Analysis Of Reality Construction Ahead Of The 2024 General Elections

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Abstract

Political elites are individuals who have the power to influence the decision-making process of traditional leaders. In taking advantage of their influence, especially ahead of the 2024 elections, they visited Sundanese traditional villages with the aim of gaining the sympathy of indigenous people by staying in touch with their traditional leaders. This study aims to explain the construction of the meaning of the arrival of political elites, the process of reality construction, and the actions of Sundanese Buhun Traditional Leaders in West Java through moments of externalization, objectification, and internalization of the presence of political elites ahead of the 2024 elections. The method used in research is descriptive with the nature of the data qualitative. The data collection technique uses interviews, observation, and literature studies. Data analysis techniques through data reduction, data display, finding conclusions, and verification. The results showed that the arrival of political elites was interpreted by traditional heads as friendship, sympathy, and pragmatism. Externalization carried out by traditional heads is carried out paying attention to the dynamics of indigenous peoples. Objectification is carried out through interaction with the sociocultural world in order to form the meaning of the arrival of political elites, actions against the arrival of political elites, and habituation to the arrival of political elites. Internalization is carried out by displaying the self-identification of traditional leaders in the family environment, and indigenous people. The conclusion of the study shows that the arrival of political elites to Sundanese traditional villages in West Java is interpreted by traditional chiefs as a gathering to introduce themselves and their parties, sympathy, and pragmatism with the aim of gaining votes.

Keywords: *rationality, pragmatism, externalization, objectification, internalization*

Introduction

The political and security situation ahead of the 2024 General Election and Presidential Election has begun to be felt. The political elites began to take advantage of this situation by approaching various elements of society using ethnic, religious, racial and ethnic similarities to gain support from the people. Various maneuvers were displayed by the political elite to attract public sympathy and support. They make blusukan (visits) to various areas that are estimated to have the potential to get votes. "Blusukan", a term from Javanese which means more or less plunged directly into the hands of the community or down to the bottom (Panuju, 2017). In their blusu, they often carry certain political messages in accordance with the ideology of the party they follow, by not forgetting to give promises and lure to the people they visit.

The maneuvering of the political elite is a step of pragmatism that must be carried out, but it seems to contradict the ethics and political ideology that all political parties should uphold. Politic[1]al elites should set an example as well as be role models and frontlines in preventing potential polarization during the electoral stage. They are role

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models for people in Indonesia to continue to spread the message of peace by being committed to guarding elections in a cool and conducive manner. The results showed that the importance of pragmatism is a provision carried out by most political parties today (Noor, 2014).

According to Sharrock, et al (2003): "Pragmatic action or pragmatism considers the meaning of truth, freedom, and good and bad is not very important because based on the experience of the perpetrator these concepts are not related to problem solving. Pragmatism puts forward a perspective on actions that must be seen from practical impacts, namely achieving goals or overcoming problems faced by perpetrators" (Herdiansah, Ganjar, 2017).

The political maneuvering that has been carried out by elites is based on the fact that there is a political culture in society that can be used to gain votes based on local leadership, the concept of power, religion, ethnicity, and so on. The political culture itself is:

"Salah satu aspek penting dalam sistem politik adalah budaya politik (budaya politik) yang mencerminkan faktor subjektif. Budaya politik adalah keseluruhan dari pandangan-pandangan politik, seperti norma-norma, pola-pola orientasi terhadap politik dan pandangan hidup pada umumnya. Budaya politik mengutamakan dimensi psikologis dari suatu sistem politik, yaitu sikap-sikap, sistem-sistem kepercayaan. Kegiatan politik seseorang misalnya, tidak hanya ditentukan oleh tujuan-tujuan yang didambakannya, tetapi juga oleh harapan-harapan politik yang dimilikinya dan oleh pandangannya mengenai situasi politik" (Budiaradjo, 2008).

One form of political culture that is very subjective in terms of political views, such as norms, patterns of orientation towards politics, and so on is parochial political culture, in which people do not even feel that they are citizens of a country (Ghorbanzadeh et al, 2023), they identify more with the sense of locality. In fact, they do not have attention to the political system, political activities are only limited to obedience to the government (Dahlan, 2019).

His political cognitive awareness was limited to the knowledge that political power did exist in society, and his participation was more due to mobilization, solidarity or bandwagon. The results showed that political activities are only limited to obedience to the government (Dahlan, 2019). However, in relation to political culture, it shows that the political culture of indigenous peoples is more affective and normative than cognitive (Munadi, 2014), and (Satori et al., 2013). "Parochial political culture is a type of political culture in which an individual's bond to a political system is not very strong, either cognitively or affectively. In this type of political culture, there is no specific political role. Individuals only feel that they are bound by powers close to them, such as their tribe, their religion, or their region" (Maksudi, 2017).

One area where the political culture tends to be parochial is the territory of the indigenous Sundanese people in West Java Province, where in these indigenous peoples, their citizens tend not to be actively involved in political affairs, not active in political campaigns, or national political movements. They engage only in political activities limited to their communities. Nevertheless, indigenous peoples often have strong relationships with their communities. They may engage in social, religious, or cultural activities that connect them with those around them. In relation to elections, the participation of indigenous peoples is only about complying with state rules and the advice of traditional leaders. The results showed that the political culture of the community determines the realization of the life order of the nation and state (Syuhada, 2020). In the Sunda Buhun (ancient) indigenous people, the leadership of the traditional leader is still the determinant of how a decision on various issues is taken, including decision making related to political issues in the region. However, in general according to the development of time, the Sundanese Traditional

Chairman in carrying out his role as an indigenous leader gives freedom to his citizens to support one of the elites of a particular political party. Even in one of the traditional villages, there are residents who are administrators of one of the political parties, this shows that almost all traditional villages, the chairman has implemented a democratic leadership style, by leaving political decisions to their citizens, and always receiving input from their citizens. This can be seen from the results of research that shows that leaders who apply a democratic leadership style will involve their subordinates to convey suggestions in every decision making (Utari & Hadi, 2020).

The democratic leadership style can be seen from its decision when responding to the arrival of political elites to their respective regions, where as explained earlier, that political elites visit traditional villages to ask for votes in elections and regional elections. Traditional Chiefs will not directly accept or reject support, but are left to members of their communities. The decision was only taken after a dispute with the community. The results showed that decision-making at the time of elections often used indigenous peoples for the benefit of political elites (HR & Harakan, 2017).

The decision-making process carried out by the Sunda Buhun Traditional Chiefs, in addition to considering input from their citizens, he himself as a person who directly accepts the arrival of the political elite has various considerations based on his experience about their track record, which in the end this experience becomes a stock of knowledge for the Traditional Leaders to decide whether or not to support the political elite. The traditional leader's experience of the track record of political elites visiting Sunda Buhun traditional village is a reality that becomes the basis for traditional leaders to construct

the meaning of their coming. The construction of the reality of the arrival of these political elites becomes the basis for the Traditional Chairman to carry out a certain action (decision making. Decision making is the action of a leader in solving problems faced in the organization he leads (Sukatin, Andri Astuti, Anggi Rohmawati, Anju Ananta, Amelia Aprianti, 2022).

Traditional Chiefs in constructing the reality of the arrival of political elites occur by expressing themselves with the situations and conditions that occur in their communities, then building meaning for the arrival of political elites, and socializing them in their families and citizens, so that political decisions taken by traditional leaders have been discussed with them. Political choice is left to the citizens, although in practice the traditional leader may "pressure" to support/reject the political elite. The results showed that traditional leaders with their power play a role in mobilizing the masses to convey messages of candidate support (Fajri, 2022), traditional leaders have strategies in maintaining community trust and obedience to them (Pudjiastuti et al., 2021).

According to the theory of Reality Construction: "Intensely human beings create a reality that is subjectively shared and experienced. Man is the product or product of society. A person only becomes an identity person as long as he remains in his society. The dialectical process is a moment and has three stages. First, externalization, which is the effort of outpouring or expressing human self into the world, both in mental and physical activities. Second, objectification, that is, the results that have been achieved, both mental and physical from the externalization of human activities, so as to produce an objective reality that may face the producer himself as a function that is outside and different from the human who produced it. That objective reality is different from the subjective reality of individuals. It becomes an empirical reality that everyone can experience. Third, internalization. This process is rather a reabsorption of the objective world into consciousness in such a way that the subjective individual is influenced by the structure of the social world. Various elements of the objectified world will be captured as symptoms of reality outside of consciousness, as well as internal symptoms for consciousness. Through internalization, humans become the result of society" (Berger, 1991).

In relation to this research, traditional leaders as individuals remain in their communities, so that they become individuals with identities who try to construct socio-political realities based on the experience of accepting the arrival of political elites who are the basis of their

knowledge to make decisions to accept or reject the wishes of political elites to support them in elections or regional elections (Sjoraida et al., 2023). This study aims to explain the construction of the meaning of the arrival of political elites, the process of relatity construction, and the actions of Sunda Buhun Traditional Leaders in West Java towards the presence of political elites ahead of the 2024 elections.

Research Method

The method used in conducting this research is descriptive, to describe the rationality of Sundanese traditional leaders in constructing the reality of the arrival of political elites to traditional villages. The process of collecting data on this matter was carried out by observation, by observing and recording banners, and posters pasted around traditional villages. The next process is to conduct in-depth interviews with informants such as traditional leaders/elders, and indigenous people. To complete the data, literature studies are used in the form of theories and concepts that will be used to interpret data about the reality studied.

Data analysis techniques in this study include data reduction, where data related to the reality of the arrival of political elites, and the construction of reality carried out by traditional leaders are summarized, selected the main things, focused on important things, and searched for themes or patterns so that they are easy to process. To see the full picture or certain parts of the research related to the rationality of traditional leaders in constructing the reality of the arrival of political elites is presented in the picture of the research results. Taking conclusions and verification, the researcher seeks to find the meaning of the data he collects. For this reason, patterns, themes, relationships, similarities, things that often arise, and so on are sought in order to find conclusions about the construction of the reality of traditional leaders against the arrival of political elites, then look for new data, to reach mutual agreement to better guarantee validity or confirmability.

The technique of determining the source of the data is based on the list of Sundanese traditional villages in West Java. Based on the potential of these data, 7 traditional villages were purposively selected, and the informants were traditional leaders/representatives of Sirnaresmi, Kuta, Banceuy, Miduana, Mahmud, Dangiang, and Cireundeu traditional villages.

Results and Discussion

As the 2024 general election approaches, political elites have begun to move closer to the public to gain votes. The movement of political elites can be seen in several outdoor media such as banners, posters, and so on, both prospective legislative candidates, prospective regional head candidates, even presidential candidates, all of which have begun to be installed in various regions, including in Sundanese traditional villages in West Java province.

In addition to outdoor media, political elites have also come to traditional village locations, such as in Sirnaresmi Traditional Village, Kuta, Banceuy, Miduana, Mahmud, and Cireundeu. Elites used to make visits to traditional villages, giving promises / lure to the indigenous village community in the hope of gaining sympathy and eventually giving support to the political elite. In relation to the achievement of mass sympathy, most political elites usually approach community leaders in the hope that their figures can mobilize the masses according to the wishes of these elites (Ibad & Musdalifah, 2020).

The profiles of Sundanese traditional villages selected for interviews can be seen in the table 1:

Table 1. Profile of Sunda Buhun Traditional Village in West Java

No	Traditional Village	Traditional Chiefs/Elders	Area (hectares)	Number of Population/KK
1	Sirnaresmi	Abah Asep	4.917	4.803
2	Dangiang	Entang	1.045,82	4.525/1.100
3	Banceuy	Odang	177,65	886/273

4	Cireundeu	Abah Widi	64	1.200/367
5	Kuta	Warsim	97	253/120
6	Miduana	Rustiman	1.041	1.207/280
7	Mahmud	H. Kasmudin	4	1.200/200

Source: Research Results, 2023

Ahead of the February 14, 2024 elections, national political dynamics continue to increase, this can be seen from the political surprises that significantly change the political dynamics of the coalition ahead of the 2024 Presidential Election. Ahead of the election, a number of political party elites began to visit various remote areas, including to the indigenous Sundanese community in West Java. They visited indigenous communities to attract supporters. Although often treated to various unethical political actions, such as luring, selling promises, and other social climbing, indigenous people still have a high ethical awareness not to be influenced by the actions of the political elite. According to the leader of the Sirnaresmi indigenous people, his traditional village is usually visited by elites from various political parties with similar interests, promising something that ultimately asks for the support of traditional leaders to influence their citizens to support the political elite.

The arrival of the political elite to Sirnaresmi was accepted as a guest to be respected, but there was no guarantee that the purpose of his arrival would be accommodated. The matter of choice depends on the community, there is no direction or pressure from traditional leaders to support a particular candidate or political party, everything is left to the community. However, according to the traditional chairman Sirnaresmi, the arrival of the political elite shows pragmatic actions to gain support from indigenous peoples through customary forums.

As a traditional leader, he will go into the field, monitor and make decisions when needed. Moreover, in Sirnaresmi traditional village there are several residents who become administrators of certain political parties, this shows that in this traditional village the choice of parties varies (heterogeneous). This can happen, because as a traditional leader shows an egalitarian leadership style.

Picture 1: Sirnaresmi Traditional Village
Source: Research Document, 2023

Meanwhile, according to the Dangiang Traditional Chief, the visit of political elites from certain parties who came to meet him to meet him, but the real purpose was to attract public sympathy to support the party and its candidates. As a host, anyone who comes to stay in touch must be welcomed openly. The arrival of elites is usually accompanied by certain promises, but usually they forget that from their promises, both when the candidate wins the election, let alone if he loses. So it is accustomed to those elite visits. As a traditional leader, he will consider support for the elite when approaching the election day, even if the elite previously provided assistance according to the needs of the community, on the

contrary, he will refuse support to the political elite who make promises. When deciding to support or reject, of course, as a role model the community will first discuss with the community. According to the Traditional Chairman of Banceuy Village, everyone has their own handle in choosing candidates and political parties, especially as if the community is already smart. So if the arrival of the political elite is accompanied by "appendages" even that is the least favored, money can be received, but the choice goes to others. People have their own human rights in elections. However, despite the reality of the arrival of the political elite, the indigenous Banceuy people always participate in elections, therefore government rules must be implemented.

Furthermore, the chairman of Adat Banceuy stated: "The government has a program, we are not a society that disobeys the government, when the government has a program, we implement it, if told to nyoblos, only maybe there are rights and obligations, we have the obligation, our right to vote, so democracy must only be in accordance with their respective rights".

Figure 2: Benceuy traditional village
Source: Research Documents, 2023

The same thing was stated by the Traditional Chief of Cireundeu, that any elite may come to his village, but do not sell promises, because from previous experience, these promises have not been fulfilled. So the people already understand the purpose of the elite's arrival. Cireundeu even though it is in the village, but if you look at the political temperature is the same as in the city. Therefore, as traditional elders, never refuse political elites who visit, political elites are welcome to be guests to the region, but do not carry party flags.Menurut Sesepuh Adat :

"Tidak ada penolakan kedatangan elit ke wilayah adat, namun sebagai sesepuh adat tidak bisa menggiring opini masyarakat harus memilih salah satu calon, karena di sini masyarakat dibebaskeun untuk memilih sesuai dengan pilihan masing-masing. Hanya menyarankan jangan sampai tidak memilih (golput), sebab kalau golput berarti tidak punya pendirian".

The arrival of political elites to the Cireundeu traditional village area often promises / lures something to get support, which according to the traditional leader is considered commonplace, however, as traditional elders advise that when coming to Cireundeu do not give promises first. So the elites should think about the bitter first, don't remember the sweet, so they must first fight to leave their mark as what kind of political figure.

Furthermore, the traditional elders of Cireundeu stated: "They should "invest capital" first in the community, then ask for support, not vice versa. They come to visit traditional elders here asking for support, when asked for willingness to contribute to

society, political elites even bargain prices. This is a chance example that came was the son of a famous wayang golek artist. He asked for a gig in the traditional village, but instead asked for payment. Such an elite will definitely not be supported by society."

Figure 3: Cireundeu Traditional Village

Source: 2023 research document

According to the Kuta Traditional Chief, the arrival of political elites often makes promises like political money, but if we accept it, there is only no agreement to succeed. The gift is directed not to individuals, but for mosque assistance or public facilities, if for individuals will not receive. But indigenous people only approve and pray, the finished business and not is the business above. Consent to give or support is not determined by the authority of the traditional leader, the human rights of citizens are still protected. So just democratic.Selanjutnya Ketua adat Kampung Kuta menyatakan:

> "Masyarakat Kampung Kuta memiliki integritas tentang pemilu berdasarkan kesepakatan dengan Badan Pengawas Pemilihan Umum (Bawaslu), jadi sebelum waktunya kampanye, masjid dilarang untuk kampanye, nama partai tidak bisa sembarangan dipasang, kecuali kalau sudah masuk musim kampanye baru diperbolehkan. Kampanye di tempat umum (lapangan) diperbolehkan bahkan difasilitasi oleh kampung adat".

Picture 4:Kuta Traditional Village
Source: https://www.nativeindonesia.com/kampung-adat-kuta/04/12/2023

The traditional leader of the Miduana traditional village gave a different opinion from the previous traditional chief, the arrival of political elites to his village to his knowledge never gave a promise / lure for the people to vote for him and his party, they came more to introduce themselves, the party, and the program. Read More The traditional leader of Miduana stated:

"Thank you, even though the citizens are few, but care about the existing political parties, still come here. The first, hopefully becomes an enlightenment for the implementation of elections, voting. The second is political learning for the public to know more about the political diversity in Indonesia. If it is from political parties, I said earlier, there has never been a lure, promises and so on. But if the residents around the traditional village, he still asks. Which one should I choose, where to choose?. Which councillor, and what party? To answer the question, as the Traditional Chairman will answer can I not direct to choose who and what party?. What is said is that if the party that comes to what kind of program, what does it not come? If you vote for the president, the person chooses. If the elector of his party's House of Representatives is elected, the person is also elected. His chosen party will support his person. If the person chosen is not necessarily supportive of his party".

Picture 5: Miduana Traditional Village Source: Research Document, 2023

Traditional Village Chairman Mahmud who stated that this village is unique, because geographically it is in the middle of the Citarum river. This village was founded by Embah Eyang Abdul Manaf, a descendant of Syarif Hidayatullah, a guardian from Cirebon. This Mahmud traditional village is an Islamic village founded in the 15th century AD. The life of the people of Mahmud Village is very religious and has a strong belief in Islam and full belief in the existence of ancestors or karuhun. According to the traditional chief, there has also been the arrival of political party elites to Mahmmud Village, but they are usually received at madrasas, because if the traditional leader's house is troublesome, there are often many guests who make pilgrimages to the sacred tomb, especially on Friday nights. In general, the political elite came to Mahmud's traditional village asking for prayers and of course asking for support.

The traditional chief further stated: "Actually, they end up wanting votes here, how to ask for prayers, but if it's not election season they never come. If their arrival has not promised anything. As a traditional leader, I am neutral, never

promised support, just prayed. People have their own judgments according to their hearts, if the political elite who are just selling promises inshaallah will not be supported. But people here will usually support elites and political parties with Islamic nuances."

Picture 5: Mahmud traditional village Source: https://wisatahits.blog/kampung-adat-mahmud-bandung-mengenal-budaya-dan-adat-adat-72321/04/12/2023

The arrival of political elites to the Sundanese traditional village became an experience for traditional leaders in responding to their aims and objectives. This experience is a provision of knowledge for traditional leaders to decide whether or not to support the political elite. The knowledge gained by traditional leaders from experience during their interaction with political elites who visited their territories then became provisions for him to give meaning to the visits of these political elites.

The arrival of political elites to Sundanese traditional villages in West Java is interpreted by traditional leaders as friendship, pragmatism, lure, and promises to ask for support. Thus, the development of the meaning of the reality of the arrival of the elite is the result of human construction (traditional leaders) that arises through a dialectic process when he interacts continuously with his environment.

The dialectic process of the arrival of the political elite is an attempt by traditional leaders to construct reality through moments of externalization, objectification, and internalization whose results can be described as follows:
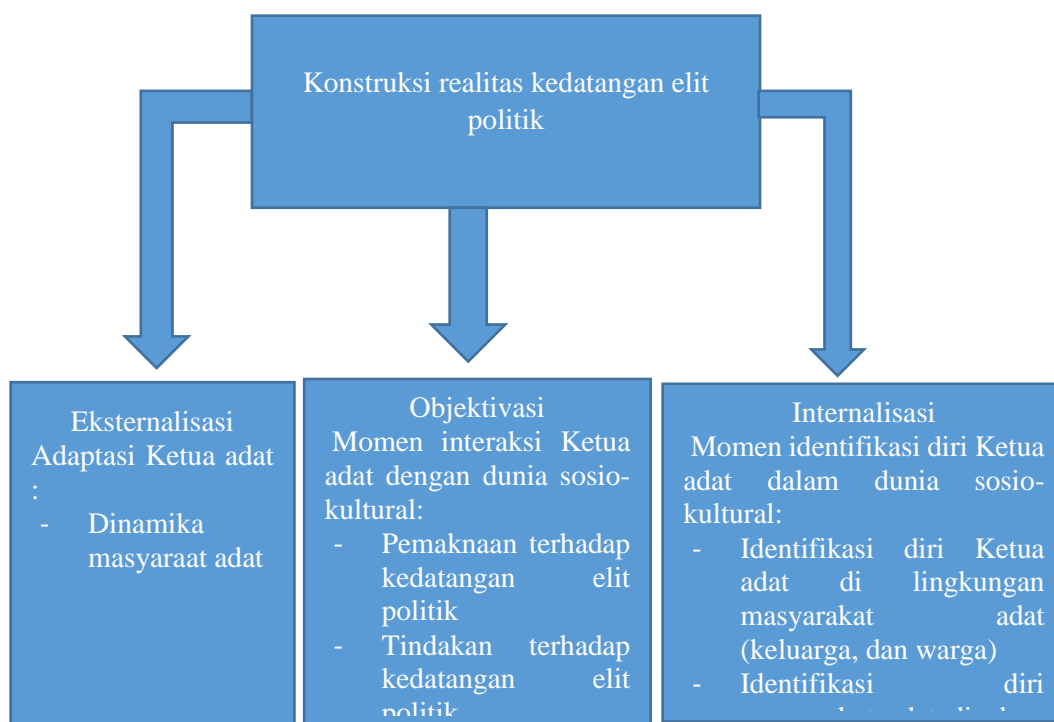
Chart 1. The Dialectic Process of Traditional Leaders on the Arrival of Political Elites Source: Research Results, 2023

Externalization, which is an act of adaptation from the traditional leader when he receives the arrival of political elites from various parties who try to ask for the support of the indigenous village community, he does not immediately make a decision to support or reject them. The decision-making process he carries out is by paying attention to the dynamics of indigenous peoples related to their political aspirations, and their conformity with the customary regulations they adopt.

According to traditional leaders, now people cannot be lured by something to support candidates or vote for certain political parties. Indigenous peoples have often experienced sweet promises from political party elites who want to get votes, but if they are elected they often do not keep them. Based on this experience, in the end indigenous people no longer care about them. The arrival of the political elite is treated as an ordinary guest who must be received and respected like other guests, and the matter of support is first seen the track record of the elite. This reality is a revival of people's political rationality, where factors of proximity, political party affiliation, and figures are no longer seen predominantly in determining political choices, but based on rational considerations such as vision, mission, and candidate performance (Toulwala, 2021).

The arrival of political elites to the Sundanese traditional village was certainly well received by the traditional leader. The meeting and talks between the two sides took place intimately. Traditional chiefs listen, listen, and respond casually to messages conveyed by political elites. However, the traditional chief did not promise anything to the political elite. For traditional leaders, visits and promises / lure from political elites have become experiences during his leadership of traditional villages, and these promises are often not kept by political elites, so traditional leaders already understand their track record. To support the candidate the foundation used lies in his credibility, experience, knowledge, and track record (Arasid et al., 2022).

The dynamics of the Sundanese indigenous people in West Java have now begun to change over time and the times, including the challenges of modernization, the development of information technology that has entered and adopted by the community gradually changing their mindset and pattern of action in dealing with the dynamics of their

lives, including political dynamics that occur, both at the local and national levels. Nevertheless, the political dynamics of the indigenous Sundanese people still pay attention to the preservation of values and traditions in the face of change to find a balance between preserving their cultural heritage and adapting to changing times. This can be seen from the considerations taken by Sundanese people during regional elections in West Java. Sundanese voters will consider candidates who represent candidates who are authoritative, friendly, polite, intelligent, prioritize harmony, and avoid confrontation (Herdiansah & Al-Banjari, 2023).

The traditional leaders in the Sundanese traditional village as previously explained make experience as a stock of knowledge to be used as a reference in communicating with their residents, because even though the traditional leader has behaved and behaved democratically, he still becomes a role model for his citizens and also the local government (Village Head). This shows a unique phenomenon, that the village government positions the Traditional Chairman as an actor who is often asked for his opinion on the political dynamics of indigenous peoples, but on the other hand, the Traditional Chairman also obeys the village government rules relating to the participation of themselves and their citizens in elections. This can happen, because social interaction has been established for a very long time based on mutual respect for the old culture. Thus, at this externalization stage, actors with their sociocultural conditions and armed with their knowledge communicate so that they are able to adapt to current circumstances (Arbinata & Warsono, 2021).

Objectivation, is an interaction that occurs with an institutionalized intersubjective world where there is a dialectic about the arrival of political elites according to the subjectivity of the traditional leader with a different world of reality outside himself, giving rise to the meaning of the arrival of the elite which becomes the basis for carrying out an action, both the purpose and benefits of his action, which in the end the traditional leader becomes accustomed to carrying out his rational actions when receiving the arrival of the political elite.

Traditional leaders when interpreting the reality of the arrival of political elites to their territory are based on experience that stocks their knowledge about that reality. The formation of the meaning of the arrival of these political elites is the result of social processes in the form of actions and interactions that become their experiences. The process of experiencing what happens to these traditional leaders is a conscious involvement, which gives a level of appreciation to the political elites who come to their territory.

Based on this experience, the knowledge of traditional leaders was awakened which became the basis for him to give meaning to the arrival of these political elites, namely as friendship, pragmatism, making promises, and asking for support. Thus, the meaning constructed by individuals is an accumulation of experiences, feelings, consciousness formed through interactions involving various factors (Muhammad, 2017). Furthermore, after going through an externalization process that gives birth to knowledge as the basis for forming the meaning of the arrival of political elites to the Kampung Adat area, then enters the moment of interaction of the traditional leader with his socio-cultural world related to the political dynamics that occur inside and outside the indigenous community environment which gives birth to objective actions from the traditional leader.

Objective actions taken by traditional leaders in the form of ease of visit by political elites who stay in touch, advise political elites not to make promises, prohibit political party attributes from being installed within the traditional village, advise political elites to invest first so that their traces are recorded by indigenous people, leave political choices to the community, Educate the public to be aware of their rights and obligations regarding politics, and oblige the public to participate in elections.

"Tindakan para Ketua Adat dengan menyerahkan dukungan politik kepada warganya menunjukkan mereka menerapkan gaya kepemimpinan egaliter. Gaya kepemimpinan egaliter ditunjukkan dengan kemudahan untuk dihubungi, ditemui, dan turun langsung ke bawah secara langsung" (Santie et al., 2023).

Based on the objective actions of these traditional chiefs, they are basically figures who act as intermediaries who bridge the interests of local traditions and modern political structures. The actions taken by traditional leaders are based on cultural values and policies

that support the sustainability of political mechanisms, especially in Sundanese customary village areas. As a traditional leader, he feels that he has an obligation to represent the voice of indigenous peoples to fight for their political rights, and at the same time under certain conditions the traditional chairman as a leader will act in accordance with his role. This can happen, because a leader based on his situation and logical understanding has the authority to give orders (Saptya et al., 2020).

Another thing related to the actions of traditional leaders is to accept "donations" from political elites who want to donate them, and also to allow indigenous peoples to accept these gifts, but do not guarantee to support them. In other words, there are no political transactions, what indigenous peoples want is a positive track record of political elites. This political economy transaction is one of the dimensions of pragmatism that shifts the ideal dimension of democracy, so that it becomes a political pathology of concern and a red note for the sustainability of democracy in Indonesia (Hakim, 2023).

Apart from the political pragmatism that occurs in the Sundanese traditional village, by accepting the arrival of political elites to the territory, the interests of indigenous peoples can be fought, cultural views on political support policies and indigenous peoples' transformation can be explained. This is to maintain the spirit of indigenous people who still have sincerity, in thinking and acting so that it does not always become a political commodity for the political elite.

"Selama ini calon kandidat dari partai politik yang berkunjung ke kampung adat sekedar berkampanye untuk mendapatkan simpati pemilih, namun setelah terpilih melalui pintu elektoral tidak mengakomodasi kepentingan masyarakat adat, mereka hilang tanpa jejak, sehingga dalam demokrasi representatif, ide representasi yang mengutamakan kepentingan konstituen dilanggar" (Mahpudin, 2020).

Objective actions by these traditional chiefs eventually became a habit when receiving the arrival of political elites. The traditional chiefs in receiving their arrival did not treat them like important people, were not specially welcomed, were equated with other guests. In addition, traditional leaders when approaching elections do not perform traditional rituals, and do not condition the community to support the elite of a particular political party, even if at the time of the election, there is a political party that wins, it is solely the choice of the community. So, at the time of the election there is no special customary ritual, because this is not a customary program, but a government program that must be obeyed by all Indonesian people, including indigenous peoples.

"Therefore, if political actors want to win votes and gain legitimacy from indigenous peoples, they must integrate and infiltrate in a healthy and educational way. The lazy pattern of exploitation and commercialization of indigenous peoples for pragmatic political gain through plutocracy, secret elections, sweet promises, and the politics of retribution will degrade the dignity of indigenous peoples. This not only has an impact on the quality of our country's political democracy, but also the rise of social segregation which can have an impact on domestic social and political stability" (Tamma and Duyle, 2020). Internalization, is the self-identification of traditional leaders in the socio-cultural world, both with their internal environment (family, and residents), and with their external environment (local government) which is the basis for traditional leaders to build their understanding and actions towards the arrival of political elites in their territory. Basically, traditional leaders are figures who have credibility in leading their communities. This figure is often used as a reference by its citizens in carrying out their lives, including lives related to political phenomena.

Internalization of traditional leaders in responding to political elites occurs through a process of socialization with the family environment, indigenous peoples, and local government. At the time of socialization, traditional leaders identify themselves according to traditional norms that become an integral part of local culture that can influence the way traditional leaders interact with political elites and make political decisions. Traditional leaders have strong traditional authority and legitimacy in society by providing views, suggestions, or instructions related to the arrival of political elites to their territory.

The socialization of traditional leaders to their families will form understandings and actions that are in accordance with traditional norms, authority, and traditional legitimacy, so that families tend to have the same understanding as traditional leaders about the arrival of political elites. Likewise with other indigenous people, namely that the traditional leader's understanding of the arrival of the political elite as friendship, making promises, breaking promises, and so on, family members and indigenous people tend to understand the same. Therefore, internalization is the main foundation that becomes the basis and enthusiasm for the community in carrying out the life of the nation and state, so that excessive fanaticism can be avoided (Karimullah, 2021).

However, internalization through socialization with families and indigenous people does not make traditional leaders force themselves on their families and citizens to support certain political elites who come to traditional villages. Traditional leaders release families and indigenous people determine their support according to their respective assessments. Through this moment of internalization, traditional leaders show to be democratic leaders. Democratic leadership styles often accommodate the opinions of others to be used as decision-making material about policies to be taken (Utari & Hadi, 2020).

The political elite should understand that the 2024 election is a democratic agenda that does not need to lead to social division, but the election is a happy democratic arena. Therefore, the arrival of political elites to a region should ensure access and adequacy of information about elections based on rationality, and have a commitment to compete fairly in elections. The existence of adat in the framework of democracy is a symbol that is often used for the benefit of elites in certain domains (HR & Harakan, 2017).

The construction of the reality of the arrival of the political elite to the Sundanese indigenous people in West Java has given rise to the critical attitude of indigenous peoples, who in general they have judgments that tend not to be conducive to the interests of the political elite. The arrival of political elites is considered normal, so that views and construction of reality among indigenous peoples are based on the diversity of views, values, and experiences, so that the arrival of political elites will be responded by traditional leaders and indigenous peoples differently from the purpose of the arrival of these political elites. In other words, the effectiveness of the arrival of the political elite to the traditional village is determined by the way he communicates. In conveying political messages, persuasive communication should be used, where the message conveyed is adjusted to the conditions of society (Arasid et al., 2022, Zuhri et al., 2023).

In reality, political elites are often caught up in wars of ego, personal ambition, and unhealthy competition. They tend to focus more on personal and party interests than on the interests of society as a whole. The egos of political elites can result in messages often ignoring issues that are important and needed by indigenous peoples. Even though the participation of indigenous peoples in elections as a democratic party is quite high.

As the 2024 elections are a party of democracy, political elites must be able to reduce their egos and focus on larger interests. By reducing egos, political elites can make a major contribution to building indigenous peoples' participation in the electoral process. A more inclusive atmosphere is created by high participation, where the voice of every indigenous community is appreciated for being important. In elections, the role of traditional leaders with authority and networks of customary instruments becomes important, because they are able to mobilize indigenous people to support candidates from certain parties. The means that can be used to convey messages to support political elites are power and networks of customary instruments (Fajri, 2022).

The construction of reality by the traditional chairman on the arrival of political elites affects the motives of traditional leaders and their communities to participate in the 2024 elections. Through externalization by taking into account community dynamics, objectification through the meaning of the arrival of political elites, actions against the arrival of political elites, and habituation to the arrival of political elites, as well as internalization in the form of identification through socialization within families and indigenous people, as well as local governments, the motive of the Traditional Chairman to participate in the 2024 elections is built, because it is an obligation as a citizen, and the devotion of the Traditional Head to government. To succeed in the election, the obligation

of the Traditional Chairman is to provide socialization about the importance of active participation of indigenous peoples in the success of dignified elections (Rizky Karo Karo et al., 2022)

The phenomenon of the arrival of political elites to the Sundanese Traditional Village in West Java, such as Sirnaresmi, Dangiang, Banceuy, Cireundeu, Kuta, Miduana, and Mahmud has shown a pragmatic political culture, where the Traditional Chief, indigenous people, and political elites who visit the Traditional Village psychologically reflect their respective subjective factors such as political views, norms, patterns of orientation towards politics and so on. This pragmatic political culture clashes with public participation in politics, which can make it difficult for the birth of a leader who is sensitive to social problems, because his behavior patterns are instantaneous (Sumartono, 2018)

The Sundanese Traditional Chief, although he has a democratic leadership style, and a very important role in the dynamics and culture of local politics, will not let go of the cultural context, customary policies, and his relationship with modern political culture. Traditional leaders will consider their support based on the political ideology of political party elites that are in line with their cultural values and traditions.

The political ideology espoused by the political party elite has been a consideration for a long time. The traditional leader will provide support to political elites with nationalist ideology, and religious nationalists if it is in accordance with the cultural traditions, and beliefs held by the indigenous village community. Usually, traditional villages that still carry out the Sunda Buhun (traditional) tradition that bases their beliefs on the Sunda Wiwitan belief stream, tend to support political party elites who recognize these cultural traditions and beliefs. Similarly, traditional leaders whose traditional villages carry out religion-based cultural traditions (Islam), tend to give support to faith-based political elites (Islam) as well. National parties that are considered abangan and less sensitive to the culture of Islamic society become unpopulist, so they never win in an environment that has Islamic characteristics (Afriandi, 2021).

Conclusion

The arrival of the political elite to the Sundanese traditional village in West Java was interpreted by the traditional chiefs as a gathering to introduce themselves and their party, sympathy, and pragmatism with the aim of gaining votes. The political reality experienced by Indigenous Elders related to the arrival of political elites shows pragmatism to mobilize indigenous peoples through indigenous forums, which are addressed by Indigenous Elders in an egalitarian, democratic manner without losing their identity as Elders who are role models for the community and local government.

The construction of reality carried out by Sundanese Traditional Chiefs in West Java is based on moments of externalization, objectification, and internalization. Externalization carried out by the Customary Chairman, namely when making decisions to support or reject political elites from various political parties, the Traditional Chairman adapts first by paying attention to the dynamics of indigenous peoples related to their political aspirations, so that in making these decisions, the rational considerations are the vision, mission, and track record of the candidate's performance. The objectification carried out by the Traditional Chairman is in the form of interaction that occurs with the institutionalized intersubjective world where there is a dialectic about the arrival of the political elite according to the subjectivity of the Traditional Chairman with a different world of reality outside himself which gives birth to the meaning of the arrival of the elite to be used as a basis for his actions when receiving the arrival of the political elite. International internationalization occurs when traditional leaders identify themselves through socialization with their internal environment (family and residents), as well as with their external environment (local government) with the aim of building their understanding and actions towards the arrival of political elites in their territory, as well as political decisions. Traditional leaders have strong traditional authority and legitimacy in society by providing views, suggestions, or instructions related to the arrival of political elites to their territory, so that excessive fanaticism can be avoided.

Sundanese traditional villages, which are nationalist-based, tend to determine their support for elites and parties with nationalist ideology as well, while religious-based traditional villages (Islam), tend to determine their support for elites and political parties with religious ideology (Islam). Thus, the political ideology adopted by the elite plays a role in the decision-making process of indigenous Sundanese peoples to support the political party elite.

The recommendation from the study is that Indigenous Chiefs further enhance their understanding and acceptance of modern political systems, become part of lobbying and advocacy processes to ensure that indigenous interests are recognized and respected in political policies and decisions. In pragmatic politics, indigenous leaders must build strategic coalitions, and cooperate with other political or social stakeholders to facilitate and accommodate the interests of indigenous peoples.

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