

Research Article

Subordination of the Dalang Wayang Krucil in the National Political Constellation

Rudi Irawanto

Universitas Negeri Malang (UM), Malang

ORCIDRudi Irawanto: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4639-0131>**Abstract.**

Dalang Wayang Krucil is an important figure in practical political culture in Indonesia. In several areas in Java, especially in East Java, puppeteers are part of political forces that have very significant influence at the grassroots level. Dalang Wayang Kayu is affiliated with several political organizations that influence the ideology of this performance. In the Old Order era, there were two cultural organizations that became the shelter for puppeteers, namely Lekra and LKN. Lekra (People's Cultural Institute) is a cultural organization under the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party), while LKN (National Cultural Institute) is under the auspices of the PNI (Indonesian National Party). The ideological confrontation between the two mass organizations affected the style of the dalang's performances. The puppeteers under Lekra perform more populist plays, while the dalangs in LKN perform more within the context of national culture. In its development, the puppeteers, who are members of Lekra, try to close themselves off from the outside world until the end of their lives. Meanwhile, the puppeteers in the LKN continued to work until the New Order era. The subordination of puppeteers to wooden puppets is one of the factors causing the art of wooden puppets to not develop in several areas in Java.

Keywords: Wayang Krucil, political constellation

1. Introduction

The cultural structure sees culture as an organic system that has relations with social, political, economic and spiritual situations. Wayang Krucil is seen as a cultural product whose existence cannot be separated from the social, political, economic and spiritual situation in the region. Senden Village as a research locus is a dynamic area. Senden, like other areas in Kediri district, political polarization has been quite dynamic since the 1950s. The Senden and Kediri areas are generally known as areas that are inclusive, dynamic and somewhat rough (brangansan). The character of the Kediri residents then becomes a basic trait that has implications for social, political, economic and cultural

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attitudes. Political polarization in the Kediri region affects polarization in the social and cultural areas. Since the Old Order era, Senden, like other areas in Kediri Regency, has grown under the domination of leftist and secular nationalist ideological forces.

In the 1955 election, Kediri Regency was controlled by four major national-scale parties, namely the PKI, PNI, NU and Masyumi. In 1955 the PKI was the party that won the election in the Kediri area, which included Kediri City, Kediri Regency, Blitar City, Tulungagung Regency, Trenggalek Regency and Nganjuk Regency. The PKI in Kediri district won 37% of the 381,506 votes, far superior to NU (24%) and PNI (23%). The existence of these parties reflects the socio-political structure of society in Kediri in general, and the current ideological polarity.

The competition for party sympathizers in the 1950s was a reflection of the ideological competition that occurred in the region. In that era the PKI proved to be better at cadre formation, especially recruiting from among the sugar factory workers, farmers and plantation workers. The PKI in Kediri, apart from using a modern organizational system, also took advantage of the leadership of shamans or kebatinan adherents in the villages to gain sympathy from the people. During this era, several traditional artists leaned more towards the PKI than other parties, bearing in mind that some traditional artists were also adherents of mysticism.

On the other hand, the party with a secular nationalist orientation, namely the PNI, was widely supported by bureaucrats with nationalist views and from the people who supported Soekarno. In the 1955 election the PNI managed to occupy 2nd place in Kediri. PNI but did not involve many artists in their political activities. The involvement of gymnasts, especially traditional art artists, can be seen in the political activities of the PKI and NU.

The NU party succeeded in occupying the third place in the 1955 election. This party had not used a modern organizational system, NU's approach was more towards religious aspects. The existence of Pondok Lirboyo in the Mojoroto area has not helped much to increase NU's voice, even though the Lirboyo kiai were affiliated with NU organizations until the last decade. In the 1950s, the voice of NU was more widely supported by KUA officials. Religious officials from the district to the modins in the villages were held by NU people by ousting Muhammadiyah people. The Masyumi Party in Kediri is run by Muhammadiyah members using a modern organizational system. Many Masjumi cadres have expertise in politics. Masyumi is widely followed by Muslim traders who generally live in cities. The followers of this masyumi, which Geertz called,

are among the santri. The polarization of political power in Kediri Regency in general does not cause significant political conflict. It can be said that the implementation of the 1955 election in Kediri was quite safe and conducive.

TABLE 1: Table of the Political Map of the Four Winning Parties in the 1955 Election in East Java.

No	Karisidenan	NU	Masyumi	PNI	PKI
	Besuki	699.000	150.000	380.000	232.000
	Madura	59.000	134.000	88.000	3.000
	Surabaya	431.000	117.000	265.000	231.000
	Kediri	366.000	155.000	455.000	457.000
	Madiun	92.000	137.000	254.000	447.000
	Bojonegoro	131.000	300.000	155.000	289.000

Source Herbert Feith dalam Suara Merdeka, 1 Desember 2003

TABLE 2: Table of the results of the 1955 elections in the district and city of Kediri.

Institution	Number of Votes			
	PKI	PNI	NU	Masyumi
DPR Daerah Kabaputen Kediri	143.789	90.766	92.551	54.400
DPR daerah pemilihan Kota Kediri	23.252	14.998	11.803	4.521
Konstituante daerah pemilihan Kabupaten Kediri	13.0877	94.480	89.809	4.521
Konstituante daerah pemilihan Kota Kediri	21.440	15.897	11.841	3.032

TABLE 3: Table of the number of votes acquired in the 1955 Kediri district election.

No	Contestants	Vote Gain	Percentage	Parliament Seats
	PKI	143.789	31,2	15
	NU	92.551	20	6
	PNI	90.776	19,6	6
	Masyumi	54.400	11,3	5
	Parkindo			1
	PSII			1

The existence of political parties in the 1955 era, showed the ideological tendencies of the Kediri people, which had a relationship with the development of traditional-based arts. Among the groups on the right ideology (Islam) have a tendency to reject traditionalism. The direction of this political ideology has a relationship with religion, social and economic. The polarity of this political ideology has several preferences.

According to Geertz, the politics of this flow boils down to the trichotomy of santri, abangan and priyayi. The three realms of political flow have a strong relationship with their choices in politics. Geertz’s opinion differs from that of Herbert Feith and Lance Castles, who see five political streams that appear on the surface, namely radical nationalism (PNI), Islam (Masyumi, NU and PSII), communism (PKI) and Javanese traditionalism which has no parties. The opinion of Feith and Lance Castles sees the position of Javanese traditionalism as a party that is not too interested in politics [1]. These traditionalists do not have a clear ideological political orientation.

The spirit of plurality and nationalism of the people of Kediri persisted into the reform era, where the results of the 2014 elections did not show a shift in the political ideology of the people of Kediri Regency in general. Middle parties with a secular nationalist ideology still get the most votes compared to parties with Islamic principles. These secular nationalist parties include the Golkar, Gerindra, PDI P and PKB parties.

PDI Perjuangan as a secular nationalist party remains the winner in the election in Kediri Regency after the reform era, even though the case in Kayen Kidul District won the winner of the Golkar Party. PDIP in the Kayen Kidul sub-district still occupies the top four under Golkar, Gerindra and PKB. PDI Perjuangan, which is historically connected with the PNI, places popular nationalism as the main ideology [1].

TABLE 4: Table of votes for the 2014 legislative election in Kayen Kidul Pada District Based on the results of the Regency KPU recap. Cadiri 2014.

No	Political Party Name	Vote Acquisition
	Partai Golongan Karya	7,164
	Partai Gerindra	4,677
	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa	4,147
	Partai PDI Perjuangan	3,680
	Partai Nasdem	2,775
	Partai Amanat Nasional	1,645
	Partai Demokrat	1,227
	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera	724
	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan	552
	Partai Bulan Bintang	331
	Partai hanura	156
	Partai Keadilan Dan Persatuan Indonesia	-
	Jumlah	28,598

The ideological polarity of political parties since 1955 and transformed into a political stream in the reform era has not much affected the existence of traditional artists in

the Kediri region. The closeness of traditional artists, especially puppeteers to political parties, is limited to economic transactions. Not many post-1965 artists are permanently affiliated with one particular political party.

2. Result and Discussion

2.1. Dalang Wayang Krucil in Political Activities

Since the Old Order era, wayang Krucil artists were known as artists who were close to elements of traditionalism and mysticism, so that the closeness of traditional artists to the PKI was not something strange, although not all traditional artists became members of the Lekra (People's Cultural Institute), some of them joined LKN puppeteers. under the PNI and Lesbumi under the NU. PKI and NU are two organizations under political parties that are active in recruiting traditional artists as their cadres. Traditional artists in Senden may belong to one of these organizations, but none have publicly acknowledged their involvement in Lekra. This attitude is understandable considering that Kediri was one of the areas of post-1965 conflict. The events of Kanigoro, Grogol, Secang, Suko Sewu, Mojo, Grogol, Plosoklaten, to the slopes of Mount Kelud left trauma for their descendants, including members of Lekra[2].

In the New Order era. clean environment policy proclaimed by the government to eliminate social and political access for political extapol, including artists who are members of Lekra. The cases of the reog and jaranan arts show these indications, the two arts were hampered in their development. Wayang is the art of the priyayi class, the priyayi class in the 1950s were mostly members of the PNI and some of them in NU. In PNI, wayang themes were used as a medium to express aspirations about nationalism. The puppeteers express the idea of nationalism through the plays they present. Wayang figures also inspired Soekarno, for example the character Bima to the figure of the just queen. NU also uses wayang as a means of propaganda, in the case of kiai Muchid Muzadi, a kiai from Tuban, using wayang as a medium for the NU party's campaign. The use of wayang as a media campaign functioned as an effort to stem the influence of the PKI and PNI in Tuban [3]. Wayang is used as a political tool in some areas. Unlike Reog art which is only close to the Lekra group, wayang is underbow of several different parties. The case in Kediri district shows that the closeness of wayang artists to NU in the 1950s cannot be denied.

After the events of 1965, the closeness of artists, especially traditional artists, with many political parties began to be limited. The New Order did not give traditional artists many choices to choose their political affiliation. Golkar became the only official political organization for the puppeteers in that era. Puppeteers are encouraged to become campaigners to win the Golkar Party, by delivering development messages in their performances. In several cases the government (New Order) provided incentives to puppeteers for their dedication in conveying the success of development to their audiences. With these incentives, the authorities could regulate, control, and foster puppeteers and the direction of wayang art in accordance with state policy and practice objectives. In almost every wayang performance, a puppeteer is required to present a program and the success of development as a representation of power. During the Batu Order era, it was common for the goro-goro scene to include five farming programs, intensification of agriculture, greening, modernization of villages, eka prasetya panca karsa (P4), siskamling, Kadarkum, and transmigration. Even in the context of campaigning for the Golkar Party, the state intervened wayang performances, which are manifested in the form of stories themed on banyan trees and dominated by yellow, such as: Pandawa Ringin, Ringin Kembar, Waringin Kencana, Semar Kuning, and Semar Mbangun Kencana Building

In the New Order era, the puppeteers had a close relationship with the authorities, both formally and informally, so several organizations were born that were in charge of the puppetry sector. Pepadi (Indonesian Puppet Association), one of the puppeteer organizations in the New Order era, its birth cannot be separated from government policy at that time. The birth of Pepadi cannot be separated from Golkar's policies in the context of fostering traditional arts. Ganasidi (Institute for Fostering the Indonesian Puppet Arts), which was formed in 1969 as a response to Golkar's directives from President Soeharto, can be said to be the main driving force for the birth of Pepadi. In the end, Ganasidi was born as a sort of controlling institution for the direction of puppetry art in Indonesia which received full support from the military. The birth of Pepadi in 1971 and then Senawangi (Indonesian Puppet National Secretariat) in 1975 cannot be separated from the birth of Ganasidi. These wayang and dalang organizations become an extension of the ruler and change the position of the dalang in the national political system.

The shift in the role of the dalang in the national political system affects the position of wayang in the Javanese art system. This phenomenon is referred to as the loss of

organic symbiotic relationships between the wayang and the puppeteer. The relationship that then occurs is the relationship between the puppeteer and the guest star. The process of cultural adaptation that is influenced by market pressures and the socio-political situation around the puppeteer. One of the pinnacles of political intervention against puppeteers was when wayang was presented in Indonesian, with the aim of reaching the middle class in Indonesia.

During the Reformation era, several local puppetry organizations were also established, one of which was Parijati or the East Java Ringgit Pasugatan which was established in 2018. The Parijati organization is trying to revive the East Java wayang (Jekdong) which does not have a very good place in Pepadi. Parijati is a startup organization where most of the members are jekdong puppeteers from Gresik, Surabaya, Pasuruan and Malang. The founding of Parijati also did not involve puppeteers other than shadow puppeteers. The puppeteers of wayang Krucil, wayang Tengul or wayang Thiti are not involved in Parijati. The position of wayang puppeteers Krucil remains marginalized from the map of puppeteer organizations in Indonesia.

2.2. Working Class Politics

In the case of wayang Krucil, the political role of the dalang is not too dominant, as is the case in wayang kulit. Puppeteer wayang Krucil relatively more independent in their performances. The position that might be associated with the existence of wayang Krucil as a product of the working class. Wayang Krucil grew up in a rural climate far from the reach of court art which did not have a large number of fans. The existence of wayang Krucil artists is not taken into account politically in some areas, so they choose to stay away from political contestation. This attitude is in line with Castles' opinion, where traditional Javanese tend to be distant and non-partisan. The traditional Javanese group does not adopt a concrete, formal political stream, but its attitudes influence the perspectives of party leaders.

The same phenomenon is found in the Javanese Islamic mysticism movement in Seden. This kebatinan movement positions itself as a cultural community that is not affiliated with a political party. From the time of Ki Siram Atmosastro to Ki Harjito as the influential puppeteers of his time, he did not take a political role in his career. The neutrality of the wayang Krucil Senden from practical political intervention has made it relatively able to survive to this day. Wayang Krucil in Senden has existed since the

1960s, developing in the hamlet of Maron through the puppeteer Ki Sucipto Mursikan (Eyang Cipto Moer). Ki Sucipto Mursikan is the only puppeteer of the Krucil puppet who is recorded at KITLV as the puppeteer of the Krucil puppet who performed the ruwat murwokolo play. Dalang Sucipto Mursikan actually does not only carry out his profession as the puppeteer of wayang Krucil, but also develops strict spiritual teachings.

3. Conclusion

Wayang Krucil in Senden village has no formal affiliation with a political party directly, although Cipto Moer's grandparent family is ideologically closer to the PNI and culturally closer to NU. The closeness of Grandmother Cipto Moer's family to the PNI can be seen in the use of Sukarno's symbols at the Cipto Mudho Laras hermitage or at Cipto Manunggal's Pasianaon. Eyang Cipto Moer is also one of the youth activists of Marhaen, one of the PNI's political wing organizations. Soekarnoism's character is reflected in the character of discipline and firmness in decisions. The religious spirit of Soekarno who was inclusive tended to be acculturative, becoming a guide in religion.

Ki dalang Harjito, as chairman of the hermitage, saw Soekarno's figure as an irreplaceable nationalist figure. Ki dalang Harjito even called Sukarno as Father, positioning himself as Sukarno's ideological son. This closeness is demonstrated by holding a puppet show at Ndalem Pojok without payment. Ndalem Pojok is the site of Soekarno's childhood who was still named Kusno. The ndalem Pojok site, located in the Pojok sub-district of Wates, Kediri Regency, is a cultural heritage area that is still well preserved.

The wayang performance at Ndalem Pojok became one of the efforts to pay off the vows. For Ki Dalang, Ndalem Pojok still has a supernatural aura that has a correlation with current state life. Before the performance takes place, the ki dalang always performs the kulo nuwun ritual or says excuse me to the supernatural being that overshadows the area.

The Pojok ndalem house has several rooms, one of the most sacred rooms is Bung Karno's private room which is located on the right side of the house. The room has 1 queen-sized bed with a jengky-style writing desk. Several books by Bung Karno were placed on the table. On the walls of his room there are several childhood photos of Sukarno. In the private room, the kulo nuwun ritual is usually carried out and some pilgrims also ask for blessings after the procession.

Before entering the room all pilgrims will pray by clasping their hands in front of their heads while bowing. This process is carried out by almost all pilgrims who want to enter Bung Karno's private room. Some even squat to enter the room. The second process was shorter, around 10 minutes, which was only attended by hermitage elders. The second procession is more private, because special messages will be conveyed from the supernatural powers that occupy nDalem Pojok.

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