Political Change Patterns of The Mataraman Society in Kediri (Study of Political Sociology in Mataraman Kediri on Election of Political Parties)

(1)Taufik Alamin, (2)Darsono Wisadirana, (3)Sanggar Kanto, (4)Hilmy Mochtar, (5)Sholih Mu'adi, (6)Mardiyono

Social and Political Science of Universitas Brawijaya, Indonesia

E-mail: (1)Taufikalamin25@gmail.com, (2)darsono_wisa@ub.ac.id, (3)sanggar.fisip@ub.ac.id, (4)mochtarhilmy@gmail.com, (5)sholihmuadi@ub.ac.id, (6)mardiyn_fia@ub.ac.id,

Abstrack

Social political change in society is one of the social facts that cannot be avoided. The socio-political phenomenon is a dynamic and tentative situation. This research is oriented towards analyzing the political changes of the Mataraman society in Kediri. The method used is a qualitative descriptive approach with case studies. Primary and secondary data sources are obtained from interviews and references, supporting documents are used to describe the course's subject. The results showed that the political dynamics in Kediri influenced the changes in political patterns of the Mataraman society in Kediri. The powerful socio-culture of the Matraman community is not faded with the changes in political choices that occurred .

Keywords: Mataraman Society, Social, Political, Kediri City

INTRODUCTION

Social change is related to three aspects, namely, process, difference, and time dimension. Social change refers to a function in a social system where differences can be measured or observed within a certain period. According to Soekanto (2001), social change is a phenomenon that never ends. Moreover, in today's era of globalization, there is no single society that has not changed. However, it can be ascertained that the level of change varies, depending on society's conditions and the factors that trigger these social changes. A change can occur due to factors originating from the community itself and outside organizations.

The dynamic conditions of society accompanying an orientation in political behavior that is currently happening is part of social change that cannot be avoided. Differences in views and the direction of the tendency to determine political attitudes occur because of various social considerations and settings that drive a person or group to win the political constellation. Change is often intended to increase the level of trust and support for political power and interest. According to Rritzer (2007), social reality forms actors' roles and desires, either individuals or groups, in doing something referred to as social action. Thus, a social motion carried out by an actor is following the wishes and meaning contained therein and is not determined by the structure.

Political orientation is an individual or group perspective on the existing structures in people's lives. These individuals and groups' political orientation is usually motivated by their values to form a distinctive attitude and behavior in viewing political objects. Furthermore, after

knowing about the political direction of the Mataraman community in Kediri, the Mataram community politics referred to in this study is the perspective of community political attitudes. The philosophy of people's political attitudes is shaped and influenced by Javanese cultural values and how they understand and behave in a modern political system, especially during the General Election and Pilkada in Kediri and their expectations.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

This research focuses on the change in the Mataram society's political orientation in Kediri to the political system, including political events, actor behavior, and political institutions. This research uses a case study, which intensively examines the background of the current situation and the environmental interactions of a social unit, individual, group of institutions, or society in Kediri. Primary data were obtained from interviews and focus group discussions (FGD) secondary data were obtained from references and various related documents

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
Political Circle of Mataraman

The socio-political phenomenon in 1955 was a significant history in national politics. This year the winner of third place was the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) party with 11,803 votes. NU received votes from areas where the *santri* group was dominant. In Kediri, the groups of santri are spread across several sub-districts, which also contain Islamic boarding schools (Pondok pesantren). The sub-district areas in question include; Mojoroto District, Pesantren District, Mojo District, Kepung District, and Semen District.

Meanwhile, the 4th winner was Masyumi, with 4,521 votes. Most of the options were obtained from urban areas, other areas that are members of Muhammadiyah, such as in Kauman, Ngadiluwih, and Kediri City Districts. The PNI and the PKI represented vote acquisition results in the 1955 election, the abangan group in politics. Meanwhile, the *santri* group was represented by NU and Masyumi. Comparing the votes acquired by the nationalist parties and the Islamic parties in Kediri was very far. If

combined, the vote totals between the PKI and PNI, which were nationalist parties, amounted to 38,250. Meanwhile, Islamic parties' acquisition, which is a combination of NU and Masyumi votes, totaled 16,324.

From these data, it can be seen that the society of Kediri in distributing their political attitudes are more dominant to nationalist parties than to Islamic parties. That means that most Kediri society is *abangan* culture while the rest are *santri* groups, both traditional and modern santri. However, culturally both *abangan* and *santri* remain fluid entities. The two of them can meet in religious rites and patterns that are quite harmonious and go hand in hand with each other in society's daily life.

This condition is different from the legislative election on April 5, 2004, where several parties competed for votes from the same voter society, such as the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) and the Golkar Party, which fought over the Nationalists, the National Mandate Party (PAN) and the Prosperous Justice Party (PK Sejahtera) is seeking the voice of modern Muslims, and the National Awakening Party (PKB) and the United Development Party (PPP) are competing for the votes of Traditional Islamic groups. That is confirmed by Ichlasul Amal's (2004) 's view that the results of the legislative election clearly show the origins of the votes obtained by the big four winning parties, Golkar, PDI-P, PKB, and PAN. Those four parties gained votes from Islamic and Nationalist groups. People still vote for parties based on their ideology, culture, and religion. In Kediri city, social and cultural characteristics influenced the pattern of political affiliation. The Tlatah Mataraman society from 1955 to 2004 was always loyal to the Nationalist party. From the findings of the data in the field, many people say that the Mataraman, especially in Kediri, does not like striking things, such as radical Islam, because they think that they are not Nationalist. (Kompas, July 21, 2008).

The fact that Kediri is said to be a "watermelon" area is undebatable, that is, an area with a green surface (Islam), but red inside (nationalist). In social life, the majority of people still use religious figures or kyai as role leader. Finally, every time they are in government or

during an election, they still have it even though it is not as big as during the socio-religious field. In the 1999 election, the "red" Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) was won, and five years later, in the 2004 election, the "green" PKB was superior. In the 1999 and 2004 elections, the political orientation of the Kediri people was still dominated by religious groups' perspectives. That means that the society's direction in choosing political parties in the election is adjusted to group identities (religious-politics) with the current party identities. The four major political parties that existed at that time are; PDIP, a nationalist party that uses the symbol and big name of Soekarno or Megawati, who is also the daughter of Soekarno, a political party that has received voting support from the Abangan society. The party, which uses jargon as its party for the *wong cilik* (an appellation for lower-class people), has almost no difficulty gaining support from the lower middle class in Kediri. The second is that PKB, a new political party after the reformation, quickly gets votes from the *nahdliyin*. The party founded by PBNU is represented as a forum for the aspirations of NU citizens in politics. Surprisingly, the party, which received the most support from traditional santri circles, won the 2004 election in Kediri.

According to Halim Moestofa, who was then chairman of the PCNU of Kota Kediri, PKB's victory could not be separated from the existence of Abdurrahman Wahid or well-known as Gus Dur. As a pluralist, Gus Dur's figure can make PKB a political party that protects marginalized groups and interfaith groups. The amount of PKB vote support in every sub-district in Kediri City combines *nahdliyin* groups and marginalized groups or interfaith minorities. This analysis is right, considering that in the list of PKB candidates from Kota District, a candidate named Haryanto is a doctor in Pakelan Village who is Catholic and comes from a citizen of Chinese ethnic descent. Therefore, in the 2004 election, PKB received 34,863

votes and won 9 seats in the DPRD of Kediri City.

The third winner in the 2004 election was the Golkar Party. The party founded by the New Order regime in the second election in the reform era still received considerable support with 12,280 votes. With the vote acquisition, the Golkar Party won 4 council seats. In the DPRD leadership election meeting, the Golkar Party succeeded in seizing its chairman, Tamam Moestofa, as deputy chairman of the DPRD. This position was the same as PKB, which only received a deputy chairman of the DPRD. At that time, it was held by Sudjud Kendar, even though he had the most seats. Meanwhile, the elected chairman of the DPRD is Antonius Rachman from PDIP. In the election for DPRD leadership at that time, the rules were selected from all council members based on a majority vote.

The Golkar Party's vote support mostly came from private employees, honorary teachers, civil servants, youth organizations, Dharma Wanita, PKK groups, and other professional groups. These groups then took advantage of the family and friendship networks that existed since the New Order to gain votes. According to Clifford Geertz's classification, most of the Golkar Party's support in Kediri came from a network of *priyayi* society groups that had been relatively well developed since the New Order era. The groups that support the Golkar party are remnants of the *priyayi* group, which are quite large in Kediri. However, due to reform, which often cornered the party as part of the New Order, this party's vote experienced a significant reduction in vote support.

Another proof that the flow-politics of thinking still dominate the political orientation of the Mataraman society in Kediri is the significant PAN vote acquisition. As a party born in the reform era, PAN has received support from urban communities and Muhammadiyah congregations. Voters' support for PAN cannot be separated from Amien Rais, who was also its General Chair at that time. The claims of the reform movement due to Amien Rais' work have made the urban middle-class groups make their political choices to the political party that has the symbol of the rising sun.

The change in the political orientation of

the Mataraman society in Kediri has occurred since the 2008 regional election has continued until the 2009 election. The two five-year political momenta, both juridically and politically, have become one of the triggers for a change in people's political orientation in viewing and responding to offers from political parties, success teams, or candidates coming to the public. The direction and attitude mentioned can be explained through individual and group behavior, which is then concluded based on their political choices for the candidates and political parties in the regional election and general election. One year after implementing the local polls, in the 2009 election, the electoral system underwent quite a fundamental change. Whereas in the previous election, the political parties that determined the elected candidates in the DPR and DPRD institutions were using the serial number mechanism. However, in the 2009 election, the elected candidates' determination was not based on serial numbers but was based on the most votes obtained by the candidates. This legitimacy is based on a request to review the legislative election law by the PDIP and Democratic Party candidates. This examination is based on the injustice committed by the political party officials in determining serial numbers. According to him, choosing the serial number seemed political and was only based on party officials' subjectivity.

Edward view (2019) states that the factors that determine voter behavior in the election are figure factors and closeness to certain political parties. Meanwhile, voter behavior is influenced by figures who are supported by the role of the mass media. Muljani's study found a trend or tendency that elections that have occurred since the reform era have experienced a decline in ideology and are replaced by practical matters. But that does not mean that the role of ideologues in political parties does not exist at all, however, along with the changes in the electoral

system, which gave voters the freedom to win specific candidates in the ballot papers, on the other hand. It also gave the impact of liberty for candidates as actors to play the situation to get sympathy and support from voters in various ways. The methods used by candidates to gain sympathy and support include utilizing the mass media, distributing pamphlets, banners, and leaflets to brand themselves. This method is always carried out in every election or regional election. Because it is done continuously, it eventually becomes a social practice.

As a response to the actor's actions, the society sees the candidates or pairs of candidates in the election and regional election as parties who have a strong interest in getting political positions. As a result, society can play this situation or structure into an opportunity for voters to fulfill their needs, that is, by making the relationship between actors and voters a transactional relationship. It is like an actor who offers goods, and the people buy them. These positions can sometimes be alternately dialectic. There are times when actors depend on voters or vice versa. Society depends on their interests (short term) on actors. That means that the relationship between candidates and voters is mutually dependent and mutually requires one another. Giddens does not believe that social reality can be fully understood if the social analysis does not connect the actor's actions with the structures they have interpreted. That means that the birth of actors' movements, in this case, legislative candidates and pairs of candidates in the regional election, is a combination of motives for his actions and demands for the structures he interpreted. Both have a causal relationship that supports and complements each other. So that the two are not something separate or dualism, but duality.
Regarding the pragmatic condition of voters, many political party officials complained. With the change in the electoral system where candidates can get votes independently, it opens up

Tabel 1: Orientation Changes and Political Attitude

NO.	DIMENSION	PRE-REFORMATION		POST-REFORMATION	
1	Election/Regional Election	1955	1971-1997	1999-2004	2009-2014 Regional Election 2008-2013
2	Political Orientation	Ideological	Antagonistic	Idealistic Substantive	Rational-Tolerant
3	Political Attitude	Militant	Hegemonic-Formalistic	Group Fanatism	Rational-Pragmatic

various ways for candidates to get voting support. Popularity is an inseparable part of the election and regional election. The public will undoubtedly find it difficult if the candidate concerned is not known to the public. Apart from popularity, financial support is no less critical in obtaining votes from voters. The allocation of financial aid influences voters and operational costs during the campaign period to mobilize the success team to society. Furthermore, it can be seen that changes in the orientation and political attitudes of the people before and after the reformation are in Table 1.

Based on these data findings, the changes in the political orientation of the Mataraman society in Kediri City before reform to post-reformation occurred gradually. The changes in the political direction of the Mataram society in Kediri City before the ideological overhaul led to political flow, after the reform of the romantic shadows still occurred, especially in the 1999 and 2004 elections. The researcher concludes that in the implementation of the 1999 elections and 2004 elections, political parties and voters likely still use group sentiment in capturing the relationship between the two. So it can be said that during this period, the voters' orientation shifted from an ideological way of thinking to a fanatical form of thinking. That means that political parties identify themselves according to social groups' characteristics and identities they wish to embrace as their political base. In addition to changes in the political system and the national electoral system, changes in community orientation are also triggered by actors' actions, namely candidates or candidates, to win themselves to become people's representatives in a general election and regional election. One

more thing that cannot be ignored is the socio-cultural factor of the people of Kediri City, which since post-reformation has experienced dynamic relations between groups and religions and their elites at the local level.

The fact shows to change the political orientation of the Mataraman society in Kediri City is also supported by the finding of data on political party votes from the 2004 election to the 2014 election. Although sociologically, the Muslim community in Kediri has reached 90 percent. However, in the development during the next ten years, a dynamic orientation was not the same from each election to the next. Therefore, in the analysis of parties and social support, the researcher uses the classification of political parties according to the flow's ideology, that is, between religious parties (Islam) and nationalist parties. The comparison of the votes acquired by the two political party groups can be seen in the table 2.

Table 2 shows that in the 2004 election in Kediri City, three old political parties were participated, namely PDIP, Golkar, PPP, and five new political parties formed since the reform period, namely PAN, PKB, P. Demokrat, PDS, and PKS. When viewed from the vote acquisition, parties of Islam's leading religious group were very dominant in this reform era's second election. That means that the post-reform society of Kediri City gave more support and trust to religious parties than to nationalist party groups. Meanwhile, the PDIP votes also significantly declined, from initially getting eight seats down to 4 seats. When mapped, the existence of the party reflects the identity of the socio-religious groups in society. PKB represents traditional santri groups, and PAN represents modernist santri groups. PPP defines the time when Muslims have

Table 2: Votes and Seats for Political Parties in the 2004-2014 Election

2004 Election			2009 Election			2014 Election		
Name of Party	Number		Name of Party	Number		Name of Party	Number	
	Vote	Seat		Vote	Seat		Vote	Seat
PDIP, Golkar, Demokrat	44.139	15	PDIP, Golkar, Demokrat, Hanura, Gerindra, PKPB	60.101	15	PDIP, Golkar, Demokrat, Hanura, Gerindra, Nasdem	85.922	15
PKB, PAN, PPP, PKS, PDS	48.685	15	PKB, PAN,PPP, PKS, PDS, PBB, PPNUI	60.693	15	PAN, PKB, PKS, PPP	68.784	15

joined since the New Order era. PKS represents urban Islamic groups, and PDS represents Christian groups. The nationalist political party groups, each of which is the Golkar Party representing employee groups and work organizations, but many of its supporters have fled to the Democratic Party. Meanwhile, the PDIP represents the *abangan* society, the majority of which are small communities, commonly known as *wong cilik*.

Unlike the 2004 election, when entering the 2009 election, Kediri held its first regional election in 2008, which eight candidate pairs attended. Interestingly, when the parties carried out the nominating process for the local election, the two parties that received the most seats, PKB and PDIP, were plagued by internal conflicts. PKB is taking place in management dualism starting at the primary level between PKB held by Gus Dur and PKB held by Muhaimin Iskandar, which eventually spread to the regions as previously explained. Meanwhile, PDIP was hit by management conflict at the local level in the aftermath of the Kediri City branch conference. While on the other hand, the presence of newcomer parties in the election, namely Gerindra and Hanura, was added to the addition of old parties that passed the KPU verification, increasing the number of eligible participants. These parties include PKPB, PKNU, PPNUI, and PBB.

In the 2009 election in Kediri, 38 political parties participating in the election have participated. Of these, thirteen political parties finally managed to get seats in the DPRD. Compared with the previous election, the number of political parties, both nationalist and religious, was equal in the number of votes. That indicates that the political orientation of the Mataraman society in Kediri is no longer towards political parties based on religion. But it also does not mean that the community is more oriented towards the nationalist party. PKB, which in the previous election won the election and had nine seats in the 2009 election, dropped dramatically to 4 votes. It is suspected that three seats ran to PKNU, which was a PKB fragment, while the other two seats went to other parties. Likewise, the PDIP vote, which initially received eight seats, fell to 5 seats. Political parties from religious groups that experienced the increase were

only PAN. To increase PAN votes in the election period does not indicate an increase in voters from the modernist santri group. But according to Nuruddin Hasan, the chairman of the DPD PAN of Kediri City is the result of management and organizational consolidation that has long been carefully prepared.

Referring to data sourced from the KPU of Kediri City, it can be seen that in the 2014 election, nationalist political parties received a more significant number of votes than those of religious, political parties. Besides, in this election, the number of nationalist parties is more than the religious, political parties. However, it is surprising that the winning political party in the 2014 election in Kediri City is PAN, a political party from a religious group. From three elections starting in 2004, 2009, and 2014, the seats won by nationalist political parties and religious political parties have remained the same, 15 seats each in the DPRD. Acquisition of votes and seats for political parties as above is likely to make the political process in the DPRD. The context of social relationships and interactions in a society run conducive. There are no conflicts and debates that lead to a rowdy situation, even lead to a physical quarrel. That means that the nationalist and religious forces in Kediri City can go their own way. Changes in the political orientation that occur in the people of Kediri City are more directed at finding a middle way and common ground whenever an idea or problem arises. In line with Subakir (2003) opinion, the public will know that religious leaders in Kediri can coexist in harmony and peace without causing conflict and violence

Forms of Political Change of the Mataraman Society

According to the data findings in this study, the changes in the political orientation of the Mataram society in Kediri are increasingly open to the differences in it. It is undeniable that the change in direction was originally ideological and tends to think absolutely and tends to be militant. After there is a change in orientation, the attitude shown is more open to differences. Thus the society is seeing an idea or opinion is more directed at efforts for cooperation. Along with the change in political orientation, the community responding to requests from candidates or candidates is

getting more mature, which means that it considers more reasoning and can respond to those in society, which does not reflect the community's closeness to political parties. Public support for a political party during the reformation period was not related to the political party's ideology. That can be observed in Kota Kediri that the political preferences of the people can shift from one political party to another in every election. According to researchers, this phenomenon shows that democratization that is carried out produces various political forces as a reflection that pluralism is recognized in society. Even though in specific contexts, the ideology of democracy is not entirely following the developed values in society.

From the statement above, it can be seen that society's orientation and attitudes in politics are rational. That can be seen from their perspective in the election and regional election no longer depending on their role. In the realm of politics, it turns out that people can escape from the shadow of their role leaders' influence. That means that society can separate which matters are religious and which issues are political. Firmansyah (2010) defines political pragmatism as the short-term orientation of political actors in winning a political competition.

According to the findings of data in the field, since the post-reformation, society's condition in Kediri City has experienced a change in orientation. The difference in the political direction of the community was since the state of society was increasingly rational. Even though there are factors of politics of money in the election and regional election, the program is still the basis for determining political choices. That means that political parties that offer welfare programs will increasingly attract people's interest. Since the 2009 election, this phenomenon has occurred that political parties that won in the 2004 election because they were deemed not fighting for the interests of the people eventually moved to other political parties.

On the other hand, since the implementation of the 2009 election, society has been familiar with the politics of money. That is due to the previous regional election's influence, which made money a part of political transactions. Another fact that strengthens this argument is that since the first local election in 2008 until the

2013 election, PAN has been the winner. The public no longer sees the bearing party as the primary consideration but instead emphasizes the candidate figure factor to be its immediate consideration.

People tend to consider programs closer to people's needs than ideological sentiments such as nationalist or religious. In elections, political conditions are more or less influenced by national issues. In the 2014 election, PAN managed to become the winner of the election so that it was entitled to the chair of the DPRD. So that PAN can control the legislative and executive seats. When viewed from an ideological or political perspective, the PAN victory is not a symbol of the modernist Islamic group's success. That is due to the changing political orientation of society. They choose political parties no longer based on ideology or religious sentiment, but because they are motivated by a more current view and can answer society's needs in practical terms. From this statement, it can be seen that the political orientation of the people in Kediri City has changed in a more realistic and open direction. They will choose political parties or candidates who can meet expectations and also on leadership issues.

As described by Clifford Geertz, the typology of diversity in Kediri city is still stored in society's spiritual space (Arief Wicaksono, 2018). The difference is in the past, this ideology could also lead to the political orientation towards certain political parties to be elected, but what is happening now is that this political orientation is limited to meeting electoral needs. There has been no change in their religious pattern. This finding is interesting as a study material considering that socioculturally, Kediri people have traditionally been *abangan*. Although religiously, these boundaries are increasingly blurred. Some of those who are *abangan* have practiced Islamic law just like the *santri* group, especially those whose *abangan* culture is part of the *priyayi* group. They still maintain and respect the old beliefs that have become customary because they are believed to be legacies from their ancestors. For example, in family life, every time it deals with life cycles such as birth, marriage, and death, a *slametan* (Javanese tradition for a ceremonial meal) is still carried out by inviting neighbors to pray so that the intended purpose is achieved. In the context of religious culture like

this, it seems that the Kediri society, in general, is still firmly embedded.

Collaboration between *abangan* and *santri* can be seen in praying together activities or sending prayers to spirits. In the event of sending the blessings of the souls, it is found in many *abangan* families by inviting *yasin* and *tahlil* groups (groups of *santri*) to their homes, asking for prayers so that God Almighty can grant their wishes. The host provides a meal to eat together and *berkat* to be brought home by *santri* group to give to their families at home. From the description above, if it is related to the findings of Clifford Geertz (2013) in his book *The Religion of Java*, the character of the *abangan* and *santri* groups, or more precisely between *abangan* Muslims and *santri*, is far different from the condition when the research was conducted, that was in 1960th. This change is not only in ritual and religious behavior but also in the relationship between the two, which is no longer antagonistic but has turned into synergy and even seems integral to one another.

The statement above can illustrate that the attitude of the Kediri people in facing various events and differences that come from outside is considered normal. Therefore they do not belong to the type of society that is reactive when dealing with differences. They will be more open and able to accept these differences to be part of life together. The facts above, if drawn from a historical perspective, do find common ground. Kediri, which has existed since the 12th century, became a kingdom that is reckoned with until it experienced its victory. Economically and politically, Kediri was able to become the center of government control and the center of trade at that time. That continued during the colonial period until the independence era. As proof is the existence of various heritage buildings along Brantas River's edge, such as the Grand Mosque, Temple, Church, Islamic Boarding School, and government buildings, each is not far from one another. So it can be said that the synergy between religious life, the daily life of the society, and government affairs can run peacefully and harmoniously has been going on for a long time in Kediri.

The form of change in the political orientation of the Mataraman society in Kediri City has long historical and social roots. The Kediri soci-ety was formed through a meeting process of different elements. The meeting of religion and belief elements, ethnicity, and social groups ultimately resulted in a robust cultural acculturation process. In other words, the people of Kediri have been cosmopolitan for a long time. So when there are differences in society, it can be appropriately resolved. That can happen because it no longer has an inflated sense of fanaticism. That cannot be denied because of the influence of Javanese values in Kediri society

CONCLUTION

The pattern of changes in the behavior of the people of Kediri City is a socio-political fact that arises because of causality. Changes in the political behavior of the Mataraman society in Kediri City are caused by factors of rationality and figures' existence. Changes in political behavior do not impact the socio-cultural patterns of Mataraman due to the maturity of society in interpreting political choices

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