# MODEL OF PARTICIPATION AND POLITICAL AFFILIATION OF THE MATARAMAN SOCIETY OF EAST JAVA, INDONESIA

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Abstract: This study aims to describe the model of participation and political affiliation of the Mataraman people of East Java, Indonesia. The method used in this study is a combination method using an unbalanced mixture model (Concurrent embedded). The subjects in this study are the Mataraman people, namely people who live in the City/Regency of Madiun, Magetan, Nganjuk, Ponorogo, Ngawi, Trenggalek, and Pacitan. To collect data from existing subjects, the methods used are interviews, observations, and documentation and questionnaires. Meanwhile, to analyze the data, Miles and Huberman interactive technique was used, as well as descriptive analysis. The results of this study indicate that the political participation model of the Mataraman community can be categorized as high. In terms of political behavior, the political participation model of the Mataraman community can be grouped into three categories, namely active, passive, and apathetic. The results of this study also show that the practice of money politics (money politics) in political celebrations in the Mataraman community is still auite high. Meanwhile, the ideological affiliation of Mataraman voters can be grouped into four, namely religious/religious-based ideological affiliation, nationalist-based ideological affiliation, nationalist-religious-based ideological affiliation, and change or program-based voter affiliation.

Keywords: Model, participation, General election, Mataraman, political affilation

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

In East Java, Islam is the majority religion adopted by the community, judging from its history, Islam entered Java when non-Islamic culture and traditions, especially Hinduism and Buddhism, were deeply rooted in Javanese society (Budiyono, Kokotiasa, Harmawati, & Feriandi, 2018). So that in the lives of Muslims in Java today, we often encounter acculturation of Islamic values and old Javanese (Hindu-Buddhist) traditions. We can see this accuracy in the bancaan/kenduri tradition in Javanese society, which combines Islamic prayers and some of their ancestral traditions (Muqoyyidin, 2012). This is certainly different when compared to Islamic societies in countries where Islam first developed.

The uniqueness of Javanese Islam is depicted by Geertz in three typologies, namely abangan, santri and priyayi (Geertz, 1959). Abangan is a term for the Javanese Islamic community who are still not fully obedient to the teachings of Islam, there are several religious prohibitions that they have avoided but there are also religious orders that they do not carry out. Then the typology of santri is a term for the Javanese Islamic community who have committed themselves to fully and obediently carry out a series of religious rules. The last is the priyayi typology, this typology is a term for the Javanese Islamic community who are considered to have advantages in the social and economic fields, even they are also considered to have a higher degree and social stratification than society in general (nobles/rich people). The image of the Javanese society is very visible in the western part of East Java or popularly known as the Mataraman community. The Mataraman community is a society with a culture that is closely related to the description of the three typologies of society; namely abangan, santri, and priyayi.

In general, religion is defined by Frazer as a belief system that is constantly changing and developing according to one's level of knowledge (Fathurrohman, 2016). So it is very

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possible changes in social behavior as a result of religious knowledge. Religion is also not only a matter of spirituality, religion is a pattern for human action (Ahimsa-Putra, 2012). In this case, religion becomes a guide that directs human action. Gretz further explained that religion can be understood as a result of interaction with culture. On the other hand, religion also appears as a value system that directs how humans behave. Of course this behavior is also interpreted in a broad context in all lines of human life, including politics (Ahmad, 2017).

In the context of people's lives, an adherent of Javanese Islam "santri", cannot be separated from his interaction with the Javanese Islamic community of "Abangan". They live and settle and mingle with various types of society in Java. These conditions make "Santri" and "Abangan" do acculturation, and make a common perception of the values they hold fast. Javanese Islam "santri" who tend to hold the teachings of Islam better must position themselves properly in the midst of the "abangan" Javanese Islamic society which tends to hold Islamic teachings wrapped in culture.

In today's rapidly developing political democracy in Indonesia, it will be very interesting to analyze the model of participation and political affiliation of the people of Mataraman, East Java, Indonesia. The life of the Mataraman people of East Java, which is sociologically divided into abangan, santri and priyayi, also has an effect on the model of participation and political affiliation, which is certainly a very interesting research. The transactional political model that relies on the power of money (money politics) is also interesting to see in the Mataraman community, which tends to have a "ewuh pakewuh" culture. Ewuh pakewuh is one of the strong cultures in Mataraman society.

This article will try to analyze how the model of political participation and affiliation of the Mataraman community is implied in its various activities in political activities, both in the Pilkades, Pilkada, and legislative choices (pileg). This research focuses on the Mataraman community (Madiun Regency/City, Nganjuk, Ponorogo, Ngawi, Trenggalek, to Pacitan), although some experts say that the Mataraman area has a wider scope. The matraman area was chosen because it is a unique area where the matraman community still adheres to the cultural heritage of their ancestors, as evidenced by cultural performances that are packaged up to the national level (Grebek suro ponorogo; Keduk Beji Ngawi, Larung Saji Pacitan / trenggalek).

#### 2. METHODOLOGY

The type of research used in this research is a combination research method (mixed methods) with a concurrent embedded model (unbalanced mixture). the combination method of the concurrent embedded model (unbalanced mix) is a research method that combines qualitative and quantitative research methods by mixing the two methods unbalancedly. This research emphasizes more on a qualitative approach which is then supported by a quantitative approach.

The subjects in this study were the chosen Mataraman community, namely people who came from the City/Kabupaten. Madiun, Ngawi, Magetan, Ponorogo, Pacitan, and Nganjuk. To collect data from existing subjects, the methods used are interviews, observation, and documentation. The matraman area was chosen because it is a unique area where the matraman community still adheres to the cultural heritage of their ancestors, as evidenced by cultural performances that are packaged up to the national level (Grebek suro ponorogo; Keduk Beji Ngawi, Larung Saji Pacitan / trenggalek).

#### Theoritical review

#### **Political Participation**

Political participation is a person's willingness to be directly involved in various activities of civil society, community and/or political life, characterized by mutual respect and non-violence and in accordance with human rights and democracy (Hoskins et al.,

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2012). Broadly speaking, there are two models of political participation, namely: Conventional and Unconventional. In the conventional model, political participation is carried out through direct activities such as elections, political speeches, voting, political discussions, paying taxes, obeying regulations, forming and joining interest groups, and communicating with political officials. This model of political participation has existed for a long time, to be precise, since the 1940s and 1950s. Unconventional is a mode of political participation that grows with the emergence of New Social Movements. In this new social movement, the pro-environmentalist movement emerged, the feminist wave of women's movement, student protests and terror, petitions, demonstrations, confrontations, strikes, political violence against property, guerrilla wars and revolutions (Parji & Feriandi, 2020)

#### Mataraman Society

According to Utami & Anggraini (2019) there are ten cultural areas of East Java, namely Mataraman Java, Panaragan Java, Arek, Samin (formerly Sikep), Tengger, Osing (using), Pandalungan, Madura Island, Madura Bawean, and Madura Kangean. The ten regions have different characteristics, customs, culture, dialect, uniqueness and local wisdom as well as the cultural wealth of the archipelago. This Mataraman cultural area covers the Ngawi Regency, Magetan Regency, City/RegencyMadiun, Pacitan Regency, Ponorogo Regency, Trenggalek Regency, Kediri City/Regency, Nganjuk Regency, Bojonegoro Regency, and Tulungagung Regency.

The Javanese Mataraman cultural area has a cultural style that is almost the same as the Yogyakarta and Surakarta areas which incidentally are the territory of the Mataram Kingdom. mentions that one part of Javanese Islam is Mataraman. Culturally Mataraman is the identification of the Javanese people who are under the rule of the Islamic Mataram kingdom. The acculturation of Javanese, royal, and Islamic culture is integrated in the social and religious life of the local community which marks the existence of distinctive and different characteristics from other Javanese Islamic communities. Not just a matter of religiosity, the integration of culture and religion also has implications for attitudes and patterns of political life.

#### Javanese Islam

Islam was present in Java when the hegemony of Hinduism and Buddhism was at its peak, at that time Islam was brought from abroad by traders who traded in Indonesia. Even Geertz mentions that Islam came to Java not to change civilization but to seize civilization, which at that time was ruled by Hindus and Buddhists for centuries. Almost all of Java, Islam was able to enter and grow rapidly. Of course it is not easy for Islamic preachers to broadcast Islam, for that various kinds of da'wah methods are used so that Islamic teachings can enter Javanese society. One of them is combining Islamic cultures and community culture (Hindu-Buddhist) that existed and grew in Java at that time. There are even some people who actually have embraced Islam but have not optimally worked on the teachings of Islam. The uniqueness of Islam in Java was portrayed by Clifford Geertz in his research, and in the end Geertz divided Javanese Islam into three parts, namely abangan Islam, Santri Islam, and Priyayi Islam (Geertz, 1959).

The division of Islamic groups by Geertz is based on the social status, affiliation and religious commitment of each group. So that each group has its own characteristics in appreciating the religious teachings it adheres to.

#### Abangan

According to Geertz, the Abangan Islamic group is a group that claims to be Muslim but does not fully practice the teachings of Islam. The abangan group has various problems that result in them not being able to fully carry out the teachings of the Islamic religion, some of these problems include knowledge, culture, and the environment.

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For the abangan community, knowledge of Islamic teachings is still minimal and limited, they still do not understand deeply the teachings of Islam. It is in this context that the presence of Islam in Indonesia, especially Java, takes the form of accommodation, integration, absorption and dialogue with non-Islamic roots and cultures, especially animism and Hinduism. The results can be seen up to now, the Hindu-Buddhist heritages such as salametan, bancaan, festivity Grebek suro ponorogo; Keduk Beji/Nyadran Ngawi, Larung Saji Pacitan / trengalek are still often found in the Javanese Islamic community "Abangan" (Parji, 2016; Sriana, Trisakti, & Yanuartuti, 2020; Ajisanta & Patria, 2016)

Today's abangan society can be seen from the rural farming community, they are followers of Islam who still maintain all the attributes of their cultural ritual beliefs. Javanese Islamic society "abangan" also has another characteristic, namely in the form of a strong belief in the existence of a harmonious relationship between humans and nature, according to him, nature has laws that humans should not violate. These laws are embodied in the form of numbering, or calculations. The Javanese Islamic community has a formula to help them decide a problem which is known as "itungan jowo". One of the research sources, Mbah Seno, a traditional leader, said that

" Javanese people all use calculations, not carelessly. Will look for a mate by looking at his house, will get married on the date and time of his birth. Counting and looking for a suitable day, otherwise it will be bad luck "

So according to the informant, the Javanese all events have calculations. He gave an example that for example, if someone gets married, it is necessary to calculate the date of birth, if it matches, a new couple can get married. The time of marriage is also taken into account, when it is best to do it. All done because the Javanese believe that if it is not suitable it will have a bad impact on life. In mention of what rules are used to calculate, the informant explained that the calculation is based on the Javanese calendar, which has been passed down from generation to generation by ancestors.

" The calculation is based on the Javanese calendar, it has been passed down from generation to generation "

From the literature review, this Javanese calculation has become known to the public since the era of the Mataram kingdom, and was first practiced by the great sultan (Iskandar, 2009: 32). For the Javanese people, the Javanese calendar does not just give an indication of time or big days, they believe that the calendar has a relationship and becomes the basis for future events (Purwadi, 2011). However, the community does not fully practice the legacy of their ancestors. Currently, the practices of the community's cultural traditions are also inseparable from the teachings of the Islamic religion. For example, in the case of marriage, although it is preceded by Javanese calendar calculations that are not in Islamic teachings, in practice they also use prayers from the Islamic religion (Rohmanu, 2016).

From this review, the criteria that can be used to assess the Javanese "Abangan" Islamic community are (a) being Muslim (b) mixing the understanding of Islam with preexisting customs (c) having a way of life from the ancestors.

#### 3. DISCUSSION

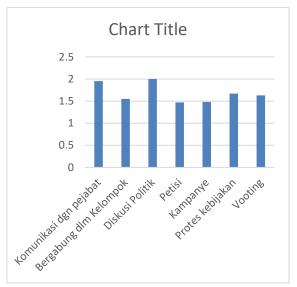
#### Mataraman Community Political Participation

In assessing the political participation of the Mataraman community, the researcher uses indicators and instruments that have previously been developed by Parji & Feriandi (2020), in this instrument one's political participation is seen from several indicators such as: Political Discussion; Campaign; Communication with officials; To protest; Form and join in interest groups; Voting. These indicators will be used to assess

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quantitatively and qualitatively, quantitatively generated from questionnaire analysis, while quantitative will be generated from the interview process, observation and document review from respondents.

From the results of the questionnaire that was distributed to the Mataraman community involving 100 respondents, the following data was generated.



Scale: 1-4 1= Not actively participating in politics 2= Less actively participating in politics 3= Actively participate in Politics

4= Very actively participates in politics

From table 1 above, it is known that several indicators of discussion and communication with officials have become prominent participation among the Mataraman community. While signing the petition became the lowest. Overall, Mataraman community participation is still in a less active stage, because on average each indicator only gets 2 points.

Meanwhile, when explored more deeply through observations and interviews, why are communication with officials and political discussions a favorite for the Mataraman community. It was found that at present the community is still practicing conventional forms of political participation, for example they come to community meeting forums. These results refer to several activities resulting from the acculturation of religious, cultural and political values. Some of these activities are:

#### A. Bancaan/Kenduri

Bancaan / kenduri is a custom that is usually done when there are certain events that are considered important for a family, for example the birthday of a family member or commemorating something. Even in several villages in Ngawi Kenduri also held during the commemoration of Indonesian independence, they prayed for Indonesia and also discussed social issues in the surrounding environment. In community celebrations, village level officials can meet and have direct conversations. So that the elements of political participation inherent in this tradition are: Communication with public officials, regular meetings. According to respondents, the bancaan was carried out as a form of gratitude

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and prayer to God Almighty, because it focused on God in this event, the community involved from all walks of life, including officials in the local environment. The same thing was found in 6 sample cities, namely Madiun, Nganjuk, Ponorogo, Ngawi, Trenggalek, to Pacitan.

#### B. Splice

Splice is a form of community cooperation to repair or maintain public facilities in the vicinity. This is done by residents on the basis of sincerity without getting anything in return. Splices are still common in villages in Madiun, Nganjuk, Ponorogo, Ngawi, Trenggalek, to Pacitan. Splice is a form of Civic Action from the community to overcome the problems that exist in the surrounding environment.

#### C. Nyadran

Nyadaran is a village clean-up activity, which is a tangible manifestation of the village community's concern for their environment. Nyadaran is done by combining the teachings of Islam and the customs of the Javanese people. This nyadaran ceremony is found in villages in the city of Ngawi, Ponorogo, Nganjuk, Trengalek to Pacitan. However, each city has a different form and procession related to nyadran. For example, in ngawi in the village of tawun nyadran, it is carried out in the form of the keduk beji ceremony, which is a series of ceremonies aimed at cleaning the springs in the village of tawun. Political participation from this activity can be seen from the real actions of the community in solving social problems, especially the environment, then in this nyadran ceremony the community also communicates directly with public officials in their area, this is also a real form of political participation.

D. Village meeting.

The village meeting is a village stage holder meeting activity, all villages in Ngawi district discuss various problems in the village, this activity involves community leaders. Community leaders consist of scholars, mass organizations, and various other groups in society.

From data from the General Elections Commission (KPU), the level of participation of the Mataraman people in politics seen from voter participation in the regional and legislative elections shows a fairly high (good) number. More details can be seen from the table below:

1. Madiun City: political participation in the 2018 regional elections (74%) while the 2019 legislative elections (79%)

2. Madiun Regency: political participation in the 2018 regional elections (72%) while the 2019 legislative elections (80%)

3. Magetan Regency: political participation in the pilkada (68.5%) while in the 2019 legislative election (77.33%)

4. Pacitan Regency: political participation in the 2018 local elections (68.25%) while in the 2019 legislative elections (74.8%)

5. Trenggalek Regency: political participation in the 2018 local elections (67.8%) while in the 2019 legislative elections (67.9%).

6. Ngawi Regency: voter turnout rate in the 2020 local elections (77.33%) while in the 2019 legislative elections (68.5%)

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7. Nganjuk Regency: voter turnout rate in the 2018 pilkada (%) while in the legislative election (%)

No	City / Districts	Voter Participation Rate		
		Pilkada (2018)	Pileg (2019)	
1	Madiun City	74%	<b>79</b> %	
2	Madiun City	72%	80%	
3	Magetan City	68,5%	77,33%	
4	Pacitan City	68,25%	74,8 %	
5	Trenggalek City	67,8%	67,9%	
6	Ngawi City	77,33%	68,5%	
7	Nganjuk City	69,13%	72, 21%	
8	Ponorogo City			

Table: 1 Mataraman Community Political Participation Level

Data Source: processed from Mataraman Regional KPU data

#### **Money Politics Practice**

In the implementation of democracy, the community becomes a very important part, there is even an assumption that the voice of the people in democracy represents the voice of God (Mohamad Sudi, 2016). But unfortunately the fact in Indonesia is that often the voice of the people in a democracy represents money. many people give their political choices to candidates who give them a little money (Aspinall, 2015). So the statement of the people's voice, the voice of God, deserves to be questioned at this time. Money politics is not only represented in the form of money, but also in the form of money. anything else of economic value.

In Matraman Javanese society, money politics does not get strong resistance. People often receive gifts that actually have a political element. It was found that money politics a lot took place during the village level elections, to elect village heads, legislative elections, as well as district/city level elections to elect the regent/mayor. Not only money they also receive in other forms such as basic necessities such as rice, sugar, cooking oil and souvenirs such as t-shirts or other gifts. However, money politics in the Javanese Mataraman community did not necessarily state that the recipient of money politics had to choose him, they only gave and said that they were asking for the community's prayer to run as a candidate for village head. There are no real sanctions that bind the community if they receive money but they do not vote for a candidate for village head.

The practice of money politics that often occurs in the Pilkades, Pilkada, and Pileg is apparently influenced by many variables/factors such as economic reasons (many occur in low-income communities), the feeling of being "uneasy" when refusing the kindness of people, and the excessive desire of candidates to win in addition to a system of supervision and sanctions that are less than optimal for the practice of money politics. Election laws and regulations are already regulated with clear sanctions but their implementation is very difficult and weak.

They think that refusing someone's gift will hurt the person who gave it. Even if there is money politics from some political candidates they cannot refuse, and accept all of them. When asked whether the candidate who gave money politics was elected or not,

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they gave an uncertain answer. Even though they accept money politics, in choosing their leader they still consider it with other factors. Even some abangan people believe that they will get a sign from the realm of which leader deserves to be elected. The sign is referred to as "pulung".

The practice of money politics in political observances has become a habit that is considered natural, there is even a kind of desire from the public for money politics itself with various terms such as "fair attack", "bandeman", "sangu", "ubo rampe" or other terms. . The amount of money politics varies greatly from 20,000 per person, 50,000 per person, 100,000 per person until it is found in the pilkades that the figure reaches 1,500,000 per person. It is certain that the practice of money politics is considered a powerful "weapon" to win a political contestation, especially in the Pilkades, Pileg, and Pilwakot/Pilbub. Opposition to money politics is certain, but so far it has not shown effective and efficient results.

#### Political Party Affiliation

The choice of political party or political affiliation of the Mataraman community is more dominant towards political parties based on nationalism and religious nationalism, while some are politically affiliated with political parties based on religion or religion. In terms of the criteria for a political leader, all respondents agreed that they preferred a candidate for a nationalist and religious leader, for them these two criteria cannot be separated from a leader. According to them, if they are too religiously inclined they are worried that there will be no religious tolerance and the continuity of the Javanese culture that they have practiced so far. Meanwhile, if they are too nationalist, they are worried about the loss of the religious elements which have been the hallmark of society in Indonesia.

The data shows that the winners of the legislative elections (DPRD) in the Mataraman area were dominated by the Nationalist Party and the Nationalist-Religious Party, not parties based on religion or ideology.

No.	City/District	Winning Party	Precentage	
	Madiun City	PDIP	20,47% (6 chair)	Nationalist Party
	Madiun District	PDIP	20% (9 chair)	Nationalist Party
	Magetan District	PDIP	22% (10 chair)	Nationalist Party
	Ponorogo District	Partai Nasedm	22% (10 chair)	Nationalist Party
	Pacitan District	Partai Demokrat	31% (14 chair)	Nationalist Religius
	Trenggalek District	РКВ	24% (11 chair)	Partai Agamis
	Nganjuk District	PDIP	30% (13 chair)	Nationalist Party
	Ngawi District	PDIP	42% (20 chair)	Nationalist Party

Table 2. Mataraman Wil Legislative Election Winners
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Data source: processed from the data of the Mataraman Regional Election Commission

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Meanwhile, religious/religious-based parties such as the National Mandate Party (PAN), the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), and the United Development Party (PPP) showed relatively small vote gains, except for the National Awakening Party (PKB) which showed significant vote gains in several areas, especially in Madiun Regency and Trenggalek Regency. In Trenggalek Regency, for the 2019 Legislative Election, PKB won. Likewise in Madiun Regency also won the same seat as the winner of the legislative election, namely PDIP. This can be explained from the first two reasons, because of the strong influence of the leader. This at the same time confirms that Indonesian society, including the people of the Mataraman region of East Java, is a society with paternalistic characteristics. Communities tend to see leaders as role models or examples, besides influencing networks and other social capital. Madiun Regency was once won by PKB because the Regent was from PKB with strong influence. The city of Madiun was once won by the Democratic Party because the Mayor is from the Democratic Party. Specifically for the Pacitan Regency, the Democratic Party is very strong because it is the birthplace of the founder and Ketum of the Democratic Party as well as the former President of the Republic of Indonesia. However, political parties with nationalist ideology, such as the Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) and the Golkar Party, still dominate the vote acquisition in the Legislative Elections.

No.	Kota/Kabupaten	Partai			
		PKS (%)	PAN (%)	PPP (%)	PKB (%)
1.	Kota Madiun	2 kursi (6,7%)	1 kursi (3,3%)	1 kursi (3,3%)	4 kursi (13,3%)
2.	Kab Madiun	2 kursi (4,4%)	-	-	9 kursi (20%)
3.	Kab Ngawi	4 kursi (8,9%)	3 kursi (6,7%)	1 kursi (2,2%)	4 kursi (8,9%)
4.	Kab Magetan	4 kursi (8,9%)	3 kursi (6,7%)	2 kursi (4,45%)	5 kursi (11,1%)
5.	Kab Pacitan	2 kursi (4,4%)	-	2 kursi (4,45)	5 kursi (11,1%)
6.	Kab Trenggalek	6 kursi (13,3%)	2 kursi (4,4%)	-	9 kursi (20 %)
7.	Kab Ponorogo	4 kursi (8,9%)	3 kursi (6, 7%)	1 kursi (2,2%)	8 kursi (17,8%)
8.	Kabupaten Nganjuk	2 kursi (4,4%)	-	2 kursi(4,4%)	9 kursi (20 %)

 Table 3. Votes for Religious Parties in Mataraman Region

Looking at the table of votes acquired by religious-based political parties in the Mataraman area, it is clearly illustrated that religious-based parties (religious) still show a small number of votes, except for the National Awakening Party (PKB). Even old or legendary religious-based parties such as the United Development Party (PPP) did not develop. In several districts/cities in the Mataraman area, PPP failed to obtain legislative seats. Even if there is only a small vote. Specifically, PKB which developed quite well and even won the legislative elections in Trenggalek Regency and Madiun Regency and also obtained significant votes in several Regencies/Cities in the Mataraman Region can be analyzed scientifically as follows: (1) PKB is developing well because socio-culturally is the biological child of a large mass organization that very influential in East Java and Indonesia, namely NU. The influence of traditional Islam in Mataraman society is indeed quite strong compared to modern Islam; and (2) The influence of regional leaders who are

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currently in office also has a significant effect. The cases in Trenggalek Regency and Madiun Regency are clear examples of how the Regent who came from PKB was able to increase the PKB vote in the area and even become a winner in the Gubernatorial and Legislative Elections. In several regional elections in East Java, including in the Mataraman area, the combination of regional leaders from nationalist-religious elements has always been an interesting configuration to win the contestation.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

Departing from the results and discussion of the research above, several conclusions can be drawn as follows:

- 1. The political behavior model of the Mataraman people of East Java is basically strongly influenced by the culture of the Mataraman society which is paternalistic, tends to be nationalist, and promotes mutual cooperation. The practice of money politics in practical political activities in Mataraman society is still quite high. This is very massive and conspicuous both in the Pilkades, Pilkada, and legislative choices (pileg).
- 2. The level of political participation of the Mataraman Society of East Java in Indonesia is classified as good and high. This can be seen from the data that political participation in the regional elections and legislative choices shows a fairly high percentage, which is above 65% on average. Even for some regions the political participation rate can reach 80%.
- 3. Political affiliation of the Mataram community shows a dynamic level of voter openness, however, party political affiliation shows political affiliation to political parties based on nationalists or religious nationalists. The data shows that almost all Mataraman areas are controlled by PDIP. However, there is one religion-based political party that is quite prominent in its development, namely the National Awakening Party (PKB). This is because of the influence of traditional Islamic culture and regional leadership figures who come from traditional Islamic circles.

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