

Pendalungan Cultural Identity Reinforcement: A New Platform for Cultural Development in Jember

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Abstract

Cultural identity of a society is the identity of a community, covering all aspects of their lives. The study of the cultural identity of a society is always exciting and vital because cultural identity is constructive and never grows naturally. In the community of Pendalungan in Jember, cultural identity is initiated and designed because it is needed for community development. This article will explore the concept of Pendalungan and the benefits that can be obtained from the chosen identity. A cultural construction approach, with a descriptive-qualitative method, can be utilized to achieve that goal. The research data were obtained from interviews with several Jember community members from various socio-cultural backgrounds, as well as from various previous studies related to the discussion of this issue. Significant findings from the research show that the cultural identity of Pendalungan is suitable to be used as a platform for strengthening the development of arts and culture of Jember community because of its multicultural nature. With this identity, various ethnic groups in Jember can live in harmony and develop a tolerant attitude without losing their respective traditional particularistic identities. People from various ethnicities can live side by side under the umbrella of Pendalungan cultural identity because what is strengthened and highlighted is not their differences but excellences. Pendalungan people believe in cultural relativity, namely that no culture is higher or lower than another.

Keywords: cultural identity, cultural relativity, multicultural, Pendalungan

Introduction

Terminologically, identity is a characteristic possessed by a person, or group of people, which significantly distinguishes it from others. The differences between a person or group of people and another person or group of people are the keywords for creating an identity. Thus the identity of Jember people is a set of values that surrounds them that can explain who they are. The identity formulation is the essence of the meeting and mixing of the biological, psychological, and sociological factors of Jember community. Therefore, when talking about the cultural identity of a society, what must be included is all aspects of the life of the community. Sukimi (2004) states that something unique that exists in a person or a society is often used as a vital element for recognizing the identity of that person or group. Physical characteristics, styles of dress, behavior patterns, and cultural activities that show uniqueness are often considered elements that reflect identity. Positively, identity can give pride to the owner. Identity can also be expressed through various activities, especially art because artistic activities can show a society's character effectively and authentically.

Cultural identity is always constructive. There is no identity that grows naturally, without ideological engineering, without practical and strategic ideas that underlie it. The creation or embedding of such a cultural identity is usually initiated and designed because it is necessary to facilitate vertical/horizontal and mass socio-cultural mobilization efforts. For example, how to mobilize the community to be involved in the pro-environmental hygiene movement? The government reminds the public (if the majority is Muslim) that "cleanliness is part of faith." Indeed, the call alone is not compelling enough because the pro-cleanliness movement must be total and multi-dimensional. However, it is hoped that it can become a basic framework for collective awareness because, through this call, the public is reminded that they are Muslim and Muslims are obliged to strive for environmental cleanliness.

The acceptance of Jember people on specific cultural values will lead them to particular cultural practices in their daily lives and will make them bound to a specific identity built on certain cultural values. Two logical lines can be traced in understanding the production process of cultural identity. First, the market logic model; every product of cultural identity is considered popular if it is widespread and at its peak is practiced by many people. Second, the quality logic model; every product of cultural identity must be measurable based on quality and it is entirely out of consideration for popularity. However, it must be understood that humans can never be in two cultural spaces simultaneously. He must choose to be "here" or "there." It cannot be ambiguous, and there is also no "between the spaces." Such a place seems to exist but actually it does not exist. Therefore, cultural identity must be constructed and made available so that someone can live in it. That I, as an individual, have moved to Jember and have been a resident of Jember for decades will not change the history of my life as someone born in other town. However, when I decided to live in Jember, I had to redefine my cultural identity so that I could have a "cultural house" where I could live my life comfortably in this town. In other words, I am trying to find something rooted and can rely on culture. As Hall (1991) puts it, identity is not "a closed or sealed totality." There is always a moment for rediscovery or a re-search for cultural roots. This process of (re)territorialization and (re)definition of identity, or even of ethnicity, essentially refers to what Hall termed "Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities."

Pendalungan, an Exonym

Pendalungan is a term that other parties pin to the people who live in the Tapal Kuda area, East Java. We often encounter such things in various places and are called exonyms or names/designations for a place/community given by other parties. The opposite of the word is endonym or autonym, which means the name/designation given to oneself. The term *Wong Using* for the native people of Banyuwangi is also an exonym. In contrast, the term *Wong Tengger* for the people who inhabit Tengger Mountains area is an endonym. Naming a society like this is essential in order to mark the existence of the community, as well as to understand them. Giving a name or designation is usually done because no designation is considered unique or internally authentic.

Concerning the naming of the Tapal Kuda community, the fundamental questions have been milling about: What is the meaning of the word *Pendalungan*? According to *Kamus Bahasa Indonesia* (2008), etymologically, the concept of Pendalungan comes from the word *dalung*, which means "big tray of metal." In line with this explanation, Prawiroatmodjo (1981) in the *Javanese-Indonesian Bausastra* dictionary explains that the concept of pendalungan comes from the Javanese word *dhalung*, which means "big pot." Regarding the term *dalung* or *dhalung* and the "big pot," Yuswadi (2001) states that "it is a metaphor to describe the existence of an area that accommodates various ethnic groups with different cultural backgrounds, which then gives birth to the process of cultural hybridization."

When interpreting the term Pendalungan, Sutarto (2006) and Raharjo (2006) also use the *Javanese-Indonesian Bausastra* dictionary (1981) as a basis. In the dictionary, the word Pendalungan also means 'speaking with no definite manners/politeness.' In the context of everyday life of society and culture in the Tapal Kuda area, according to Sutarto (2006), this definition can mean that the everyday language used by the community is rough (*ngoko*) or a language whose grammatical structure is not yet well established. Meanwhile, Raharjo (2006) explains that etymologically the word Pendalungan comes from the basic Javanese language *dhalung*, which means 'big pot.' In a symbolic concept, the 'big pot' can be defined as a meeting place for various peoples of different ethnicities and cultures, then interacting with each other in space and time to give birth to a new variant of culture called Pendalungan.

Konstantinos Retsikas (in Prasisko, 2016; Hadi, 2016), based on his research in Alas Niser, Probolinggo, found that the word *pedalungan* comes from a series of words *medal* (Javanese high level of speech, or *krama*, which means to go, wander or leave) and *lunga* (Javanese low level of speech, or *ngoko*), which also means to go or to leave). The term is intended for indigenous Madurese who lives and settles outside Madura island, especially in eastern Java. According to Retsikas, this title is given by Javanese people who live in Surabaya and Yogyakarta.

I consider Retsikas' description of the word *pedalungan* quite problematic. The term is extraordinary if spoken by Javanese people by combining two words from different language levels or levels of speech. The combination of the two words *medal* (from *krama*/high level) and *lunga* (from *ngoko*/low level) makes no sense. If the Javanese combine the two words, the result is *medal-kesah* (medasah) or *metu-lunga* (metulung).

So, the term *pedalungan* that comes from *medal* and *lunga* is just the work of *othak-athik-gathuk*, aka looking for the correct meaning by connecting things to make them look appropriate. In the use of the Javanese language, there is a tradition of *kerata basa* or *jarwa dhosok*, namely an effort to understand the meaning of a word based on the origin (syllable) of the word, or a brief translation. For example, *dhalang* means '*ngudhal piwulang*' (explaining the teachings), *Selasa* means '*sela-selane mangsa*' (the most empty time), *Desember* means '*gedhe-gedhene sumber*' (the biggest source of water); *guru* means '*digugu lan ditiru*' (trusted and followed).

Yuswadi (2005) defines the word *Pendalungan* as (1) a mixture of Javanese and Madurese cultures and (2) Madurese people who were born in Java and adapted to Javanese culture. Meanwhile, some simply interpret *Pendalungan* as "the result of inter-ethnic/racial marriage." The following illustration is taken from the results of Kusnadi's research (in Raharjo, 2006): ... Pak Mangun (51 years old) is a resident of Tegal Boto village, Jember. He was born in Panaongan, North Sumenep, Madura. While migrating and working in Jember, he married a local woman called Javanese. When the researcher asked about anyone who could be called a *Pendalungan* person, Pak Mangun replied, "I am a Madurese. my wife is a Javanese. From this marriage, I have two children; they can be called *Pendalungan* people."

Mahawan, 56 years old, a former journalist in Jember, has the same understanding as Pak Mangun above, that a *Pendalungan* person is someone born from a marriage between a Javanese and a Madurese. Meanwhile, Joko Tri, 52, a junior high school teacher in Jember, has a slightly different understanding. According to him, a *Pendalungan* person is someone who was born from a mixed marriage between Javanese or Madurese with Europeans, such as Dutch, English, or Portuguese.

The description above shows the meaning of the term *pedalungan* among the community. However, there is one thing in common in these different opinions (except for Retsikas' opinion): *pedalungan* is a 'product of a mixture.'

Pendalungan Identity

People in the Tapal Kuda area have widely used the term *Pendalungan*, East Java, especially to identify various things related to their cultural identity. People outside this area also use the term to understand or mark the existence of a unique community spread across the eastern part of East Java Province. That is, *Pendalungan* is not a new vocabulary, not a new idea. Some areas in this region have firmly referred to their people as *Pendalungan* people, with the clear implication that since then, all policies taken must take into account their cultural identity as *Pendalungan* people.

Probolinggo, one of *Pendalungan* towns, through a scientific forum, proclaimed itself as the "Capital of *Pendalungan*" in 2010 and since then has been quite active in organizing various promotive events to promote the "new" cultural identity. One of the events held is the "Appreciation of Probolinggo Performing Art," carried out by the local government. At the scientific forum, some cultural researchers from some universities were invited to talk about the *Pendalungan* cultural mosaics.

In Jember, the word *Pendalungan* has been known for a long time. However, in 2016, this word suddenly became a byword for the public. Especially after the head of theregency, Ms. Faida, who has not even been in charge for a year, declared Jember as the City of *Pandhalungan*. On a particular scale, for the people of Jember, the Regent's declaration was a cultural bomb. Shocking, inviting questions, inviting thoughts, and of course, a few people sneer at her.

Compared to previous years, events titled *Pendalungan* were more often held in Jember in 2016, for example, the "*Pandhalungan* Festival" which featured various arts and cultural creations and activities and the "*Pandhalungan* Night Show" which displayed various artistic potentials of community groups, especially students and college students. *Rumah Budaya Pandhalungan* (*Pandhalungan* Cultural House) and *Komunitas Pandhalungan* (*Pandhalungan* Community) were established before the Regent's declaration, initiated by artists, academics, and people who have a serious concern for the development of regional arts and culture. They produced T-shirts that read *Pandhalungan*, sold well, worn by various levels of society, from young people to high-ranking officials of Jember Regency. They also designed a distinctive head cover (*udheng*) from Jember batik material, and it turned out that the community liked it, so it sold well too. In Ambulu, a group of teenagers founded "*Ndalungnesia*," a campursari-reggae music group whose management is managed

by Kartika Budaya Art Studio; it is an example of a group of young art activists, full of inspiration and committed to new ways of managing traditional arts.

In handicrafts, unique bags designed for souvenirs, with the essential ingredients of dried *mojo* fruit with decoration word Pandhalungan, are produced by artisans in a small village named Balung Tutul. In the culinary field, there are restaurants of Soto Pandalungan and Warung Ndalung in the city; the first one specializes in selling soto rice, and the second in the form of a cafe for young people to drink coffee and eat snacks. At the "Pandhalungan Night Show" which took place six times from January to March 2017, Jember artists presented the song entitled Pandalungan, Pandalungan flash-mob, Jathil Pandalungan dance, and Pandalungan Opera. Even the Regent of Jember acted as the main character in the Opera Pandalungan performance, which performance model is similar to *ketoprak*. The special menus at the Aston Jember hotel, a three-star hotel, use the name Pandalungan. Scientific discussions regarding the cultural identity of the Pandalungan were held in various places, both by universities, student organizations, artists, and the bureaucracy, in order to dig deeper into the understanding of this increasingly sexy cultural identity.

Why do the people of Jember seem so enthusiastic in responding to the idea of Pandalungan as a cultural identity? Three things underlie it. First, they have been familiar with the concept of Pandalungan, although their knowledge on it is not yet in the form of a complete understanding. Second, this cultural identity is stated directly by the highest political figure in Jember Regency, that is the Regent. Third, the "new" cultural identity can answer the "indecision of the ethnicity position" of the community; not Javanese but also not Madurese, not Arabic, not Chinese, is an ambiguous position of ethnicity which in everyone's mind should be adequately explained.

In previous years, Jember people were still conservative enough not to call themselves Javanese or Madurese, or other ethnicities. The striking difference between Javanese and Madurese cultures causes segregation between the two cultures. Javanese people are generally categorized as a smooth society, while Madurese people are considered complicated. Whereas geographically, in Jember, formal segregation never existed. Now that the regency government has promoted the identity of Pandalungan, the community considers the issue of Pandalungan to be a common issue that more people can ask about. The same thing also happened before in Probolinggo and Lumajang.

Long before the commotion surrounding the "official" use of the Pandalungan identity, several socio-cultural researchers at Jember University had used the term Pandalungan (or Pandhalungan, Pandalungan, Pandhalungan, and so on) in their writings. However, as stated by Raharjo (2006), Pandalungan, in the context of cultural discourse, is a new theme and has not received much serious attention from cultural experts. In addition, the Pandalungan community is considered to lack cultural attractions that can be used as icons like other cultural areas in East Java, so it is less attractive to be appointed as material object of study. Banyuwangi, for example, has cultural roots of Using and Blambangan that go deep and legible until several hundred years ago. Malang, Surabaya, and their surroundings have Arek cultural roots that can be traced back to Majapahit and Singasari kingdoms eras. Kediri, Madiun, and the surrounding areas have Mataraman cultural roots originating in the Mataram Kingdom. They also have the cultural wealth of Panji originating in the era of an even older kingdom. Likewise, other areas outside East Java, such as Bali, Central Java, Tanah Pasundan, West Java, and others. In comparison, Pandalungan is still a cultural wilderness that is rarely explored.

The question then is, does the so-called Pandalungan culture exist? If so, what is the smallest "unit" of Pandalungan culture?

Pandalungan as a Platform

Pandalungan is both sexy and controversial. On the one hand, this concept that is not yet well understood by the wider community invites interest to be studied, but on the other hand, it stimulates debate.

Referring to the view of Appadurai (2005), the problem of pendalungan is the problem of "the production of locality." Pandalungan is a conceptual building for understanding a society, which can then be used as a reference for all efforts to develop regional culture. This means that local government policies that are taken and implemented must be based on traditional values, religious norms, and social ethics, not referring blindly to image projects and political pragmatism. As Hall (1991) puts it, "it is not politics that legitimizes culture, but the culture that legitimizes." That is why cultural development in an area requires a transparent cultural

platform so that development efforts are directed, not become a chess game board for political adventurers. Cultural development means the development of society's life force as a whole.

In Jember, Ms. Faida in developing regional culture has chosen a reasonably clear perspective. In this case, she chooses Pentalungan as the platform. That is, philosophically, Pentalungan is assumed as a conceptual framework for strengthening social harmony in the Jember region, becoming a kind of ideology that is expected to accommodate multiculturalism in which every citizen has equal rights to live in the social context. Therefore, as a consequence of this choice, the elements of Pentalungan must be reflected in all government policies and activities, both physical and mental-spiritual. That is, Pentalungan as a platform is translated into a blueprint to develop all the potentials of the multicultural Jember community.

The Regent's choice of the Pentalungan concept as a platform for developing regional culture has undoubtedly gone through various considerations and reflections, both normative, academic, and ethical. Jember has a wealth of local wisdom rooted in cultural values developed by our ancestors for centuries. These can be used as references for the Regent in determining the next step.

When Pentalungan culture is positioned as a cultural identity by the Regional Government, then in this context, it is better that Pentalungan culture not function as a well from which to draw values for the community but as a framework for building collective solidarity. Thus, we no longer view cultural values based solely on their historical content.

A dialogue with globalization is one of the toughest challenges we face in developing regional culture. We have to do it because globalization is claimed to be an unavoidable era, a necessity that anyone on earth must accept. In the era of globalization, the world and all its contents are condensed into a "global village" that no longer has geographical, political, and cultural barriers (McLuhan, 1964). Many parties allege that globalization has become a new mode of domination of Western capitalists, which places them as key actors with a privileged position and plays a global role in controlling various aspects of human life, such as economics, politics, science and technology, and socio-cultural and economic affairs. As a new system of domination, globalization is used by Western capitalists to continue and, at the same time, enhance the exploitation process of the entire social potential of Third World society. The process of globalization tends to be exploitative towards Third World societies and in the pattern of unequal relations between the two. However, there is still room to be grateful for because it turns out that globalization also produces paradoxes. Ethnicity, culture, and traditional values find the best momentum to strengthen their respective foundations and perspectives.

Efforts to build cultural awareness of the Jember people are appropriate if they have to refer to the historicity and locality of the Jember people themselves or to build a contemporary society rooted in the history and richness of its traditions. What I position in this paper as a local and specific entity does not need to contradict the idea of modernity which has become a global discourse. This means tradition and locality do not need to be reduced or simplified into a romantic-recreational practice problem when dealing with markets and tourism. Tradition and locality, however, must be seen as the everyday arena of humanity.

Discussions and even heated debates about cultural development efforts should be more frequent among bureaucrats and politicians. However, sadly they seem to prefer to focus on issues of power that are embellished with primordialism, religion, and ideology. Of course, this has implications for the priority allocation of government monetary funds and regional regulations that will be determined and implemented.

Urban Culture in Jember

Urban culture or urban culture is the culture of urban communities, a style of thinking, acting, and behaving that is closely related to the issue of modernity. Urban society is almost always identified and confused with industrialization, urbanization, and consumption. The life needs of urban people are increasingly complex, and modern lifestyles lead them to constantly consume objects that have an image of modernity (Zuma and Rooijackers, 2020; Hanif and Susanto, 2020).

People living in diverse cultural areas, such as the Pentalungan community, seem to have no solid cultural norms and value systems. They seem to have nothing that deserves to be used as an identity marker (Lin, 2020). Significantly if it is associated with the presence of a kind of expectation in the community to have an original identity marker that is unique and not owned by other communities, it is as if the cultural markers of

a society must be ethnic, traditional, and archaic if it had to be like that it would be a heavy cultural burden for people in urban areas and a mix of cultures.

Compared to a homogeneous society, the pattern of social relations and the stratification system in a heterogeneous Pandalungan community tends to be more open and flexible. We can ask important questions: In such conditions, how do the people of Jember choose, define, and develop their culture?

The people of Jember, even though they are 200 km from the provincial capital—Surabaya, do not escape the desire to become a discourse space for sowing modernity. Intensely and significantly, the Government of Jember Regency encourages the people of Jember to be involved in the modernity discourse. Various modern indicators are presented, such as shopping centers, chain stores, hotels, restaurants, airports, etc.

Because they feel they do not have a solid traditional cultural base, the Pandalungan community in Jember prefers to be oriented towards contemporary cultural values. Various forms of cultural activities that exist in the present are considered modern and often become binary opposition to all traditional and local activities. Therefore, activities that follow global trends will be considered more prestigious than local ones. Of course, this is not exhaustive, but facts about it can be easily found in Jember.

Indeed, in general, those who live in urban areas become more spontaneous in accepting elements of international culture that are considered positive. Compared to a society with a more robust cultural base, the Pandalungan community has more acceleration in adopting modernity. Hybrid art models, or arts that do not adhere to traditional roots, tend to be preferred and preferred. That is why *kentrung Djos* version of *kentrung* can last decades, *ketoprak* humor is more warmly welcomed than conventional *ketoprak*, and shadow puppet shows with '*dalang sabet*' are more popular than *dalang* who rely on *antawacana*. The process of cultural production in society takes place without historical references. The most actual example of this is the birth of JFC (Jember Fashion Carnaval). This cultural product emerged from the cultural hybridization scene of the Pandalungan Jember community, which puts forward global and contemporary tastes.

There is a deep concern in some circles that, from time to time, local culture will slowly but surely be eroded by global culture. The format of people's lives, for example, work, food, hobbies, etc., has been proven to leave the old model and shift towards a global one. Some people still often drink coffee and go to small restaurants, no longer in traditional stalls but cafes or fast food restaurants. The implementation of wedding ceremonies is no longer carried out in *terop* (tent), with the old-fashioned style of procedures. However, it is held in hotels or certain buildings with the model of a standing party.

Jember Pandalungan community, which is considered not to have a solid traditional cultural base, actually has a reasonably fundamental problem, namely, it is prone to get lost in the wilderness of "pseudo-modern culture," which is a situation and condition where people greedily consume fake modern products, a product that it looks modern but does not have evident cultural and natural roots, and society considers it modern. The values offered by pseudo-modern culture are "value-free" values, which do not have strong ideological and religious implications, or are only superficial and outward, such as shopping centers, boutiques, salons, franchise stores, and international restaurants. These things are illusory and artificial and do not contribute any unique value to the process of forming the cultural identity of the community. The next step, the consequences of consuming illusory and artificial products, are easy to predict; namely, with enthusiasm and willingness, they will immediately reconstruct a new identity by referring to the products they consume.

Pseudo-modern culture is not philosophically identical to Pandalungan; Instead, it has the potential to threaten the identity of the Pandalungan culture. I call it potentially threatening because pseudo-modern culture only carries symbols with superficial values, which only have surface meanings, not deep ones. Pseudo-modern culture leads people to abandon their traditional culture but cannot provide a way to arrive at modernity. As a result, pseudo-modern culture will always mislead anyone to become a mob of ahistorical, talkative humans without solid personalities.

Apart from political and bureaucratic engineering, which have proven not to produce significant socio-cultural benefits, what is encouraging is that the Javanese and Madurese in Jember already have a common footing, or common platform, formed from the shared religion Islam. They also have the experience of cultural contact over a relatively long period, also exchange abstract concepts about unity which eventually become the basis for living together. Without the experience of cultural intersection, these will only be words of mere political-bureaucratic fabrication that can only be enforced by force. Pandalungan community in Jember has shown

that pluralism is not an abstract idea that is given which falls from the sky. It is born from a specific historical context and must be fought for.

Pendalungan: Finding Shapes

Has the current culture of the Pendalungan community manifested itself as an established culture? Of course not. I have a simple measuring tool to assess whether a society is already at a cultural establishment. Enough with a question: How are Javanese / Madurese / Chinese / Pendalungan people? Based on that simple question, you can answer: "Javanese are patient," "Madura is tough," "Chinese are frugal," and so on. What about Pendalungan people? No "adjectives" can immediately be used to describe the characteristics of the Pendalungan people; This proves that the Pendalungan culture is still not well established. Of course, this is just a stereotype, a measuring tool that is playful and unscientific.

In the midst of world culture constantly coming to and milling around us through the media, the culture of the Pendalungan people continues to evolve, changing for several reasons. According to Abdullah (2006), cultural change occurs for the following reasons.

First, the melting of cultural boundaries. If, in the past, culture was always bound by clear physical boundaries, not anymore. For example, kebaya, sungkeman, wayang kulit, blangkon are always identified with Javanese culture. However, when the consciousness or mindset of humans undergoes a change, the melting of the traditional boundaries of territorial identity, human mobilization, intellectual sophistication achieved, and increasingly modern communication media, society becomes integrated not only at the local level but at the world level so that the boundaries of a culture's identity are also fade. The sungkeman tradition in Javanese society as a symbol of a child's obedience to parents is replaced by communicating by telephone or other sophisticated tools. With the integration of the global order, culture is no longer bound to rigid physical boundaries caused by deterministic spatial ties.

Second, there is the politics of space and cultural meaning. A changing power structure also causes changes in the meaning of a symbol. This happens because culture cannot be separated from the space in which it is built, maintained, preserved, or even changed. With the existence of different power interests, the space that is a place for culture is also redefined in line with the new interests that grow—for example, changing the design of the room. In the past, cultural centers held control and voice in determining the character of social space. Due to differences in interests, there was a redefinition of space to suit the orientation of the ruling party. Therefore, the meaning of culture must also be subject to who redefines it. Symbols and cultural meanings also become objects whose presence is produced through the negotiation process of several interested parties.

Third, when the hegemony of power political interests occurs, there is coercion on space and cultural identity. The community is also divided into small groups that vary in the meaning of space and cultural identity. The contestation of various institutions takes place intensively, which causes individuals to become objects and commodities of different interests. Those who are subordinated also participate in contests in the form of deconstructive meaning or disobedience to the definition of space and cultural identity carried out by the holders of power. The tug-of-war between the holders of power control and those subordinated also makes cultural identities undergo different reconstructions and reproductions, which are full of interests.

Of all the impacts mentioned above, the shift from local to global culture is the most worthy of attention. The general trend in electronic media, especially television, marginalizes local cultural forms. For creators, this tension between global and local should be the inspiration in producing their creations. In this tension, a creative space is provided, namely something we call a hybrid culture, combining two opposing elements while maintaining the fundamental character of both.

Conflict in a cultural process is often unavoidable. Even so, in Abdullah's view (2006), without a conflict of interest, it is difficult to imagine the birth of an awareness of a systematic change toward a more developed social system. Therefore, Abdullah emphasized that efforts to understand culture must begin by redefining the culture, not as a generic culture which is a hereditary guideline but must be used as a differential culture (which is negotiated in all social interactions). Culture is not a legacy that is collectively practiced from generation to generation but becomes a more situational culture whose existence depends on the character of power and relationships that change from time to time. Efforts to knit culture occur in a space filled with the interests of various parties participating in the process.

Jember, Pandalungan Hometown

When Indonesia's independence anniversary is celebrated in August, it is usually celebrated with various competitions, carnivals, or cultural carnivals. Some of the participants at the event, incredibly the carnival, chose to wear regional clothes. Some wear traditional Javanese clothes, and some wear traditional Madurese clothes. The existence of these two cultural supporters will be directly reflected in the clothes they wear. This means that most of the people of Jember who are ethnically Madurese still identify as Madurese. The people of Jember, who are ethnically Javanese, are also the same. However, they no longer feel they have excessive emotional ties to "Madura Island" or "Java Land," where their parents or ancestors were born. They are now more attached to the land where they gave birth to their children. Usually, those who still have strong ties to Madura Island or Kulonan Java are immigrants who were not born in Jember.

The Madurese diaspora, both in the Tapal Kuda area and in other areas in Indonesia, is identical to the culture inherent in the Madurese as migrants, namely how to maintain their existence among other ethnicities and how other people who interact with them can understand and interpret their existence as Madurese ethnicity. Indeed, it is not possible for the immigrant community to completely break away from or break off relations with their area of origin. However, it will appear later, especially in Jember, that gradually they are no longer Kediri people living in Jember or Pamekasan people living in Jember but have transformed into 'Jember people from Kediri' or 'Jember people from Pamekasan.' This is the process of identity re-identification, in which the identity, according to Hall (1991), is never complete or perfect or will never end. Alternatively, in other words, identity will always be in the process of formation. Identity means an identification process in which the identification structure is always constructed through ambivalence, such as between us and others or 'us' and 'them.' Other also exists within us, in the sense that other is part of the process of identifying our own identity because we see the other in our own eyes. We are also seen from the other's perspective.

The Pandalungan community in Jember no longer distinguishes between "local" and "immigrant" because there has never been an adequate interpretation. People are more likely to see in which realm the identity battle might be built as a strategy to win the identity battle because identity is built on an intense dialectic between "local" and "immigrant." This indicates that the Pandalungan community in Jember is more open to new experiences, more willing to accept risks, and has greater empathy. On the other hand, they tend to be more individualistic in character.

In the center of the town and the suburb, the blending and adaptation of Javanese-Madurese culture did occur, although, in the end, it remained oriented toward Javanese culture (Raharjo, 2006; Ilham, 2022). According to Raharjo, the clearest example of the interaction between Madura and Java is the birth of the Jember dialect of Javanese. Nevertheless, whether the "Jemberan language" does exist, and deserves to be called the Javanese dialect of Jember, still needs further study and verification.

Based on my experience living in Jember for thirty-five years, I see that Javanese and Madurese cultures can be contrasted entirely in terms of life views, language, behavior, tastes, and arts. However, in the Pandalungan area, the two entities are not easy to separate because, culturally, there has been a complementary and mutually reinforcing relationship. Jember is not only Javanese, not only Madurese but also a mixture of the two ethnicities plus other ethnicities. What is meant by mixing here is not limited to biological but also cultural. This fact indicates that Jember is a multicultural area that has been practicing and will always need a foundation of multiculturalism in its daily life.

Raharjo (2006) captures the process of subordination to Madurese culture by Javanese culture, even though this condition seems to take place naturally. In other words, Javanese culture is positioned as an ordinate, while ethnic Madurese are subordinates who try to adapt, then 'become Javanese' culturally. This is what then gives rise to what is known as Pandalungan, namely when the Madurese, in socializing and adapting to Javanese society, evolutionarily become 'Javanese Pandalungan.' However, Raharjo further emphasized that historically and socio-culturally, the interaction and communication of various ethnicities—not only Javanese and Madurese—had created the cultural conditions of the Pandalungan community. There are ethnic Chinese, Arab, and Using, although, in terms of quantity, they are a minority. In Raharjo's understanding, Pandalungan is a process of interaction and communication between various ethnic groups rooted in their respective social roles and cultural attractions, producing a hybrid culture. Hybridization in this context does not only talk about

the process of combining various cultures to produce a new culture. The hybridization that occurs in the Pandalungan area is a structural hybridization and a cultural hybridization.

In my view, the cultural subordination as meant by Raharjo above did not happen. Even if it happens, it is only casuistic, and the level is low. There is a cultural dialectic among the Javanese, Madurese, and other ethnicities. However, not Javanese and Madurese culture face to face as two contestants fighting for the winning trophy. This is a multiculturalism issue, not an ethnicity issue. It is natural that in a pluralistic region such as Jember or other areas of the Horse Tapal, negotiations and even competition for influence take place continuously to produce the cultural identity of the Pandalungan.

Nevertheless, the Javanese and Madurese have relatively balanced power and bargaining power. In other words, there is no domination of one ethnic group over another. Blum (1991) puts the concept of multiculturalism face to face diametrically with racism. In this case, Blum understands racism as "the domination or victimization of some groups by others, and with the notion of the subordinate groups as inferior or less worthy than the dominant group." This is not the case in Jember or, more broadly, in the Tapal Kuda area.

In a plural society such as in Jember, each cultural entity must be willing to dismantle and open up to each other when looking for something that can be used as a basis for living together in a situation of standing the same height and sitting the same low. The awareness of the people of Jember as a plural society, which consists of various ethnicities and cultures, can grow and develop because they have been de facto in a plural situation for a relatively long period. So it is not surprising that their cultural perspective naturally leads to pluralism and multiculturalism. It happened in Jember for a long time: Javanese people can enjoy Madurese satay or other Madurese foods, while Madurese can enjoy Ponorogo satay or other Javanese foods. A simple form of consumer cultural pluralism.

Conclusion

The Pandalungan culture in the Tapal Kuda area is built on cultural pluralism based on an attitude of equality. The various ethnic groups in this region live in harmony and can develop a tolerant attitude. Each ethnic group does not strive to maintain its traditional particularistic identity, and they open themselves up to the cultural elements shared by other community members.

Although there are many similarities between the Pandalungan culture and other surrounding cultures, this does not prevent the Tapal Kuda community from remaining proud of the Pandalungan identity because what should be strengthened and highlighted is not difference but excellence.

Pandalungan culture in the future, I firmly believe, will lead to the strengthening of multicultural culture, where only in a multicultural situation can ideal conditions be achieved for a society consisting of ethnic groups who desire to live side by side in harmony, free to express their ideas, their best ideas, preserving their customs, religion, belief, language, and obtaining equal protection and services for their citizenship rights. Thus, multiculturalism is not only concerned with cultural diversity but, more fundamentally, is the will to recognize, respect, and value pluralism in society, so that socio-cultural facts become a blessing, not a tool to divide society.

The absence of dominant power in this region is not a weakness. On the other hand, social balance will provide more significant opportunities for forming a productive symbolic exchange field and thus more easily encourage the creation of a hybrid identity, namely a new identity that is formed as a result of the meeting of the best elements on each side. Such a cultural identity will probably belong to the Pandalungan community one day. If managed wisely, the ethnic and cultural plurality of this Pandalungan will be the strength and wealth of each region in the Horse Tapal.

Efforts to build cultural awareness of the Pandalungan community must, of course, refer to the historicity of the Pandalungan community itself, which is multi-ethnic, or in other words, to build a contemporary society rooted in its history. Therefore, pluralism must be an absolute requirement to implement regional autonomy. It should be realized that regional autonomy in the hands of people who do not yet have a pluralistic awareness can turn into an arena of arbitrariness and mass deception, or it will trigger unproductive violence.

In the Pandalungan community, cultural contact and dialogical relationships must be continuously nurtured and nurtured from an early age to minimize disintegration. Cultural contact means getting to know other ethnicities better. Multiculturalism lessons or field studies in schools which have been limited to the surface

level, namely just recognizing a tourist attraction or building, only discussing regional clothing and special foods, must be deepened in quality so that it reaches the human level and all the cultural values it has.

It should be understood that in a plural society, there is usually a segmentation into forms of sub-cultural groups which differ within certain limits from one another. This situation makes it prone to social conflict between one group and another. Steps to reduce the possibility of conflict are (a) the willingness of the community as a whole to develop fundamental values and (b) avoiding political domination by certain groups. In other words, Pandalungan culture is the common property of the Pandalungan community.

Minor stigma against Pandalungan community as a society that does not have cultural roots does not have language manners, and so on, has been answered positively by Tapal Kuda community, namely by showing various advantages that can only be produced by people who "do not have cultural roots" and "do not have language etiquette."

Now the Pandalungan people have, and still must, strengthened their understanding of cultural relativity, that no one culture is higher or lower than another. Thus, the Pandalungan community is obliged to provide equal opportunities to all customs, arts, and religions that exist in society. Of course, this is not easy because efforts to understand a culture must be accompanied by an understanding of the complexity of the symbolism woven into the elements of that culture.

To this day, the Pandalungan culture remains in the process of space: it continues to grow according to the desires, orientations, and appreciation of the people who support it, flowing with the flow of the era's battle that will never end in any estuary.

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