SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF COMMUNITY IN KAWI MOUNTAIN (ACTUALIZATION OF SOCIETY AND STATE RELIGION)

1st Sukamto  
Social Education, Faculty of Social Science  
State University of Malang  
Malang, Indonesia  
sukamto.fis@um.ac.id

Abstract— This paper disseminated result of study on sacred grave Kawi Mountain with its tradition and its unique especially on society and state argumentation in tourism industrial context. The problem rose on who did what, where, why and how he/she did it also interaction and intervention of state on society and market were crucial. To answer those questions, qualitative approach used in this study and was conducted ethnographically. Data collected through observation, interview and literary study. Data analysis conducted by arranging theme, contrast analysis and specifically mapping debate on society and state. Result of study is economy production, consumption and economy distribution in state domination: Scared grave community Kawi mountain comprises of two groups; Java and Chinese ethnics. As with the pilgrim, the community called them as bolah ireng for Javanese and bolah putih for Chinese. Politically, there is fighting between foundation and elite local of scared grave, but it is under village government authority. Its implication is that empirical reality support politic economical concept; describe briefly the process on fighting economy assets; involving parties. This reality seems to be related and eluded also occur between externalization, objectivities and internalization. It is processing in history, dialectic and simultaneous. Reality on Kawi Mountain is basically religion reality that cannot be separated from culture and politics, which the purpose is money. Therefore, whether or not religion being realized, it has been commodity.

Keywords— social construction, society religion, state, tourism, scared grave

I. INTRODUCTION

Encountered struggle between society and state in Wonosari to authorize money in Kawi Mountain Malang interested to be studied. History built Kawi Mountain popularity above Wonosari village. In this mountain, Eyang Djoeo (Thay Law She) and Raden Mas Iman Soedjono (Djie Law She) were buried exactly in Wonosari (it is a county, a village, and a district) part of Malang regency. Money is as sign and symbol for community and industrial society that Marx called it as isolation sign. This grave is interesting because it is: (1) unique where two corpses buried in one grave; (2) according to community and pilgrim, their prays are mostly blessed (Im An Tju. N.d); (3) everyday there were visitors coming for nyekar (scattering flowers above thegrave) or selamatan (ritual tradition); (4) for academicians who study sociology and anthropology or social science generally and PIPS especially, this grave is interesting to be studied. Splendid tourism changes economy potency to real economy and it reflects on tourism industry of scared grave.

Historically, the grave was being famous since the success of cigarette company Bentoel Malang or after Diponegoro war ended (Suryowidagdo). As acknowledged by almost all people that those who are buried are soldiers of Diponegoro.

First, struggle between DLLAJD on behalf of Malang Regional Government in level two and Ngesti Gondo Foundation Management as manager and the guardian of the grave. Second, struggle between village government and manager of Bakti Luhur Foundation. Third, struggle between foundation managers and community or surrounding society. Fourth, struggle between chief village of Wonosari and resident who are the youth. Fifth, struggle for pilgrims between cemetery and reside. Over all the phenomenon, as tourism industry that involving business units including ticket; parking lot in mass or individual; guide and hotel and inn employees; hotel [1], inn and housing serves as lodging for night; agriculture, farm, and handicraft as facilities and pilgrim complement; Jam Si, offering coconut oil, paper currency, incense, candle, flower, promise, wayangan and ritual tradition and so forth.

Review on political economy focuses on problem related to political decision, with political sake also economic problem or for economy sake [2]. Political economy problem has not been studied to nowadays that this study aimed to apply the junction. Besides, study on political economy is infrequently conducted; in fact it is very needed in Indonesia history [3]. Specifically, focus directed to the questions: (1). Why do tourists go to Kawi Mountain?; (2). Why do residents serve the visitation?; (3). What facilities needed in visitation or pilgrimage tourism?; (4). How are the facilities interchangeably; (5). How does the interaction between country, market, and society?

Purposes wanted to be achieved could be detailed as follow: (1). Description and construction on involved actors, position or actor formation, relation and interaction between them; (2). Description and construction on facilities needed in tourism, mind background, faith, norm or developing ideology; (3). Description on rite arrangement and ceremony also attitude in pilgrim process or scattering flower and ritual
II. THEORETICAL CONCEPT

Kawi Mountain and money viewed as sign and symbol has regarded as symbol and myth favor of supernatural quality of the grave. Concept of Kawi Mountain focus on social reality and culture, it also remark popularity and sacred of the grave. Meanwhile, money is as symbol of community life including Kawi Mountain community. Money is as symbol represents something more than itself.

Tourism industry is a company resulted services prevails and interaction between community and pilgrims. According to tourism as industry had biggest attention and the most important of it is its economical aspect. Scared grave is a grave regarded as sacred or holy by community.

It is assumed that: Firstly, political economy of a community is not in an empty or vacuum realm [4]. Habitus has processed far before and in relation with other aspect. As political economy is not a phenomenon just exist but had related firmly and as it is, the reality is not only reviewed separately from others. Principally, political economy is different with economy politic. Economy politic is decipherable as tactics or policy in economy while political economy review influencing correlation context between economy factor and politic [5]. Second is that political economy is something (basic) dominant for the forming of society. Considering the crucial of this position, [6] stated that “Political economy is an important part of Marxism-Leninism, since it deals with the basis of the life of human society”. The third is contemporary political economy has more discussed injustice of economy system in relation with even income distribution issue, poverty, growth and other social structure whether it is local, national or even mondial [5]. Fourth, political economy is impossible to be discussed without social change aspect. The cause of social changes in any form will be direct or indirect effects on political economy. There is interdependent correlation between economy and non-economy factors. Therefore, discussion on political economy considers other aspects. The fifth is faith beating knowledge purely based on faith. Faith directed to mystical of religion [7]. Yet, faith as spiritual situation is wider than faith in religion. It includes faith, doctrine, ceremonial system that finally is realization of religion. Religion ceremony is more conducted by follower society also intensify society solidarity.

Political economy premise by Marxian is more based on its concept on human and occupation, above and below building, higher value and capital, class struggle and change mechanism also separateness.

Human is working but not for animals. Significant difference between human and animal placed on working. Animals do not necessary to have work because nature supplied their need without working. Human in realizing themselves to be human should take works, because if they do not, they will lost their humanity.

Occupation is human characteristic because it is the accomplishment of human needs; it is realization of human potencies; it shows human sociality aspects; it abandons traces and their results. Human existence cannot be separated with their kind of work, even their awareness depends on occupation and work and social environment. Extremely, someone’s consciousness in military is different to it in farmer.

Marx stated that “It is not the consciousness of men that determinestheir being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their conscious ness”. As with community of Kawi Mountain, their consciousness is influenced by the way they work (production method) or work correlation (production correlation) occurs in daily life. Money economy becomes life sign, which is finally it shown in religion rites of society. Moreover, it looks like religion economization occurs.

Whomever has a cent, he sovereign a cent on all human, reigning cook to serve meal for him, govern smart scientist to give lesson, ruling kings to guard for a cent far. Whereas, according to Marx, money is sign of isolation and source of human isolation. It is because human can be isolated from works, him/herself, and from others. This isolation established as human or laborer cannot realize themselves also is caused by no autonomy. Interaction of Kawi Mountain community is almost always using money as the instrument. Thus, how village the situation of Kawi Mountain is, for money, it is just the same like economy in urban. There is very close correlation between isolation and political economy theory. propose two critics. First, it is related to assumption that production condition becomes characteristics of capitalism caused by all forms of economy. The facts said that barter economy is the result of history process. Capitalism is a production system within other production systems. The second assumption regarded as false is pure economy correlation patterns that are handled theoretically. Economy expert discusses on capital, commodity, price and so forth as if the words has its own soul out of human treatment influence.

Isolation analysis in capitalist production by Marx opposed to “contemporary economy fact which is premature statement of theme that furthermore developed in detail capital. The fact that more develop capitalism would be poorer the laborers. Plenitude wealthenable capitalist production methods, supported by landlord and capitalist. But, separation between laborers and their achievement is not only a robbery that it is actually the laborers’ rights. Yet, Marx’s premise is that in capitalism, material objects produced are paralleled to laborers as exactly as the products in pure theory within political economy discipline.

The implementation of political economy perspective in Kawi Mountain would relate to how in macro Kawi Mountain coopted by national policies, or reversely Kawi Mountain anticipate adverse policies.

Concept and theory of political economy in theme of this study inspired by [12] work entitled Geger Tengger or originally said The Political Economy of Mountain Java An Interpretative History. His study on political economy in Java Mountain range is actually replacing [14] position with his work of Abangan Santri or Priyayi. Temporary notion reveals that Kawi Mountain also has the same political economy.
There is neither single definition nor terminology but there is always variation, there is one used it as approach or place it in theory [8]. It, of course, has double meaning that in one side is negative because it is not immediately find its formulation, but on the other side it is intellectual wealth with no limit to develop and to be developed.

Individual is part of society and society is classy, that is Karl Marx’s opinion. Class is social group in society that is determined by current position in production process. Marx viewed class in simple way, it is high or low class. Therefore, human history is not more than fight and class struggle.

Opposed to the basic as below building, moral is included in above building. James C. Scott and Eric Wolf in their study emphasized on moral economy approach. Meanwhile, [9] proposed political economy approach by assumption of individual decision, bet consideration, market, conflict and exchange, personal and mutual interest. In his opinion, denying those point of views and norms in society would be problematic, how and why individual obedient on norm or break it [9]. In Kawi Mountain, Beach elemen unit of production Community and production relation has its own norms.

In line with class in society [10] stated that Pagelaran village describes all social structure of village economy [10]. It is as Heusken’s (1998) finding that in village society, there differentiation process or hierarchy according to Kano. The process occurs coincide with the implementation of green revolution as part of industrialization for effort in increasing production. In Kawi Mountain, it seems there is correlation between employer and labor groups. Employer is guardian family, while labor is guide.

III. RESEARCH METHOD

This study used qualitative paradigm with ethnography and history methods. Besides, many approach used; they are qualitative hermeneutic, interdisciplinary, and political economy. Approach used in this study is descriptive qualitative where it describes study target in qualitative that the description is rich and depth (thick description). The main characteristic is emphasizing meaning, context, and emik characteristic. Analysis and interpretation are not linear but dialectic, since formulation of problems determined to reporting. The studied subject is follower community of scared grave comprises of foundation manager, guardian, guide, society and merchantmen also the tourists. Subject determined in purposive. Purposive technique is only conducted to scared grave community, while the pilgrims are used nyanggong or incidental technique.

Collected data was analyzed with interactive model [4]. Analysis including: (1) data reduction; (2) data presentation; and verification and deduction. Among the components, there is always controlling each other that relation between components is not linear but dialectic [4].

IV. RESULTS OF STUDY

Wonosari village was officially legitimated on April 2nd, 1986 as provisional village by Abdul Hamid the regent of Malang. Establishment of this village is on personage society struggle, Tasmain and Suryowidagdo. This incident occurred during fourteen years ago by their debate to agree and disagree on the establishment of Wonosari village. Tasmain, at that time, occupied as chief of village and Suryowidagdo was the guardian of cemetery and the scared grave. Suryowidagdo was vice of Asim Nitirejo. Asim Nitirejo was the authorized guardian at that time, yet the authority was offered to Suryowidagdo. Tasmain and Suryowidagdo struggle for the birth of Wonosari village. Even more, Suryowidagdo as society personage said that the most important was Wonosari given with opportunity to be founded, as a village even it has bengkok (land as salary). Yet, in fact, three village apparatus of kebayan, kuwono, and chief of village came from Kebobang and being part of Wonosari village still have work to manage and master the bengkok.

Wonosari village is located in slope of Kawi Mountain. It is in western of Malang Regency. Meanwhile, Malang is a city located in mountain range in East Java.

Wonosari District has 1.029 hectare of housing, 901 hectare of rice field, 1,227 hectare of dry field near rice field, while for farm it has 1,057 hectare, 671 hectare of forest, 2 hectare of others, the total number is 4,887 hectare. Land wide according to land type is 705.575 hectare alluvial, 5,754,900 litosol and 6,460.475 hectare. Mean height is 760 m of sea level.

By passing Wonosari district, there is welcome gate of Bentar temple in Kawi Mountain and when the trip goes on, it comes to soccer field. It is often used as parking lot for big transportation such as bus.

Passing the soccer field take the right-turn across LKMD portal. The trip goes through bus station that sometimes functioned as parking lot and it also disputed between village and Malang regency.

Wonosari village Wonosari district located in Kawi Mountain, therefore, it also well-known as Kawi Mountain. Wonosari village has north border of State Company of Indonesian Forest, while the south border is Kebobang village and western border is Blitar regency, at last the east border is Balesari village. Villages around Wonosari commonly planted with coffee and clove. Distance to district is 0 km, while to regency or municipal is 38 km, and it needs an hour with motorcycle. The number of residents is 6,421, which is divided into 1,239 families. Based on their wealth, there are 118 families in pre-wealth, 145 families in wealth I, 342 families in wealth II, 401 families in wealth III and 327 in wealth plus, thereby society life is commonly wealth.

Wonosari village consists of Wonosari small villages, Kampung baru, Sumberarti and Pijombo. Sumberarti is division of Wonosari village Wonosari, found as a requisit to fulfill the number of small village in new village. Wonosari consists of 14 society groups and 35 family groups. Lembaga Musyawarah Desa (LMD) (Village Discussion Organization) has changed to Village Delegation/Badan Perwakilan Desa (BPD) and LMD headed by Kaswadi SH. LMD management handled by 17 persons, 14 of them comes from small village or society group. Meanwhile, LKMD manage by 46 persons and headed by Boirin Sunaryo, which is all active and comprise of 14 small villages and society group. There are 5 village apparatus, 4
village head and 14 society group heads, while for head of family group there are 70 persons.

Wonosari is young village, is division of Kebobang village that take place fourteen years ago since it was determined as provisional village. It was officially legitimated by Malang Regent, Abdul Hamid on March 7th 1989 based on Decision of East Java Governor No. 50 year of 1989 date February 14th 1989. As provisional village since April 2nd 1986, Wonosari and Bangelan were the youngest in Malang regency.

Based on the result of interview, Wonosari had been headed by three leaders. The first was Wonosari elder, Tasmain in 1986 who occupied as interim apparatus of Wonosari village head to 1990. In 1990, there were election for village head. At that time, the candidate was Mulyo Setyono, who should lead during 1990-1998 but before he comply with the position, he was dismiss and left Wonosari. Since his disappear, the leadership given to small village leader of Wonosari, Sugiyono Banjir. After Mulyono Setyono leadership, election conducted again in 1998. And it won by Gigh Guntoro who lead to this study conducted. Thereby, Gigh Guntoro is the third village head.

Policy of Gigh Guntoro as village head is positioning all officials and apparatus in their place and is not permitted to double as manager, foundation employee or cemetery guide. But the cemetery should obey and contribute to village head. Thus, during previous governance, village was influenced and coopted by foundation or cemetery but the foundation of cemetery mush honor and obey the cemetery foundation.

Specifically, Wonosari village where it is located in scared grave during the study conducted; there was election for village head. Wonosari village consists of 7 society groups. Election process for small village head is not too difference with other election for village head. Election for Wonosari head had so much different nuance with previous periods. It also implemented and socialized 1999 regulation no. 22 and 12 regional government rules on village government and all related to it. Preparation for small village head election was conducted on July and August, while the implementation is on September. It was on September 23rd, 2000, Mr. Paidi was elected of three other candidates. The candidates were Paudi Sareh from society group 2 with 571 votes, Slamet Widiyanto from society group 7 with 172 votes, Rubai from society group 4 with 264 votes and the last was Irwan Sumadi from society group 4 with 441 votes. There were 1,448 votes of 1600s. The implementation of the election needed IDR 2,137,000,00 of fund, which all from society and donator within society. Therefore, Wonosari today lead by Paudi Sareh based on election result conducted on September 16th, 2000 replacing Sugiyono.

Irwan Sumadi was candidate of sacred grave and Rubai from the same society group was exactly the effort to decrease Irwan Sumadi supporter, while Paudi Sareh candidate outside the sacred grave. Besides, Sugiyono Banjir who ended his leadership period by youth demonstration through questionnaire had horrendous. Sugiyono ever reported the youth who spread the questionnaire with accusation of abuse and vilification. It was solved by village discussion.

Election for village head of Wonosari is interesting phenomenon to be observed. First, small village head is local authority and leading actor of village dynamic in lowest level. Second, there is plan that cemetery prioritized to obtain a representative in BPD. According to final information, all foundation managers with all their employees select Hari Setiadjid as BPD member.

Meanwhile, one of candidates who had been chosen as small village head from cemetery is Irwan Sumadi. He is one of guardian’s sons in law. But, unfortunately, he was not success to obtain the biggest votes because debate and intrigue of economy and even gambling.

It is also interesting to be observed that Hari Prihatin Aji is the information manager of sacred grave. Hari Prihatin Aji is new in information operator because previously he was government division leader in Wonosari. He was in that position since his father was the first village head. As Gigh Guntoro occupied as village head, Hari Prihatin Aji cannot stay to be government division leader that he left it and replaced by Hariyanto.

Wonosari is the center of all small villages. Sumbersari is in the northwestern of Wonosari, Kampungbaru in the southern of Wonosari and Pijiombo is in the western of Wonosari.

In holy days such as New Year, China New Year, Idul Fitri, it mostly visited by Chinese who are mostly called as bolah putih with yarn by community. Meanwhile, on legi Friday eve, it is commonly visited by Javanese therefore the community called them as bolah ireng black yarn. Besides, there are other ethnic such as Sunda, Madura, and so forth.

Reviewed from education field, the visitors or pilgrims are in variance from college, scholar, engineer and so forth, high school, junior high school to elementary school. Of occupation field, it is basically majority is merchant other than farmer, government official, employee also come to this place. They also conducted study and visitation. Of social field, pilgrims’ economy comes from every social economy. It is from rich businessmen to ordinary people. For example, Liem Soei Liong conglomerate where the ordinary people are those who earn money by panhandle.

According to [11] society is human product (individual) as reversely human is society product. If human or the-self interact with society or socio-cultural, the interaction includes three levels. They are externalization, objectivity and internalization. Berger theory seems prevails to society religion as in Kawi Mountain.

Society religion developed in Kawi Mountain cannot be separated from social phenomenon; therefore, ritual ceremony of this society religion is also realization of social practices in society. It is based on [11] premise. The interesting one is that one of sociology role is explaining interaction between a party and social reality to other. Self-interaction with its social reality will prevail with externalization, objectivity, and internalization steps. Externalization related to adaptation on socio cultural as human product, and objectivity is social interaction in intersubjectivity institutied or have institutionalization and internalization process where individual identify self into social institution where individual is the member. Society as a development process passes the three moments. The social
fact is none other than an artificial social construction of society [11].

Moreover said that …” Tourism accelerates the process while also conducting reification to the culture as much as possible. In nowadays, “traditional clothes” or “traditional dance” are only essence carrier of a culture for tourist entertainment. For example, Kesada Ceremony in Tengger and Batak Toba Ceremony said: “In great ceremony of Kasada in Desember 1992, local rituals seems sunk in new rituals. Tengger society seems marginal within the partying youth, urban Javanese tourists who find for “original” culture, and camp depots built by society. Even more, Parisada is also marginal within the “real” ceremony namely ceremony for tourists”. In Bali, Mangkudilaga reported that religion leader of Hindu in Bali is very surprised with Hindu traditional marriage of tourists couple who are not Hindu.

Cemetery manager is foundation found on January 3rd, 1978 and listed in State Attorney to nowadays. Yet, there is name renewal on foundation or personnel in 2000. The old foundation named Bakti Luhur, while the new is Yayasan Ngesti Gondo. The new one has number of 140/24 March 2000, that listed in Malang State Attorney number:” 20/BA/Yys/ 2000. The change of Foundation from Bakti Luhur to Yayasan Ngesti Gondo cannot be separated from event in the last of 1999 to the beginning of 2000 especially related to team 20.

[15] stated that cemetery guardian is poor profession, maybe for sacred graves that less giving meaning to pilgrims. Yet, it is not appropriate to Kawi Mountain because guardian of sacred grave in Kawi Mountain has honored status, esteemed while has good salary and of course, rich. Therefore, it becomes fight within the heirs. Moreover, the fight is not only to local elite in sacred grave, but also involved local elite of village government.

The guardian profession is as monopolistic service that is not all family member of the guardian or community member of the sacred grave allowed to have the position as incense and flower guide in sacred grave. It is except for two persons, R.H. Supodoyono and Soepratikto. Village intervention to sacred grave issued Decision No. 470/02/KPTS/ 11/2000 on February 20th, 2000 on elevation and legitimation of Cemetery Guardian of Kawi Mountain. Interestingly, after accepting Decision, the guardian give IDR 1.500.000 to the village routinely.

There is significant correlation between nationalistic political party or abangan and syncretic sacred grave community. It is, of course, opposing to nationalistic political parties and Islamic sacred grave like Makam Sunan Ampel, Makam Sunan Drajat, Sunan Giri and so forth. [12] stated that: “…Proof of other regions in Java shows where kejawen tradition and mystical religion tradition has wide appeal, representative of Golkar h construction that…”In sayan/labor party, ritual/ceremony, contribution/ritual exchange, and conversation and daily ethic, society is constructed through so much social life”. Even it is part of political economy from Java, they still keep their own institution and values.

It seems not too different with what had been found by Max Weber that he asked psychological condition that enable capitalism development. Weber also found that working and job seeker is not only as development but a job. Thereby, there has been job purifying where occupation is not only facility or economic instrument. Job is final spiritual destination [13].

Thus, roots of capitalism are not only sourced from attitude of Christian puritan, but also job purifying and job as God doctrine.

Money is not only life symbol of modern community, but also as instrument to show off as found in primitive life. By money, stuffs and services can be equalized, also by money, there is inequalization, show off for shopping and having ritual by making tumpeng in huge and expensive. It is inequality symbol within the pilgrims.

Ritual ceremony in Kawi Mountain had changed. First is from ritual stuffs, where there had been significant modification. A tumpeng is not like in regular traditional village ceremony, as found by [14] or Castles in, but it had been arranged as practice and pragmatist as possible for the first consideration. Second, this ritual was conducted approximately three times a day for especially in the night when there were so many rituals. Third, everything conducted with money that money becomes dominant exchange tool and status symbol of someone.

What had happened in Kawi Mountain, normally in rhythm with Islam community who went to umrah continued with visiting Madinah. Continuously said that “…Moslem tour focuses on Masjid Al Aqsa that the beginning place of Prophet Nabi Muhammad SAW goes up (mi’raj) to the seventh sky to meet Allah SWT in Isra’ Mi’raj. Meanwhile, Christian went to Golgota hill, Kafernaum, Bethlehem and Nazareth.

In Indonesia, there are also famous pilgrimage place for Catholic such as Sendangsono in Yogyakarta; Pohsarang in Kediri, East Java. There were so many pilgrimage objects in the form of sacred grave, sacred places except nature tourism or other culture.

In consumption phase, someone needs consumption stuff that he can survive, but consumerism had goes beyond the meaning of the consumption itself. In Kawi Mountain, customer is the pilgrims or grave visitors. This phenomenon as reality is actually shown that religion had been used as market commoditiy. If it is as happened in Kawi Mountain as society religion, it is actually entering commodity market arena. It means Kawi Mountain should accept if it is labeled as society religion market.

Whether it is society religion or state religion is very important [16], religion practice that influence human
attitude is also important. Therefore, it is clear that religion influences society and vice versa.

V. CONCLUSION

Sacred grave of Kawi Mountain shows realities, subjective and objective. First, social reality as the result of interaction and communication between surrounding community and pilgrims in incidental or periodically visit it and Berger called it externalization. This reality shows friendly community but expecting money that in one side they shows friendly attitude but actually is very materialistic. Because it has been habitual action that it is called as objective reality, it contains institutionalization. Second, cultural reality is as individual product with his/her society in interactive also with the pilgrims. The cultural fact of Kawi Mountain community as if moves between feudalistic to capitalistic. Third, politic economy reality is not separated to the previous three realities.

Kawi mountain regarded as ritual pilgrimage, religion pilgrimage, and as recreation object also as tourism industry. As tourism industry, it is of course there are producer and customer. But, it is not impossible to be capitalization where money as one of the capital. Money and society influence each other. Society religion in Kawi Mountain had been unavoidable commodity; at least everything is going to be tools and complement of religion itself. All of them are expressed in three moments of objectivities and internalization.

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