

Local People's Political Strength Supporting *Dugderan* Tradition

Tri Lestari Hadiati¹, Darmawan Tri Budi Utomo²
{liestarihadiati@gmail.com¹, tbudarmawan12@gmail.com²}

Universitas 17 Agustus 1945 Semarang, Indonesia^{1,2}

Abstract. The Kauman community in the city of Semarang in Central Java province is known to have its own independence and political power to maintain their environment. The Kauman community, by its mean, tries to preserve their ways of earning for living, which include maintaining its cultural tradition “Dugderan Tradition” so that it does not become extinct. But the city government until now has not made the Kauman community as a unique indigenous community with its *dugder* tradition in the city of Semarang. The city government has given less political and economic support to the people of Kauman. Therefore, at the people side, this condition has greatly disappointed them. Such conditions, led to the emergence of a group or several groups or institutions that have political power (multi-power) in order to negotiate and bargain (bargaining power) with the city government, especially to maintain the place of life and integrity of the Kauman people's *Dugderan* traditions from extinction. This research is intended to gain knowledge about the political power of a group of people's elite in the context of local government in Indonesia. The main purpose of this research is to find out what political power is owned by the Kauman community, so that it can sustain the pressure of the government and the market, who took over the management of The *Dugderan* Tradition. This research method used survey methods and types of qualitative research. In-depth interviews were conducted by asking informants to conduct in-depth interviews several times. General observation and in-depth interviews were then analyzed to find information and the context of the political power needed. Firstly, the results of this study found new things related to the Kauman elite community ways—supported by multiple power, which succeeded to preserve their place of life and cultural *Dugderan* traditions. This means that the people are able to develop their own independent political forces maintain the *Dugderan* tradition because they are pressed by primary needs. Secondly, modernization makes the Kauman community more emending and they are more involved in the government's political decision especially in terms of building, maintain the *Dugderan* and developing the Kauman Area.

Keywords: Political Power, Multiple Power, Super Power, The People of Kauman, *Dugderan* Tradition, The Development of The Kauman Region

1 Introduction

Major changes have taken place in Indonesia, especially dealing with the involvement of the people in political decision making. This can be seen in the implementation of the presidential Election (Pilpres), the system of electing regional heads (Pilkada) and the legislation (Pileg) member of election board, which is the chain of political reforms to realize democratic politics in Indonesia. The ideal goal of electing political leaders is to bring the

leader elite to the people he leads, where every citizen who ages 17 years or older or married has the right to vote in the general election (Election).

Communities with an advanced democratic system, such as civil society or later can be called the people play a role not to govern or carry out political decisions of elites. But on the contrary it is precisely the people who demand political power in the general election which has the role to produce a government that is the mediator to carry out the decisions of the people who have chosen it.

Civil society is a political force that is independent and they have the power or energy including high spirit to maintain its existence.

In turn, political decisions that are communal between the executive elite and the legislative elite aim to fulfill the people's aspirations according to the primary, secondary and tertiary needs of the people instead of fulfilling the needs of the political elite alone. The elite can in turn accept the people's arguments, and vice versa, the people can be a volunteer and un-pressured to accept the aspirations and arguments of the elite government.

2 Theoretical Framework

The discussion of this study uses the point of view of the Political Power Theory taken from the Elite Mass Theory of Schumpeter [1], and the Civil Society Theory of Edwards [2]. These theories are selected to be used to analyze problems (as the problem formulation) because after reviewing, comparing and searching for models, those theories best suit the needs of the field and analysis of the researcher, who took over the management of the *Dugderan* tradition.

2.1 Statement of the Problems

This research is intended to analyze the magnitude of the political power of one group of elite people in the context of local government in Indonesia. Then, this study also want to analyze the political power side of the Kauman elite community [3][4], so that it can preserve the pressure of local elite government and markets.

2.2 Significance of the Study

Stephen's study on Domination and Limitations of Elite Influence on Democratic Theory, suggest the importance of democratic practice, he shows that citizens are actually able to make policy assessments of the benefits of the policies implemented, so that the citizens are not always in a position to support the policy [5] By means of political deliberation and the establishment of an open public space, it turns out that citizens (the Kauman elite community) are able to fulfill the most basic tasks, they can assess government policies, which is not wise.

Stephen's study also indicates that citizens will not follow the elite if they see them acting contrary to their beliefs. This shows that the credibility and trust of citizens is important for the elite [5].

Likewise, the results of Lipuma's research [6] in South Africa, explained that although the position of the community is generally weak against elite leadership, because of the lack of political deliberation in South Africa. Citizens (the Kauman elite community) have their own

willingness and needs that must be met. And they continue to struggle to achieve the fulfillment of these needs.

In other studies, as well as a modern and democratic Korean state capable of maintaining the traditions of its citizens, the Kauman elite community also seems to be able to maintain its *dugder* tradition. Meanwhile in Chile the attention of the government is also not much different, including differences in the way the *dugderan* tradition is managed. Siavelis [7] sees that there is a level of compatibility between the views of the elites in Chile, by categorizing Chile as a successful democracy and having good attention to its mass conditions. The study of the importance of matching views between the elites, begins with the old idea that elite preferences that are equal to the people in various political deliberation activities will be very useful.

Democracy requires more than just deliberation, agreement, understanding about orientation and issues. It also requires legitimacy, accountability, change of power, and a feeling that participation in elections makes differences between elites and people respected. Siavelis's research [7] argues that many gaps between the elite and the people, Elite continues to try to implement and operate a democratic transition model, in this study the management of the more modern *dugderan* traditions. While citizens demand a new system that is better, not only good for the elite but good for the citizens, that is the *dugderan* tradition management system which is more classic/typical of old traditions. A better model of democratic transition is on the steps of accountability and legitimacy, which affect the outcome of decision making.

But Indonesia is democratic, and especially the local government of the city of Semarang, is not immune from popular dissatisfaction which demands a better quality of democratic function, which does not disturb most (the Kauman elit community) citizens, as in general there is always an elite-mass mismatch.

3 Research Methodology

Researchers selected the type of qualitative approach research to examine all the problems. It is to find a phenomenon of civilian political power that has unique characteristics in detail and depth about everything [8] which relates to the implementation of *Dugderan* in Semarang City, Central Java. The unique phenomenon refers to cases of public bargaining (bargaining power) and government elites, in the implementation of the *Dugderan* market in the Kauman area.

The main instrument in this study is the researcher himself as reviewed by Miles and Huberman [9]. The researcher is to support qualitative data obtained from informants (primary informants, secondary informants and supporting informants). Researchers added an interview with special speakers (academics) such as Prof. Nurdin H. Kistanto and Prof. Djuliati Suroso.

These informants were expected by researchers to recount their involvement as civil society [10] in the organization of *Dugderan*. While the speakers were also expected to be able to provide insight and depth of research on the implementation of this *Dugderan* bargaining power.

4 Finding and Discussion

In the civilized life of Semarang people, there are some typical religious rituals that were carried out as obligatory rituals in their respective religions and eventually became the tradition of Semarang people. There are 83.43% Muslim population of the entire population in the city of Semarang, based on the data from Semarang 2017 Pocket Book, Semarang City BPS, p. 118. Some of them preserve the local traditions such as Slametan, Yasinan, Takbiran, Khataman, Khitanan, and Dugderan. The tradition of Dugderan Celebration [11], is a celebration that is almost followed by some people of the city of Semarang. The supporters and conservationists of this tradition are the people of Kauman who live in the District of Central Semarang [12]. This Kauman people live around Kauman Semarang Mosque (MAS) or called Kauman Mosque which is located in Kauman street [13].

The *Dugderan* celebration is an opportunity for the people to celebrate every year before the fasting month of Ramadhan. This celebration was preceded by the emergence of the *Dugderan* Market a few days to one week before the Ramadan fasting [14]. Then it was followed by the tradition of Warak Ngendhog festival one day before the fasting at the first of Ramadhan [15] and ended with the reading of Suhuf Halaqah, the distribution of the Gunungan (an offering) which contains bread named Ganjel Rel and the Qataman Al Quran at the Procession of *Dugderan* in the final series of *Dugderan* Celebrations [16].



Fig. 1. The Map of Kauman Kampong in Semarang City 2017.

4.1 The Civilians of Semarang City

According to the theory of Edwards in his book *Civil Society* [2], civil society can correct mistakes made by the state and the market. The civil society in this study is also called the people, especially the Muslim people in the city of Semarang, amounting to 83.43%, who have succeeded in correcting the mistakes that have been made by leaders Semarang city in the past.

Civil society (the Kauman elite community) is a special product of relations between the state and capitalism that grows spontaneously, in order to mediate conflicts between social and economic life [17]. Civil society exists as (1) a public space that was born along with industrialization of the 20th century, and (2) the people of the city of Semarang, especially the

people of Kauman in the Central Semarang region. The society had mediated the conflict dealing with *Dugderan* celebration [18].

Edwards simplifies Civil Society as associational life [2]. Civil society, in the city of Semarang or it is also called as Wong Semarang, means all associations and cooperation networks where members and activities are voluntary, and as non-governmental organizations consist of various associations such as workers or labor units, political parties, other religious groups, professionals and business associations, community of citizens, social groups and independent media.

But in this study the definition of Civil Society as associational life is a humanitarian association (the Kauman elite community) which is formed because of the needs of Muslim families for the knowledge and implementation of the beginning of Ramadhan month. Muslim people in the society felt a failure to fulfill the need to practice religion and religious beliefs calmly, and religious interests by conducting *Dugderan* Celebration once a year in Semarang.

Civil Society as the good society according to Edwards [2] means a society that forms goals and means to achieve that particular intention. In Semarang city, there were 83.43% Semarang people (Wong Semarang), with the Semarang city government and businessmen from various different interests [19]. Had compromised to achieve their goals to achieve best strength and outlook in organizing *Dugderan* celebrations, in contemporary political life and in collective action [20].

Civil Society as the public sphere according to Edwards becomes an arena where community groups play an important role in social change [2]. The civil society that happened to the Kauman elite community in the city of Semarang depicts all people (character: M Djawahir, Muhaimin, Ahmad Wahid) who care about the common good and have the capacity to democratically discuss the things and problems of the society. This means that the society works in a framework of monitoring public thinking in a public space [18]. Civil society in the city of Semarang in general and Muslim people (the Kauman elite community) in particular is a form of new public space seen in the 20-21 century.

4.2 Political Power of Kauman People

Looking at the implementation of *Dugderan* in the city of Semarang it can be said that it is true what Schumpeter [1] and Weber [21] said, which emphasized that democracy is in fact despite the principles of government by the people, but its practices are governed by elites.

This can be seen from the practice of implementing *Dugderan* in the city of Semarang before 2004. For almost 30 years ago, (since 1975) *Dugderan* was moved to City Hall. It was set by the Semarang political elite (Hadijanto, Imam Soeparto, Soetrisno Soeharto) at that time in order to centralize its implementation at City Hall [22][23]. It was only in 2004 that the government elite (Sukawi Sutarip, Soemarmo, Hendar Prihadi) were moved to the Kauman Mosque.

Table 1. The Mayor of Semarang and His Government Period

No.	The Mayor of Semarang	Period
1	Mr. Moch. Ichsan	1945-1949
2	Mr. Koesoedibiyono Tjondrowibowo	1949–1 July 1951
3	RM. Hadisoebeno Sosrowerdayo	1 July 1951–1 January 1958
4	Mr. Abdulmadjid Djojoadiningrat	7 January 1958–1 January 1960
5	RM Soebagyo Tjondrokoesoemo	1 January 1961–26 April 1964
6	Mr. Wuryanto	25 April 1964–1 September 1966
7	Letkol. Soeparno	1 September 1966–6 March 1967
8	Letkol. R. Warsito Soegiarto	6 March 1967–2 January 1973

9	Kolonel Hadijanto *	2 January 1973–15 January 1980
10	Kol. H. Iman Soeparto Tjakrajoeda SH*	15 January 1980–19 January 1990
11	Kol. H. Soetrisno Suharto*	19 January 1990–19 January 2000
12	H. Sukawi Sutarip SH**	19 January 2000–2010
13	Drs. H. Soemarmo HS, MSi.**	2010–2013
14	Hendrar Prihadi, SE, MM.**	2013-2015
15	Hendrar Prihadi, SE, MM.**	2015-2019

Source: https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kota_Semarang, accessed December 23, 2016.

Information:

*The Mayor of Semarang held the Dugderan Procession at City Hall

** The Mayor of Semarang held a Dugderan Procession at the Kauman Mosque

Zavediuk [24] in his study of the practice of deliberative theory, mentioned that in the practice of deliberative theory, there is actually no firm line that separates political knowledge from the ignorance of political knowledge owned by the community. For instance, it is about how much is the threshold of political knowledge in general that must be exceeded to be able to engage in political decision making. Furthermore, Zavediuk [24] said that even though in the deliberation process, all communities are all educated, both formally, possessing information that is very adequate and they are fully rational, have strong individual motivation, but still the problem of individual and community political ignorance continues.

This could have happened in the condition of "silence" of the people for 30 years, when he saw the practice of *Dugderan* implementation in the city of Semarang before 2004, so before for almost 30 years (since 1975) was moved from City Hall.

There were (1) a number of individuals and communities who do not have enough knowledge to choose and sort information and gather various accurate information about the practice of *Dugderan* implementation in the city of Semarang before 2004 [16][25][26]. (2) a number of individuals and communities in the city of Semarang who have never had enough knowledge to vote in various elections in the right way (elections before the reform era, namely the New Order era with a quasi-democratic electoral system lasting 32 years). Those types of individual gave impact to constituency and structural problems of individual ignorance and the community itself [27].

According to Schumpeter [1], what classical theorists call "the will of the people" is actually just the result of the political process, instead of the spirit or driving force. In other words, democracy only means people have the opportunity to reject or accept the decisions of elites who will rule them [7][28].

At this point it was found that the local people the Kauman elit community represented by Muhaimin, Ahmad Wahid & Jawahir Muhammad's Jamaah Peduli Dugder-JPD (The Followers of *Dugderan* Care) was a multi-power [29], independent, independent and strong people's political power to maintain the existence of *Dugderan* [18]. In 2004 the JPD community only realized and had the opportunity to conduct political deliberations with the political elites of the Semarang city government. Local people have the opportunity to reject the decisions of elites who will govern them [30][5], to carry out the *Dugderan* Celebration in the city of Semarang at City Hall as in previous years, namely since 1975 the Semarang Regency pavilion was demolished and moved to City Hall.

The *Dugderan* celebration in the city of Semarang finally, after the people could carry out political deliberations with the government, there was a definite decision to determine the location of the *Dugderan* Celebration in the city of Semarang. The government elites and the people [31], then decided to return the *Dugderan* incident centered on the Kauman mosque in

Semarang. As in the beginning, Semarang Regent, RMT Ario Purboningrat in 1881-1897 [2][8] did it with religious leaders in the Kauman mosque in Semarang [33][34].

5 Conclusion

Firstly, this study found that the discovery of dynamic civilians who had multi-power, were the elite people of Kauman and the surrounding community.

Secondly, this study found political actors who played a role in social change and were supported by the prevailing power structure conditions. Here important political actors who made social changes and tried to influence the power structure of leaders in the city of Semarang, so far were the leaders of the Kauman people and leaders of the community lovers, supporters and conservationists of the tradition of the *Dugderan* Celebration in the vicinity, represented by elites of political leaders. Kauman mosque (Muhaimin, Ahmad Wahid), Jamaah Peduli Dugder-JPD (M Djawahir), and the Market and Service Traders Association – PPJP (Mudasir, Tobar) in Central Semarang District.

Thirdly, there was a role of the elite political actors to determine political decision making in the current democratic system. At the time of this research, the government administration, Semarang Mayor, Hendar Prihadi's era (2015-2019). The prevailing government system was a decentralized government system. In this study, therefore the enactment of the Autonomy of the Regional Government has become very instrumental, especially the regional elites such as mayors (Sukawi Sutarib, Soemarmo, Hendar Prihadi), Bappeda and elite bureaucrats from agencies, including members of the Semarang city council in carrying out political decision in *Dugderan* Celebration dealing with timing, process and its location.

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