


# Hegemony Of Javanese Political Culture In Regional Head Elections

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Article Info	ABSTRACT
<b>Keywords:</b> Hegemony, Political Culture, Javanese, Regional Head Election	As for this paper, it reviews the theory of hegemony and political culture. In this case, the Javanese tribe is the main theme. Given that the Javanese tribe is a fairly unique tribe - because of their large number - it is even more interesting if it is connected to the Regional Head Election (Pilkada). There are a number of reasons why ethnic issues are more likely to arise in regional elections compared to national elections such as legislative and presidential elections. First, candidate battles in Pilkada are generally local. Many candidates are running to represent certain groups. This causes candidates who happen to come from or are supported by the majority group to use ethnic issues and sentiments to gain support from voters. This is different from elections at the national level where candidates who run actually want to be perceived as accepted by all groups or groups. Second, the issues raised in local elections are generally local in nature, while issues in national elections are generally general issues such as education, foreign relations, and so on. Candidates running in national elections (such as presidential elections) do not talk about specific conditions in a region, but rather about programs and efforts that will be made to overcome national problems.
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## INTRODUCTION

Discussions about political culture are often underestimated, many people think that political culture only concerns certain characteristics, for example regarding the behavior or tendency of political styles in a particular ethnic group. In fact, political culture greatly affects politics as a whole. This is because political culture affects a political system. It should be noted that in this paper, the political culture of a certain tribe in Indonesia, namely the Javanese tribe, will certainly play a major role in Indonesian politics and political system.

One of them is that the issue of religion is indeed an important point in an Pilkada (regional head election) but most likely uses more ethnic issues and sentiments. In a number of regional elections, for example, we often see the emergence of issues such as "regional son", "migrant candidates", "native candidates", and so on. There are a number of reasons why ethnic issues are more likely to appear in Pilkada compared to national elections such as legislative and presidential elections. First, candidate battles in Pilkada are generally local. Many candidates run to represent certain groups. This causes candidates who happen to come from or are supported by the majority group to use ethnic issues and sentiments to gain support from voters. This is different from elections at the national level where

candidates who run actually want to be perceived as accepted by all groups or groups. Second, the issues raised in local elections are generally local in nature, while issues in national elections are generally general issues such as education, foreign relations, and so on. Candidates running in national elections (such as presidential elections) do not talk about specific conditions in a region, but rather about programs and efforts that will be made to overcome national problems (Lingkaran Survei Indonesia, 2008).

## **Literatur Riview**

### **Hegemony Theory**

The concept of hegemony itself was discovered initially when Gramsci was looking for a pattern in a new social class which at that time saw more phenomena in the history of the Roman church. He was amazed at the power of the Roman church's Christian ideology that managed to suppress the excessive gap that developed between educated religion and simple people. Gramsci said that the relationship did occur "mechanically", but he realized that the Roman church had been very successful in the struggle for and control of the conscience of its followers (Afandi, 2011).

Hegemony comes from the ancient Greek eugemonia (hegemonia), which means leading hegemony is not a relationship of domination using power, but rather a relationship of consent using political and ideological leadership. Or simply put, hegemony is an organization of consensus (Simon, 1999). According to Gramsci, the domination of power is fought, in addition to the power of arms, also through public acceptance, namely the idea of a powerful society by the wider community expressed through what is called public opinion. The principle of hegemony is thus built on a democratic foundation established between the ruling group and the ruled group so that what it creates is a civil society. In such a civil society, the worldview of the ruled class is not that of a passively imposed hegemonic class, but is an articulation of various existing worldviews of various social groups, which are then united into an articulation principle, whose conductor is the hegemonic class (Pilliang, 2003).

As for cultural hegemony: According to Gramsci (Faruk, 2005) culture is the organization, the inner discipline of a person, which is the achievement of a higher consciousness, with whose support a person succeeds in understanding his historical value, his function in life, his rights and obligations. However, such a concept cannot arise spontaneously, through a series of actions and reactions independent of one's will. According to Gramsci, reality shows that it is only to a certain extent, one stage at a time, that humanity gains awareness of its value and wins for itself the right to throw off the patterns of organization imposed on it by a minority at an earlier period in history (Faruk, 2005).

In this case, hegemony plays its role in the cultural realm. According to Williams in addition, it is also used to analyze oppositional and alternative cultural forms that may oppose the dominant order, even when these forms are still encased or marginalized by hegemonic boundaries and pressures (Faruk, 2005).

### **Political Culture Theory**

According to (Rahman, 2007) By understanding political culture, we will get at least two benefits, namely: 1) the attitudes of citizens towards the political system will affect their

demands, responses, support and orientation towards the political system; 2) by understanding the relationship between political culture and the political system, the intentions of individuals to carry out activities in the political system or what factors cause political shifts can be understood. Political culture is always inherent in every society consisting of a number of individuals living in traditional, transnational, and modern political systems. Almond and Verba see that the view of political objects has three components, namely cognitive, effective, and evaluative components.

First cognitive orientation: which is in the form of knowledge about and belief in politics, its role and obligations as well as its inputs and outputs. Second affective orientation: namely feelings towards the political system, its roles, actors and performances. Third, evaluative orientation: namely decisions and opinions about political objects which typically involve value standards and criteria with information and feelings. Therefore, political culture is part of the culture of a society. In its culture as a sub-culture, political culture is influenced by the culture of society in general. Political culture is important to study because there are two systems: First: The attitude of citizens towards political orientation that determines the implementation of the political system. The attitude of political orientation greatly influences the various demands that are expressed, response, and support for political elites, response and support for the ruling regime. Second, by understanding the attitude of the relationship between political culture and the implementation of the system, we will be better able to appreciate ways that bring more change so that the political system is more democratic and stable.

The research developed (Almond and Verba, 1984) leads to types of political culture. The types of political culture in question can be listened to below: The parochial-subject culture occurs in societies where there is a large majority who reject the exclusive demands of village harmony societies or feudal authorities. This creates difficulties in more complex systems with complex central government structures. The parochial political culture that leads to subject/client political relations can be stabilized at a certain point by producing different political, psychological and cultural mixes. The combination at the point of balance/harmony will greatly benefit the stability and performance of the political system. Parochial political culture orientation and subject orientation have softened the orientation of individual involvement and activity in politics. In this type, political activity is only one important part. It also results in efforts to limit commitment to political activities.

Subject Participant Culture occurs in societies transitioning from subject political culture to participant political culture. The priority of the transition from subject to participation will tend to support development and provide great support for the political system. When this subject participant culture lasts relatively long, the subject participant culture can change the character of the subject sub-culture. This happens because of the struggle for influence between democratic and authoritarian orientations. Thus they must be able to develop a different form of their own political infrastructure. Although in some ways unable to transform the subject sub-culture towards democracy, they can encourage forms of change.

The Parochial Participant Culture occurs in relatively young societies/countries/developing countries. In this setting, it appears that the country is

actively engaged in development, including cultural development. The norms that are usually introduced are participatory, which seek to achieve harmony and balance, so they demand more participant culture. The problem is how a developing society can develop an orientation towards inputs and outputs simultaneously. In this situation, the system tends towards authoritarianism, while the other side tends towards democracy. There is no structure to lean on, while the bureaucracy cannot stand up for the interests of society, and its infrastructure is not even rooted in competent and responsible citizens.

Parochial Culture Subject Participants (Civil Culture) in this case according to (Efriza, 2012) political culture emphasizes rational participation in political life combined with the existence of parochial political tendencies and citizen subjects, making traditional attitudes and combining them in a participant orientation that leads to a political culture with a balance of political activity, involvement and rationality and passivity, traditionality, and commitment to parochial values.

In this case it can be interpreted where political culture is related to the orientation of individuals or individuals towards the prevailing value system, in the form of symbols which are the embodiment of a system or more specifically as a political system. The orientation developed will lead to the orientation of the system that allows a change in the political behavior of individuals and groups - or changes in the political orientation. (Budiardjo, 2007) describes that one important aspect of the political system is political culture which reflects subjective factors. Political culture is the whole of political views, such as norms, patterns of orientation towards politics and outlook on life in general. Political culture prioritizes the psychological dimension of a political system, namely attitudes, belief systems, symbols owned by individuals and operating in the whole society, as well as expectations.

#### **About the Javanese Tribe**

Around 3000 BC the first wave of Malay immigrants from southern China began to flood Southeast Asia, followed by several more waves over the next two thousand years. Javanese are considered the descendants of the next wave of Malay people (Suseno, 1996). Suseno further explains: Etymologically, the origin of the name "Java" is unclear. One possibility is that the name of the island comes from the *jáva-wut* plant, which was found on the island in ancient times, before the entry of Indian influence on the island may have had many names. There are also suggestions that the island comes from the word *jaú*, which means "far". In Sanskrit *yava* means barley plant, a crop for which the island is famous. *Yawadvipa* is mentioned in the Indian epic *Ramayana*. *Sugriwa*, the *wanara* (ape-man) commander of Sri Rama's army, sent his envoys to *Yawadvipa* (the island of Java) in search of Dewi Shinta. Then based on Indian literature especially Tamil literature, it is called by the Sanskrit name *yāvaka dvīpa* (*dvīpa* = island). Another conjecture is that the word 'Java' comes from a Proto-Austronesian root meaning 'home'.

According to the saga, the origin of the Javanese tribe begins with the arrival of a pinandita satria named Aji Saka. He was the one who wrote a rhyme, which is now referred to as the Javanese alphabet until today. Therefore, the origin of this rhyme is used as the Saka calendar. The definition of Javanese is the indigenous population of the central and eastern islands of Java, excluding the island of Madura. In addition, those who use Javanese

language in their daily life to communicate are also included in the Javanese tribe, even though they are not directly from the island of Java.

Meanwhile, in the social system and social layers. In the Javanese social system, four levels are known, namely Priyayi, Ningrat or Bendara, Santri, and Wong Cilik, while the explanation can be seen below: Priyayi itself is said to come from two Javanese words, namely "para" and "yayi", which means younger siblings. In Javanese cultural terms, the term priyayi refers to the highest social class among ordinary people after bendara or ningrat because it has a fairly high social status in society. Usually the priyayi consist of civil servants and educated people who have a higher level of education compared to the people around them.

Ningrat or bendara is the highest class in Javanese society. This level is usually filled by members of the palace, or their relatives, either directly related by blood, or related by marriage. Bendara also has many levels within it, ranging from the highest, to the lowest. This can be easily seen from the title in front of a noble's name. The santri group. This group does not refer to all Javanese people who are Muslims, but rather to those Muslims who are close to religion, namely santri who study in huts, which are widely spread throughout Java.

Wong cilik or ordinary people who have the lowest caste in social layers. Usually these groups of people: a) Wong Baku: this group is the highest group in the wong cilik group, usually they are the first people to inhabit a village, and have rice fields, houses, and also yards. b) Kuli Gandok or Lindung: included in this group are men who have married, but do not have their own residence, so they live with their in-laws. c) Joko, Sinoman, or Bujangan: in this group are all men who are not married and still live with their parents, or live with other people. However, they can still own farmland by purchase or inheritance.

Villages in Java are generally divided into smaller sections called dukuh, and each dukuh is led by a dukuh head. In performing their daily duties, these village leaders are assisted by their assistants, called Pamong Desa. Each village official has their own duties and roles. Some were in charge of maintaining the security and order of the village, to taking care of water issues for the community's agricultural land. Historical sources in the true sense of ancient Indonesia consist of a few pieces of writing on stone and metal (inscriptions), from the fifth century AD, as well as Chinese reports from the seventh century, but the geographical data is not easily interpreted. It is thought that prior to the arrival of Hinduism, local leaders in Java had created the first political institutions above the village level also for the purpose of regulating central irrigation. These are believed to have developed into the Javanese kingdoms. In later times there were numerous Javanese kingdoms (Suseno, 1996).

This paper is based on literature review analysis or literacy studies, where the author does not go directly to the field to collect primary data. However, in this case the author only uses secondary data in the analysis either through literacy / theoretical studies or review of research results, researchers with the same theme, of course by including these researchers in the list of books. In direct field research data collection techniques, usually; Literacy studies are needed to obtain information related to the research theme, the aim is to sharpen data analysis or complement data that is not obtained from the field by collecting



books and journals related to the problems studied in the research. However, this paper is a literacy study where secondary data is the main analysis material in writing.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Javanese are the largest ethnic group in Indonesia, with at least 41.7% of Indonesia's population being Javanese. So that in some cases the majority ethnic vote is a bone of contention for other cadres, and there are a lot of political maneuvers by local politicians to get support from the Javanese ethnicity. Therefore, the presence of Javanese ethnicity in politics cannot be underestimated. But even so, it is not a definite guarantee that control over ethnic majorities such as the Javanese ethnicity in North Sumatra guarantees victory in elections such as the election of governors or regents. This was emphasized by North Sumatra Social Observer Prof. Usman Pelly, who said that the condition of Javanese people in North Sumatra with those in Java Island has different characteristics. "Javanese people in North Sumatra do not necessarily choose candidates for governor or deputy who are also Javanese (Arifin, 2012). If we look at some of the existing Pilkada events, then the Pilkada has its own story about the involvement of Javanese ethnicity in it.

For example, in Sumatra, the Javanese ethnicity is one of the dominant ethnicities, therefore the Javanese are so influential in the political dynamics that occur in Sumatra. After all, the Javanese are the largest ethnic group in Indonesia. Because of their number, the dynamics or political system of Indonesia will be greatly affected by Javanese culture.

Not only at the local political level, Javanese ethnicity is very influential in politics at the national level. At the national level, in Java there is a populuer among the community, namely the santri, or what is later referred to as the santri culture. And in the end, this santri culture influences politically, especially when it comes to the question of leadership. The term and concept of santri have been known to be familiar and often used in the works of scholars on history, politics and Javanese society. In every election, the santri are a social and political force that is always taken into account. The linkage of elites and santri will provide legitimacy for a presidential candidate. Hasyim Muzadi was one of the figures who wanted to symbolically absorb the aspirations of the santri, although after that the santri then only became spectators outside the stage of the state theater. In the past, as social capital, the santri only became political objects because they were weak in terms of economic capital. However, pesantren remain a social base that counts, according to Unair political observer Kacung Maridjan: Hasyim Muzadi understands very well that the santri opposition automatically always runs, because their criticism of various state policies has become an order of faith and belief. This criticism is a logical result of Islamic teachings that always emphasize the principle of amar ma`ruf nahi munkar (Parlungun, 2014).

The involvement of Javanese ethnicity in national politics, namely Joko Widodo. Joko Widodo or familiarly known as Jokowi can win in the election of the governor of DKI Jakarta, this is because of the large number of Javanese ethnicities in Jakarta. (Adrian, 2013), the victory of Jokowi\_Ahok and the defeat of Poke-Nara also shows that without a strong institutionalization of political parties, it will not go straight with public political choices. In this case the public or society is inseparable from the involvement of certain ethnicities, so in this case it is the Javanese ethnicity.

Thus, this cannot be separated from the involvement of Javanese ethnicity. Their role is obvious, as research results (Setiyowati and Adi, 2014) show: Based on the results of research and discussion, it is concluded that: The strategy used by the East Java Jokowi-JK pemennagan team to win JokowiJK in the 2014 presidential election is to grand design change the conventional campaign pattern by setting up a stage for one-way speeches to prospective voters, into a direct campaign pattern that is presenting the candidate directly to prospective voters. So that candidates will directly know what the needs of the people. This is also useful for increasing public participation in presidential elections in the short term as well as participation in policy making in the long term. However, in practice, JokowiJK cannot always be present in the community because of the limited campaign time he has. So that the implementation of this grand design must also pay attention to the place and time in carrying it out.

## CONCLUSIONS

The Javanese tribe is the largest tribe in Indonesia, so in every election the Javanese vote needs to be taken into account. In addition, Javanese culture has been rooted as an Indonesian culture that is very likely to hegemonize the culture of other tribes in Indonesia. In this case, as stated by Gramsci, culture is an organization, a person's inner discipline, which is the achievement of a higher consciousness, which with its support, a person succeeds in understanding the historical value of himself, his function in life, his rights and obligations. However, such a concept cannot emerge spontaneously, through a series of actions and reactions independent of one's will, which will lead to its influence on political culture. Indonesian society is a multi-ethnic or multi-cultural society, therefore cultural awareness must be the most important basis for the harmony of the Indonesian nation. In this case, it is necessary to develop the values of tolerance, the spirit of *bhineka tunggal ika*, and strong national awareness, so as to reduce or annul stereotypes (negative views of an ethnic group against other ethnic groups, especially in Indonesia). So that the political culture that then emerges, namely; Subject Participant Culture (Subyect Participant Culture) occurs in a transitional society from subject political culture to participant political culture. Especially in the elections or political arena, a healthy political culture is needed for the integration of the nation - the political culture here must be based on Pancasila, the spirit of development, and one nation as the same nation, namely the Indonesian nation.

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