

Dalihan Na Tolu In The Political Life Of The Toba Batak Society (Study of the Society Political Behavior During the Mayor's Election Period in Sibolga)

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Abstract—This paper discusses the political process of election of Sibolga leaders and cultural values of Dalihan Na Tolu based on the life of the Batak people in general as political dimension and cultural values that touch each other to fill the gap of life. The question then is whether the cultural value of Dalihan Na Tolu is applied in the political practice of the election of regional leaders. Applied of cultural values Dalihan Na Tolu commonly found in Batak people life as part of cultural life.

Through a multi-concept ethnographic approach, the Dalihan Na Tolu in the life of the Toba Batak society in Sibolga is seen as part of the mimesis, the social-cultural network (genealogy) and human interaction articulated through the form of the political behavior of the people in the frame of power; choose and elected which is linked to the implementation of electoral system and the configuration of ethnic identity in the Toba Batak society in Sibolga. This paper gets an overview of Dalihan Na Tolu practice in the political life of the Toba Batak society in Sibolga during the mayoral election in Sibolga applies to micro-use; kinship, and localistic networks that are limited. In the macro form, Dalihan Na Tolu stands as a cultural value, the cultural face of Batak people in general, which is bounded by practical political practices.

Keywords : Dalihan Na Tolu, Power, Political Behavior, Ethnic Religious

INTRODUCTION

The reformation spirit has created a fundamental space of change in the life of nation and state in Indonesia by restoring the basic rights of the people as a manifestation and strengthening of local democracy through the change of system and mechanism of direct regional head election beginning in 2005, after successful election of President and Vice President directly in 2004. Implementation of regional head elections is essentially a manifestation of democracy in the nation and state system. The definition of power in the hands of the people gives direction that people are involved in determining state policy by determining the leadership of government. The process of changing from a system of representation to a direct election system is part of bringing the spirit of reform into the political dimension. In this connection it can be known as a direct election system or through a representative system.

Political power in the electoral era directly divides power to society in determining its political choices. Power division is a real form of democratic application by not only placing the people as voters but also as determining to whom power will be given. The political power of society is based on various dimensions; personal relationships, and participatory decisions that are influenced by religious, socio-cultural and economic aspects.

Direct election of community

representation in the government system are two things that have their own dynamics, where society plays a different role with the government, according to Foucault (1991) the articulation of the dividing line between society and government are two different but interrelated matters as part of the practice of running a democratic paradigm in political life (as cited in Jones, 2015).

The direct election of regional heads is part of the delegation of power between society and the political elite, Quoting Dahl (1957: 201) which simply states power as the link between the people expressed in the form of symbols of notation, in the applicative form, power as a form of linkage among the people noted by Dahl (1957: 202-203) as A has power over B as far as he can get B to do something that should not be done by B.

Power is a participatory decision-making process among the people as owners of power, supporting the paradigm of democracy. In the empirical context, the concept of power is closely related to politics, but that does not mean politics is entirely about power. Politics as an activity to seek and maintain power is a concept that is too broad and less sharp. Some studies of local-traditional political activities related to the presence of local-traditional institutions (Von Benda-Bekmann, 2013; Tyson, 2010; Vel, 2008) suggest a diversity of political behaviors that emphasize the influence of local-traditional institutions, where traditional institutions play a

role in determining indigenous political behavior indirectly and delegating the power of local-traditional institutions to political agents played by society as part of linking the concept of modern democracy with the concept of traditional democracy. So also from the religious aspect, where religion is made by the elite as a tool to achieve power which consequently creates a society horizontal conflict (Jim Schiller 2014; Geertz 1983).

In the Batak society wherever they are and whatever their religion is bound in a traditional bond that continues to this day, namely *Dalihan Na Tolu* (literally three stoves). *Dalihan Na Tolu* is a pattern of social relations based on marriage between clans consisting of three elements, namely the giver of women (*Hula-hula*), the recipient of women (*Anak Boru*) and relatives of the clan (*Dongan Tubu*). These three elements are bound through the philosophy of *Somba Marhula-hula*, *Elek Marboru*, *Manat Mardongan Tubu*, which means honorable to the giver of the wife (wife families wife), kindness (clever to take heart/persuade) the woman and whereby (keep your feelings) among all relatives and fellow.

The practice of community life can not be separated from the cultural value that embodies that life, the cultural values prevailing in society are a part of the process of adaptation and strategy in life widely. The long narrative between the practice of community life and cultural values is applied to the various dimensions of life, this is supported by the complex and liquid cultural values of the dimensions of space and time of life. The practice of life and cultural values that are the focus of attention is the cultural value of *Dalihan Na Tolu* on the political life processes of Toba Batak society, the identity blend in the local political scene as part of the political ideology. The study of political life derived from cultural values *Dalihan Na Tolu* during the election of the mayor of Sibolga by observing how the behavior of the people in following this election process.

Departing from the research background, this study will limit the problem on the political behavior of the Sibolga community in conducting the mayoral election by focusing on the practice of *Dalihan Na Tolu* as a traditional value in the political process of the community concerning political action by political actors and strategies carried out in the election of the mayor judging from the cultural background of the community, both the voting community and the behavior of the candidate pairs to be selected with their Success Team; *Tim Sukses* (TS). One of the

observed symptoms is whether political symmetry based on kinship appears in the election.

Conceptual and theoretical frameworks are structured by dividing into two interrelated focuses: anthropological and political approaches using ethnographic methods: aspects of human interaction, imitation of knowledge (mimesis), social networks (genealogy and decision making), behavior politics, power and politics of ethnicity. Qualitative research that produces ethnography is done by participant observation by fielding themselves in the arena and communicating with surrounding communities, especially the observed phenomenon subject. The relationship with the informants remains interwoven through telephone communication media, WA, and inbox to supplement data that is deemed necessary.

Quoting Cerwonka (2007: 14) this ethnographic study also links between a phenomenon with local processes related to global development, where *Dalihan Na Tolu* practice as a cultural value in political activity is seen as a phenomenon related to local-national political interaction process, and also see it as part of a global process.

DALIHAN NA TOLU; CULTURAL IDEOLOGY OF BATAK SOCIETY

The Batak ethnic is known as one of the largest tribe in Indonesia, as well as tribes that cling to the culture. In the Batak kinship system, known as *Dalihan Na Tolu* system (three stoves) which functions as a behavior to regulate, control and give direction to the behavior and deeds of Toba Batak society. Batak people deeply appreciate *Dalihan Na Tolu* as a system that provides guidance for orientation, perception and definition in reality Toba Batak society, thus Batak people highly uphold and preserve the cultural values, because if not implement the customs will be referred to as people that is not well-tempered.

Narration of *Dalihan Na Tolu* is a long journey of Batak people culture in general and Toba in particular, *Dalihan Na Tolu* is a cultural life device that deals with various dimensions of life; past, present and future. *Dalihan Na Tolu* summarizes the whole narrative of the Batak people's life; political, social, economic, kinship, cultural, symbols, community structures and many other things.

In terminology, *Dalihan Na Tolu* can be interpreted simply as "Three Stoves," which departs from the Batak cosmic thought that the world is divided into three parts: *Banua Toru* (the underworld), *Banua Tonga* (middle world) and

Banua Ginjang (the upper world) as a symbol representation of space and life time. In Batak society with variant terminology, namely: *Dalihan Na Tolu* for Toba society, *Tiga Sahundulan* for Simalungun society, *Rakut Sitelu* for Karo society, *Sangkep Nggeluh* for Pakpak and *Dalihan Na Tolu* for Angkola and Mandailing people.

The whole concept of three stoves for the Batak community in general is a concept that accommodates aspects of kinship; kinship system, kinship group, patrilineal principle of kinship, legal aspect, politics and custom of Batak society and value aspect of Batak culture.

Quoting Simanjuntak (2009: 96) there are three forms of custom; *adat*, namely the core custom which covers the whole of life and is a mythical custom which has no slit change, custom which has variant and adaptive to life form and there is denying relation with religious element, then Junghuhn (Bemmelen, 2012: 24) says that the word *adat* has long existed in the cultural terminology of the Batak Toba society, although there is a variation of the mention of *adat* into a face as recorded by Junghuhn on his journey to Batak land in 1841-1842. In the life of the Batak Toba society, the word *adat* is related to *ugari* which mean of time, *patik* meaningful as law and command, *uhum* which means law and *ruhut* meaningful as path or view of life.

Adat as in the cultural life of Batak Toba society as noted by Schreiner (1927: 96) not only explains the human relationship with the origins of creation and the mythological aspects of the *Si Raja Batak* but seen as a gift from God and the ancestors who have the power to regulate the life of society.

The principle of cultural organization of Batak society is based on *Dalihan Na Tolu* which is manifested in patrilineal kinship system, three stoves supporting the relationship between clan (marga), giver group or *Hula-hula*, women's group or *Boru* and the whole clan group or *Dongan Tubu*.

Dalihan Na Tolu conception in Batak society in general is a life-oriented view of the cultural values of the Batak people to live a life of space and time dimension.

In practice, *Dalihan Na Tolu* as a form of social relations viewed from the function of the clan in the Batak Toba tribe known three parts who always communicate. The first party is called "sedarah, sekaum, sabutuha" or often called "semarga" or *Dongan Sabutuha*. The second is the family or clan of a wife called "uncle or *Hula-hula*", and the third is a husband of a daughter or son-in-law called "*Parboruon*". The three above parts are

descendants of a grandfather together and celebrate the various ceremonies kinship together is an element of *Dalihan Na Tolu* (Purba and Purba, 1997). With the clan will make it easier to know each others relationship and position from each parts. In Batak tribe newly acquainted will usually ask marga from each other, or in Batak language called *Martutur*.

Dalihan Na Tolu is not only a form of a static cultural system, but a dynamic cultural system and adapting with the dimensions of life, one of which is marriage. In Pakpahan's study (2016) there is a form of power initiated by the existence of the *Dalihan Na Tolu* cultural system in the life of Batak Toba society, the emergence of the form of power in the form of *Sinamot* or the price of dowry determined by the woman to the male.

Dalihan Na Tolu as a cultural manifestation of Batak Toba society has an important role in manifesting the dimensions of local power within the sphere of cultural life. As a manifestation of power, *Dalihan Na Tolu* is concerned with the role of the leader who moves *Dalihan Na Tolu* conception in life. Mas'ud and Sidabutar (2016: 1) argue that leadership is an effort of a leader to be able to realize the goals of the organization through others with communication, cooperation, motivation, so that other people are willing to do and implement it and therefore required a balance between individual needs of the implementers with a purpose. Departing from the understanding of leadership, the dimension of leadership has a close relationship with the actuating function of cultural conception carried, in this case is *Dalihan Na Tolu*.

Dalihan Na Tolu in leadership function may be as stated by Rifai (2011) that leadership function is social construction, because it must be realized in interaction between individuals in various social situations of a group. *Dalihan Na Tolu* with the idiom "*Somba Marhula-hula, Elek Marboru, Manat Mardongan Tubu*" is a manifestation of the leadership function that becomes social construction.

LIFE EXISTENCE AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

It is the essence of human life that life should always be heading for the better. All efforts are made in order to achieve a better life. In order to achieve a better life, human beings are arranged by norms made by men together and agreed upon as social beings. These rules and norms become a measure for others to distinguish between human beings considered good or vice versa. Therefore, a person always

tries to be a good person in the stare of others while still trying to maintain the behavior shown in accordance with the norms that have been agreed. But in reality these norms and rules are often regarded by individuals in their lives inhibit the desire or goal to be achieved so that trying to do or act something that is not in accordance with norms and ethics but profitable for himself and not known to others. From this phenomenon emerge a common phrase in life that is "all the world is stage". The point of a man in living a life in this world is actually playing a drama where what he shows to others is actually just a show how other people feel and think that he is a good person in accordance with what is desired by general social life in accordance with agreed norms and rules.

Goffman (1959) says that social life is a theatrical performance. Every individual is a performer in his daily life. There are times when people show their lives in public, but what is shown is already prepared. The real life that is shown is called front stage, and be prepared beforehand as backstage. Thus we will not be able to understand exactly what the individual does is the truth or just a theatrical performance so that anyone who interacts with him can feel satisfied.

This dramaturgy phenomenon is found in the Mayor election process of Sibolga, either by competing candidate pair of Mayor or by society that will choose. A pair of Mayor candidate or his supporters will always say and show that he or they are a good person, honest and will do the best for the benefit of the community. But behind it the public will comment that in fact he is a liar, all he pronounced is just to seek sympathy from the community to choose it. One of informants, N (42 years) expressed : *"Kelemahan Syarfikoo, pandustobana eee, paling tidak itulah penilaian urang nan ambo danga"* (The weakness of Syarfi is liar, at least that's the judgment of the peoples which I heard). So also with the express of a old woman at the time when there is sport event together on the Selamat street when Syarfi will greet the existing visitors. A old woman turns her face and avoids Syarfi shriek while saying curtly "Pandusto" (liar). This word then provoked the emotions of one of his supporters then did the beating on the mother so this case up to the police¹.

1 This case is a biggest conflict in Sibolga Mayor election, who beat and beaten are secured by the security forces after the beatings victim are hospitalized for several days. This event is busy discussed in virtual space (facebook) as attached in this paper. This incident was

From the voters community this dramaturgy phenomenon can also be seen as told by informant Ny Tampubolon's (65 years old). *"Saya menghadiri kampanye nomor 2 (syarfi) karena saya diundang oleh pak Wiji. Pak Wiji ini banyak berjasa pada saya karena beliau yang memfasilitasi saya jualan di tempat ini. Beliau dulu adalah komandan Kodim tempat suami saya bertugas. Jadi untuk menghormatinya saya hadir dalam kampanye Syarfi, namun saya belum tentu akan memilih dia nanti"*. (I attended the number 2 campaign [syarfi] because I was invited by Mr. Wiji. Mr. Wiji is a lot of merit to me because he who facilitate my to trade in this place. He used to be the commander of the Kodim where my husband was be in charge. So in his honor I present in the Syarfi campaign, but I will not necessarily choose him later). When we asks further, why not choose Syarfi, the informant said: *"selama lima tahun dia jadi Walikota tidak ada yang dibuatnya untuk Sibolga ini."* (For five years he was the Mayor he had nothing to do for this Sibolga). Likewise with that said by an informant Ratna (42 years) when his son had an accident while going home to Medan visited by the candidate pair number 1 (Memory) and gave the envelope containing money and we asked *"Apa isi amplopnya dan apakah nanti dia akan memilih pasangan calon nomor 2 ?"* (What is the contents of the envelope and will choose the pair candidate number 2?) He replied: *"Amploptu 300 thousand kepeng bareng, tapi kok ambo ala tau anyo mamak siapa nan ambo pilih"* (Envelope content three hundred thousand rupiah, but if I already know who I will choose later). From these remarks we concludes that she will not vote for the pair candidate. This conclusion is based on his activity and befriends a fanatic supporter of the pair candidate number 2. So is the acknowledgment of the informan IY (35 years old) he is often present at events organized by *paslon* (pair candidate) number 1 because his friend many supporters of *paslon* number 1, while he remains committed to choosing pair candidate of number 2.

Humans are essentially imitative beings. Man will imitate what makes him comfortable and can support his life, ranging from speech, movement, action to the determination of an option. The first to be imitated are the people closest to the family environment. In the family a human will be shaped into his personality. There are times when this family formation is so strong that it makes an individual have a strong

several times spoken by Syarfi in his campaign to convince the public that his not guilty of the incident.

personality and firm in the principle of life. But there are times when this principle changes when a human being sees that the principle applied has no support for his life towards the better. The wider his range of association and insight, the more can imitate, but the value of the basic value has throughout his growing time in the family or the environment will remain traceable and influential in life.

Voters' behavior may be affected by agents seeking to direct their votes to where they should be directed. For that the candidate pairs of Mayors trying to maximize the people who are influential people in order to support it. Thus the community can be directed in accordance with his wishes. By embracing the influential person, in addition to being a figure to be imitated can also act as an authority party although it can not be said of coercion in general because the principles of elections are direct, public, free and secret (LUBER). A child will ask the parents or at least parents will direct who will be selected, partially parents will ask the figures they deem worthy of being a role model and a character will certainly choose based on the assessment of the pairs candidate along the knowledge they have.

Efforts to utilize imitation in the election of the Mayor of Sibolga can be observed, especially at a closed religious event only followed by one particular religion, such as *Sholat Jum'at* for followers of Islam and worship services for Christians. In some mosques that had we monitored and participated in conducting *Jum'atan*, the preachers clearly invited to choose the leader of the religion based on the verses of the Qur'anic verses cited. But this way is not found in the church at the time of weekly worship. But at the time of the worship service (a worship service performed by Christians on this collection of invitations will appear as we encountered at a service of *Punguan* (association) *Raja Lumban Tobing* held at S Lumban Tobing home (49 years) on the Toto Harahap street Sibolga. Lumban Tobing is a group of *marga* from *Si Opat Pusoran*², one of which is *Marga Panggabean*, a clan of one of the Mayor pairs candidate Memory Panggabean. According to the owner of the house, S. Lumban Tobing along with

some parents who gather there that they have *Mangupa Upa upa* (giving spirit and prayers of success) and *Mangulosi* (giving *ulos* by directly applying to the *upa-upa*) as well as collecting money of their group (they do not mention the amount of money donated) on the number 1 pair candidate Memory Panggabean. It is in this connection that all members of the *punguan* (association) are encouraged to choose their candidate pairs because of the clan's attachment.

In the other worship service that is from Panggabean clan group in Jubelium Sibolga Julu street in the house of one of the *Kepala Lingkungan* who surname Panggabean. In this event they pray together for Memory Panggabean can win the election of the Mayor who will be held. We had interviewed one of the attendees namely J Simorangkir (45 years) who is actually a civil servant in Sibolga City Government said that the Regional Working Meeting (Rakerda) *Panggabean Association of All Indonesians* declared support pair candidate Memory Panggabean and Jansul Pasaribu in the election of Mayor Sibolga. Even this association also contributed 100 million rupiah to the pair of candidates that they support.

Although they choose by agreement due to clan factors, but this does not just happen, of course there are those who started the so-called agents in this group who started then followed by others. Means the first to spark an idea or idea to choose on a pair of candidates who have been directed and others will imitate.

Behalf the existing kinship network in the Sibolga Mayor election process is a network of friends and colleagues. The pairs candidate will select the person believes to be a Success Team (TS), then each Success Team (TS) will search for or recruit the person believes to form a knot in each corner of the city which is expected to recruit the people around him as well. It can be seen that each pair of candidates will try to attend every meeting of the group formed by the Success Team (TS). The more down the network the more blurry, because someone could just get into the network of both pairs candidate. People who enter into these two networks will usually take advantage of both. For example in a campaign, he will follow a campaign from both candidate pairs as long as he gets money or at least a T-shirt. He will also give his C6 card to be replaced with money. July Panggabean (44 years) mentioned that did not actually get a C6 card to vote, because resident of Middle Tapanuli who lived and sought life as a vegetable vendor in Sibolga terminal market, but if anyone invites to campaign by

2 The Opat Pusoran is a clan group that comes from a descendant of Guru Managlokso namely Huta Barat, Panggabean, Hutagalung and Huta Toruan. Subsequently Panggabean lowered Lumban Ratus, Simorangkir, Siagian. While the Hutatoruan lowered the clan Hutapea and Lumbantobing. This clan group is trying to be raised to support the number one pair candidate, Memory Panggabean.

giving money and shirts, they will follow whoever invites.

Similarly, TP (40 years old) has a rickshaw pulling near his house. Merpati street is the winning office of one of the pairs candidate, he is invited to participate in a campaign with a pedicab fee of forty thousand rupiah and the person in the rickshaw is paid twenty thousand rupiah other than the shirt of the pairs candidate. He took his wife and three children to campaign, so he got one hundred thousand rupiah once campaign and he admitted following the campaign of both pairs candidate for the same fee. By the time one day before the election he handed over his C6 card, his wife and one child who had chosen, for that he got paid three hundred thousand rupiah. But he said that even if he did not get paid he would still choose the pairs of paying candidates because of his religion. This is different from the recognition of a old woman informan KM (44 years) who opened a business selling rice stalls she choose a candidate pair who gave money after asking for his C6 card even though not in accordance with himself. When we asks further why choosing the pair candidate of the Mayor who is not have a same religion, she replied with diplomacy "*Sabananyo ambo mamilih Memory (calon Walikota) tetapi mailih the Jansul (pasangan calon Wakil Walikota) anyo*" (Actually I do not choose Memory pair candidate of Mayor but I choose the Jansul the pair candidate of Vice Mayor it.

For the network below as the majority of voters are very fluid in the sense can not be made sure who the choice. To get votes of people like this game of money is very decisive in Sibolga as the statement of a Success Team Leader of one of the candidate pairs KS (48 years) said. "*Disibogako Jihin pun nan mamu jadi Walikota kok banyak kepengnyo di agi ka masyarakat manang itu anyo*" (In this Sibolga, gennie who want to go forward so Mayor if have a lot of money given to the community win it). But even with the use of money would still need a network how to choose and determine who should be given money and invited to vote.

The networks owned and created by the pairs candidate (paslon) are not the total network but the parsial network, the network involves only those people who have access to each Success Team (TS). While the character of the network there are three forms, that is : interest network, where people are involved in the network because there is interest. This interest certainly differs between the interests of pairs candidate (paslon) and the interests of the

Successful Teams (TS). Pairs of candidate (paslon) is concerned to gain power, whereas successful teams of interest are rewarded both directly and indirectly. Rewards in the form of direct payment is received, whereas indirect benefits is the job or project if their supported pair candidate win. The network of sentiments is in the clan's kinship network and lineage or family and religious relationships, although this network is also not absolutely strongly bound. Power networks can primarily be made by incumbent especially for civil servants. Sometimes this network is stronger if it combines the three properties of interest, sentiment and power or two trait of properties.

The voters behavior can be demonstrated in voting and determining who will be elected as Mayor and Vice Mayor in direct *Pilkada*. The political behavior of the community as a constituent party with the right to vote on the pair candidate pair (in this case the Mayor of Sibolga) is at least influenced by three things: the acceptance of the candidate by the community, the personal attitude of the candidate and the social character of the candidate. These three things have a significant meaning in carrying out the political behavior of the community against the contestation of regional head election. The political behavior of the people does not only run when the electoral process arrives but also in the post-election stage, where the voter community perceives the impact of its political choice.

Political behavior is closely related to voting behavior towards pairs candidate, in which case politics is reduced to a form of voting behavior, citing Surbakti (1992: 144) which states the voting activity by the community is closely related to decision-making activities to choose or not to vote in an election general. If voters decide to vote then the voting community will elect or support a particular candidate. *Pilkada* activities that require voting by the community as voters to election candidates, but in the form of voting by the community also influenced by other aspects such as social, emotional, personal and cultural relationships to candidate pairs. In addition, the behavior of voting by the community is also influenced by the material contribution when the campaign process against the pairs candidate is underway, the material of this contribution in the life of political behavior is referred to as logistics, which includes financing of seeking public support for candidate pairs, financing of political parties as pairs candidate "medium", the process of lobbying individual and influential individuals to support pairs candidate up to the socio-cultural imaging process of the pairs candidate.

Sibolga society in *Pilkada* Sibolga shows a dynamic political attitude, where the process of selecting pairs candidate applying the concept of acceptance of pairs candidate in the social life of the community. The political participation of Sibolga society in general can be seen as a form of political articulation which emphasizes the closeness between the community as a voter and the pair candidate based on the emotional aspect, in the sense that the choice of the pair candidate is based on the personal attitude and social character of the candidate pair, although the acceptance of Sibolga society in the election of the Mayor of Sibolga also influenced by the emotional-cultural dimension of the choice of pair candidate, it is seen in one pair candidate Sibolga elections that have emotional closeness in familial with the former Mayor of Sibolga.

Power as noted by Laswell and Kaplan (1950: 74-75) that power is a form of participation in taking a decision, which in the application of power is the ability of a person or group to be able to control the individual or other groups. On the application of political power, where power is the arena of struggle and as a matter of contest. Power in the context of the *Pilkada* Sibolga is also related to the implementation of the regional autonomy system in Indonesia which deals with the practice of direct election of local leaders against prospective leaders by the community. The direct election of regional heads is part of the distribution of power at the regional level with the aim of accommodating the grassroots community aspirations and delegating authority to local governments to be able to administer administrative governance of the needs of the region. The direct election of the regional head, in this case the election of the Mayor of Sibolga as seen in the process of this research, the contested power is the political power with the attribution of the position as head of government although it does not rule out the possibility of political power will also develop into a form of power against the aspect others.

The power politics practiced by the pairs candidate in the Sibolga elections is a form of a tiered political system of power by applying power from the smallest scope that continues to increase to the greatest power (government). This growing power is part of a process that is simultaneously constructed using various dimensions of life, such as culturally acquired power, personal power and social power that aims to support power in the great scope to be achieved later. Politics and ethnicity are two

interrelated matters at the moment, where they are supported by the policy of autonomous regional governance and the direct process of local elections by the community. Both of these things attract people's lives with ethnic backgrounds to take part politically and put ethnicity into practice.

Ethnicity and political dimension in the context of the *Pilkada* Sibolga uses the cultural value of *Dalihan Na Tolu* as the basic dimension of ethnicity in politics, it is based on the composition of Sibolga society from Batak ethnic background in general. So the use of cultural values *Dalihan Na Tolu* is part of the ethnicity strategy in the political arena. *Dalihan Na Tolu* who culturally distributes power to three parts of Batak society life, namely *Hula-hula*, *Anak Boru* and *Dongan Tubu*. These three sections run Batak culture values on various forms of life, one of them on the political aspects of local elections directly in Sibolga.

CONCLUSION

In the practice of community life can not be separated from the cultural values that embody the life, the cultural values prevailing in the community is a part of the process of adaptation and strategy in the form of life widely. The long narrative between the practice of community life and cultural values is applied to the various dimensions of life, this is supported by the complex and liquid cultural values of the dimensions of space and time of life. Selection of Major of Sibolga in this context is part of the implementation of life practices of the people of Sibolga along with the cultural values owned by the community, the development of the implementation of cultural values are tangent to the religious and political spaces that color the atmosphere of Mayor of Sibolga. The narration between the allusions of the three spaces; religion, politics and culture are historical narratives that are repeatedly practiced in various dimensions of life. Politically, the relationship between cultural space, religion and politics in the life of the state there is no separation of religion and state among them, it is then open the dialectic space between culture, religion and politics in the life of Indonesian society generally.

Anthropologically, contestation between political space, religion and cultural interest as a study material, there are slices between the spaces in the life of society in general. The election of regional heads can not be separated from the influence of the three spaces. The election of Major of Sibolga in this context makes religion as a means of legitimating the Major candidates in

obtaining support from the voting community, in practice can be seen from the efforts of Major candidate of region using religious identity in the campaign process synergies with the narrator-voter society about the figure of the candidate the area linked with the religious narrative on ideology, the leader figure in the worship space. While this venture is risky, it has a long ideological impact as in many other cases that use religious issues as part of the campaign's material. At least the effort to use religion as a means of legitimacy in achieving political power has an impact on the closer the figure of political leaders who concurrently religious figure, which at least be social capital to the candidate if not elected in everyday life. On the other hand religious legitimacy is a fundamental effort to bring spiritual beliefs of the voters to the spiritual beliefs of candidates for regional heads, where spiritual beliefs are part of an undeniable belief and are expected by the candidate with the legitimacy of the religion to gain the votes of the electorate.

The process of two -way religions legitimizing also takes place in two different forms; directional legitimacy and legitimacy formed by an undirectional legitimacy. The process of legitimacy is directed by parties who have the power or proximity of positions to power, or in other words power is directed as part of strengthening the process of religious legitimacy, whether done blatantly or covertly. Politics by definition links the religious and cultural dimensions in a container of political contestation that seeks to gain power without regard to the consequences of religious and cultural dimensions in people's lives. The relationship between religion and state must be built on the basis of the mutualistic symbioses whereby one and the other give each other. In this context, religion provides "deep spirituality" while the state guarantees religious life.

In line with the legitimacy of religion, the cultural dimension also plays a role in the political interests of the election of Major candidates in general and the election of mayor candidates of Sibolga in particular, the cultural dimension as inherent in life and regulate the life cycle behavior of human be used as a political tool to gain power by bringing the figure of Major candidate is culturally; through genealogists, marriages, customary institutions to clans. Cultural dimension as a political tool is not as immaculate as religious legitimacy that is spiritual, cultural dimension is more contextual. Cultural identity is highlighted as part of winning the sympathy of

voters, in the election of Major candidates for Sibolga attributes of cultural identity are used, from the genealogical aspect of the candidate to the previous leader and the voting community, the customary institution which is supporting the candidate leader until strengthening the cultural symbols.

As the legitimacy of religion, the cultural dimension is part of undirectional legitimacy or legitimacy that is not directed toward psycho-emotional-cultural closeness as part of approaching candidates for regional heads with voters. Naturally, cultural leaders are genealogically elected through the idiomatic natural process of "the strong is the king." The procedure of election of the natural cultural leader opens the door to power-to-power attainment; tradition versus modern in the process of internal interest in cultural interest.

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