Modalities And Identity Politics of The Marbun Clan In Humbang Hasundutan Regency

Kevin Nathanael Marbun¹
Alumni Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Padjadjaran University, Bandung, Indonesia
kevin15007@mail.unpad.ac.id

Jonah Silas²
Postgraduate Student Departement of Political Science, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Padjadjaran University, Bandung, Indonesia
Jonah20001@mail.unpad.ac.id

ABSTRACT

In the Humbang Hasundutan Regency Local Leaders Election, the identity of the Marbun clan was used as a tool of political struggle to win candidates. The considerations underlying this research are the experience of the Marbun clan who lost in the previous two elections and the impact felt by the defeat, specifically: an uneven development focus and officials from the Marbun clan who rarely occupy positions in the government. Identity politics can be understood as a tool of political struggle of an ethnicity in an effort to achieve a goal. Identity politics is used as a tool based on two aspects, there are: based on similarity of identity and based on similarity of interests. The author uses qualitative methods with case studies. Data collection is obtained from the results of collecting primary data and also secondary data. Primary Data is obtained from the results of recorded and collected interviews. All the data obtained are analyzed qualitatively so that what is contained behind a reality can be revealed.

The result of this study is that the clan plays a role in a person's political life so that the identity politics of the Marbun clan is used as a tool of political struggle from candidates in the main way to gain support through an approach to the Marbun clan group, called PTMI (Parsadaan Toga Marbun Indonesia) Humbang Hasundutan Regency and Mabun clan figures because of the community's obedience to these figures and the nature of loving and helping each other among the siblings of the three clans on Toga Marbun, they are: Lumbang Batu, Banjarnahor, and Lumban Gaol.

Keywords: Identity Politics, Political Modality, Cultural Modality, Marbun Clan.
Background

Local Leaders Election is a normative mandate for democratic and participatory elections for governors, mayors, and regents. This has been mandated in Law Number 32 of 2004 concerning regional government which is actually the basic framework of regional autonomy. The law is a form of improvement of Law Number 22 of 1999 which signifies the birth of democracy after the reform of the new order authoritarianism. With the form of improvement of the law in line with the strengthening of identity politics because there is a change from centralization to decentralization so as to open up space for identity politics due to the excesses of the democratic system (Adiwilaga et al., 2017; Salim, 2015). In fact, both national actors and local political actors use the issue of identity politics as a tool of interest to seize power (Haboddin, 2012).

Humbang Hasundutan Regency, which is a district whose majority of the population are Batak Toba ethnic, Karo, Simalungun, and some other ethnicities. Humbang Hasundutan Regency is synonymous with the existence of a clan as an identity for the social life of the community. The Batak Toba people have a purpose as well as a view of life is to achieve: Hagabeon, Hasangapon, Hamoraon which are described in detail, including: First, Hamoraon, is an ownership in material or non-material property obtained either through their own efforts or inheritance obtained. Second, Hagabeon is a form of happiness in terms of having offspring where offspring can be seen as a hope for the Batak people and the happiness felt is to have sons and daughters. Third, Hasangapon is a form of recognition of authority and dignity (Harahap & Siahaan, 1987).

In the purpose and view of life hasangapon, a person can be said to be noble or in bataknya is called sangap if he has a high position and position in society (Harahap & Siahaan, 1987). With this purpose in life, the Batak Toba people struggle with the identity of their respective clans to strengthen and show the existence of their respective clans. One way to realize this purpose of life is to participate in the Local Leaders Election.

Clan associations are important because clans become an identity for a social group that is tied to clan associations. Identity or identity as a recognition of an individual or a certain group which is characterized by the formation of a certain group or groups and is a characteristic that distinguishes between one group and another (Prayetno, 2016; Santoso, 2017; Suparlan, 2004). With this identity, individuals will enter a group called punguan marga.
Punguan marga was formed on the basis of the similarity of clans and became a difference for other clans.

Due to the clan differences that exist in the Batak community, in social and political life there are often separations and attempts to show the characteristics and strengths of their own clan groups. The clan is used as a tool to compete both in social life and political life. Identity politics can be said to be a political tool or source in political contestation where identity politics focuses on the politics of differences to rally support in achieving interests both economic and political (Fikri & Adytyas, 2018). Identity politics is also related to tribal ties that play an important role in giving rise to potential symbols and developing into a force in political activity (Haboddin, 2012).

In discussing Marbun's identity politics, there is a Marbun association called Toga Marbun which consists of the Lumban Batu, Banjarnahor, Lumban Gaol Clans. Toga Marbun is included in Toga Naipospos where Toga Naipospos has two togas, they are: Toga Sipoholon and Toga Marbun. The clans in Toga Sipoholon are: Sibagariang, Hutauruk, Simanungkalit, and Situmeang.

Socio-political modality is an undoubted force that every contestant must have when they want to compete in a political contestation. This is due to the fact that socio-political modalities in the form of political modality, economic modality, and social modality are effective in winning political contestation (Mbolang et al., 2020; Simamora & Rahardjo, 2019). The clan modality used as a tool to gain legitimacy of power in the Local Leaders Election is used as momentum for the marbun clan. The experience of the Marbun clan, which has twice failed to win the regional elections in 2005 and 2010, has an impact on several things such as the focus of development and the presence of clan representatives in government positions. The victory of the Regional Head who came from the Marbun clan group in the next two periods, namely 2015 & 2020, is one aspect that the clan can be used as political modality in legitimizing power in the Local Leaders Election. Thus, identity politics strengthens because of the interests of members of social groups who feel marginalized and eliminated by the great currents of a cultural domination (Setyobudi, 2017)

Based on the results of the identification and presentation above, the researcher will analyze how the Marbun clan modality as an identity is used in the scope of identity politics.
to place representatives of clan groups in the political contestation of Local Leaders Election in Humbang Hasundutan Regency. The question that became the formulation of the study was how was the identity politics of the marbun clan in the Humbang Hasundutan Regency Local Leaders Election?

**Literature Review**

**Overview of Political Identity**

Identity can be emerged with an interaction. A person has a certain identity because of the recognition of his existence by other individuals in a relationship (Simamora & Rahardjo, 2019; Suparlan, 2004). Identity is related to the existence of belonging about similarities with a number of people and as a differentiator with others so that identity can be said to be a source of meaning and experience of a person or group (Castells, 2010; Schultz et al., 2001; Widiyanti, 2009). Calhoun (1994) suggested that: “We know of no people without names, no languages or cultures in which some manner of distinctions between self and other, we and they, are not made . . . Self-knowledge – always a construction no matter how much it feels like a discovery – is never altogether separable from claims to be known in specific ways by others”. From this sense identity emphasizes the characteristics or characteristics of a group or community. Ethnicity is an identity related to culture. Ethnic identity is then used as a basis for a group to convey its aspirations. Through identity politics, ethnic identity groups will make efforts to gain political recognition and affirmation of the group (Nawir & Mukramin, 2019).

Identity politics can be seen from two aspects, namely: First, the theoretical aspect where Identity politics is something that is alive or exists in every ethnicity, where its existence can be latent and potential, and at any time can come to the fore as the dominant political force. Second, the empirical aspect where identity politics is an actualization of political participation constructed from the cultural roots of the local community, and undergoes a continuous process of internalization within the culture of its people in a fabric of social interaction (Buchari, 2014). On the basis of this view, the aspects that are emphasized are more towards differences which are important elements in the context of understanding the existence of an identity politics. In addition, Identity politics can be interpreted as a political concept or movement that focuses on differences as a major political category (Abdillah, 2002).
In Local Leaders Election, the strengthening of ethnic identity politics is caused by four factors, namely: First, the phenomenon of ethnocentrism strengthens in direct regional elections which often violate the rules of the game from democratic procedures. Second, in election regulations, especially in determining elected candidates. Third, the absence of political parties in the regions in carrying out functions in terms of civil education and political recruitment patterns. Fourth, weak regulations from Law No. 32 of 2004 which do not contain provisions ranging from restrictions to sanctions related to the emergence of racist issues in regional elections (Saleh et al., 2018).

Identity politics is essentially an attempt to achieve power in life as well as on the political stage, where the recognition and existence of representatives of the ethnic group is an important part of the political struggle designed for the benefit of the group (Buchari, 2014:21). The importance of identity to ethnic groups according to Giddens, is due to “It can provide an important thread of continuity with past and is often kept alive through the practice of cultural traditions” (Giddens, 1991). Based on Brown's opinion (in Buchari, 2014) said that the identity of the group aims to promote the representation of the interests of the group. Socio-political behavior becomes something related to group identity at a certain moment to be raised and deified for the benefit of the group.

Suparlan (in Buchari, 2014) saying that the recognition of identity or group arises from the existence of interactions. A person has an identity because his existence is recognized by others in a valid relationship. Thus, a person or group of people needs an identity to be used in an interaction. So, a person or group of people needs a position. This position makes the perpetrator carry out a role that is in accordance with the pattern of the structure that takes place. A certain identity arises because of the recognition by other people or people in a valid relationship. The recognition of the other person in terms of existence and pride in that identity.

Identity politics can be seen from various aspects. In this case, identity politics can depart from two things, including: similarity on identity (base on identity) and also similarity on interest (base on interest) (Buchari, 2014).

**Modality in political contestation**

In a political contestation, resource ownership is important for a candidate. Purwaningsih calls it a modality that is divided into four resources that must be possessed by
regional head candidates, political resources, economic resources, social resources and cultural resources (Baharuddin & Purwaningsih, 2017). The candidate will have a great chance of winning if he is able to accumulate every modality he has, in the sense that each candidate will be better off if he has more than one modality at the time of contending (Muksin et al., 2019).

First, political modalities are networks owned by candidates during the contestation period. General Elections can be contested by contestants by gaining support from political parties, so the network of political parties will be very supportive for contestants to contest (Baharuddin & Purwaningsih, 2017). Not only political parties, further explained by Baharuddin and Purwaningsih in the regional elections candidates must also have and build good relationships by utilizing the network of organizations from political parties to highlight candidate figures during contestation (Baharuddin & Purwaningsih, 2017).

Second, economic modalities are an important modality for candidates in political contestation. In some cases even the possession of economic resources becomes the first condition for contestants when they are not from political parties in the practice of providing personal assistance of work, contracts, welfare support, money, and so on in exchange for electoral support (Berenschot, 2018). The need for economic resources is also getting higher due to the quality of democracy in Indonesia which requires candidates to purchase votes, the exchange of materials is part of election manipulation efforts that have become a key component of election mobilization (Muhtadi, 2019). Candidates must have economic resources, economic modality in regional elections related to the wealth of regional head candidates in the form of personal wealth and campaign donations (Muksin et al., 2019).

Third, social modality is a form of trust in candidates and also greatly affects success in political contestation, because social resources are a measure of the candidate's eligibility to be elected by the public (Ratnia, 2019). Social modality is a condition that must be met for human development, economic development, social, political and democratic stability.

Fourth, cultural modalities are basically formed from a multidimensional social environment as well as the education that has been obtained by the individual either through formal education or through inheritance from the family. The individual unconsciously understands modalities and culture because through this method, it can function effectively. Cultural resources enlighten the form and structure of Indonesian society, this is relevant because Indonesian culture recognizes a social class where higher social status is more
respected and known than those with low social status, so cultural resources at the time of political contestation are one of the things that contestants must have before the election (Baharuddin & Purwaningsih, 2017).

Method

This research uses a qualitative approach through case studies and descriptive analysis. The data was collected by conducting interviews with informants and supported by literature studies in adding some literature and data to gain an understanding of concepts, theories, information, facts, and data.

This research was conducted in humbang hasundutan district, by making Parsadaan Toga Marbun Indonesia (PTMI) as the object of research. The PTMI studied in this study were PTMI in Onan Ganjang District, and PTMI Humbang Hasundutan. Interviews were conducted with marbun traditional leaders, Lumban Batu traditional figures, and Lumban Gaol traditional leaders, PTMI leader Humbang Hasundutan, PTMI secretary Humbang Hasundutan.

Result and Discussion

Similarity of Identities (Base on Identity)/Tribal Similarities

Each elite seeks to use punguans or groups related to the same ethnicity seeking to mobilize support in an effort to gain political legitimacy through contestation of local elections. Identity politics focuses on the politics of differences to rally support in achieving both economic and political interests (Fikri & Adytyas, 2018). Ethnic identity is something that is difficult to separate because it is not a free choice of a person or group so it affects political choices where ethnic similarities are very significant in their influence on a person or group (Hidayat, 2019; Lampe, 2010).

One of the clans competing in the Humbang Hasundutan Regional Head Election is Marbun which consists of three major clans, namely: Lumban Batu, Banjarnahor, and Lumban Gaol. The three clans of Toga Marbun descent have strong ties between their fellow clans and this closeness is certainly one of the important factors used by the political elite as a tool to fight for their rights in their socio-political life.
In this case, the clan identities are united on the basis of the similarity of tribes and lineages of the same ancestor, namely Toga Marbun because in the Batak Toba ethnic society there is a belief that they are *dongan sabutuha* which means those who come from the same womb or gene (Vergouwen, 1986). This is also reinforced by the Batak proverb which written as *tinitip sanggar bohen huru-huruandjolo sinukkun ma marga asa binoto partuturan* it means that to make a birdcage then one has to cut the *gelagah* so that to know its kinship one must ask the clan. Apart from the basis of tribal similarities, there is a culture that is still attached today called *Daihan na Tolu* as one of the determinants of a person's position in the social structure by knowing *tarombo* or genealogy between one individual and another and becomes an important guideline for the social life of the community.

The reason why the community prioritizes choosing one clan is because the blood relationship is still strong because for the Marbun clan or another clan, it is known as *mudar* or blood. Basically, the role of the tribe for the Batak Toba tribe is still strongly felt its influence in local politics due to social values and customs that are still a reference in social life so that these factors are used as a tool to mobilize support. The goal is to achieve interests with the legitimacy of the election results as an opportunity for the opening of public spaces, political spaces, and other spaces for the group.

Changes in post-reform political contestation have opened up a space for groups to fight for their interests (Adiwilaga et al., 2017; Fikri & Adytyas, 2018; Nawir & Mukramin, 2019) such as clan groups that fight for the interests of their groups by placing clan representatives in strategic positions in the field of government. Tribes are one of the aspects that are effectively used as a symbol and political language in gaining legitimacy to gain power. The election became one of the political contestations of the elites in using ethnic, ethnic, religious sentiments, and the origin of the candidates as a strategy to get support from members of their respective groups (Setyanto, 2009).

The development of these values is created by a strong understanding among the winning team about the customs that are used as the potential to approach the community with the aim of achieving votes. In addition, there is a philosophy of the Batak Toba tribe's outlook on life that is still firmly held today: *dang tu magon tu halak adong dope hita* which means why choose someone else if from our clan there is. The three clans of Toga Marbun, namely Lumbern Batu, Banjarnahor, Lumbern Gaol, have different views on various issues, one of which is on political issues where various figures emerge to run as candidates for the regent.
of Humbang Hasundutan. In addition to different views, there is a three-H principle, namely *Hamoraon, Hasangapon, Hagabeon* which has an impact on the perspective and life goals that must be achieved. Related to these political issues, political elites compete for *hasangapon* or honor.

Similarity of identity (*base on identity*) (Buchari, 2014) in this case the tribe is used as one of the instruments to approach and convince the public to support the elites who come from their group thus making it difficult for the community to support the prospective spouses of other clans due to the factors of clan similarity, the social structure of *Dalihan na Tolu*, the philosophy of the Batak Toba people about choosing one of the candidates from one clan, and the principle of mutual love because of high concern makes the winning team of the elite who participate in political contestation seeks to map clans that have close kinship with the two candidates based on the *Dalihan Na Tolu* structure which consists of three positions or positions, including: *hula-hula, boru, dongan sabutuha*. It is on this basis that either the candidate or the support team tries to enter into the structure so that in the end it is able to convince the groups involved in it to support the candidate.

Tribal similarity factors are consolidated and intensely communicated against efforts to become strong political bonds of solidarity (Sagala & Sarumpaet, 2018) against the Marbun clan. The bond of solidarity is practiced practically by referring to customs that have long been developed and are still firmly held by society today. The similarity of clans becomes an important role because of the very strong loyalty to one’s own clan so that the term often appears “why do you choose a person from another clan when we can nominate someone from our clan?”.

**Similarity of Interests (*base on interest*)**

*The Marbun clan group uses identity politics based on common interests (*base on interest*) between the Marbun clan community where one of the group’s interests is recognition or pride, the existence of representatives of the clan group in the government (bureaucracy), and the equal distribution of development.*

a. Recognition

Recognition can be related to the interests of the Marbun clan group related to two things, these two things are: there is recognition in terms of pride in order to raise the dignity or self-esteem of the community with the honor that has been achieved. Identity politics, then,
is based on interests (base on interest) (Buchari, 2014) can be seen from the feeling of feeling valued by the people of other clans. Recognition is one thing that is very important for the Batak Toba community in raising one's dignity. In everyday life with the election of leaders from one clan, people who have similar clans feel that they have pride that exceeds property or material.

The similarity of identity arises from the values of togetherness as a descendant of Toga Marbun who are united by mutual love as brothers. Belief in the ancestors as an aspect that unites the Marbun clan is expected to be maintained to maintain the existence of the clan.

The value system and interaction patterns of the Marbun people are sticking to the ordinances, customs, loving each other, helping each other as descendants of Toga Marbun are maintained to strengthen and strengthen the relationships of the clan group.

b. The existence of representatives of tribal groups

Through the Local Leaders Election, the Marbun clan hopes that there will be equitable development and the existence of representatives of the Marbun clan group can be seen with the election of Regent Dosmar Banjarnahor in the 2015 Local Leaders Election. One of the steps taken by the Regent towards regional development is to hold Martabe activities held in Tarabintang Subdistrict where the Regent cooperates with Descendants of Ompu Saniang Porhas Marbun to build and widen the road from Sijarango II village to Hutarambi Simatabo village. Funds obtained from the self-help fundraising of Marbun's descendants who are considered to have achieved success in overseas.

Pollung Subdistrict, which is one of the majority areas of the Marbun clan, formed the Marbun Customary Institution which plays a role in assisting the government in the development of the area. Regent Dosmar Banjarnahor made Pollung District a development target in agriculture where the government's target was to plant 1200 hectares of corn. The government hopes that the existence of the Marbun Customary Institution can help the government to advance the region through development targets in agriculture.

Buchari (2014) said that identity politics is a tool of an ethnic political struggle to achieve a certain goal. For the Marbun clan, the clan identity is used as an instrument to gain power in order to achieve the interests of the Marbun clan. The importance of the Marbun clan is the pride or recognition of other clans towards the Marbun clan. The way to show pride is the
presence of group representatives in the bureaucratic structure and development priorities leading to Marbun. In the first period of 2015-2020 there were several clan representatives who occupied positions in the government, they are:

**Table 1**


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nama</th>
<th>Jabatan</th>
<th>Modalitas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Binsar Lumban Gaol</td>
<td>Camat Tarabintang</td>
<td>Marga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Jakkon Halomoan Marbun</td>
<td>Kabag Kesejahteraan Sosial</td>
<td>Marga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Parman Lumban Gaol</td>
<td>Sekretaris Inspektorat</td>
<td>Marga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pieter Marbun</td>
<td>Kabid Administrasi Pemerintahan Desa Dinas PMDP2A</td>
<td>Marga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Pakkat Marbun</td>
<td>Kasubbag Umum dan Kepegawaian Badan kesatuan Bangsa dan Politik</td>
<td>Marga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ida Hayanti Marbun</td>
<td>Kasi Pembangunan dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat</td>
<td>Marga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Siti Nurmia Lumbangaol</td>
<td>Kasi Perekonomian, Kesra, dan Pelayanan Umum Kantor Camat Pollung</td>
<td>Marga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Hotmer Marbun</td>
<td>Kasi Tata Pemerintahan Kantor Camat Onan Ganjang</td>
<td>Marga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Supratman Lumban Gaol</td>
<td>Kasi Perekonomian, Kesra, dan Pelayanan Umum Kantor Camat Sijamapolang</td>
<td>Marga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Sahat Lumban Gaol</td>
<td>Kasi Pembangunan dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat dan Desa Kantor Camat Baktiraja</td>
<td>Marga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: humbanghasundutankab.go.id

In addition to the administrator and supervisory officials of the Humbang Hasundutan Regency Government, the Regent also placed several Marbun clans in several SKPD (Regional Apparatus Work Unit) positions, including:
### Table 2
List of SKPD Officials from Marga Marbun in Humbang Hasundutan Regency Government for the 2015-2020 Period

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nama</th>
<th>Jabatan</th>
<th>Modalitas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>AP Marbun</td>
<td>Asisten Perekonomian dan Pembangunan Sekretariat Daerah</td>
<td>Marga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Junter Marbun</td>
<td>Kepala Dinas Pariwisata</td>
<td>Marga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lasro Marbun</td>
<td>Kepala Bapped</td>
<td>Marga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>John Harry Marbun</td>
<td>Kepala Badan Pengelolaan Keuangan</td>
<td>Marga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Domu Lumban Gaol</td>
<td>Sekretaris Tenaga Kerja</td>
<td>Marga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ratna Marbun</td>
<td>Sekretaris Dinas Koperasi, Perindustrian, dan Perdagangan</td>
<td>Marga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: humbanghasundutankab.go.id

In the 2021-2024 period, there are several clan representatives who occupy positions in the government, they are:

### Table 3
List of Humbang Hasundutan Regency Government Officials from Marga Marbun for the 2015-2020 Period

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nama</th>
<th>Jabatan</th>
<th>Modalitas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Drs. Augus Panuturi Marbun, M.Si</td>
<td>Asisten Perekonomian dan Pembangunan</td>
<td>Marga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Domu Lumban Gaol, S.Pd</td>
<td>Kepala Badan Kepegawaian Daerah</td>
<td>Marga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Drs. John Harry Marbun, M.MA</td>
<td>Kepala Badan Pengelolaan Keuangan, Pendapatan dan Aset Daerah</td>
<td>Marga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Radna Fride Marbun, SE</td>
<td>Kepala Dinas Koperasi, Perdagangan dan Perindustrian</td>
<td>Marga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Plt. Domu Lumbangaol, S.Pd</td>
<td>Kepala Dinas Perpustakaan dan Kearsipan</td>
<td>Marga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ir. Junter Marbun, MM</td>
<td>Kepala Dinas Pertanian</td>
<td>Marga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Drs. Vandeik Simanungkalit, MM</td>
<td>Kepala Dinas Sosial</td>
<td>Marga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Jakkon Marbun, SE.MM</td>
<td>Kepala Bagian Kesejahteraan Sosial</td>
<td>Marga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Irma Ardianty Simanungkalit, SSTP</td>
<td>Kepala Bagian Umum</td>
<td>Marga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Nama</td>
<td>Jabatan</td>
<td>Modalitas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Parman Lumban Gaol, ST</td>
<td>Camat Pollung</td>
<td>Marga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Binsar Marbun, S.Pd, MM</td>
<td>Camat Tarabintang</td>
<td>Marga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: humbanghasundutankab.go.id

The cultural modality owned by the marbun clan is maximized to get office and power, the description of each position shown in the table above comes from the support of the clan group is an important role in winning the pair of candidates who are carried out by the marbun clan group.

The support of cultural modalities is applied through the support of indigenous figures. To mobilize support for the masses, both candidates and winning teams use the role of indigenous figures. The Batak Toba people still consider that traditional figures as one of the figures who have very high abilities and prestige so that obedience to the figure is very high. So, not infrequently through candidates and winning teams, they use the influence of figures to convince the public to support candidates who have close kinship with candidates. Related to the role of the character, there is the role of the character in introducing the candidate's spouse depending on how the candidate approaches the figure so that the figure will try to maximize the good image of the candidate and minimize things that are not good from the candidate.

In addition to the role of the figure, there are several important roles of the village head in supporting the candidates. This can be seen from one of the cases of alleged violations of the Humbang Hasundutan Local Leaders Election where the head of Marbun Toruan village, Rusman Banjarnahor, was arrested for allegedly tampering with ballot papers at the Polling Station (TPS) (Harianmistar, 2020). In addition, several other cases are the impartiality of the State Civil Apparatus where it is suspected that one of the Principals of elementary schools in Doloksanggul District was present at the event of the candidate couple's borhat-borhat (departure) and singing at the event (hariansib.com). In addition to the involvement of the State Civil Apparatus and village heads, the election organizers, also the secretary of General Elections Commission (KPU) Humbang Hasundutan, who allegedly did not carry out the declaration of a peaceful campaign for the 2019 elections, besides that there were allegations that the election organizers were suspected of adding votes, resulting in changes in the results.
of the recapitulation of calculations in the minutes and certification of recapitulation (sembiring, 2020).

From the description above, it can be said that the Marbun clan is used as a political modality for candidate couples who represent clan groups based on the similarity of interests (base on interest) with the existence of representatives of the Marbun clan group and the focus of development to the Marbun areas which are felt by the community to have received less attention from the previous government. Clan identity is used to win the votes of group members with the aim of achieving group interests through candidates.

Conclusion

The Marbun clan is used as political modality and social modality to support candidate couples who represent the clan group as a tool of struggle to achieve goals based on common identity (base on identity) and based on common interests (base on interest). The approach used is an instrumentalism approach where the politics of identities is used as a tool to mobilize community support on the basis of common characteristics such as ethnicity, culture, and so on.

In this case the marbun clan uses identity politics as a tool to achieve interests. The interest of the marbun clan is the recognition and existence of representatives of the group. Mobilization is carried out based on the similarity of identity with the similarity of tribes or clans to achieve common interests based on wanting to seek recognition / pride and placing group representatives in the bureaucratic structure and the focus of development is more on the clan group.

Clan plays a role in a person’s political life where the community has a strong loyalty to their ethnicity so that for the community it is known as dang tu magon tu halak adong dihita or why do we have to choose someone else if we have someone from our clan. The Marbun clan has the nature of love and mutual help as brothers of three clans descended from Toga Marbun, namely: Lumban Batu, Banjarnahor, Lumban Gaol. Thus, clans are often only used as a tool for the political interests of candidates to win support with the aim of achieving political interests. The community has a strong loyalty to the clan.
References


