THE CONTEMPORARY POTRAIT OF “ANOTHER JAVA”:
DESCRIPTION ON ALCOHOLIC DRINKING CULTURE IN
CENTRAL JAVA AFTER REFORMATION ERA

POTRET KONTEMPOLER “JAWA YANG LAIN”:
DESKRIPSI KEBUDAYAAN MINUMAN BERALKOHOL
DI JAWA TENGAH PASCA-REFORMASI

Irfan Nugraha

Center for Anthropology Study, University of Indonesia,
University of Indonesia, Depok, West Java, Indonesia
E-mail: irnu40@yahoo.com

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Abstract

The Javanese culture has been described in the popular discourse as having a romantic sense. Javanese cultural manifestation is imagined to always have an ideal form. My observation presents a paradox when I examine the distinction between Javanese alcoholic drinks and another cultural manifestation that are perceived as an ideal. In my short ethnographic finding, I found out ciu and lapen as local alcoholic beverages are not considered as an ideal representation of Javanese cultural manifestation. The problem emerges when the traditional ceremony like jagongan (a form of social ceremony in rites of passage) that functions as a drinking haven in the past was faded. The drinker who is generally associated with abangan cannot publicly consume the local alcoholic beverages because the presence of Islam movement. I argue that my finding is not only to show the distinction of cultural manifestation in the Java popular cultural discourse, but also to capture the tension between the revitalization of adat (customary law) and Islamic movement in Java which are part of the process of democratization in Indonesia. The study on alcohol drinking culture and practice could picture the dynamic of contemporary Java society.

Keywords: Javanese culture, cultural manifestatin, alcholic drinking practice
A. INTRODUCTION

In this paper, the author presents a contemporary portrait of Javanese culture and its society after the collapse of Suharto’s New Order regime. The author is trying to construct a portrait based on the alcohol drinking culture in Java. The author sees the alcoholic drinking culture could give different framework in understanding Javanese culture and its society. The drinkers – generally associated with abangan (Geertz: 1960) - as I observed cannot publicly consume the local alcoholic beverages. In the past, there was a traditional ceremony like jagogan where they can drink cie, but then it was banned in some areas. The drinkers lost their drinking haven. Today, the abangan have left such practices and converted themselves to be a devoted moslem.

However, in some cases, the idea and practice of drinking alcoholic beverages still exist. I argue that this existence of drinking culture is related to the tension between the revitalization of adat (customary law) and Islamic movement in Java which is part of the process of democratization in Indonesia (Klinken, 2007: 36-38).

By the study of drinking culture, I would like to reveal, firstly, the sophistication of Javanese recipes of alcohol beverages that has become simpler and more practical, and secondly the problems of becoming a more devoted Moslem in Solo and Yogyakarta. The tradition of consuming alcohol as part of adat practices, the piety of being good Moslem, and social-economic background of the drinkers have made the drinking culture in Central Java a complex thing and lead to a picture of a different Java as described in many literatures1.

It is an appropriate time to address these questions for several reasons. First, the democratized post-New Order does not only affect the political aspect, but also the social and cultural aspects. In some area, the revitalization of adat and the rise of Islamic movement have become social-cultural phenomenon. However, there is no explanation about the consequences towards alcohol drinking issue, especially in Central Java which is dominated by devoted moslem and Javanese ethnic group. Second, there is no comprehensive anthropological research on the subject of alcohol drinking and its practice in Central Java. It is interesting because in Java there are two well-known alcohol drinks: Cie in Solo and Lapen in Yogyakarta, and also Oplosan – drinking from mixing alcohol with other substances. Furthermore, Cie, Lapen, and Oplosan have attracted wide media attention as they have been suspected to be a source of death. Lastly, I find out that the alcoholic drinking and its practice position would enrich the knowledge about Javanese culture discourse.

This paper itself is divided into four parts. First, the author examines anthropological literatures that describe general perspective on alcohol drinking subject. The second part, the author examines the established discourse on Javanese culture and its society. The third part shows the monograph of structuration process of alcohol drinking culture in Central Java. The last part points out the contemporary picture of alcohol drinker in Java. As discussion and conclusion, the revitalization of adat and the rise of Islamic movement bring dynamics into Javanese culture discourse through the lens of alcohol drinker. By focusing on the alcoholic drinking culture in Central Java, this paper intends to contribute to describe present Javanese culture discourse, especially to show a dynamic in constant portray of the “sophisticated Java.”

There are two major questions to be examined, basically corresponding with the four section of this paper: (1) How, and to what extent, could the alcoholic drinking culture describe a dynamic of Javanese culture and its society after Soeharto’s era? (2) How did the revitalization of adat and the rise of Islamic movement after Soeharto’s era give an impact towards Javanese abangan’s alcohol drinker?

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B. LITERATURE REVIEW

Alcoholic drinking and its consumption have always been an anthropology research subject. Johansson (2001: 3846-2849) described that anthropological viewpoints have played a part to show a rich variation in multitude of cultural context. In various groups, societies, or communities, alcohol drinking can be identified as legitimate symbol for an existing necessary. However, Johansson concluded there is no way to stipulate a cultural level of tolerance of alcohol; and anthropology has no immediate solution to the problem of alcohol as a health hazard. Aside from this, alcoholic drinking and its practice could describe the form of relation between culture and its agent. In this context, he sees a social control in which socialization plays a role in the relation between the drinker and community. Socialization will be the efficient way to control drinker’s alcohol abuse and the norms of community.

It is interesting to look upon Nagasawa, Qian, and Wong (2000: 581-603) research about social control and alcohol use among Asian and Pacific Americans. In their research, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, and Pacific Islanders think that family, friends, and teachers do not take part in keeping them to drink alcohol as it does for other ethnic groups. For Chinese and Asian Indians, families play a very important preventive role. For Southeast Asia, teachers play a very important preventive role. In that sense, Johansson’s observation about the variation in multitude of cultural context and social control seems relevant (Johansson, 1987).

Another research that elaborate about anthropological perspective on alcohol is Shore and Spicer (2004: 2509-2521). They found the alcohol drinking and its consumption does not only represent the existence of a community, but also as an integrated part of the way in which conflict played out in the community. Based ethnographic and survey data collected in an Australian Aboriginal community, the members believe that the effect of alcohol in individual behavior and emotion bring about the expectation that the intoxicated individuals would remember past grievances and act upon them.

In other word, the alcohol drinking practice is affected by community members’ beliefs about alcohol as well as the individual’s own more idiosyncratic beliefs and expectations, the disinhibiting qualities of alcohol, the individual’s emotional state, and the circumstances surrounding a drinking episode. It could be seen in the situation in which “being drunk” that encourages an individual to bring out grievances and conflicts and address them through physical confrontation. In this manner, alcohol acts as a conduit for the playing out of conflicts and tensions within the community.

However, Singer (1986: 113-110) took different lens to explore alcohol issue. She suggested to consider global-economic forces. She argued that global political-economic forces have reshaped social relations and drinking practice cross-culturally. It reflected in privatization of alcohol monopolies in United State of America opinion ??, Room (1987: 509-530) noted in the history, government monopoly of valued commodities as a means of revenue raising has a long history.

The idea of monopolizing alcohol arose in the mid-19th century and in part of consideration of public health. The consequence towards market structure of alcoholic commodities is that the government only publish the license to agencies as an attempt to limit the distribution and to prevent alcohol hazard health effects. However, when the privatization of alcohol was implemented, some agencies have not drawn significant attention to prevent alcohol problems. Furthermore, it also addresses the effects of consumption and alcohol-related problem of both experimental and unplanned changes in monopoly system. In other word, the process of “reshaped of social relations and drinking practices cross-culturally” does not come up from the society or their culture system itself.

Based on the description, we could see there is a puzzling link when study an anthropological aspect of alcohol drinking and its consumption. I
view the puzzling comes from the moral value in alcoholic drinking practice. It is hard to separate the “health hazard,” “physical confrontation,” or “as instrument of everyday life pressure” from alcohol. Overlapping between alcoholic drinking as “a culture” and the impact show the lack of abstraction in anthropological perspective. In conclusion, I want to give an explanation to fill in this absence, to bridge between anthropological abstraction and the empirical data.

C. RESEARCH METHOD

In this research, the author used to applied ethnographic method. The time of research is approximately one month for field research and around two month for literature and research writing in the greater area of Solo and Yogyakarta. Ethnography means participating in the social world and reflecting on the process and products of that participation. Ethnographic research is an active process, in which accounts of the world are produced through selective observation and interpretation (Hammersley and Atkinson: 1995). The used of ethnographic method implicated to data finding. First of all, the author has selecting informants based on snow ball method which in the informant is a person who had legitimacy in the alcohol drinking practice. Second, the relation between author and informants is important in the way author is not only asking questions, but also observe and participate in their daily activity. And the last, the data was validating by a triangulation approach, especially in comparing the informants’s narratives with literature review.

D. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

D.1. The Classic Portrait of Javanese Discourse

Java is exotic subject for cultural research. The intensive research and academic literatures becomes classic portrait of Javanese culture and its society. Despite of the dynamic that happened in Java, the classic portrait projecting Javanese discourse has not changed. The Javanese discourse is not a formation of knowledge, although it constructs an established portrait. This is why I choose “classic” as a word to define what kind of discourse that is operated. The method that I use to deliver a classic portrait is to conclude selecta narration from “authoritative” Javanese literatures and also popular books. Interestingly, “authoritative” literature and popular books have similar structure of narration to tell about Javanese culture and its society. It is starting from the historical description to the categorization of cultural system and its variants.

Solo and Yogyakarta occupy a unique position, particularly associated with the presence of Sunanate Solo and Yogyakarta Sultanate that have been instrumental in shaping the culture of Java. However, in the study of socio-cultural, “Javanese Culture” does not only refer to the two institutions above, but also refers to “the Java community” which includes the Central and East Java, the area kejawen located in Banyumas, Kedu, Yogyakarta, Solo, Madiun, Malang and Kediri alongside coastal areas and the eastern end which is outside the region kejawen. Based on the study above, “Javanese culture” is often categorized based on (a) interaction with other cultures; (b) human ecology; (c) behavior, knowledge, and form material; and (d) based on the social structure and system of symbols.

Category (a) of Javanese culture is seen as a result of interaction with elements of cultures of non-Java (Sedyawati, 2006: 425-429). Sedyawati sees the original elements of Javanese culture is none other than the current pre-Hindu culture (native Java). The encounter with the Hindu-Buddhist culture and Islamic causes become syncretic culture. Meanwhile, western culture brings Javanese culture “tends materialistic.”

Meanwhile, the Javanese culture (b) with regard to human ecology can be seen from typology assembled by Rochwulansih. She divided the Javanese culture into three typologies of culture, the culture palace which is seen as an urban area with the characteristics of syncretic religious life among the mix of Hindu-Buddhist and Islam. Second, agrarian culture which has the characteristics of agrarian customs and traditions, but more egalitarian and not rigidly
structured. Lastly, coastal culture, which is based on marine economy and cultural values of Islam dominates rituals and ceremonies, but still there is a genuine and Hindu cultural syncretism (Rochwulaningsih: 2015).

Meanwhile, the category (e) the behavior, knowledge, and a form of material can be seen in the study by Koentjaraningrat (1985: 11-12). Koentjaraningrat saw Javanese culture as concept of values and importance for the Javanese that serve as a guidance for life. Furthermore, he suggested that Javanese cultural system comprises some elements, such as language and communication, art, literature, religious beliefs, rituals, witchcraft, and some institutions in the social organization that have typical characteristics and distinguish from other cultures (Koentjaraningrat, 1985)

Furthermore, category (d) regarding the social structures and systems of thought symbol reflected by Geertz (1983). Geertz categorized Javanese culture as a frame of three sub-culture, namely Abangan were growing in rural areas that possess some aspects of animism in ritual life, Santri were growing in the area of trade and market while emphasizing the aspects of Islam, and Priyayi were growing in the central region municipalities and have a root into the ancient Hindu-Java kingdom.

In the contemporary context, as seen during the study, Solo and Yogya society continue to preserve the categorization of culture as mentioned above: rural-urban, students-abangan, or penggede-grassroots. Solo and Yogya when people refer to how to interact, patterns of thought and action in everyday life, people always refer to “tradition.” At first glance, though Javanese culture has not changed, people of Solo and Yogya prompted to associate them with the development of the second area of the city, it looks as self-reflection to their identity that based on the Geertz’s variants in the contemporary period.

Variants that emerged is “Wong Solo” and “Wong Jogja.” Two terms that may have emerged since colonial era: the reign of Kasunanan and Mangkunagara, even an informant traced it was since the conflict in Mataram era. At this time, the term “Wong Solo” with “Wong Yogya” are not only stain in history of the two Javanese central culture that generate customary characteristics to society, that applies as well to contemporary context. An interesting example can be seen in the opposition between football supporters of PSIS Solo with PSS Sleman. Fights between supporters becomes a moment to express the identity of the city, while observing the difference of “Wong Solo” and “Wong Yogya” in a contemporary context. The emergence of prejudice also can also be seen as a signal of this dichotomy in the contempory context. It is common to hear that “wong solo” is lacking of professionalism compared to the “wong Yogya”, or when the attitudes of Solo people are considered to be more “friendly” than the people of Yogyakarta.

Particularly in Yogyakarta, there is another category that emerge, “Orang Jogja”. It is often uttered by immigrants, either as college students or migrant workers in Yogyakarta. This category can be considered as a sub-variant of the “Wong Yogya.” However, these people do not identify themselves to be “Java.” Yogyakarta is deemed to have “culture” of its own. Characteristic of the “culture of Jogja” is nothing but a culture of youth subculture, either music, lifestyle, or consumption styles.

In conclusion, the culture of Java has been seen as a manifestation of diachronic and syncretic process. However, the manifestation does not include alcoholic drinking issue. It happens because the discourse that I described has established, and the dynamic has been seen as subculture or even unrecognized. It is astonishing because alcoholic drinking in Java is a common thing. I argue that the alcoholic drinking in Java has different pattern and context. I would show my argument by describing the structuration process in 19th-20th century based on informant perspective and the contemporary empirical data based on my observation and indepth interview.
D.2. The Folklore of Alcoholic Drinking in Java: The Structuration Process in 19th-20th

To discuss the alcoholic culture in Java, I tend to consider it as folklore. It is not appropriate to verify all story related to alcoholic drinking as a fact. It is a combination of verbal history, experience, rumour or just lies. As we see in previous chapter, ciu, lapen, and oplosan are not part of Javanese discourse, although alcoholic drinking and its practice are noted in some of Javanese literature, ancient or modern, like in Serat Centhini and Serat Dharmagandul. As if their existence is being forgotten. However, alcohol drinking and its practice is not taboo theme in daily conversation at all. The moral judgement is embrace only when the discussants were asked about their opinion. It refers to popular general discourse of alcoholic drinking in Indonesia: the alcoholic drinking could make the drinker behavioral trend to morally corrupt. I would first describe the folklore of alcoholic drinking in Java from the history of their existence.

Most of all informants guess that the existence of ciu and lapen can be traced back to Majapahit era. It is a common presumption. Budi Soetiyono, anthropology lecturer in University oSebelas Maret, Solo, give an explanation about this presumption when the interview conducted. Based on his research, the communal practice in jagongan that is related to life cycle—such as birth, married, death rituals where people in the neighborhood would stay up all night in host’s place—has been practiced since Majapahit era. He also found that it is related to life cycle ceremony among Dayak community in Borneo. His finding is based on ancient literature. However, he said there is no further information in the literature about what kind of alcoholic drinks it is. He made a shrewd guess that the possible alcoholic drinks in that time is a fermentation made of palm sugar liquid, pisang batu (banana variety) or maybe based on mangar (coconut flower) that still produced and distributed in some area of Java (legen). He also believes that the today’s ciu is a legacy of Majapahit alcoholic drinks.

However, the information about the existence of ciu in Java is varied. As alcoholic drinks that are made of fermented sugar, ciu has existed since colonial era. The existence of ciu is related to the installation of sugar factory in Mangkunegara area during colonial era. The leader of alcohol industry association who inherit the factory from his grandfather told that the industry of ciu started in the late of 19th century. He told that the ciu industry started in the time of sugar boom during colonial era. Sugar was a valuable commodity during colonial era. The industry was built by priboemi, native people. The technology was using an old-time distillation process. If the priboemi was producing ciu, the China migrant was producing Arak with the similar technology but it differs in the process and the alcohol composition is higher than ciu. Aside from that, ciu has been recorded in colonial tax archive and also the photograph of old time Java street-merchant.

Bekonang and Ngombakan then became central industry of ciu. In that time, Bekonang and Ngombakan were part of Mangkunegaran governance, one of colonial vassal in central Java. The centralization of ciu industry was a formed of David Ricardo’s comparative advantage practice in Java. Each of industrial villages has specialized in production of commodity, such as gamelan, furniture, etc. Beside of the central industry, Bekonang and Ngombakan was also the central for distrubtion of ciu. It can be seen from the naming of street as “jalan ciu” and ciu shops were open in street yarins. The distribution of ciu were also done by street merchants. The distribution of ciu, and also candu, by street merchants have expanded to a distant village in Solo Raya area. It is an explanation why ciu has become a massive commodity.

Massive distribution has played part in forming alcohol drinking culture in Central Java. Ciu became a common commodity. Men, young, old and people have intimated by ciu in brief time. The communalization of ciu represents the structuration process (Giddens, 1984: 9, 189). Giddens tried to explain that the creation and reproduction of social system is based on the relation between both structure and
agency. Furthermore, he said, “the structuration is not a mechanical outcome, rather as an active constituting process, accomplished by and consisting in, the doing of active subject.”

It is interesting to see the process of structuration of alcoholic drinking culture in Javanese culture and its society. First of all, the structuration process was operating in the present social system in that time. The distribution process happened in village, market and also a Javanese neighborhood. Furthermore, the distribution was constructing a market structure between seller and buyer. Lastly, the buyer drinks ciu, both in social activity and ceremony. The buyer practice when ciu is becoming a common consumption shows to us the development of agency capability. Secondly, the process of structuration of ciu as colonial commodity is also address in the fabrication of culture. Ci is not only an alcoholic commodity, but creating a cultural meaning and new knowledge that not included in classic Javanese discourse. I think the second process has establishing the structuration process.

Furthermore, the establishment process of cultural meaning and knowledge has created a unique approach in Javanese discourse. If we compare with other commodities, such as jamu, Javanese herbal drinks, or even the process to create batik, there is sophisticated process that embodied with Javanese “high-context” culture. Ci is believed by informants to be made of natural ingredients. Informants seem deny the industrial process. However, they believe in “natural ingredients” is the process of cultural translation to make ciu fits with Javanese cultural framework. As in “high-context” commodity, the alcohol drinkers also have sophisticated knowledge to assess the quality. Informants said that the best quality of ciu can be seen in its color, fragrant and taste, it also applies in assessing Jamu. Aside from that, ciu is believed to be medical tonic like Jamu. Some of the elders believe that ciu can cure cough, become a stamina booster, and cure muscle-ache by wiping it on the sick body.

However, the process of structuration is built up in the social system that exists. If we see, the distribution process and ciu become a common commodity for Javanese society, they can not be separated from each other. This is what I see in the alcoholic drinking culture in Java. Yet, it does not mean that the “old” social system was giving a room for alcoholic drinking. I argue that ciu was creating a different part of culture and its practice. Its absence in Javanese culture discourse shows us that the classical discourse is not being a cultural reference. I argue that it could be an explanation why it is difficult to find historical narration of alcoholic drinking culture in Java as brought up in informant’s assumption. In other words, the alcoholic drinking culture in Java is not linked historically and culturally with the dominant discourse. Although, alcholoc drinking are always part of the Javanese folk culture, such as Ludgun or Tayub, the popular discourse sometimes consider to omit the presence of alcoholic drinking.

Why I used the phrase of “unrecognized”? In 19th and 20th when Ci became massive, there was no significant resistance to this intoxicated drinking. The 19th and 20th is the century for modern Islamic movement in Java (Rifklefs, 2006). As we know, alcoholic drinking is haram (forbidden), but the structuration became established. The rumor assumption to explain the phenomenon was Kraton Solo’s political strategy. The Kraton Solo wanted to create political stability between Islam group and abangan. In particular, ciu represented a popular practice and a counter discourse to the Islamic movement in 19th and early 20th century.

D.3. The Contemporary Potrait: in Between Revitalization of Adat and Islamic Movement

In the late 20th century, one of phenomena in Java related to alcoholic drinking is the existence of lapen (a mixed alcoholic drinks with other substance). The term has begun to disappear among drinkers, Solo identified the manufactured drinks as “minuman Depkes (a labeling drinking from Ministry of Health). Drinkers in Solo who
prefer non-alcoholic manufactured beverage due to personal prevention from ciu, which “has too strong smell or taste.”

Among drinkers, beverages are generally identified not by its manufactured brand, but based on the type of drink, such as vodka, wine, whiskey or beer. Drinkers have purchased the alcoholic beverage’s brand; mentioning brands of alcoholic beverages does not imply the product brand loyalty. However, it is more due to widely circulated term of alcoholic beverage brands. For example, among older adults, the most mention manufactured brand of alcoholic drinks are drum (vodka), old wine (Wine Red “Cap Orang Tua”), armature, green sand (alcoholic), and stars. When someone wanted to buy a beer, for example, they would get the beer with “star” brand and they would not protest.

However, at this time, the knowledge among drinkers about manufactured brands and types of beverage in Solo were widespread after blooming of cafes or karaoke that provide various brands and types of beverages that are not available in the general market. However, drinkers were concerned about the authenticity of manufactured alcoholic beverage as there are many cases of imitation, even if they are sold in the cafe or karaoke. Whiskey has been the most frequent type of alcohol to get imitated. An informant told, if the alcoholic beverages are “aspal” (imitation), they are manufactured in Solo. His friend, imitation alcohol maker, say that there is only few kinds of beer that have never been imitated until now.

Talking about contemporary alcoholic drinking culture can not be separated from Lapen that is inseparable from the existence Madukismo plant, especially the development of spiritus processing from the plant in the 1950s, or after the second world war. A number of drinkers speculate, lapen circulation in the 1950s was a response to the difficulty of obtaining alcoholic beverages at that time, however, lapen were not widely distributed. Meanwhile, new lapen boom occurred circa 1980s-1990s in Yogyakarta.

One of the myths concerning this lapen booming is that there was a pedicab driver who happen to mix it with medical alcohol too cut off the cost. His beverage was apparently getting a good response from his friends. Gradually, it is getting recognized day after day and widely distributes, until he could build a business and market the products to almost every corner of Yogyakarta. An overview of the boom can be seen in Sayidian’s lapen. At the time, Sayidian became place to hang out among youth in Yogyakarta. When the young people wanted to drink lapen in Yogyakarta, all they had to do is “ngeprok” (clapping hands) on a bridge. The lapen seller who kept the beverages under the bridge will soon deliver it.

In the beginning of 2000s, lapen began to lose its market. The news about the health effects of lapen began to flourish. Lapen buyers began to switch to ciu, later known as ciplas (plastic ciu), and Arak Jawa (although often referred to Arak Klaten). Lapen S, made of ciu mixed with spices began to become one of the alternative beverages among lapen drinkers due to the assumption that it is harmless. In 2013, it became the turning point for lapen to decline, especially in Pajeksan and near one of the hospitals. Since the death case of several people simultaneously, Lapen began to get extensive news.

Pajeksan and near Sarjito Hospital suddenly became target of gropyokan - penggerebekan - police raid. The lapen makers also divert their business into famous traders or kiosks while selling the manufactured alcoholic drinks. Someone told this story that the kiosks/angkringan/ grocery shops would take over the lapen “smoothly” as most of the time the “boss of lapen makers” were setting aside the benefit to develop their business. This way, the makers would not experience economic difficulty for quitting from making mixed lapen.

Meanwhile, there are only few of lapen sellers that remain. In the beginning of June, Lapen S was raid by the police. Previously, Lapen S were sold in kiosks, although the police forbad it. Later, it is sold by vendors who travel using motorcycle. In addition, “Mr. Beard” lapen is still
sold at the old location. Lapen named “Mr. Beard” has similar characteristics with lapen S, which is made of ciu mixed with herbs and spices.

In the wider context, based on my research, I observe the influence of contemporary culture to the “indigineous” in Java. The term of local-contemporary refers to the assumption among drinkers that they have been influenced by knowledge and practice of contemporary culture, but that does not mean the old cultural traditions and practices have faded. The current local community in Solo and Yogyakarta predominantly put Javanese culture as a reference of knowledge, way of life and everyday interactions. Although, drinkers do not constrain themselves from new practices and knowledge of different cultures, for example ciu consumption patterns in Solo.

Among the drinkers that have known ciu in everyday life, most of them claimed ciu as a first taste of alcoholic beverages. Further ciu consumption among drinkers is interpreted as typical beverage Solo, Solo cultural identity, drinking it also considered to be an expression of cultural identity. However, this linkage between consumption of ciu and Solo cultural identity does not necessarily limit the consumption of other alcoholic beverages. Among drinkers ciu is considered to have tried to imitated the manufactured beverage, it has even explored other type of beverage by combining the traditional with the manufactured or with other substances - oplosan. In other words, the contemporary cultural context of local community in drinking has provided space for the convergence of tradition with dynamism, traditional drinks with manufactured drinks or other substances.

There are differences in cultural experience between Solo and Yogyakarta drinks. Drinkers in Solo have experience which is so closely linked to daily life in the case of ciu consumption. Ciu consumption that has begun since several generations back and transcended social boundaries among drinkers is causing the consumption of alcohol as an act of socially “deviant”. It is even assumed that way by the close relatives of the drinkers. Ciu presence in many social activities such as Jagongan or mere gathering events, enables experience sharing between drinkers and non-drinkers. A non-drinker in Solo can share the experience of a drinker or even clearly identify trends of beverage type, which location and who drinkers are. The presence of shared experiences related to the culture of drinking alcohol become the special characteristics of the contemporary local community in Solo. While the consumption of alcohol drinks among drinkers in Yogyakarta is an exclusive activity. Among drinkers, the group restricts the relationship to just acquaintances. There is no drinker in Yogyakarta who is difficult to tell drinking culture in the city, they mostly just retell general information or rumors. This shows that the drinking culture in Yogyakarta is limited to drinker only. The exclusive nature does not lead to the establishment of a communal experience of drinking culture in Yogyakarta.

One point of interest in the findings of the field in Solo and Yogyakarta is the meaning of space. Solo and Yogyakarta society continue to do the division of space based on the relationship between cities and villages. The space is divided into three, namely: City (Urban) - Village or Suburb (sub-urban) - Rural (Rural). Solo restricts alcohol consumption in public spaces, especially in areas that experienced improvements. People are led to other location in the city to consume alcohol to a more private space in which the drinkers are residence. Back on the meaning of space, there is also a difference in what is called as private space between the city and suburbs. If in the city, private space is often limited to just the front yard, back yard or inside the house. While in the suburbs, the private sphere has a wider scope such as the road in front of the house, the alley in front of the village, security post, and even diners.

Aside from consumption practices, improvement of the city led to a change in obtaining ciu. If the ciu vendors used to sell the products by traveling from village to village, today, the sellers can only be met in the suburbs. The selling pattern differs from the grocery shops as the ciu is being sold by street hawkers who use
bicycle. Drinkers in Solo would not be able to find ciu vendors around their residence. Drinkers from Solo should go to a village in Bekonang in order to find ciu sellers directly.

In Yogyakarta, improvements also result in changes to the practices of alcoholic beverages consumption. Nowadays, drinkers tend to choose a private room located in the suburbs than public space because of the police patrol in campus area and students are frequently caught in action while drinking and bringing it in to the university. Contrasting with the strict surveillance of Solo, drinkers in Yogyakarta consider their city to be “more tolerance” especially in tourist area of Jalan Malioboro. Police officers patrol around the area at 21.00 upwards. But, changes of the city does not have an impact on the distribution of alcoholic beverage either in Solo and Yogyakarta. The distribution of local beverages in Solo comes from the rural areas into the cities, whereas in Yogyakarta local drinks are distributed from the city area to the village.

E. CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

E.1. Conclusion

The alcohol drinkers in Java generally associated with abangan, a nominal Moslem. While I am doing research, consumers cannot publicly consume local alcoholic beverages. The communal ceremony (called jagogan, rites of passage ceremony), where they can drink ciu or lapen, was banned in some areas. The drinkers lost their drinking haven. It is contrast with some of Javanese cultural manifestations in art or culinary as they become more of commodification today.

However, the contemporary situation in late 20th and 21th century have shown us the genealogical link. The current alcohol drinkers in Java are difficult to address themselves as abangan. However, most of the drinkers have left the abangan practices. Some of them are associated with revival organization of Islam, but they are stick on the alcoholic drinking habit. In the case of drinkers who are associated with revival organization of Islam, although they are practicing more Islamic rituals, they worry about the violence action by other radical Islamic group.

I argue Java has a paradox in their culture foundation. In the sophisticated Java, ciu and lapen, alcoholic drinks are considered to be banal commodity. However, ciu and lapen are not acknowledged or even commodified as other Javanese cultural manifestation. Furthermore, it also shows us that in contemporary Java there is a social category shifting: the abangan who are associated with revival organization of Islam, but they are worried with the activity of other more radical group. However, the alcohol drinkers in Java have always find ways to consume their liquor. It might represent the resistance in the middle of the tension between the revitalization of “adat” and Islam movement in Java which is part of the process of democratization in Indonesia (Klinken: 2007, 36-38).

The revitalization of “adat” is unique for alcohol drinkers in Java. They demand their practice to be acknowledged as part of Javanese tradition. However, their demand faces an intriguing condition, especially when opposed with the revitalization of Islam. My description about the contemporary local drinkers of Java represents how the structuration of Javanese alcoholic drinking culture is shifting by them. In the past, Java was dominated by moslem area, but never declared as puritan area. Javanese culture has given a different color to Islam. However, the reformation era has changed the landscape of moslem Java. the revival of Islamic movement. The distinction between tradition and religion becomes clearer. The moslem radical groups can show their political pressure on traditional society as represented in the case of my study. In the conclusion, the process of democratization in Java also has been followed by revitalization of adat (culture norm) and Islam. In some areas in Indonesia, the revitalization of adat and Islam has been manifested in destructive form: the violence conflict. However, Solo and Yogyakarta have shown another form of manifestation.
E.2. Suggestion

I find out that the alcoholic drinker in Java is not only part of traditional practice, but they also show the piety of being good Moslem. Then, social-economic background of the drinkers have made the drinking culture in Central Java a complex thing and lead to a picture of a different Java as described in many literatures. In this moment, I would like to give a question to discuss: is this a new or different variation of abangan? It would be appropriate to arrange a research on the tradition and dynamic of culture to describe the contemporary culture.

REFERENCE


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