

## Research Article

# Subculture of Paguyuban Ngunjuk *Ciu* (Pangunci): A Critical Analysis of *Ciu* Drinkers' Social Reality in Surakarta

Yusana Sasanti Dadtun\* Wardo, Susanto and Titis Srimuda Pitana

Department of the History Science, Sebelas Maret University, Indonesia

\*Address Correspondence to Yusana Sasanti Dadtun, [sasantidadtun\\_yusana@staff.uns.ac.id](mailto:sasantidadtun_yusana@staff.uns.ac.id)

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### Abstract

*Ciu* is a 35%-45% alcoholic beverage traditionally distilled from the first fermented molasses. It is produced in the Bekonang District, Soerakarta Residentie. *Ciu* performs a variety of services for the people of Surakarta, including rituals, stamina, herbal medicine, and social solidarity. PANGUNCI, a non-formal community of *Ciu* drinkers spread throughout Surakarta, is a community of *Ciu* drinkers. This is a qualitative study which focuses on the depth of information by delving into the meaning behind the signs. In depth interviews with *Ciu* drinkers, the community, and various parties involved in it. This study found that Pangunci is a *Ciu* drinker subculture. There are three types of *Ciu* drinkers in Surakarta; one is Pangunci inside the Surakarta Palace, the other is Pangunci outside the Palace, and *Ciu* drinkers outside the Pangunci community. The Pangunci subculture has a drinking style that is distinct from that of *Ciu* drinkers outside their community associated with drunkenness and social dysfunction in the general public. This is a distinct identity that sets the community apart from other *Ciu* drinkers. The riots outside the Pangunci community have tarnished the image of the *Ciu* connoisseur community as an elegant community, according to the community. The Pangunci community created this image in order to maintain aesthetic control among its members. They despise *Ciu* drinkers who are unable to control themselves while drinking *Ciu*, even leading to social unrest as a means of releasing social burdens.

**Keywords:** Pangunci subculture; Critical analysis; Social reality; *Ciu* drinkers; Surakarta

### Highlights

the mechanisms underlying HIV and neurocognitive disorders comorbidity.

### Introduction

*Ciu* is well known among Indonesians who enjoy traditional alcoholic beverages. Their mental space immediately refers to a place called Bekonang. This is in regard to the *Ciu* producer in the Bekonang area of Surakarta Residency. Therefore, *Ciu* is also known as "*Ciu* Bekonang". *Ciu* is an alcoholic beverage made from the first fermented liquid distillation of molasses. It has a 35%-45% alcohol content. Sugarcane drops are waste products from sugar factory processing that are then processed as raw material for alco-

hol production before being deposited at PT. Acidatama for medical purposes.

*Ciu* serves several purposes for the people of Surakarta, including ritual, herbal medicine, stamina, and social solidarity. In relation to the function of *Ciu* as a bond of community social solidarity, there is a community of *Ciu* drinkers in Surakarta known as Pangunci. Pangunci comes in two varieties: Pakempalan Ngunjuk *Ciu* and Paguyuban ngunjuk *Ciu*.

In Surakarta, there are three types of *Ciu* drinkers: *Ciu* drinkers within the Surakarta Palace (Pakempalan Ngunjuk *Ciu*), *Ciu* drinkers outside the Surakarta Palace (Paguyuban Ngunjuk *Ciu*), and *Ciu* drinkers outside the Pangunci Community (which is perceived by the community as Pangunci). These three groups are social realities that exist in Surakarta society and spread. These three groups represent Surakarta's *Ciu* subculture. In contrast to the dominant society, this group has the connotation of being a distinct and distinguishable condition. The Surakarta Ngunjuk *Ciu* (Pangunci) Paguyuban Community shows its critical side by rejecting the societal stigma that *Ciu* fans are always portrayed as having deviant behavior and social dysfunction. The Pangunci subculture has also developed its own distinct behavior, lifestyle, and identity as a Pangunci, which varies from the style of *Ciu* drinkers in Surakarta in general. When it comes to enjoying *Ciu*, the Pangunci subculture has its own set of rules. The Pangunci community sees *Ciu* not only as an object, but also as a symbol of how *Ciu* means to them. *Ciu* drinking for the Pangunci Community is done at specific times, places, and events, and is completed with a set of rules as an aesthetic control for elegant *Ciu* connoisseurs, which also serves as a differentiator from *Ciu* drinkers outside the Pangunci Community. Therefore, this study is important for understanding the Pangunci subculture as a social reality that arises from the construction of

social reality in Surakarta. Three types of *Ciu* Drinkers are mentioned in below Figure 1.

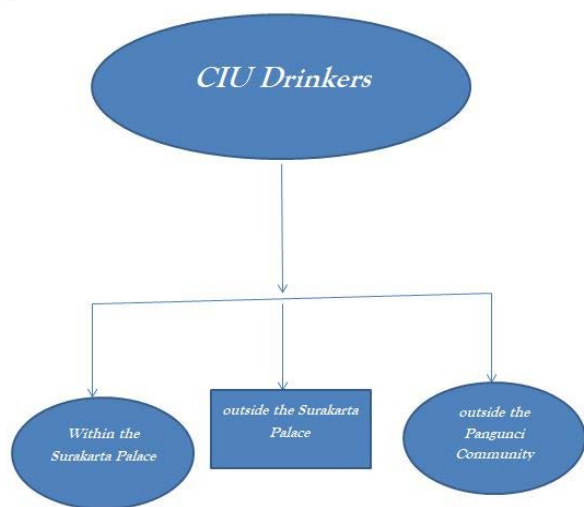


Figure 1: Types of *Ciu* Drinkers

A number of studies on *Ciu* as a traditional alcoholic beverage have been conducted previously, but with diverse research characteristics, titles, objects, methods, theoretical analysis, systematics, etc. In addition, findings from similar studies involving traditional alcoholic beverages other than *Ciu* used in the quest, which examined the history of the small alcohol distillation industry, as well as the factors underlying and impeding its growth, as well as the impact on the socioeconomic life of the Bekonang village community [1].

The government's and the community's efforts to overcome the negative effects of the habit of drinking alcoholic beverages, particularly *Ciu* Bekonang [2]. Word of mouth marketing of *Ciu* products in Bekonang Village, inspired by Kotler's approach [3]. Furthermore, the alcohol industry in Bekonang Village and its impact on the environment, economy, and social welfare [4].

Other study explores the process of making "tuak" alcoholic beverages and analyzes the values and roles they play in the lives of the Toba Batak people [5] studies on Cap Tikus alcoholic beverages as a symbol of the social closeness of the Minahasa community behind them obeying the concept that drinking is an ancestral cultural heritage that must be preserved, and thus social class barriers can be reduced [6]. Study on palm wine, a traditional alcoholic beverage with both positive and negative effects on consumption. Tuak consumption is a part of community tradition in North Toraja, both at traditional celebrations and in daily activities [7]. As a type of liquor in Manggarai, "sopi" has cultural, magical, economic, and social kinship values in the Manggarai people's lives that are passed down from generation to generation [8]. Other studies show that when alcohol is consumed in excess, it endangers people's lives, which explains how alcohol is used on the big screen, both as a main story and as a complement [9]. The previous studies found no evidence of a study of the symbolic meaning of drinking *Ciu* in Surakarta's Pangunci Community. There hasn't

been any research on *Ciu* based on a review of *Ciu* fan characteristics in relation to the social and cultural life that develops for fans.

## Methods

This study used qualitative methods and qualitative descriptive data analysis techniques. Pitana explained that in general, this study produced descriptive data; humanistic; understanding the meaning that underpins the actions of the participants; and understanding the situation in a limited scope [10]. Qualitative methods emphasize the depth of information by conducting interviews with informant data sources [11]. In depth interviews were conducted with the Surakarta Kasunanan Palace's Traditional Council Institute (Lembaga Dewan Adat/LDA), courtiers of the palace, *Ciu* consumers, namely the Pangunci community, both in and out of Surakarta Palace, as well as *Ciu* drinkers outside the Pangunci community, *Ciu* agents, *Ciu* distributors, society, and various parties related to it.

## Results and Discussion

The "drinking" tradition, in fact, is never casual; rather, it is always a significant event related to how a life is perceived, experienced, interpreted, and accepted. Drinking is critical to human continued existence [12]. Humans try to interpret various things in their lives as they go about their daily lives. Various signs are presented in order to distinguish oneself from other people, groups, and communities. Humans instill meaning in their daily lives, including their drinking tastes [13]. Drinking presently serves a complex symbolic function and has become a cultural issue as part of a lifestyle. Everyone can drink in the way, place, and style that best suits their interests. The same thing occurred during drinking *Ciu*. *Ciu* undergoes a shift in basic needs, becomes more complex, and becomes a part of a lifestyle as a production and consumption of self-signs.

Fans of traditional alcoholic beverages in Indonesia will recognize the term *Ciu*, which refers to an area known as Bekonang. This has something to do with the *Ciu* production center in the Bekonang area. *Ciu* is a type of alcoholic beverage that is traditionally produced in Telukan Village and the surrounding villages, which were included in the Kawedanan Bekonang area or Bekonang District, Residentie Soerakarta during the Dutch colonial period. Sopeople refer to *Ciu* as "*Ciu* Bekonang". Although *Ciu* as a traditional drink has a negative connotation of being a forbidden drink, *Ciu* Bekonang remains the drink of choice for the fan community. In the long process of history that appointed Bekonang *Ciu* as a trade monopoly asset of the Colonial Government, another side of Bekonang *Ciu* was discovered through a track record in the form of the Colonial Archives.

Segers [14] reported in Changing Economy in Indonesia: Manufacturing Industry 1870-1942 that from the XVII century to the XX century, *Ciu* was included in the commodity excise tax in the category of pachregie (wholesale) goods alongside salt and opium. According to Hogendrop [15] in Beschouwingen der Nederlandsche Bezittingen in

Oost Indie, *tju* are three types of local liquor that are included in the category of arak distillation industry in addition to beach wine/steamed drink and European wine. Archival catalog belonging to Departemen van Financien National Archives Collection of the Republic of Indonesia [16] in Staat van Premien Toegekend bij Beschikking van den Hoofdinspecteur der In-en Uitvoerrechten en Accijnzen van 30 Juli 1925 No.B/33a/10/13 Residentie Soerakarta District Bekonang Onderdistrict Triagan 1925, Kartopawiro alias Kasiman, Soetotaroeno, Djojodikromo alias Mikoen, M. Soeparni, Soegijono, Sastrosoedarmo, Wardjono, Soekarto, Admowidjojo (agent), Wongsosoemarto, and Hardjosoediro are the names of the producers. They would routinely pay *Ciu* extra tax to the Dutch East Indies Ministry of Finance on January 1st, along with the rules for punishment for those who violated it.

The aforementioned phenomenon is intriguing. *Ciu*, as a commodity, is on two opposing sides of the alienation of use value, namely the commodity is both a value and a use value between needs and constraints [17]. Objects, as commodities, frequently have a dual life that is not peaceful or harmonious. Its presence places it in a contradictory position, whether it is a value conflict or a use value conflict. A commodity lives a dual life that is not peaceful or harmonious, and its position is potentially conflicting [18]. Similarly, *Ciu* is in a contradictory position, whether it is a conflict of value or a conflict of use value. *Ciu* has material power as an object of production, but socially, through responses related to values, *Ciu* has the potential to be negative if the fans are unable to control their drinking, culminating in a distorted effect. *Ciu* is a substantively powerful object of production, but certain communities, such as the Pangunci Community, which is a *Ciu* fan community and is incorporated informally; require the presence of *Ciu* as part of their preferences. The Pangunci community is a social reality that exists and spreads throughout the Surakarta community, including Pangunci living within the Surakarta Palace, those living outside the Surakarta Palace, and *Ciu* drinkers living outside the Pangunci Community (which is perceived by the community as Pangunci). According to Berger's theory of Social Construction of Reality, social construction of reality is a social process in which an individual or a group of individuals, through actions and interactions, create a reality that is subjectively owned and experienced collectively. According to this theory, social reality is a social construct created by free humans. Individuals become determinants in the social world that they create based on their will, which has the freedom to act beyond the control limits of their social structures and institutions in many cases. Humans are seen as social reality creators in the social process who are relatively free in their social world. This social reality, which applies to the *Ciu* drinking community also known as reality or facts that occur in society. This community's advent shows something unusual in society. Human behavior in social life forms a social phenomenon, which becomes a fact or a certain condition that is built through a certain social construction [20].

Mas Ngabehi Joko Siswantodiprojo as Abdi Dalem Ngunju-

baken Sajen Wonten Pagelaran Kalihan Siti Hinggil Keraton Surakarta is one of the interviewees interviewed by the researcher on October 9, 2020 [21].

His father is Atmosoetjipto who is the Abdi Dalem Inggang Damelan Pangunjukanipun Sinuwun Sangking Karyobaksono (Koken/Pawon). His job is to prepare drinks or unjukan to sinuwun or king. At that time, Mas Ngabehi Joko Siswantodiprojo was still in his teens. He was reminded by Bandoro Kanjeng Pangeran Haryo Prabuwinoto as Pengageng Mandra Budaya in charge of arts and culture at the Surakarta Palace not to drink *Ciu* because he is still too young. Therefore, he was assigned to help his father to prepare drinks or unjukan for the king and prepare dishes for Bawa Rasa Pangunci event. The dish is *Ciu*, with fried foods such as grabyasan pork (fried pork fat), swike (fried frog thighs), and fried peanuts as a hangover cure. He claimed that Pakempalan Ngunjuk *Ciu* (Pangunci) existed in the palace environment until around 2009. This community is made up of abdi dalem pengrawit, abdi dalem bong darat and those from the surrounding community who are involved and invited through jawilan by Pengageng Keraton. They gather according to orders or event invitations Bawa Rasa from Pengageng Keraton, Bandoro Kanjeng Pangeran Haryo Prabuwinoto, son of Paku Buwana X who in 2004-2009 served as Pengageng Mandra Budaya at the Surakarta Palace, in the field of cultural arts. Thus the Pangunci Community has a limited presence within the palace. The show's appetizer was named Pangunci. The Bawa Rasa itself is the *Ciu*. Apart from being a body warming drink (tombo anget), *Ciu* is also a "warmer" drink or kagem gayeng-gayeng. Besides, Gusti Kanjeng Ratu Wandansari, Chair of the Surakarta Kasunanan Palace's Traditional Council Institute (Lembaga Dewan Adat/LDA), mentioned that *Ciu*, in addition to being a tombo anget, also serves as a herbal medicine to maintain body stamina. This is especially significant for Abdi Dalem Pengrawit and Abdi Dalem Bong Dalem, who are in charge of lifting gamelan for the Sekaten Traditional Ceremony. Ngunjuk *Ciu*, so the term they coined. These abdi dalem niyaga gather on specific days, Mondays and Thursdays, in the Siti Hinggil area, specifically in Bale Bang, to routinely practice karawitan in preparation for an official event held by the Surakarta Palace. After finishing their karawitan practice, these abdi dalem niyaga participated in the Bawa Rasa Ngangsu Kawruh event, which was led by the Keraton Pengageng, Bandoro Kanjeng Pangeran Haryo Prabuwinoto. They sat in a circle formation and sat down. Then, before the event begins, *Ciu* is served as an opening drink that also serves as a body warmer (tombo anget), as well as kagem gayeng-gayeng for fellow *Ciu* enthusiasts. The technique for displaying the *Ciu* is as follows, one person is specifically tasked by pouring the *Ciu* into the shot called Bang. Ngunjuk *Ciu* is unique in that only one shot glass is provided in the Pangunci community, and that shot glass is also used by ngunjuk *Ciu* together, taking turns for the entire Pangunci Community who attended the event. Ngunjuk *Ciu* was started on the first shot by Bandoro Kanjeng Pangeran Haryo Prabuwinoto, and then Bang filled the *Ciu* back into

the shot glass used by Bandoro Kanjeng Pangeran Haryo Prabuwinoto to drink alternately in turns by the entire community present. As written in *Serat Primbon Tata Cara*, *ngunjuk Ciu* continues to some extent depending on each individual's personal ability to measure how much influence the level of drinking has on him. This *Tukar Kawruh* between Pakempalan members lasted until various lectures containing life teachings delivered by the Master (Bandoro Kanjeng Pangeran Haryo Prabuwinoto) would be more easily accepted if there was a harmony of inner rhythms from each community member who was present at the event. The Pangunci community in the Surakarta Palace environment pays attention to the rules or procedures for *ngunjuk Ciu*. The palace environment is full of a set of meaningful life rules that regulate many things, including the procedure for *ngunjuk Ciu*. The *Serat Primbon Pradikanang Minum* is used to describe the behavior of alcoholic drink drinkers. It is written in ten terms of drinking levels. *Serat Primbon* serves as a sign for the Pangunci community when enjoying the *Ciu*. These signs are applied to the Pangunci Community because *Ciu* as part of one of the human preferences has the potential to be negative if drunk in excess, even to the point of causing the effects of alcoholism. Therefore, the unwritten rules of the game are able to become self-control against the negative effects that arise from consuming too much *Ciu*. This set of rules, according to Storey, is used to maintain a respectable aesthetic distance and self-image control. Surakarta's social structure, which is rich in feudal nuances, is closely linked to this aesthetic control. In Indonesia, the term feudalism conjures up images of the ruling nobility. The number of people who believe in the concept of *manunggaling kawula gusti*, or the union of master and servant, or subordinates and superiors, shows the nobles' power. Consequently, God's will as a lord, must be carried out. The nobility, consisting of the king and his family and relatives, was divided into two groups:

1. Royal employees, consisting of people who were educated or had special abilities for the kingdom
2. The *priyayi* group, consisting of people who were educated or had special abilities for the kingdom
3. The underprivileged group, namely the common people who live in service to the king, for example courtiers, farmers, fishermen and traders.

The basic pattern of feudal society is that the king and the nobility are the center of power that must be obeyed and respected by the people, because the king has special rights. Within the feudal structure there is a main layer, namely the king and the nobility and the layer below it, namely the people. The feudal lords were respected role models. Koentjaraningrat divides two social classes in Java in general, especially in Central Java, namely: *Priyayi*, which consists of *priyayi gede* (*santono dalem*) and *priyayi (abdi dalem)*; and *wong cilik* (*kawula dalem*). There is a social distance between *priyayi* and *wong cilik*. Redfield in *Peasant Society and Culture* [21] mentions the terms "big tradition" and "small tradition", "high culture" and "low culture", "common culture" and "classical culture". There is a

separation of culture into the tradition of the powerful and the tradition of the common man. One of the two patterns is recognized as more advanced, authoritative, exclusively represented by the general actions of the elite, social prestige depends on the observation of those who are in the "great tradition". On the other hand, the "little tradition" is the capture of the undercurrent of the people. This is what happened in the structure of society in Surakarta. A set of aesthetic images formed by the *priyayi* in the palace positioned him, as Redfield called it, to be in the "big tradition" and the people to be in the position of the "small tradition". The palace as the center of Javanese inner culture which is full of meaning for the harmonization of Javanese human life becomes the center of sustainable culture. Thus, the Surakarta Palace is often considered the center of Javanese inner culture by the Javanese people [22], while ordinary people follow the "small tradition" of the *wong cilik*, or people who live to serve the king. The king and the nobility are the center of power in feudal society, and they must be obeyed and respected by the people; the king's role has special rights. There is a top layer, which includes the king and nobility, and a bottom layer, which includes the people.

In line with the above, Geertz in *Negara Teater* [23] uses the Central Theory as an example of Culture or cultural values move vertically from top to bottom in a sinking status pattern. The center is a perfect representation of cultural values. The parts outside the center are only valuable insofar as they imitate the center, and at best, the periphery is only an imitation. In the feudal order in Surakarta, the Surakarta Palace became a cultural center that became the center of *wong cilik* in acting in his life. Thus, people outside the fort of the Surakarta palace imitate the values that apply to the palace as the center of order. After all, of course, the *wong cilik* have certain limitations in imitating these central values to the extent of their knowledge abilities. This can also be seen in the practice of showing *Ciu* to the Pangunci community in the Surakarta Palace. *Ngunjuk Ciu* is a part of them learning to understand the rules that apply in the palace, which is their direction in understanding Javanese inner culture and insight into how humans should live in harmony with the teachings of life as Javanese people.

Apart from within the Surakarta Palace, the habit of drinking *Ciu* also exists in the Pangunci Community outside the Surakarta Palace, but the procedure for drinking *Ciu* in the Pangunci Community is different from the Pangunci Community in the Surakarta Palace. Interview with Mr. SM as a member of the Pangunci Community said that the majority of this community since childhood has been acquainted with *Ciu*, especially the environment around where they live, even in the family environment. Therefore, *Ciu* isn't unfamiliar to them. Information about when and where they will gather is obtained by mutual agreement between members. After a mutual agreement is made, then the information is conveyed by one member of the group to the other members using the "word of mouth" method, which is to go to each member of their community group to gather. Each member in this community group knows each other's style characteristics when enjoying *Ciu*. This serves

to avoid the uncontrolled effects of drinking too much *Ciu*. Usually they gather in one of the residences of community members and take turns at the residence of other members or a place chosen according to the group agreement. Their basis for gathering together is to be able to enjoy *Ciu* together in a group of *Ciu* lovers with *guyup rukun*. *Guyup* means of one heart, of one accord, of one accord and of one accord and of association, of joining and gathering.

There is a social bond in their community in the form of a sense of togetherness. This strong social bond is evidenced by when one of their members, for example, is in a difficult position in solving problems, holding a celebration or having a wedding ceremony, circumcision, *bayen*, and the like, the members of this community group are happy to help each other. They gather on Saturday nights (Sunday nights) or holidays. Not far from the pattern that exists in the Pangunci Community within the Keraton Surakarta, the *Ciu* is served in shot glasses. The same is the case with the menu of dishes that exist in the Pangunci community in the Surakarta Palace, but the complementary dishes that accompany the *Ciu* in the Pangunci community here are adjusted to their ability to buy complementary dishes in the form of fried foods. Like the complementary dish at the Pangunci community in the palace environment, this fried food serves to relieve hangovers. Information conveyed by the Pangunci Community, that for them, the complementary *Ciu* dish that is in the palace environment is quite expensive. Thus, the complementary menu is adjusted to their ability to buy a complementary menu for drinking *Ciu*, namely: grilled tofu and *tempeh bacem* then cut into small pieces, *karak* or snacks made from leftover rice that is dried and then fried, *rambak*, *rica* “*guguk*” or dog meat *rica*, pork *rica*, and if there is still money, they complete it with fried peanuts. In this community, the procedure for *ngunjuk Ciu* is as follows: there is one person named *Bang* who is specifically chosen according to an agreement with group members to be in charge of pouring *Ciu* into *sloki*. The unique aspect of *ngunjuk Ciu* in the Pangunci community, similar to that of the Surakarta palace environment, is that only one shot glass is provided, and *ngunjuk Ciu* is used simultaneously, taking turns for the entire Pangunci Community who attended the event. The host of the gathering started *ngunjuk Ciu* on the first shot, then *bang* filled *Ciu* back into the shot glass used by the host to drink alternately in turns by the entire community present. *Ngunjuk Ciu* continues to some extent, depending on each individual's ability to assess the extent to which alcohol has influenced him. They sit in a circle if the available space is in the form of a *lesehan*; however, if the available space is in the form of a chair with a table, they sit in order and form a circular sequence formation. When *ngunjuk Ciu* gathers this community, unwritten game rules are enforced. The aesthetic control contained in the game's rules has an impact on the community's self-image. Thus, this unwritten game rule can become self-control in the face of the negative effects of excessive *Ciu* consumption, which can lead to community unrest. The Pangunci community has a distinct *Ciu* drinking style from other *Ciu* fans. They are not

a group of *Ciu* devotees who are regarded as drunks by the general public, and who, when they consume *Ciu* in excess of their bodies' capacity, behave in a disruptive manner. If a *Ciu* drunk is found causing unrest in the community, the Pangunci community will not hesitate to take immediate action.

The *Ciu* fan community's image as an elegant community has been tarnished as a result of the unrest caused by the drunks. This image is shaped by the Pangunci community, which does not consume *Ciu* solely to get drunk or as a means of defusing a crisis. This community looks after its members in terms of aesthetic control while drinking *Ciu* so that alcoholism does not disrupt the environment. With the pattern shown above, they rejected *Ciu*'s fan style. This type of rejection is anticipated as early as possible, from the selection of group members to *Bang*'s control of the ability of each member's body to enjoy *Ciu* when pouring it into this shot, which plays a major role in controlling the ability of each member's body to enjoy *Ciu*. This is valid until the end of the *guyup rukun* event hosted by Pangunci of *ngunjuk Ciu*. In this community, the term “*guyub rukun*” refers to a peaceful gathering. According to Mr. SM, a Pangunci community member and *Ciu* agent, the friendly atmosphere created when they gathered was the foundation for understanding this community, which they call the *ngunjuk Ciu paguyuban* community, as well as the *guyub rukun* community of *Ciu* fans. People from various professions work in the Pangunci Community, including factory workers, iron and glass shop employees, pedicab drivers, porters, *sinoms*, terminal bus control employees, entrepreneurs, parking attendants, market stall workers, artists, and cultural experts. They use the same term by imitating terms found in the Surakarta palace environment, albeit in a different style, with the results varying depending on their abilities. *Ngunjuk Ciu*, as the term for drinking *Ciu* in the Pangunci Community within the Surakarta palace is known, is the same as drinking *Ciu* in the Pangunci community. Geertz uses this as an example of Central Theory in *Negara Teater* [22]. Drinking *Ciu* becomes part of a lifestyle in this area in order to live a meaningful life, despite the fact that it is considered socially deviant by the public at large. Some of the reasons they choose *Ciu* as their favourite drink are community solidarity, escaping from anxiety, calming the mind, seeking for identity, joyful heart in addition to creating self-confidence, and affordable prices. *Ciu* is present in only one community “one viewpoint” [23].

Outside the Pangunci community, there are also groups of *Ciu* drinkers outside the Surakarta palace. They have a different style of *Ciu* drinking than the Pangunci community both inside and outside the Surakarta palace environment. *Ciu* can be liked whenever and wherever, with whomever, and to the extent that they are able. There are no special rules for them to follow when it comes to enjoying *Ciu*. As an accompaniment to drinking *Ciu*, no special dish is required. Only he could control how much influence the level of drinking had on him. Thus, the effects of alcoholism are more likely to be negative in this group. The general public refers to this group of *Ciu* drinkers as drunkards, and when

they consume *Ciu* beyond the limits of their bodies' abilities, they behave in a way that upsets the environment and causes unrest in the community. In this sense; drinking *Ciu* becomes a canalization of a situation that becomes a social burden. They prefer *Ciu* as their preferred drink because it has its own sensation that can make them fly/drunken. The mind relaxes once one is drunk. *Ciu* becomes an escape from feelings of confusion, seeking identity, and the heart has become joyful, providing a sense of self-confidence at an affordable price.

This occurs as a result of the relationship between space and time specific factors that have an impact on the characteristics of *Ciu* fans and the surrounding social structure as a reflexive concept in the *Ciu* fan community. Thus, for Chaney [24], this reflexive concept aids in explaining lifestyles, comprehending what people do, why they do it, and whether what they do is meaningful to themselves and others.

### Conclusion

The Pangunci community is a subculture of *Ciu* drinkers in Surakarta, according to the findings of this study. The term subculture refers to a condition that is distinct and distinct from the dominant society. In Surakarta, there are three types of *Ciu* drinkers:

1. Pangunci who live within the Surakarta palace environment
2. Pangunci who live outside the Surakarta palace environment
3. *Ciu* drinkers who live outside the Pangunci community (which the public perceives as Pangunci).

The Pangunci subculture's drinking style differs from that of *Ciu* drinkers outside their community known to the general public as drunkards and culprits of environmentally destructive behavior. This is a unique identity that sets one apart from other *Ciu* fans outside his community. The riots caused by drunks outside the Pangunci community have negatively affected the image of the *Ciu* enthusiast community as an elegant community, according to the Pangunci Community. The Pangunci community created this image in order to maintain aesthetic control over its members. They resist the style of *Ciu* drinkers who are unable to control themselves when drinking *Ciu*, causing unrest in the community as a canalization of the state of releasing social burdens.

Pangunci subculture is a social reality that arose from the construction of *Ciu* drinkers' social reality in Surakarta. This occurs in relation to the *Ciu* fan community as a reflexive concept due to the relationship between specific space and time factors that have an impact on the characteristics of *Ciu* fans and the surrounding social structure. Thus, this reflexive concept aids in explaining lifestyles, understanding what people do, why they do it, and whether or not what they do is meaningful to themselves and others.

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