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Identity Politics and Voting Behavior among Indigenous Communities: The Case of the Tuho Ulumanda Community in the 2009–2024 Legislative Elections

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ABSTRACT - This study examines voter behavior in the Tuho Ulumanda indigenous community across Indonesia's 2009–2024 legislative elections, a period marked by rapid political and media change that is reshaping electoral decision-making in rural and customary settings. Drawing on qualitative decision-study data from Ulumanda, Majene Regency (West Sulawesi), the paper analyzes how cultural norms and customary law interact with newer influences such as campaign strategies, social media exposure, political education, socioeconomic conditions, and locally salient issues. The study's novelty lies in tracing these interacting drivers longitudinally across multiple election cycles within an indigenous community, rather than treating tradition and modern campaigning as separate explanations. Findings show that voting choices remain strongly structured by cultural beliefs and the authority of local leaders, even as external political communication expands. The research also identifies emerging tensions that hinder the reproduction of Tuho Ulumanda customary values, particularly regarding family obligations and adherence to customary law, which in turn shape electoral preferences and participation. By clarifying the mechanisms linking customary authority to contemporary electoral dynamics, the study contributes evidence for more context-sensitive voter education and democratic engagement in indigenous communities.

Keywords: *Identity Politics, Voter Behavior, Indigenous Peoples, Legislative Elections*

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Introduction

Post-Reformasi, the phenomenon of identity politics has become a hallmark of Indonesian democracy. Elites often use ethnic, religious, and customary identities as political strategies to gain electoral support. These dynamics in indigenous communities are further complicated by strong cultural ties, communal solidarity, and the role of traditional leaders in social life (Sukri, 2018). The 2024 legislative elections in many places, including the Tuho Ulumanda tribe in West Sulawesi, provide an opportunity to observe how voter behavior is influenced by identity politics.

General elections are a key instrument in a democratic system, enabling the people to directly exercise their sovereignty (Asimakopoulos et al., 2025; Hudhaibi, 2023; Menon et al., 2025; Willis et al., 2022).Through elections, citizens participate in determining the direction of policy and political leadership at various levels of government. However, voting behavior is not solely determined by individual rational factors, as assumed by rational choice theory, but also by social, cultural, economic, and even spiritual factors that shape an individual's or group's political orientation (Kulachai et al., 2023; Zingher, 2023).

In a democratic political system, voting behavior is a crucial indicator in understanding public political participation. Each election serves not only as a venue for political competition but also as a space for the articulation of values, identities, and social interests that develop within the community (Dalton, 2000). In indigenous communities, including the Tuho Ulumanda community in Majene Regency, West Sulawesi Province, political behavior cannot be separated from the cultural context, social structure, and value systems that have been internalized for generations. In such societies, political decisions are often not only the result of individual rational considerations, but also a reflection of collective solidarity, obedience to traditional leaders, and the maintenance of cultural identity.

Custom is a unique form of Indonesian diversity, reflected in the many and varied cultures it possesses. This country boasts numerous cultural differences across regions, one example of which is found in Ulumanda District, Majene Regency, West Sulawesi Province. Ulumanda District maintains a traditional system and institutions known as *Adat Tuho*.

In today's era of democratization, culture is one aspect that influences people's actions and behavior, including political decision-making. Democracy can be seen in the level of participation in presidential, gubernatorial, regent/mayoral, and House of Representatives elections.

Returning to *Adat Tuho*, etymologically, ada'tuho consists of two words: *ada'* (custom) and *tuho* (life). Terminologically, *ada' tuho* (traditional customs) in Ulumanda District is explained as a custom that upholds human life, family, and the dignity of individuals and society as a whole, as precious creations of God. This is manifested in one of the philosophies of the *adat Tuho*, manu siorongngi, or mappatuho to mate (bringing the dead back to life). This philosophy can be interpreted as meaning that if a person who has nothing wrong or violates customary law, the community must bear the fine. This means that the community must rescue the person (help pay off the fine) so that they can return to being a living person in the eyes of the community (Ika Novitasari, 2022; Rosma & Jamaluddin, 2025).

Based on this quote from the tuho adat philosophy, which upholds and prioritizes brotherhood, it is not surprising that, in the context of discussing political behavior, or more specifically, voting behavior, this can be a crucial aspect in influencing them. Discussing the existence of the spirit in Ulumanda inevitably involves a discussion of primordialism, such as its

traditional values, which prioritize family values and adherence to customary law. These two factors will be examined to see how they influence the local community's voting behavior.

In the context of the 2009–2024 legislative elections, the emergence of identity politics among the Tuho Ulumanda indigenous community demonstrates that the local democratic process is proceeding with a distinctive character. Cultural identity and membership in indigenous communities often serve as the basis for determining political orientation and choice of particular legislative candidates. This phenomenon demonstrates that identity politics still plays a dominant role in determining voter behavior at the local level, even though the influence of modernization, education, and social media has begun to change the patterns of political communication in society.

The practice of identity politics was evident in the legislative election contest in Majene Regency, West Sulawesi Province. An example of how political identity influences electoral support is Ulumanda District, where the majority of the population is adherents of the Ada' Tuho Ulumanda Community. Although the Ulumanda Final Voter List only has 6,888 voters, significantly fewer than Malunda District's 13,767 voters, the distribution of legislative seats in Electoral District 3 remains balanced, with two seats allocated from 2009 to 2024.

Based on the recapitulation of legislative election data from 2009 to 2024, Electoral District 3 of Majene Regency, which includes Malunda and Ulumanda Districts, shows a relatively stable pattern in the distribution of seats in the Regional People's Representative Council. For four consecutive election periods (2009-2014, 2014-2019, 2019-2024), the number of contested seats in Electoral District 3 remained at four, with a consistent distribution of two seats for Malunda District and two for Ulumanda District.

In the 2024 Legislative Election, there was a change in the configuration of electoral districts in Majene Regency. While in the previous period, Ulumanda and Malunda Districts were part of Electoral District 3, in the last election, both were moved to Electoral District 4, along with two additional districts: Tubo and Tamerodo Sendana. This change automatically affected the composition of the voter base and the potential distribution of legislative seats.

Mathematically, the addition of these two additional districts increased political competition in Electoral District 4, primarily because the number of voters from Tubo and Tamerodo Sendana increased the dominant number on the final voter list. However, despite Ulumanda's structural position as a minority voter, the consistency of the voting behavior of the Tuho Ulumanda indigenous community remained evident. Support remained concentrated on candidates from the Ulumanda region. This indicates that cultural identity remains a primary consideration for the community in making political choices, in line with voting behavior patterns based on social ties described in sociological (Kustiawan & Samin, 2020).

Many studies have been conducted on voting behavior in Indonesia, particularly in the context of the relationship between socioeconomic variables, education level, and voter political orientation (Mahardhika & Syamsulhakim, 2022; Mujani, 2020). Most of these studies emphasize the dominance of rational and psychological approaches in explaining political behavior, positioning voters as autonomous individual actors in making political decisions (Kertzer, 2022; Taylor, 2017). However, these studies tend to overlook the cultural and communal dimensions deeply embedded in indigenous communities, where social identity, customary values, and local patronage relationships remain dominant factors in determining political preferences (Aboi, 2024; Liedong, 2025).

Research examining the voting behavior of indigenous communities in West Sulawesi, especially in Majene Regency, remains very scarce. Previous studies have focused primarily on the dynamics of local political parties, campaign patterns, and shifts in party support bases without examining in depth how cultural identity and customary structures influence the consistency of community political choices (Chadwick & Stromer-Galley, 2016; Schulz-Herzenberg, 2016; Touseef et al., 2023; Zingher, 2019). Furthermore, most studies tend to be cross-sectional, describing voting behavior only during a single election period. Therefore, they are unable to explain the patterns of change and continuity in the political behavior of indigenous communities over the long term (Mondak et al., 2010).

This research aims to fill this gap by using a longitudinal and historical descriptive approach, tracing the evolution of identity politics and voting behavior among the Tuho Ulumanda indigenous community over five legislative election periods (2009–2024). By focusing on indigenous communities with strong social characteristics and cultural values, this study not only highlights how cultural identity plays a role in determining political preferences but also how indigenous communities adapt to modern political dynamics such as the expansion of electoral districts, increasing voter turnout, and the influence of social media and political education.

This independence was evident in the results of the 2024 Legislative Election, in which Ulumanda won only one legislative seat, yet the community's vote continued to favor local legislative candidates. This situation suggests that the identity politics of the Ulumanda tribe was not entirely influenced by changes in the formal political structure or the configuration of electoral districts. Instead, loyalty to figures perceived as representing indigenous identity remained a factor influencing voting behavior. This phenomenon also reinforces previous findings that indigenous communities tend to have consistent and inherited patterns of political support Thus, despite changes in the scale of competition due to the expansion of electoral districts, the voting behavior of the Ulumanda community still demonstrates the dominance of identity politics rooted in customary and kinship ties.

The cultural identity of Indonesian society influences electoral democracy. Political identity, which refers to the use of ethnic, religious, kinship, and cultural symbols as a basis for political mobilization, remains crucial for voting behavior, particularly in indigenous communities. This phenomenon becomes even more significant in the context of elections in regions with stable social structures. Indigenous communities in various regions of Indonesia, such as the Baduy (Matsuda et al., 2025), Ammatoa Kajang (Megawati & Mahdiannur, 2021), Bali (Rahmah & Sulistyono, 2024), and Papua (Indrawan et al., 2019), demonstrate voting behavior influenced by collective identity and local leaders. However, specific research on Ulumanda is still very limited, and this study is crucial to fill this gap.

The importance of Legislative Elections as an integral part of General Elections in the context of modern democracy. Legislative elections provide citizens with the opportunity to directly elect representatives or government officials. Elections, as a framework for democracy, enable public participation in determining the country's leaders and policies. The primary purpose of general and legislative elections is to provide citizens with the opportunity to express their choices and elect representatives who will represent them in government. Studies of voting behavior focus on the concept of people's electoral preferences based on the factors that influence their choices. Voting tendencies are generally based on a person's heart and mind when voting, as

well as background information regarding the specific conditions that influence their choices (Falcão et al., 2023; Robert, 2024).

This study aims to comprehensively analyze the dynamics of identity politics and voting behavior of the Tuho Ulumanda indigenous community in the context of the Indonesian Legislative Elections from 2009 to 2024. As an integral part of a modern democratic system, legislative elections not only serve as a means of political participation but also reflect how social and cultural values interact with the formal political process. In the context of the Tuho Ulumanda indigenous community, political behavior is inextricably linked to customary structures, social ties, and traditional leadership, which influence electoral preference patterns.

More specifically, this study aims to identify and explain the social, cultural, economic, and political factors that shape the voting behavior patterns of the Ulumanda indigenous community during five legislative election periods. This study aims to describe how customary values and traditional leadership structures play an important role in shaping the direction of political support within the community. It also examines how the influence of modernization, including the expansion of political education, the growth of social media, and increasing social mobility, has transformed or reinforced these political orientations. Furthermore, this study aims to examine the forms and manifestations of identity politics that emerge in each phase of the legislative elections, as well as to assess the extent to which cultural identity plays a primary role in determining political choices. The analysis also aims to understand the dynamics of the relationship between the continuity of customary values and changes in political behavior in the context of democratization at the local level. Thus, this study seeks not only to describe the voting behavior of the Tuho Ulumanda indigenous community but also to interpret how cultural identity transforms into an influential political force in the process of political representation and participation in Indonesia.

Behavior is a natural human trait that distinguishes one from another and characterizes an individual. In a political context, behavior is categorized as interactions between government and society, government institutions, and between groups and individuals within society in the process of making, implementing, and enforcing political decisions.

By voting in general elections, people can participate politically. Voters are Indonesian citizens aged 17 and over, whether married or unmarried, according to Law No. 7, Articles 348-350 of 2017. Voters in general elections fall into three groups: permanent voters, who are registered with the General Elections Commission and on the Permanent Voter List; additional voters, who move to vote at an unspecified polling station; and special voters, who are not registered on the Permanent Voter List or the Additional Voter List.

One part of the preparation of the political and government infrastructure of Majene Regency is holding the 2024 Simultaneous Elections, especially legislative elections. The process of selecting and electing legislative members, both at the regional and national levels, includes the general election of legislative candidates.

Components of political behavior must be realized in a society that seeks, determines, and accepts leaders who possess leadership qualities. In this case, leaders possess qualities that are higher than the average in society, in terms of physical, moral, mental, educational, knowledge, and experience. This method is known as the Trait Approach (Crossan et al., 2017; Penney et al., 2015). The existence of this philosophy can be traced and observed in the social life of the Ulumanda community. For example, several lawbreakers in the Ulumanda community are always

resolved first before being handed over to the police for legal action. It can be concluded that the Ulumanda community, based on the tuho tradition, prioritizes their customary law before ultimately handing the problem over to the police after customary law fails to resolve the issue.

To be studied through sociological and psychological lenses. Therefore, this article seeks to identify elements that influence political participation within the cultural and social framework of the Tuho Ulumanda Indigenous Community, while also examining voter behavior in the context of legislative elections, including political choices, candidate selection, and factors influencing voter decisions. The study of voting behavior has become a crucial topic in political science, particularly in understanding how people make political choices in elections. Voting behavior essentially explains the reasons, factors, and considerations underlying a person's decision to vote. Experts divide approaches to voting behavior theory into several different models: sociological, psychological, and rational. The sociological approach, founded by Paul Lazarsfeld and the Columbia School in the 1940s, emphasizes that a person's social background greatly influences their voting behavior. Political choices are strongly influenced by factors such as religion, ethnicity, social class, and community environment (Just, 2017; Sobolewska et al., 2015). This approach is particularly relevant in indigenous communities due to social solidarity and the psychological approach, developed from the Michigan School through research (Phoenix & Chan, 2024). Emphasizes the importance of voters' emotional ties to political parties or candidates. This theory highlights the role of party identification, or long-term loyalty to a party, as a key determinant of voting behavior. However, in indigenous communities like Ulumanda, the dominant emotional attachment is not always to political parties, but rather to traditional figures or figures perceived as representing their cultural identity.

Based on the study of these two theories, it can be concluded that a single approach is insufficient to explain the voting behavior of indigenous communities. Therefore, a combined approach (local sociopsychology) is used that integrates the influence of social identity, political loyalty, and rational considerations. This approach allows for a more comprehensive analysis of the voting behavior of the Tuho Ulumanda indigenous community in the 2024 legislative elections, where tradition still plays a dominant role, but at the same time there is a tendency for behavioral shifts among younger voters.

Method

This study employed a qualitative methodology(Filsafat, 2022). Stated that this research employed a qualitative approach and ethnographic case study methodology. This method was chosen because the Tuho Ulumanda community has strong traditions and customs, as well as a unique social structure. Researchers can understand voting behavior from the perspective of political choice and social, cultural, and collective identity.

This method is primarily based on the fact that the political identity and voting behavior of indigenous peoples cannot be explained solely by quantitative data. To achieve this,in-depth interviews with key figures, observations of daily political practices, and analysis of relevant documents were necessary. This research was conducted after the February 14, 2024, legislative elections and analyzed using the Miles & Huberman (2014). model, which includes data presentation, conclusion drawing, and data reduction. The purpose of this study was to identify patterns in indigenous voting behavior and relate them to theories of voting behavior (sociological and psychological).

The study, "Identity Politics and Voting Behavior: A Study of the Tuho Ulumanda Indigenous Community in the 2009–2024 Legislative Elections," was designed using a qualitative approach to deeply understand the relationship between indigenous identity, social structure, and political behavior in the Ulumanda community. The primary focus of this research was not on the number of respondents, but rather on the richness of information and depth of experience of the informants directly involved in the dynamics of electoral politics in the Tuho Ulumanda indigenous community.

The number of informants in this study ranged from fifteen to twenty. Informants were selected through purposive sampling, considering the representation of key actors in the indigenous community and the local political arena. They included indigenous figures such as Ada' Tuho, Ballangang Latte, and Tomakaka; community leaders with social and moral influence; local political actors involved in the legislative elections, either as candidates or supporters; and indigenous community members who played a role as active voters. Determining the number of informants is flexible and can develop according to field needs until reaching the point of data saturation, namely when the information obtained begins to repeat itself and no longer produces new findings.

Result and Discussion

One way to measure the participation, democratization, and legitimacy of Indonesian citizens is through their political behavior. This political behavior can be observed in various ways, including through the activities and enthusiasm of citizens who attend polling stations during general elections. This form of political behavior serves as an analytical tool for assessing public political participation, including in the 2024 legislative elections.

The history and cultural development of the Indonesian people give them unique characteristics. Because the legal system is closely linked to the culture of its people, these characteristics influence the legal system. The constitutional foundation for nationality and statehood is largely determined by the characteristics and identity of a nation. Therefore, it is natural that the Indonesian nation, consisting of various ethnic groups, recognizes customary law. This customary law is still highly respected by indigenous communities to this day. It is undeniable that indigenous communities exist in Indonesia, as they have existed long before the independence of the Republic of Indonesia. Community behavior is all forms of activity, behavior, and psychological processes that drive actions before, during, or using a product or service. External factors influence voter behavior. Many researchers focus on sociological or external factors, which are often considered to shape voter hierarchies. From an internal perspective, political parties play a crucial role in determining how voters act. This view suggests that the majority of voters have already made their decision. Dennis Kavanagh uses sociological and psychological approaches to examine voter behavior. This third method can be used to analyze research findings on the voting behavior of the Ulumanda community.

Malunda District has 13,767 registered voters, while Ulumanda District has 6,888, representing a significant difference in the number of registered voters between the two districts, nearly double. However, the political distribution in Electoral District 3 Majene is not necessarily affected by this difference in voter numbers. During the last four election periods (2009–2024), the distribution of seats in the Regional People's Representative Council has remained stable and balanced, with Malunda and Ulumanda Districts each securing two seats.

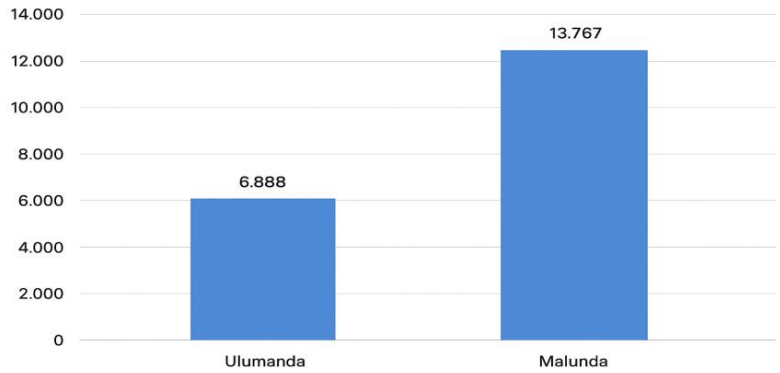


Figure 1. Number of Final Voter Lists for Ulumanda and Malunda 2024

Source: General Election Commission, 2024

This phenomenon demonstrates that voter behavior in the Tuho Ulumanda customary area is influenced not only by voter numbers but also by social structures, the legitimacy of traditional leaders, and local wisdom. Often, community support for legislative candidates is based on social proximity, cultural loyalty, and the individual's moral credibility, rather than solely on campaign tactics or voter dominance.

Therefore, the registered voters data between Malunda and Ulumanda not only provides quantitative information about the election, but also provides qualitative information about political stability and how local wisdom influences the electoral behavior of indigenous peoples in Electoral District 3 of Majene Regency.

Sociological Approach

A sociological approach emphasizes that, in studying the voting behavior of the Tuho Ulumanda indigenous community, rational individual considerations are not the only factors influencing political choices. The social structure, customs, and kinship networks that bind the community also significantly influence political choices. Social identities based on customs and ethnicity serve as collective markers, and people tend to feel closer to candidates from their own group or those perceived to have a strong understanding of local principles.

Religious and customary leaders serve as important reference points in the political process. As political patrons, they are socially respected and contribute to citizens' political preferences through moral influence and customary legitimacy. This patron-client relationship often encourages people to follow local leaders in making decisions during elections.

Communal solidarity also facilitates collective vote-building. Political decisions are often made through family or customary community deliberations, rather than by individuals. Consequently, the actions of people in the Ulumanda community are more communal and based on social networks than on rational individual political considerations. This sociological approach demonstrates that identity politics in indigenous communities is tied to the social structures that exist in everyday life, in addition to the political strategies of the elite. For them, elections are not simply a place for people to compete, but also a place where identity, customs, and social solidarity are constructed and mobilized. In the context of the 2024 legislative elections, this trend suggests that ethnic affiliation, the role of traditional leaders,and customs will continue to influence the behavior of Tuho Ulumanda voters.

Social control is generated by pressure to conform to one's social environment. This is due to the fact that each social circle has unique norms that are universally applicable. In other words, sociological pressure determines how much influence external factors have on an individual's decisions. This method actually demonstrates that a person's social characteristics and social group significantly influence their voting behavior. In essence, every individual lives within a specific sociocultural environment. Sociocultural values serve as guidelines for members of each sociocultural environment. Each individual adopts values from their environment, including the Tuho Ulumanda indigenous community, through a continuous learning process.

These values are adopted and then implemented in the form of habits, namely daily attitudes and behaviors. Thus, a person's behavioral patterns in interacting with others are influenced by the values they acquire from their socio-cultural environment. The strength of these values and all socio-cultural resources shape and influence individual behavioral patterns. This is because each individual's socio-cultural environment differs from one another, resulting in a unique, distinctive, and distinct socio-cultural character.

Table 1. Voting Behavior of the Tuho Indigenous Community Using a Sociological Approach

No	Behavioral	Informant
1.	Customary Stakeholders	-Value -Responsible
2.	Government	-Same culture -Capability
3.	Public	- Community -Identity

Source: Processed by Author

Based on this information, the author concludes that this shared identity (traditional commonality) is reinforced by the ancestral message *"macoana tau laing kadakena solosohong tatta lolo kai sohosohong,"* which means "no matter how good others are, family always comes first." This significantly influences the voting behavior of the Ulumanda community, and thus, traditional values play a central role, ensuring that this common bond remains upheld by the local community.

As previously mentioned, from a traditional perspective, several factors are also considered important in determining voting behavior, such as the values of a leader with integrity, trustworthiness, fairness, and responsibility. On the other hand, the government's perspective differs significantly from the traditional one, which sees a candidate for leader who prioritizes one stream because they are perceived as capable of collaborating with others to advance the region and are supported by their power.

Sociological factors, such as opposition to a particular region, which is usually supported by local voters, also influence voting behavior in such communities. Consequently, this is related to regional affiliation in addition to origin and geographic location. The shared customs and traditions shared by people in a place are one way they bond with their community. Local leaders often direct political decisions, so their support significantly influences the community's political preferences. The Tuho Ulumanda indigenous community has a strong sense of collectivism, meaning decisions are made based on collective interests rather than individual ones, resulting in uniform and coordinated voting behavior.

According to several informants from the Tuho Ulumanda indigenous community, voting behavior in the 2024 legislative elections is inseparable from the strong ties of kinship and customs. Informants stated that when a legislative candidate comes from the same tribe or region, the community tends to support them because they feel that the candidate is "one of us" and will better understand the community's needs. Several informants also emphasized that traditional leaders, the government, and the community play a central role in determining political direction. They said, "If traditional leaders have spoken, the community usually follows." This suggests that the legitimacy of traditional leaders extends beyond cultural rituals to electoral politics.

Furthermore, informants explained how political choices are often made collectively. Extended family gatherings or traditional community gatherings are spaces for discussing political preferences. One informant stated that "we vote not only for ourselves, but to uphold the good name of the family and customs." Thus, political choices are interpreted more as a representation of social solidarity, rather than solely an individual decision.

In Electoral District 3 of Majene Regency, which comprises Malunda and Ulumanda Districts, there is a significant difference in the number of voters registered on the Permanent Voter List. The number of voters in Malunda is 13,767, while in Ulumanda there are only 6,888 voters. Malunda has a voter base twice as large as Ulumanda, based on voter turnout. However, with four prominent legislative seats in Electoral District 3, the seat distribution in the 2009–2019 Legislative Elections was quite consistent. Regardless of the proportion on the Permanent Voter List, each district received two seats. This raises questions about the principle of ideal representation, as Malunda may mathematically have greater representation than Ulumanda.

In electoral systems, this phenomenon is important to study. In particular, it is crucial to determine how effective the one-person-one-vote principle is at the regional level. The quality of local democracy can be affected by this imbalance between voter turnout and seat distribution. This includes the possibility of unfair political representation and interregional tensions in the struggle for legislative seats.

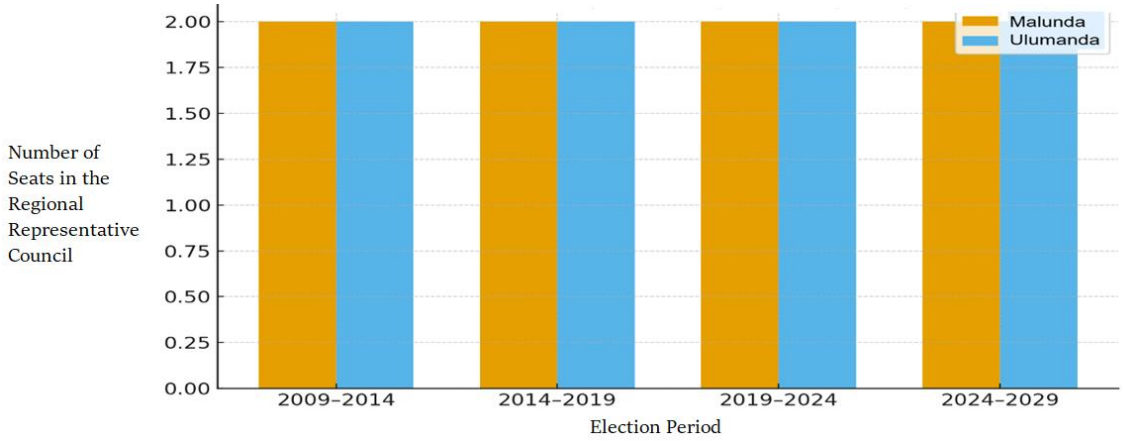


Figure 2. Distribution of Regional People's Representative Council seats in Majene
Source : General Election Commission, 2024

Electoral District 3 of Majene Regency, which comprises Malunda and Ulumanda Districts, exhibits a relatively stable distribution of seats in the Regional People's Representative Council, according to a recapitulation of legislative election data from 2009 to 2024. Over the four consecutive election periods (2009-2014, 2014-2019, and 2019-2024), the number of contested

seats in electoral district 3 remained consistent, with two seats awarded to Malunda District and two to Ulumanda District.

This consistency demonstrates political stability and a strong balance of geographic representation between the two districts. Although Malunda District has a relatively larger Final Voter List than Ulumanda, election results do not indicate dominance in one area. Instead, people in both districts tend to maintain a balanced proportion of representation. This may be evidence of a local political consciousness based on justice and togetherness.

This phenomenon indicates that the political behavior of the Malunda and Ulumanda people is influenced by traditional values and strong socio-cultural influences, in addition to electoral power. Within the social system of the Tuho Ulumanda indigenous community, which prioritizes social balance and harmony, the two regions share cultural and historical ties. In electoral political practices, traditional values such as kadakena solosohong, macoana tau laing, and tatta lolo kai solosohong, which emphasize the importance of consensus and balance in every collective decision, are indirectly reflected in their practices.

The balance of seats indicates that the local political process has reached a certain stage, where social stability and community participation are prioritized over dominant political competition. Elected political figures typically possess strong social legitimacy through traditional roles, local figures, and genealogical ties. This suggests that political legitimacy in indigenous regions depends on the social and moral beliefs of indigenous communities, in addition to political party support.

Psychological Approach

The Michigan School is the source of the psychological approach. This method is based on the internal or psychological aspects of individuals in explaining their voting behavior. According to Nursal (2004), this type of approach arises because voters' attitudes are gradually ingrained through recognition over a long process. A person's psychological factors greatly influence this approach. Voters' approaches are influenced by the personality or figure of the candidate, and voters typically view something as ideal. Those elected in legislative elections have comparable abilities, which results in a view that can be used as a reference. Psychological methods are very common in Ulumanda. Our previous research showed that psychological approaches are characteristic of the Tuho Ulumanda indigenous community, although the community's conservative nature typically prioritizes social factors when making decisions.

Table 2. Voting Behavior of the Tuho Indigenous Community Using a Psychological Approach

No	Behavioral	Informant
1.	Customary Stakeholders	-Family Closeness -Characteristics
2.	Government	- Popularity - Background
3.	Public	- Socialization -Emotional Closeness -Attitude/Behavior

Source: Processed by Author

From the table 2, the author obtains information and can describe the voting behavior of the Tuho community in Ulumanda, taking into account the influence of customary values, which are the subject of this study. As previously mentioned, analysis of voting behavior using a psychological approach focuses more on attitudinal variables. Essentially, voting behavior is the activity of voters casting their votes for people they deem good and capable. However, it is important to understand that attitudes are not simply formed. They develop through a long process, from birth to adulthood, which takes place over a relatively long period of time.

It is clear that the final message conveyed by one of the customary leaders in the Ulumanda District was that anyone who does not follow customary teachings is considered to have abandoned the family. Therefore, the Tuho people consider anyone who goes against tradition or customary principles to have abandoned the family. These issues still significantly influence the voting behavior of the Tuho community in Ulumanda due to the severe consequences for someone separated from their family. The author states that many people in the Ulumanda District have taken this to heart. Consequently, in accordance with customary teachings, the majority of Ulumanda residents choose partners who meet ideal criteria. Otherwise, their deviations will bring shame to their families.

In contrast to the government's perspective, which assesses prospective leaders based on popularity and leadership background rather than institutional affiliation and proximity, it can be concluded that the government prioritizes leaders who have demonstrated achievements during their tenure. The community believes that this socialization process creates a psychological bond between the candidate and the indigenous community of Ulumanda District, fostering loyalty and harmony. Furthermore, it strengthens the community's emotional ties. This political concept persists and is clearly linked to the customary values of tuho, namely adherence to customary law that prioritizes those capable of improving the community's life, known as pakkulle tuho by the indigenous community.

Three, Throughout the last legislative elections (2009, 2014, and 2019), the political representation of Ulumanda District in the Majene Regency Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) has shown a relatively stable and consistent pattern. This pattern demonstrates the community's continued support for local figures with cultural affinity and social legitimacy.

Basri Ibrahim and AM Tandi are two individuals from Ulumanda District who entered the Majene Regency Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) in the 2009 Legislative Elections. These individuals are considered important in the community and possess strong social ties. They are also actively involved in traditional and community activities. Furthermore, both are considered capable of liaising between the interests of the indigenous community and the local government structure.

In the 2014 Legislative Elections, Basri Ibrahim and AM Tandi were elected for a second term, demonstrating a similar trend. The re-election of these two figures demonstrates the stability of the Ulumanda community's political preferences, as they tend to trust figures who have proven their ability to support local aspirations. According to the psychological approach to voting behavior, this phenomenon demonstrates a strong psychological and social bond between voters and candidates. In this approach, emotional considerations and social legitimacy outweigh rational considerations of party preference.

Meanwhile, a generational shift occurred in Ulumanda's political representation in the 2019 Legislative Elections. The two elected candidates, Muh. Safaat and Ummi Nursandi,

represent a new generation of local political regeneration. These two individuals come from the social and cultural base of Ulumanda, ensuring a smooth political transition without altering the balance of representation in Electoral District 3. Furthermore, the election of Muh. Safaat and Ummi Nursandi demonstrates that the Ulumanda community has adapted its politics to the dynamics of modern democracy while maintaining its fundamental customary principles, such as togetherness (sian salama) and social responsibility (pambalinna ada).

In Electoral District 3 Majene, which comprises Malunda and Ulumanda Districts, internal political balance is maintained. Despite significant differences in the number of eligible voters between the two districts, the election results demonstrate a fair and stable distribution of seats, with two seats for Malunda and two for Ulumanda in each election period. This demonstrates that the voting behavior of the people in the Tuho Ulumanda customary area is influenced not only by population size but also by loyalty to local figures, existing social structures, and moral and cultural principles inherited from their ancestors.

Therefore, Ulumanda's political representation in the last three election periods is a manifestation of local wisdom in maintaining socio-political balance and legitimacy at the regional level, beyond election results. Therefore, Ulumanda politics combines local wisdom and modern rationality. Public support for legislative candidates stems not only from political campaigns but also from the social trust developed within the Tuho Ulumanda culture.

Therefore, Ulumanda's political representation in the last three election periods is a manifestation of local wisdom in maintaining socio-political balance and legitimacy at the regional level, beyond election results. Therefore, Ulumanda politics combines local wisdom and modern rationality. Public support for legislative candidates stems not only from political campaigns but also from the social trust developed within the Tuho Ulumanda culture. Psychological methods for understanding the voting behavior of the Tuho Ulumanda community in legislative elections emphasize their attitudes, perceptions, motivations, and emotional connection to their cultural identity. For indigenous communities, political choices are the result of psychological processes related to pride, trust, and continuity with symbols present in everyday life. This goes beyond simply responding to formal policies or program promises. Many informants said they have more confidence in legislative candidates who demonstrate emotional engagement, such as using local languages, participating in traditional ceremonies, or simply displaying behaviors deemed appropriate to the norm. While these factors foster strong trust, they are not always accompanied by logistical considerations regarding the policies being proposed.

Collective emotions, in addition to trust, are also crucial. Because they are considered a representation of community identity, pride when a "local son" runs for the legislature often drives public support. Conversely, there is concern that traditional voices will be marginalized if they do not vote for a candidate from their own community. Voting motivation also stems from practical needs experienced daily. Several informants stated that they chose candidates perceived as capable of providing concrete assistance, whether in the form of economic support, social attention, or access to resources. This suggests that voting behavior is influenced by a combination of basic needs and identity needs, as explained in psychological theories of motivation and personal drive.

Conclusion

Various unique factors, such as traditional values, political education, accessibility, and government policies, influence the voting behavior of the Tuho Ulumanda indigenous community. Local figures and everyday issues also often influence the indigenous community. According to sociological and psychological studies, their trust in the political system also influences their participation in elections.

From a sociopolitical perspective, Tuho customary principles prioritize shared culture in the Legislative Election for Electoral District Three of Majene Regency, and are considered incapable of representing the Ulumanda community. Furthermore, Tuho ancestors have always respected customary law, as demonstrated by the old adage, *"macoana tau laing kadakena solosohong tatta lolo kai sohosohong,"* meaning that family is always more important than others. This is reflected in the results of the Majene Regency Legislative Election.

In addition to sociological factors, the voting behavior of people in the Tuho community has also been studied from a psychological perspective, prioritizing the principles of family, character, emotional closeness, and socialization. The behavior of the community, which is closely related to the election results, which were dominated by Putra Ulumanda as the candidate with the most votes in the legislative election for Electoral District three in Majene Regency, West Sulawesi Province, shows compliance with customary law.

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