

Creative Economy and Cultural Heritage Governance: The Paradox of the Madiun Martial Arts Monuments Demolishment

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ABSTRACT: This study investigates the social consequences of issuing a letter from the East Java National and Political Unity Agency (BAKESBANGPOL) Number 300/5984/209.5/2023, which ostensibly aims to manage conflicts between martial arts schools. However, it has inadvertently undermined the creative economy development program. The BAKESBANGPOL letter was a provincial government intervention to an oversimplified approach to conflict resolution which involved demolishing martial arts school monuments. In contrast, the Madiun City Government optimizes the creative economy's potential by promoting the city as a center of martial arts. The frequent construction of martial arts statues contradicts the demolition of martial arts monuments. This contradiction raises essential issues regarding the limits of government power to construct a surveillance system and the presence of civil society subjectivity. As a result, social spaces become fields where tactics are developed to negotiate the domination of local and provincial governments. The research uses ethnographic methods and Foucault's perspective, which emphasizes the text's intertextuality and the diversity of social contexts. This research finds that government policy represents a failure of the power system to recognize the cultural practices of civil society. Exerted governmental power cannot fully control the subject of power or the counter-power articulated by martial arts schools. Hence, the government must articulate an inclusive strategy that recognizes cultural practices and allows creative economy programs to evolve.

KEYWORDS: Conflict, Creative Economy, Demolish, Power Relation, Public Policy

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I. INTRODUCTION

Studies on regional development in Indonesia so far have not touched on the issue of how state power, represented by the authority of the bureaucratic apparatus, overhauls spaces of cultural articulation. The modernist style of bureaucracy, which manages civil society based on the categorization of problems and the division of tasks and authorities, has created contradictions in the various policies implemented by the government. In creating a new cultural space, demolishing the Gandrung statue in Banyuwangi marked how the government's decision applied legality to reshape the cultural iconography according to the government's needs.¹ Thus, the presence of dominant power often disrupts the pre-existing spaces occupied by local cultural life.

In this case, the state is fully responsible for every event involving cultural elements. In practice, the state has not been able to guarantee the cultural rights of every subject living in a particular cultural formation. The state's efforts to control every cultural element by issuing specific laws still do not reach all existing cultural

¹ Novi Anoegrajekti et al, "Perempuan Seni Tradisi Dan Pengembangan Model Industri Kreatif Berbasis Seni Pertunjukan" (2015) 23:1 KARSA Journal of Social and Islamic Culture 81–99.

aspects.² As a result, a claim of recognition of cultural space seems clichéd; however, the specificity of the policy and the cultural consequences that occur still need further exploration.

The government should require local wisdom to adapt to the market or incorporate modern elements in cultural products.³ State power seems to try to embrace an aspect of local culture and give the impression that the state has been present for an urgent problem. The state's involvement in preserving a culture seems to express partiality to local culture, conveying that cultural forms and spaces require state intervention. On the other hand, what is also visible is that the state is prominent in exercising control, even determining what can be articulated in cultural spaces.

In practice, the emergence of Cultural Advancement Laws is assumed to be able to bridge the issues of conservation and cultural rights. However, several challenges and significant gaps related to understanding and managing culture raise issues of economic inequality and social identity, primarily based on the interests and property rights involved in cultural heritages. Governance of cultural heritage is an alternative way to encounter the tensions and issues related to the problems arising from the conservation of cultural practices and artifacts. On the other hand, there are problems of economic improvement. Therefore, participatory governance of cultural heritage is a conceptual term that requires the development of best practice to be able to create a cultural economy system that is equal and inclusive to all. In addition to this framework, the

² Fenny Tria Yunita, Hery Prasetyo & Dien Vidia Rosa, "The Undeclared Defeat" (2023) 7:1 Journal of Southeast Asian Human Rights 93–122.

³ Yus Darusman, "Kearifan Lokal Kerajinan Bordir Tasikmalaya Sebagai Ekonomi Kreatif Terbuka Untuk Modern (Studi di Kota Tasikmalaya Jawa Barat)" (2016) 2:2 Journal of Nonformal Education, online: <<https://journal.unnes.ac.id/nju/jone/article/view/6556>>.

Indonesian government must constructively formulate a policy that focuses on reducing conflict and improving the economy.

In this research, the power relations in regional development in Madiun City, also called Kota Pendekar (the city of warriors), are reflected in the construction of a creative economic discourse based on cultural identity. The city, which has undergone rapid regional development, is now trying to appear to uphold local culture. Facilities and infrastructure in every corner of the city look artistic because they can emphasize regional identity. This identity helped the development concept of Madiun City to become more attractive, and finally achieved appreciation by earning second place for the best development in East Java in 2022.⁴

The integration technique between cultural heritage and local resources will generate new economic growth. In other words, developing a material form of cultural formations and positioning them locally becomes a strategy to create tourism commodities. In addition, cultural transformation will also indirectly promote a culture's preservation.⁵ This is now known as the creative economy, and the Madiun City Government is using this policy to adopt new economic habits.

The City Government's creativity in city branding is due to the aim of driving the economy in Madiun.⁶ Ramadhan explains that

⁴ ANTARA News Agency, "Kota Madiun raih terbaik kedua Penghargaan Pembangunan Daerah 2022 se-Jatim", (19 April 2022), online: *ANTARA News Jawa Timur* <<https://jatim.antaranews.com/berita/595197/kota-madiun-raih-terbaik-kedua-penghargaan-pembangunan-daerah-2022-se-jatim>>.

⁵ Liyuan Cui et al, "Research and design of cultural and creative industries in the Qinba Mountains of Southern Shaanxi" (2024) 22 Results in Engineering 101956.

⁶ Puspasari Setyaningrum, "Mengapa Kota Madiun Dijuluki Kota Pendekar? Halaman all", (24 May 2023), online: *KOMPAS.com* <<https://surabaya.kompas.com/read/2023/05/25/001931578/mengapa-kota-madiun-dijuluki-kota-pendekar>>.

attractive city planning and design lead to greater financial returns and investment.⁷ Thus, to maximize city branding, the impression of warriors is raised in every corner of Madiun City. The impression or representation of the warrior is displayed starting from a logo with a warrior image, a statue in every corner of the city in the shape of a warrior, to a culinary center for tourists with a warrior title. Members of several martial arts schools are often included in Madiun City's enlivening festivals to continue this program.⁸

The efforts of the Madiun City Government to drive economic improvement have showed results. In 2023, it was recorded that tourist visits to Madiun City had increased to 587,946 people from the previous two years, up from 543,207 people in 2022 and 350,554 people in 2021.⁹ State support was also conveyed through the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy's visit to Madiun City.¹⁰ The number of martial arts schools in this city is believed to be inviting to the public. Thus, in the future, the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy will consider Madiun City, with its tourism concept, to be a creative city at the international level.¹¹

⁷ Agung Dharma Yuda Adi Ramadhan, Tiara Yulita Sari & Septian Rahmat Purnomo, "Hak Atas Ruang Dalam Diskursus Awe-Awe" (2023) 6:1 Jurnal Ilmiah Sosiologi Agama (JISA) 71–90.

⁸ Louis Rika Stevani, "Festival Pencak Silat jadi ajang promosi Kota Madiun sebagai Kota Pendekar", (24 June 2019), online: *ANTARA News Jawa Timur* <<https://jatim.antaranews.com/berita/301855/festival-pencak-silat-jadi-ajang-promosi-kota-madiun-sebagai-kota-pendekar>>.

⁹ Louis Rika Stevani, "Pemkot catat kunjungan wisatawan ke Madiun meningkat", (28 November 2023), online: *Antara News* <<https://www.antaranews.com/berita/3844959/pemkot-catat-kunjungan-wisatawan-ke-madiun-meningkat>>.

¹⁰ Louis Rika Stevani, "Menparekraf apresiasi pengembangan konsep 'urban tourism' Kota Madiun", (27 July 2022), online: *Antara News* <<https://www.antaranews.com/berita/3022705/menparekraf-apresiasi-pengembangan-konsep-urban-tourism-kota-madiun>>.

¹¹ Jatimpedia, "Menparekraf Dukung Wisata Madiun Kota Pendekar", (29 March 2024), online: *Jatimpedia* <<https://jatimpedia.id/menparekraf-dukung-wisata-madiun-kota-pendekar/>>.

Branding as the city of martial arts is the central concept of tourism and the creative economy in Madiun City, especially since martial arts are one of the most striking forms of cultural articulation in Madiun City. Thus, the representation of identity is used by embedding the word "Pendekar," or warrior, as the city's nickname.¹² The word warrior refers to the title of honor for members of martial arts schools.

The city has about fourteen martial arts schools; some existing ones were created in Madiun.¹³ Therefore, the nickname "the city of martial arts" is not only branding but also defines the existence of an authentic cultural identity in the Madiun area. Martial arts were officially registered as a UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2019.¹⁴ Martial arts have a distinctive cultural heritage that has been around for generations in Indonesia. In this case, preserving the authentic values of martial arts culture needs to be adequately considered, and efforts to eliminate and destroy cultural heritage elements are certainly not permissible.

There is a stark contradiction between the call for preserving cultural spaces and the actions proposed in a letter from the East Java National Unity and Political Agency (Number 300/5984/209.5/2023). This letter, issued from June to August 2023, recommends dismantling monuments from various martial arts schools in East Java. Such actions directly contradict the cultural resources that

¹² Melia Setiawati, "6 Fakta Menarik tentang Madiun, Kota Kecil yang Bersejarah dan Punya Banyak Julukan", (26 April 2021), online: [liputan6.com <https://www.liputan6.com/lifestyle/read/4541818/6-fakta-menarik-tentang-madiun-kota-kecil-yang-bersejarah-dan-punya-banyak-julukan>](https://www.liputan6.com/lifestyle/read/4541818/6-fakta-menarik-tentang-madiun-kota-kecil-yang-bersejarah-dan-punya-banyak-julukan).

¹³ Yusron Badri & Sun Fatayati, "Pola Komunikasi di Media Sosial dan Dampaknya terhadap Hubungan Sosial antar Perguruan Pencak Silat di Madiun" (2023) 4:1 Indonesian Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences 85–102.

¹⁴ UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage, "UNESCO - Traditions of Pencak Silat", (2019), online: <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/traditions-of-pencak-silat-01391>.

define Madiun City. This contradiction is a cause for concern and requires immediate attention.

The East Java Police Chief even emphasized the letter's recommendation, wanting to organize the monuments of the martial arts schools independently. The monuments were considered one of the triggers of conflict between martial arts schools. Therefore, a letter emerged that was considered a solution and could minimize the disputes between martial arts schools in East Java.

Following the letter, various responses emerged from martial arts schools in East Java, including those in Madiun City. Some members of the martial arts community obeyed the order of the letter, while others strongly opposed the recommendations. Those who refused to demolish their monuments did so because they believed it was an integral part of the martial arts culture. They also felt that as a martial arts city, the Madiun City Government should evaluate this policy. It highlights the importance of community involvement in preserving the cultural identity integrated into the tourism sector.

From this perspective, the state is often not adept at defining the needs of cultural groups. Participatory governance should also be considered to preserve cultural heritage values.¹⁵ State power has failed to reach each subject's interests, which depend on the values of martial arts schools. A representative government cannot accommodate all interests. As a result, the impact of such a system is a contradiction between what the state wants to do and the actual situation of the development of cultural creative sectors based on martial arts.

¹⁵ Sakarias Sokka et al, "Governance of cultural heritage: towards participatory approaches" (2021) 11:1 European Journal of Cultural Management Policy 4–19.

This research finds a contradiction between the creative economy discourse that uses cultural identity and a repressive policy for local cultural groups. BAKESBANGPOL's letter does not appear to facilitate regulations on the creative economy from the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy. The letter's content does not comply with Law Number 24 of 2019 concerning the Creative Economy in Article 1 Point 3, which explains that conservation points are in the definition of the creative economy ecosystem.¹⁶ This also confirms that differences in the application of central government laws in each region are a serious concern.¹⁷ As a result, the development of a cultural creative program cannot fully represent the development of a city that emphasizes martial arts. The demolition of the monuments was seen as bad for the city's image building.

The fact also shows the elimination effort of monuments that became a cultural identity. This action contradicts Law Number 5 of 2017 concerning the Promotion of Culture in Article 22 Paragraph 1, which reads that both the central government and local governments are obliged to protect objects of cultural promotion.¹⁸ Thus, the demolition of the martial arts monuments is an act that breaks the law.

In this context, the letter issued is a form of the local government's inability to guarantee cultural rights. It is also essential to observe the limitations of local governments in understanding what they should do to foster an inclusive creative economy space.¹⁹

¹⁶ *Undang-Undang Nomor 24 Tahun 2019 Tentang Ekonomi Kreatif.*

¹⁷ Romi Saputra, "Governance Frameworks and Cultural Preservation in Indonesia: Balancing Policy and Heritage" (2024) 11:3 *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies* 25–50.

¹⁸ *Undang-undang (UU) Nomor 5 Tahun 2017 tentang Pemajuan Kebudayaan.*

¹⁹ Merlia Indah Prastiwi & Indra Jaya Kusuma Wardhana, "Development of Inclusion Through Minority-Conscious Tourism in The Madura Religious Tourism Area" (2024) 4:1 *Journal of Contemporary Sociological Issues* 64–83.

Thus, the resistance by martial arts groups should never have happened. The reason is that if the state is understood in deeper terms, the existing cultural groups will be one of the complementary parts of the state itself. The state apparatus is not a singular subject but plural and follows martial arts schools' values. Even though the policy demanded the demolition of the monuments, the apparatus in the form of the martial arts school also tried to negotiate not to destroy them.

Based on the Foucault's concept of power relations, this phenomenon seems to assert power and domination. With the idea that power and knowledge are integrated, understanding social normativity and articulating social values are essential aspects of how modern society presents subjectivity.²⁰ Therefore, bureaucratic discipline by the state cannot counter the discipline of the body that has been embedded long prior. As a result, resistance by a cultural group to attempted repression becomes a momentous event that contributes to the birth of repressive policies. That resistance is also interpreted as an oppositional effect of power.²¹ Thus, this research aims to determine the extent of the social consequences of the issued letter from the East Java National Unity and Political Agency Number 300/5984/209.5/2023 in Madiun city.

Furthermore, this research emphasizes the novelty of the social effects of a repressive government policy. Behind creative economy policies that are considered favorable to the government under the pretext of prosperity, many loopholes harm the people themselves. Cultural recognition, for example, is still a serious concern when discussing how the government, with all its rules, tries to control civil

²⁰ Michel Foucault, *Power/knowledge = Wacana Kuasa/pengetahuan: Wawancara Pilihan Dan Tulisan-tulisan Lain 1972-1977*, translated by Yudi Santosa (Yogyakarta: Narasi, 2017).

²¹ Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power" (1982) 8:4 *Critical Inquiry* 777-795.

society.²² Therefore, considering the existence of several studies that examine the creative economy and the realm of culture, this research attempts to complement the scope of existing literature.

Borre et al. show the contribution of cultural and creative industries to achieving sustainable development.²³ However, this study clearly states that there is still a need for recommendations from several aspects of the cultural and creative industries. The subsequent research is that of Nugroho, Haryani, and Purnama, who looked at the Madiun City Government's policy to develop tourism based on martial arts culture.²⁴ However, the research has not examined the reality of martial arts cultural conflict in the Madiun area. The study of Hidayah et al. shows that cultural conflict between martial arts groups in Madiun is still a serious concern that needs to be resolved immediately. Thus, addressing and preventing cultural conflicts in martial arts is the main thing that will bring peace to the Madiun region.²⁵

II. METHODS

This research uses qualitative research methods with an ethnographic approach. In this context, the study will focus on a group of warriors or members of several martial arts schools in

²² Siti Rakhma Mary Herwati & Pascal David Wungkana, "Human Rights Violations in Indonesia's National Strategic Development Project" (2023) 4:2 Indonesian Journal of Law and Society 150–181.

²³ Jenny Romero Borre et al, "Discussion of the aspects of the cultural and creative industries that impact on sustainable development: a systematic review" (2023) 224 Procedia Computer Science 532–537.

²⁴ Sigit Sapto Nugroho, Anik Tri Haryani & Taufiq Yuli Purnama, "Efektifitas Regulasi Pengembangan Pariwisata Budaya Berbasis Industri Silat Di Kota Madiun, Jawa Timur Perspektif Teori Sistem Hukum" (2024) 25:1 Dinamika Hukum 57–64.

²⁵ Anindita Nur Hidayah et al, "Mencegah Kemunculan Konflik Masa Depan antara Pesilat Terate dan Winongo di Madiun" (2021) 9:2 Jurnal Education and Development 506–510.

Madiun. Research with an ethnographic design is suitable for describing and interpreting the patterns of language, behavior, and values of a group with the same culture.²⁶ Therefore, the researcher decided to use an ethnographic approach for the research design to study a group of warriors in Madiun city who were disciplined members of the martial arts school during the demolition of the monuments in the area.

The researcher used the ethnographic approach to elaborate on how a creative economic discourse intersects directly with regional cultural identity by immersing themselves in the daily lives of the warrior group in Madiun City. With this method, social discourse can affect social practice and be compared with the normativity produced by government regulation.²⁷ Therefore, researchers can identify a discourse that can work in an area.

The informants in this study were selected using a purposive technique, where the researcher determined the criteria of the informants based on the topic and research objectives. The number of informants in the study was fifteen people with predetermined criteria. The requirements for informants in this study are that they are members of the martial arts school in Madiun City and have personal experience that intersects directly or indirectly with the demolition of the martial arts school monuments. Another criterion of research informants is that the warrior or member of a martial arts school in Madiun City actively participates in martial arts events both within the martial arts school and Madiun City Government events.

²⁶ John W Creswell, *Penelitian Kualitatif dan Desain Riset: Memilih di Antara Lima Pendekatan*, 3d ed (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2015).

²⁷ Paul Rabinow, *Pengetahuan Dan Metode Karya-Karya Penting Michel Foucault* (Jalasutra, 2002).

The data collection techniques used in this research are interviews, observation, and documentation. Interviews were conducted in-depth by asking several open-ended questions emphasizing the demolition of the monuments and the articulation of creative economic discourse in Madiun City. The observation was done by directly visiting Madiun City to see how the city's development absorbed the region's cultural identity and observe the development or the demolition of the martial arts monuments.

Documentation is done by searching for data through scientific articles, news, books, and archival records, including pictures or other media, to obtain information that supports this research. The data analysis was carried out to understand and interpret the data findings. Data analysis stages start with data reduction and presentation and end with a conclusion.

The data validity test in this study was carried out using data triangulation techniques. In this case, data triangulation was carried out by combining various existing data and data sources. This technique allows researchers to check the validity of the data obtained during the research process. Thus, the data presented in this study is credible.

III. THE PARADOX OF THE CREATIVE ECONOMY

The letter 300/5984/209.5/2023 issued by the East Java National and Political Unity Agency suggests dismantling the monuments of martial arts schools in East Java. This suggestion was addressed directly to all martial arts school administrators in the East Java region to voluntarily dismantle the monuments of martial arts schools in their areas. It is known that from June to September 2023,

more than 100 martial arts monuments were dismantled, and some of the demolished monuments are in the Madiun region.²⁸

The number of martial arts monuments in Madiun is enormous, largely due to the number of martial arts schools in the region. Setyaningrum stated that more than ten martial arts schools operate and exist in Madiun city.²⁹ These martial arts schools generally have several branches scattered throughout the city. This is why there is often more than one martial arts monuments in an area the size of a village. Therefore, when anyone steps into the city, the monuments of martial arts schools will be accessible.³⁰

The mayor's statement states that the provincial government's recommendation to dismantle the monuments will still be discussed with all martial arts school administrators in the Madiun area. However, the detailed issues related to dismantling the monuments do not show certainty on the part of government officials.³¹ It appears that the city government will still review the provincial government's recommendation to dismantle the monuments.

This fact is also evident in the statement of the Chairman of the martial arts school *Persaudaraan Setia Hati Winongo Tunas Muda* (PSHWTM), in which he could not offer a clear confirmation regarding the demolition of the monuments before holding a meeting

²⁸ Faiq Azmi, "Dari 4.000 Tugu Silat di Jatim, Hanya 115 yang Sudah Dibongkar", (2023), online: *detikjatim* <<https://www.detik.com/jatim/berita/d-6919563/dari-4-000-tugu-silat-di-jatim-hanya-115-yang-sudah-dibongkar>>.

²⁹ Setyaningrum, *supra* note 6.

³⁰ Sunarso Sunarso et al, "Implementasi Kebijakan City Branding Madiun Kota Pendekar dan Dampaknya bagi Kota Madiun" (2023) 8:3 Jurnal Pemerintahan dan Politik 193–201.

³¹ Fatihah Ibnu, "Soal Pembongkaran Tugu Perguruan Silat, Walikota Madiun: Nanti Dibicarakan", (26 July 2023), online: <<https://beritajatim.com/soal-pembongkaran-tugu-perguruan-silat-walikota-madiun-nanti-dibicarakan>>.

with the city government.³² The deliberation will be carried out on the condition that the monuments demolition has been widely implemented in various regions in East Java. Thus, the deliberation effort appears late in responding to the discourse on monuments demolition. As a result, monuments have been dismantled as a condition of implementing the letter while deliberations are still to be held. Thus far, the exact number of monuments dismantled in Madiun City is entirely unknown and unpublished.

In addition, it is known that out of a total of 4,000,000 Martial arts monuments in East Java, around 686 monuments have been dismantled.³³ This figure is an accumulation of monuments that have been dismantled in several regions in East Java. The area in question includes the Madiun region. The demolition of these monuments was voluntarily carried out by the martial arts (martial arts organization) and sometimes accompanied by the police. However, a few monuments were also dismantled by force. Furthermore, the monuments demolition phenomenon has caused Madiun city's atmosphere to turn gloomy.

The economic effects of the city's ambiguity can be seen in the statistical data released by the Madiun City Statistics Agency. The hotel room occupancy rate in October 2023 was 43.93% lower than in August 2023, 44.99%.³⁴ This data shows that tourist visits decreased

³² Mizan Ahsani, "Pemprov-Polda Jatim Wacanakan Penertiban Tugu Pencak Silat, Kapolres Madiun Kota: Perlu Ada Musyawarah - Radar Madiun", (7 May 2023), online: *Pemprov-Polda Jatim Wacanakan Penertiban Tugu Pencak Silat, Kapolres Madiun Kota: Perlu Ada Musyawarah - Radar Madiun* <<https://radarmadiun.jawapos.com/madiun/801721003/pemprov-polda-jatim-wacanakan-penertiban-tugu-pencak-silat-kapolres-madiun-kota-perlu-ada-musyawah>>.

³³ Lukman Hakim, "Bakesbangpol Jatim: 686 dari 4.000 Tugu Perguruan Pencak Silat Dibongkar", (2024), online: *SINDOnews Daerah* <<https://daerah.sindonews.com/read/1241153/704/bakesbangpol-jatim-686-dari-4000-tugu-perguruan-pencak-silat-dibongkar-1698891067>>.

³⁴ Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Madiun, *Perkembangan Tingkat Penghunian Kamar Hotel Bulan Oktober Tahun 2023* (Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Madiun, 2023).

during the conflict over the demolition of the martial arts monuments.

The following vital point is that hotel tax is the highest contributor to local revenue in Madiun City.³⁵ However, it is necessary to look at the second quarter data released by the Madiun City Statistics Agency. Data for the second quarter of 2023 shows that the average length of stay of hotel guests by foreign tourists decreased from 6.43 days in May to 2.98 days in June.³⁶ This significant decline indicates a potentially harmful gap in Madiun City's local revenue.

Thus, the decline in tourist visits is a serious concern that can be detrimental to regional income. Coupled with the effect of the BAKESBANGPOL letter, which will indirectly reduce the image of martial arts in Madiun City, the city's lack of authenticity will not help to attract tourists. This phenomenon will certainly reduce Madiun City's local revenue on the hotel tax side.

In addition, before the appraisal letter to dismantle the monuments, the distinctive atmosphere in Madiun City was the impression of martial arts culture. Various typical ornaments in the form of warriors were seen decorating the town.³⁷ The city government often organized martial arts festivals. The city was eager to show the wider community, including tourists, that the city's identity is the city of martial arts (*Kota Pendekar*). The focus on

³⁵ Louis Rika Stevani, "Realisasi PAD Kota Madiun tahun 2023 lampau target", (2024), online: *ANTARA News Jawa Timur* <<https://jatim.antaranews.com/berita/757536/realisasi-pad-kota-madiun-tahun-2023-lampau-target>>.

³⁶ Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Madiun, *Perkembangan Tingkat Penghunian Kamar Hotel Triwulan 2 Tahun 2023* (Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Madiun, 2023).

³⁷ Egydia Artamevia, "Gratis, Pahlawan Street Center Madiun, Suguhkan Replika7 Ikon Dunia", online: *IDN Times Jatim* <<https://jatim.idntimes.com/travel/destination/egydia-artamevia/pahlawan-street-center-madiun-c1c2>>.

material culture is a breath of fresh air for tourists.³⁸ However, it is sometimes difficult for the government to integrate culture and interests in urban planning.³⁹ As a result, the public now questions the martial arts identity since the monuments that symbolized it no longer exists.

After the monuments's demolition, martial arts members were the first subjects to question the city's identity. This question was captured in a September 26, 2023, interview. Galih, a member of the martial arts school *Persaudaraan Setia Hati Terate* (PSHT), said that the iconic martial arts culture in the city seemed to be lost when the martial arts monuments was demolished. For martial arts members, the monuments demolition phenomenon is not comparable to the rampant construction of buildings with warrior characteristics in Madiun City. The statue, shaped like a warrior, is now a building that stands out compared to the martial arts monuments.

The city government built the statue in the shape of a martial arts member to promote the city's iconic martial arts culture. Incorporating cultural heritage and local resources is a fair collaboration for economic transformation.⁴⁰ However, considering the research of Pawelec, tourist enjoyment of martial arts tourism is spiritual for the individuals involved in martial arts.⁴¹ In this case, the authentic symbol of martial arts culture benefits these tourists.

³⁸ Jacqueline Clements, "Private art museums and their local creative communities: A case study of Mona" (2024) 36 *City, Culture and Society* 1–7.

³⁹ Federica Viganò, Lauren England & Roberta Comunian, "Connecting craft, design and the wood industry in South Tyrol: From clusters to creative ecosystem" (2023) 104 *Journal of Rural Studies* 1–10.

⁴⁰ Cui et al, *supra* note 5.

⁴¹ Przemysław Pawelec, Paweł Świder & Wojciech J Cynarski, "Martial Arts Tourism: Meta-Analysis of Publications from 2005–2020" (2020) 12:17 *Sustainability* 1–13.

However, the monuments that symbolized martial arts culture was eliminated.

The monuments is considered more representative of the martial arts identity than other construction because it includes the organization's symbol. A statue in the shape of a warrior with a ready-to-fight pose that does not display the identity of any martial arts organization, on the other hand, uses local culture for specific purposes without considering the interests of the martial arts group. The main goal is to use local culture to improve the regional economy.⁴² However, this becomes ambiguous when the discourse includes the monuments demolition agenda.

From the government's perspective, local culture brings new profits due to increased tourist visits. This is a government tactic to achieve specific goals portrayed as necessary for society and the people.⁴³ The city government is conditioning the tourism sector and creative economy to adopt new habits to improve the community's economy.⁴⁴ The city government wants to build an image of a city of warriors by relying on local wisdom in the form of martial arts culture. Even UNESCO recognizes that a creative economy emphasizing cultural heritage will significantly assist city planning and development.⁴⁵

This is why every corner of the city has martial arts symbols. The symbols include logos and statues in the shape of warriors, which helps to emphasize martial arts as an authentic culture in the region.

⁴² Nugroho, Haryani & Purnama, *supra* note 24.

⁴³ Tania Murray Li, "Governmentality" (2007) 49:2 *Anthropologica* 275–281.

⁴⁴ Stevani, *supra* note 10.

⁴⁵ Jordi Arcos-Pumarola, Alexandra Georgescu Paquin & Marta Hernández Sitges, "The use of intangible heritage and creative industries as a tourism asset in the UNESCO creative cities network" (2023) 9:1 *Heliyon* 1–11.

However, the authenticity of martial arts in Madiun City is slowly disappearing due to the decreasing number of monuments.

The demolition of martial arts monuments became a phenomenon that was reshaped as an effort to create economic-cultural space. Discursively, the monuments's demolition negates the image of the warrior built in Madiun City. Supposedly, this adversely affects the concept of tourism and the creative economy being promoted by the city government. This is because tourists often want to experience the cultural authenticity.⁴⁶

In this case, monuments can be evidence of authentic martial arts culture. However, development in the martial arts city is characterized by demolishing monuments that are widely recognized as having a martial arts identity. Thus, the demolition of the monuments appears to be a repressive act of bureaucracy in the treatment of local culture. The policy for martial arts school members to tear down their monuments appears coercive. This phenomenon is also very contradictory to the goal of cultural promotion.⁴⁷ As a result, a paradox has emerged between the construction of martial arts statues and the demolition of monuments.

The massive construction of statues of warriors is clear evidence that the city government is borrowing from the martial arts identity. The development is expected to bring economic growth and improve the community's quality of life.⁴⁸ This borrowing is based on the region's long existence of martial arts culture. The impression of

⁴⁶ Jiange Deng, "Beyond self-Orientalism: Asian masculine landscapes in Chinese and Thai martial arts tourism" (2023) 23:1 Tourist Studies 8–24.

⁴⁷ *Undang-undang (UU) Nomor 5 Tahun 2017 tentang Pemajuan Kebudayaan*, *supra* note 18.

⁴⁸ Septian Rahmat Purnomo, Agung Dharma Yuda Adi Ramadhan & Tiara Yulita Sari, "Right To The City: Ruang Representasional Manusia Silver" (2023) 6:1 Jurnal Sosial Humaniora Sigli 33–46.

martial arts culture has long been attached to the Madiun region.⁴⁹ Coupled with the large number of martial arts members in the region, it also helps create the image of a city identified by martial arts. This can then be said to be the focus of creative economy discourse in the city, where culture is considered a development resource that allows local governments to design their development strategies.⁵⁰

The local government implements a martial arts-based creative economy discourse and includes art actors or members of martial arts schools.⁵¹ In this case, the city indirectly presents a space to articulate martial arts cultural practices for warriors. Consequently, it creates pride in every martial arts member in the Madiun region. However, this sense of pride quickly turned to anger due to the city government's excessive intervention to enforce the monuments demolition policy.

The need to attract tourists through cultural iconography does not fully guarantee the freedom to preserve the culture of martial arts members. The remaining martial arts monuments are the contributions of the martial arts members who still conserve and care for their culture. This contribution indicates that members of martial arts are helping to maintain the creative economy ecosystem.⁵² In contrast, the city government is considered absent in protecting the monuments. Government support related to administration and policies for the creative economy sector is considered to impact the

⁴⁹ Ahmad Nursaid & Krisna Megantari, "Cultural Branding of Pesilat Village Madiun Regency at the Youth Tourism and Sport Office" (2021) 6:2 INJECT (Interdisciplinary Journal of Communication) 143–158.

⁵⁰ Valentina Montalto et al, "Culture counts: An empirical approach to measure the cultural and creative vitality of European cities" (2019) 89 Cities 167–185.

⁵¹ Sunarso et al, *supra* note 30.

⁵² Undang-Undang Nomor 24 Tahun 2019 Tentang Ekonomi Kreatif, *supra* note 16.

creative economy discourse itself significantly.⁵³ As a result, anger often surrounds martial arts members when they discuss the demolition of the martial arts monuments.

The members of the martial arts school also recognize that the statue built in the shape of a warrior has nothing to do with them. The statue was constructed only for the city's use. Meanwhile, the monuments directly symbolizes a martial arts school.⁵⁴ If the city government borrows warrior attributes such as logos and statues, they should also be removed along with the monuments. The BAKESBANGPOL letter clearly states that sculptures and memorials belonging to martial arts schools should also be demolished. Furthermore, the warrior concept is no longer suitable as the city's nickname.

IV. THE PROBLEMS OF SIMPLIFICATION IN CONFLICT GOVERNANCE

Cultural conflicts often occur between martial arts schools, which is the leading cause of the letter ordering dismantling of the monuments. This is considered a solution so that clashes between martial arts schools do not happen again. This is written in the Letter

⁵³ Radosław Wolniak & Izabela Jonek-Kowalska, "The Creative Services Sector in Polish Cities" (2022) 8:1 Journal of Open Innovation: Technology, Market, and Complexity 17.

⁵⁴ Ephrilia Noor Fitriana, "Realitas Kekerasan Simbolik Dalam Relasi Sosial Anggota Organisasi Pencak Silat Persaudaraan Setia Hati Terate Di Kabupaten Nganjuk" (2019) 8:1 Lakon : Jurnal Kajian Sastra dan Budaya 40–49.

from the East Java National and Political Unity Agency Number 300/5984/209.5/2023:

[...] that one of the causes of conflict between martial arts schools is the presence of martial arts college monuments in public facilities and at road intersections [...] to appeal to the Chairperson/Leader of the martial arts school in East Java to curb/dismantle the monuments of the martial arts school itself.

Thus, the letter is a local government effort to overcome conflict. Behavior considered to be abnormal will be regulated and monitored by power.⁵⁵

In this context, the local government overcomes the conflict through bureaucratic methods. The meeting was held and attended directly by representatives from several martial arts school administrators in East Java.⁵⁶ The main objective of the meeting was to discuss how to prevent cultural conflicts from occurring periodically. As a result, a letter to dismantle the monuments was issued in the hope that conflict could be minimized.

Interestingly, the letter issued by an official government agency is in the form of a policy. However, the word appeal is used for the substance of the letter. As a result, the articulation is such that the implementation of the letter must be done voluntarily. Additionally, martial arts schools that do not dismantle their monuments face no

⁵⁵ Michel Foucault, "'Panopticism' from 'Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison'" (2008) 2:1 Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts 1–12.

⁵⁶ Amir Baihaqi, "Gesekan Antarpendekar Berujung Pembongkaran Tugu Pesilat di Jatim", (13 July 2023), online: *detikjatim* <<https://www.detik.com/jatim/berita/d-6819903/gesekan-antarpendekar-berujung-pembongkaran-tugu-pesilat-di-jatim>>.

legal consequences. For this reason, it seems highly irregular that the police apparatus oversees the implementation of BAKESBANGPOL's letter.

The suggestion to dismantle the monuments was aimed at preventing conflicts between martial arts schools from surfacing. In this case, the monuments were used as an excuse for martial arts conflicts in various regions of East Java. The destruction of monuments is one example of the most fundamental cause of conflict.⁵⁷ Such incidents are the actions of irresponsible people. Thus, this recommendation clearly defines the ease with which the government can reduce conflict without knowing the actual conditions.

Conflicts between martial arts schools often occur due to irresponsible acts by members. The person here is generally considered a member of a martial arts school who is still young. The expression “young” here articulates that these members are not yet capable enough to practice the values taught during martial arts training. They are also relatively new in becoming an official part of a martial arts school. Often, a sense of arrogance still dominates their feelings due to pride in being accepted as an official member of a martial arts school.⁵⁸

A lack of acceptance for the destruction of monuments also dominates the causes of conflict.⁵⁹ The monuments, considered sacred by official

⁵⁷ Hidayah et al, *supra* note 25.

⁵⁸ Syaikhul Ulum & Yudiana Indriastuti, “Strategi Manajemen Konflik Komunikasi Organisasi Pencak Silat: Studi Kasus pada Organisasi Persaudaraan Setia Hati Terate (PSHT) Rayon Semolowaru Elok dalam Meminimalisir Konflik di Surabaya” (2024) 6:5 Reslaj: Religion Education Social Laa Roiba Journal 2901–2918.

⁵⁹ Estu Widiyowati, Rachmat Kriyantono & Bambang Dwi Prasetyo, “Model Manajemen Konflik Berbasis Kearifan Lokal: Konflik Perguruan Pencak Silat Di Madiun – Jawa Timur” (2018) 10:1 Komunikator 34–47.

members of a martial arts school, should not be disturbed. Moreover, the sacredness of the monuments lies in the symbol of the martial arts school. Even in everyday life, the monuments of the martial arts school is often cared for by its members. However, some people who are said to be irresponsible frequently disturb the monuments.

The martial arts members frequently disrupt the monuments of another martial arts school, cross out the monuments, and throw stones at it. As a result, a martial arts school whose monuments is damaged will feel angry and take revenge. This is why monuments are often associated with conflicts between martial arts schools. However, monuments are not the only cause of disputes between martial arts schools.

The statement that the monuments are not the only cause of cultural conflict in martial arts is also clearly written in the letter from the East Java National Unity and Political Agency Number 300/5984/209.5/2023:

[...] One of the causes of conflict between martial arts schools is the [existence of] martial arts school monuments in public facilities or at road intersections, village boundaries [...].

Thus, the local government recognizes that there are other reasons for conflict. However, the letter does not mention the different reasons or causes. Instead, the monuments seem to be the only scapegoat for the martial arts conflict.

The local government's decision to dismantle the monuments as the primary way to resolve the conflict is an oversimplification of the conflict. Throughout the letter, the monuments' demolition

indicates that the local government has not been able to recognize the martial arts tradition. The monuments is considered by members of the martial arts school to be part of their culture.⁶⁰ Thus, the monuments's demolition is considered disrespectful to the existing culture.

Furthermore, with the letter to dismantle the monuments, the contribution of the East Java Regional Government to preservation of cultural heritage needs to be questioned. The contribution of the local government is considered very important for the continued existence of cultural elements of martial arts. In research by Gonzalez, the Okinawa Regional Government and the Japanese National Government even actively coordinate with existing cultural elites to sustain karate culture along with the regional and national economies.⁶¹

According to Gonzalez's research, the Japanese Government succeeded in recognizing the potential of existing culture. The East Java Regional Government should also act in this way to preserve martial arts culture. The demolition of the monuments which the government has carried out indicates the government's failure to preserve martial arts culture.

The government's failure to recognize martial arts culture is also reflected in the writing of the monument's demolition circular. In the order of recipients of the Letter from the East Java National and

⁶⁰ Humas PSHT Pusat, "Ketua PSHT Cabang Blitar-Pusat Madiun: Imbauan Pembongkaran Tugu Perguruan Silat, Dinilai Tidaklah Tepat - SH Terate Madiun", (6 July 2023), online: <<https://shterate.or.id/2023/07/06/ketua-psht-cabang-blitar-pusat-madiun-imbauan-pembongkaran-tugu-perguruan-silat-dinilai-tidaklah-tepat/>>.

⁶¹ Eduardo González de la Fuente, "Recentring the Cartographies of Karate: Martial Arts Tourism in Okinawa" (2021) 21:3 *Ido Journal of Martial Arts Anthropology* 51–66.

Political Unity Agency Number 300/5984/209.5/2023, martial arts groups or organizations are placed at the bottom:

Attention.

1. Mrs. Governor of East Java

(as a report);

2. Chief of Police of East Java;

[...]

8. Chairman of Martial arts throughout East Java.

Following up on the results of the meeting [...], which was attended by the Head of the East Java Regional Police and Principal Officers, Pangdam V / Brawijaya and Principal Officers, the Heads of Resort Police and Dandim in Madiun and surrounding areas, the East Java Provincial Government, the Chairman of the East Java Indonesian Pencak Silat Association (IPSI), the Chairman of the *Persaudaraan Setia Hati Winongo* (PSHW), the Chairman of the *Persaudaraan Setia Hati Teratai* (PSHT) and related invitees [...].

Based on sociological analysis, the content of the letter is intended to rethink the power relations of martial arts groups or organizations. Furthermore, it also indicates a desire to assert the existence of a power structure over the martial arts schools. Foucault explains the concept of government through:⁶²

⁶² Paolo Savoia, "Foucault's Critique of Political Reason: Individualization and Totalization" (2012) 43 *Revista de Estudios Sociales* 14–22.

The ensemble is formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific [...] power that has the population as its target, political economy as its primary form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instruments.

A regulation or policy issued by a government quickly constructs society and asserts the government's power.⁶³

In the order of letter recipients, the topmost place is filled out by the party that is fully responsible for regional power in East Java. In this case, the Governor of East Java is written at the top, followed by the rest of the governors. The message conveyed by this writing style is that an authorized institution issues this letter. Where the authority to issue circulars is affiliated with a power, in this case the power in question is the state represented by the provincial government. The underlying purpose of issuing the letter is to emphasize the dominance of state power over other powers, especially those developed and managed by civil society or, in this case, the cultural practices of martial arts schools.

Ultimately, the monuments's demolition shows the state's dominance over cultural spaces. The state, which claims to have dominant power, is now seen to be disrupting other powers that have existed for a long time in the Madiun region. The alternative power in question here is the martial arts schools, often represented by a monuments. These structures indirectly symbolize that a martial arts

⁶³ Steven Hutchinson & Pat O'Malley, "Discipline and Governmentality" in *The Handbook of Social Control*, 1st ed (John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2018) 63.

school has occupied an area.⁶⁴ Thus, in addition to signifying ownership of an area, the monuments also articulate power.

The power of each monuments is generally limited to an area as large as a hamlet, village, or for more prominent schools, a sub-district. Each location has different monuments depending on which martial arts schools operate. Thus, each area that has a memorial indirectly defines the identity of a martial arts school. In this case, the monuments becomes an identifier and denotes the existence of a martial arts college in an area.⁶⁵

Each martial arts school generally divides the hamlet, village, or sub-district area equally. This is because monuments construction considers the territorial ownership of other martial arts schools. In general, the memorial built by one martial arts school will not violate the territory of another martial arts school. This is a form of mutual respect. Therefore, each region must have various monuments that are reasonably far away from each other.

Nevertheless, constructing monuments at close range or even side by side is not impossible. As in Madiun City, the memorial of the PSHT martial arts school and the memorial of the PSHW martial arts school are seen standing on the same ground.⁶⁶ This side-by-side monuments conveys that territory is not always the main problem. In this case, the impression of peace is expressed by both parties to the

⁶⁴ Ponco Suseno, "Lokasi Tugu Pencak Silat Terbesar di Indonesia", (9 November 2023), online: *Espos Indonesia* <<https://regional.espos.id/lokasi-tugu-pencak-silat-terbesar-di-indonesia-1790500>>.

⁶⁵ Muhamad Ridlo, "Baru 14 Dirobuhkan, Kapan Penertiban Tugu Perguruan Silat di Tulungagung Tuntas?", (1 October 2023), online: *liputan6.com* <<https://www.liputan6.com/regional/read/5411419/baru-14-dirobuhkan-kapan-penertiban-tugu-perguruan-silat-di-tulungagung-tuntas>>.

⁶⁶ Abdul Jalil, "Jadi Perguruan Silat Besar di Indonesia, Ini Perbedaan PSH Terate & PSH Winongo", (5 October 2022), online: *Espos Indonesia* <<https://regional.espos.id/jadi-perguruan-silat-besar-di-indonesia-ini-perbedaan-psh-terate-psh-winongo-1440132>>.

audience. Neither the monuments nor the territory is a severe problem in martial arts life. These are precisely the two things the state often considers the root causes of conflicts.

It cannot be denied that monuments construction is indeed on state land. Martial arts monuments are generally erected at crossroads and on the highway's edge. The placement of these monuments is then considered problematic by the government. They say that monuments located in public facilities, such as on the edge of the highway, are a means of triggering conflict. Therefore, the monuments must be dismantled so as not to cause conflict and maintain a safe and peaceful situation in the country's territorial integrity.

State intervention in martial arts culture is felt. In this case, power plays a very significant role in the life of civil society.⁶⁷ The monuments, often considered a claim to control an area, are regarded as a threat by state power. This claim can be seen in the Letter from the East Java National and Political Unity Agency Number 300/5984/209.5/2023:

[...] because the monuments create discomfort for the community, which seems to image the area as identical to a martial arts school [...].

Recognizing an area still within the scope of state power is not allowed. Moreover, the monuments are considered a martial arts

⁶⁷ Tiara Yulita Sari, Agung Dharma Yuda Adi Ramadhan & Septian Rahmat Purnomo, "Representasi yang Represif: Peran Instagram dalam Pembentukan Hegemoni Maskulinitas Digital" (2023) 1:3 Jurnal Sosialisasi: Jurnal Hasil Pemikiran, Penelitian dan Pengembangan Keilmuan Sosiologi Pendidikan 84–96.

college territory marker. Therefore, removal of monuments as symbols marking the territory of martial arts schools will be carried out. State symbols, such as Pancasila, will replace martial arts symbols.

The Pancasila Monuments is a new building constructed from the dismantled martial arts monuments. Some regions claim that replacing the martial arts monuments with the Pancasila monuments is the best solution to implement the letter on the demolition of monuments.⁶⁸ The local government considers this solution wiser because it can slightly reduce the anger of martial arts members who do not accept that the monuments has been demolished.

The Garuda Pancasila symbol was chosen as an alternative solution to demolished monuments because it is a symbol of the state. As a symbol of the state, the construction of the Pancasila monuments represents the hope that people can live in harmony within the scope of the country's territory. Although the name of the martial arts schools will still be listed under the Garuda Pancasila symbol, the Pancasila monuments will still be considered safe if it must be displayed to the public.⁶⁹

The state asserted its power by establishing the Pancasila monuments on the land where there was previously a martial arts monuments. The claim that the memorial disturbs the sovereignty of

⁶⁸ Endra Dwiono, "Tugu Pencak Silat di Ponorogo Tidak Dibongkar, Diganti Pancasila", (27 November 2023), online: <<https://beritajatim.com/tugu-pencak-silat-di-ponorogo-tidak-dibongkar-diganti-pancasila>>.

⁶⁹ Budhi Prasetya, "Tugu Pencak Silat Tidak Dibongkar, Hanya Dimodifikasi Jadi Tugu Pancasila, Bupati Sugiri: Kalau Dirobohkan Kami Tidak Mentolo - Radar Madiun", (29 November 2023), online: *Tugu Pencak Silat Tidak Dibongkar, Hanya Dimodifikasi Jadi Tugu Pancasila, Bupati Sugiri: Kalau Dirobohkan Kami Tidak Mentolo - Radar Madiun* <<https://radarmadiun.jawapos.com/ponorogo/803339005/tugu-pencak-silat-tidak-dibongkar-hanya-dimodifikasi-jadi-tugu-pancasila-bupati-sugiri-kalau-dirobohkan-kami-tidak-mentolo>>.

state power is hidden through the pretext of dismantling the monuments for the convenience of the community.

It is always easy for the state to intrude into cultural space, where the community is always used as the main reason for its interests. At the same time, the definition of the community includes all members of any martial arts school. Therefore, the state will interfere in every element of every citizen's life in one way or another.

IV. NEGOTIATION AND ITS TACTICS

The policy that claimed to involve public participation did not comply to this ideal; in reality, martial arts members fought against the policy of demolishing the monuments. Hundreds of martial arts members held a demonstration in the Madiun area in front of the Madiun Resort Police Office.⁷⁰ This demonstration was their attempt to voice their unwillingness to follow the policy of demolishing the monuments. This incident became a form of resistance to the letter by martial arts school members.

Another act of resistance that martial arts members carried out was to close the monuments so they would not be demolished. This is known from the results of interviews on September 26, 2023. Informant Galih, a martial arts school PSHT member, said that the monuments would not be demolished but would be covered with a village or sub-district budget banner. The banner was chosen because covering a martial arts monuments seemed safe. The closure of the monuments is believed to help prevent them from being demolished.

⁷⁰ Sugeng Harianto, "Ratusan Warga Madiun Demo Tolak Pembongkaran Tugu Pesilat", (27 September 2023), online: *DetikJatim* <<https://www.detik.com/jatim/berita/d-6953472/ratusan-warga-madiun-demo-tolak-pembongkaran-tugu-pesilat>>.

Monuments that have been temporarily closed will be reopened when the validity period of the letter has ended. This action is taken so that the monuments are safe from the implementation of the monuments demolition circular. The martial arts members believe that the memorial will automatically be safe from demolition if it is no longer valid. Therefore, they will not close the monuments forever, and the closure of this monuments is also included in their form of resistance to the monuments demolition and the police apparatus.

The police force is the executor of the policy to demolish the monuments of the martial arts schools. They are given the power to level the monuments throughout East Java. In carrying out their duties, in general, the police officers first write to each head of the martial arts school management regarding the monuments's demolition. This explanation was given in an interview on September 26, 2023. Informant Galih, a member of the martial arts school PSHT, said that the letter was also given to each board at each management level, including *rayon*, *ranting*, and *cabang*. The letter was sent as a greeting to destroy the monuments.

The actions of the police officers are very disliked by the martial arts members. Martial arts members consider the police too arbitrary in implementing the policies in the letter. Although the demolition action has legal force, demolishing the monuments without prior notification is considered unethical. Furthermore, the phenomenon was clearly illustrated in an interview conducted on September 6, 2023; informant Fadhil, a member of the martial arts school PSHT, said that the police came directly to the location of the monuments to carry out the demolition.

Demolishing the monuments indicates that the police are accomplices of state power. In this case, the police are given the

authority to execute the policy. The authority given is an attempt to discipline members of martial arts schools. Discipline means that the apparatus must secure compliance to the letter policy. This was also done because there was much resistance from martial arts members. Therefore, the state considers the police apparatus necessary to intervene directly and succeed in the monuments demolition agenda. Thus, the hope is that the resistance carried out by martial arts members will be slightly reduced.

The resistance by martial arts members can be quite massive and structured. This statement was supported by informant Fauzan, a member of the martial arts school PSHT, in an interview conducted on September 6, 2023. The informant mentioned that resistance, such as demonstrations, had been planned by the WhatsApp application group, which contained many martial arts members. From this information, it is known that many people communicated with each other to fight back. The conversation was an effort to make a structured plan. Thus, the resistance carried out by martial arts members was a collective decision.

In addition, it cannot be denied that the solidarity of martial arts groups or organizations is vital. They refer to each other as brothers. Fellow brothers should bear the burden together. This is also why the voice of the individual in a martial arts school is the voice of the majority. This value of brotherhood is born when they have completed a series of martial arts exercises. Considering the research of Megasari and Prasetyo, the training carried out to become a member of a martial arts school is a form of discipline that covers each trainee's body.⁷¹ The discipline in question also requires them to have

⁷¹ Ilma Megasari & Hery Prasetyo, "Disiplin Tubuh Pesilat Persaudaraan Setia Hati Terate: Formasi Pembentukan Subjektivitas" (2017) 10:1 DIMENSI - Journal of Sociology 33–45.

a sense of ownership over the martial arts school they are joining. Therefore, it is common knowledge that the unity among martial arts members is solid. Then, it could even resist the monuments demolition's political agenda.

The subjectivity of martial arts members could counter the monuments demolition agenda in various regions in East Java. Martial arts members are spread across all East Java regions and even in every element of society, to which the government itself is no exception. Even martial arts members who were in government did not remain silent in trying to prevent the monuments from being demolished. One of them is the Chairman of the Regional Representative Council (DPD) RI La Nyalla Mahmud Mattalitti, also a PSHT martial arts college member. He had met with the Head of the East Java Regional Police (*Kapolda*) to discuss the agenda for demolishing the martial arts monuments.⁷² The message conveyed during the meeting was to represent the aspirations of all martial arts schools in East Java regarding the monuments' demolition, hoping that the monuments' demolition could be slightly negotiated.

The incident of conveying aspirations by the Chairman of the Regional Representative Council (DPD) RI to the Head of the East Java Regional Police (*Kapolda*) indicates that the deliberation that issued the letter was insufficient to accommodate all aspirations of the martial arts groups. The deliberation, which several martial arts school administrators even attended at the implementation stage, still caused upheaval in rejecting the letter. The deliberations that were

⁷² Mizan Ahsani, "Temui Kapolda Jatim Bahas Pembongkaran Tugu Pencak Silat, La Nyalla: Jangan Timbulkan Masalah - Radar Madiun", (9 April 2023), online: *Temui Kapolda Jatim Bahas Pembongkaran Tugu Pencak Silat, La Nyalla: Jangan Timbulkan Masalah - Radar Madiun* <<https://radarmadiun.jawapos.com/jatim/802918481/temui-kapolda-jatim-bahas-pembongkaran-tugu-pencak-silat-la-nyalla-jangan-timbulkan-masalah>>.

held seemed bureaucratic and formal. In addition, the state's power was dominant, and this aspect was seen in the writing. This is what the martial arts members tried to fight against. They tried to negotiate state power in various ways, not least through the government body.

There are many martial arts members within the police force. It is also possible that martial arts members can negotiate power on the letter for the monuments's demolition. This fact is reinforced by the interview results on September 26, 2023. Informant Galih, a member of the martial arts school PSHT, said that most of the police members are members of Pencak Silat. Thus, with the body of the state apparatus, in the end, martial arts members can negotiate with the intervention of state power in the form of a letter to dismantle the monuments.

More clearly, the negotiation mentioned above is carried out to enforce the tactic of dismantling the monuments in a formality. This means that a small amount of monuments will be dismantled and documented as evidence that the policy has been implemented. This incident was clearly illustrated in the September 26, 2023 interview. Galih also said that the police asked for documentation of the demolition of only one to two monuments as a condition for the implementation of the monuments demolition policy stated in the letter. This tactic arose due to a sense of heartlessness on the part of the police when tearing down the monuments. The reason is that the police are also members of Pencak Silat.

The heartlessness felt by the police officers further colored the demolition of the monuments in the Madiun area. There are members of the police who think heavy-heartedly about dismantling the memorial. In an interview on September 26, 2023, the same informant, Galih, stated that when members of martial arts schools ordered

police officers who were also members of martial arts schools to dismantle the monuments themselves, the police officers were reluctant to do so. The police officers who felt unwilling to dismantle the memorial were also martial arts members of school represented by the monuments to be dismantled. They felt confused about whether to maintain the cultural tradition of martial arts or follow the state's orders through their work. It can then be said that there is a dual reality of subjectivity: being a martial arts member and an obedient citizen. Furthermore, these two realities collide when the demolition of the martial arts monuments must be carried out.

Being a martial arts member and a citizen are facts the police apparatus must face. Many of them were martial arts members before entering the state police. Therefore, they still have a sense of ownership over the martial arts school they joined. This is also why police officers are sometimes reluctant to dismantle monuments.

The tactic of dismantling the monuments as a formality functions so that only a few monuments will be dismantled, and the obligation to dismantle has been carried out. The police have done their duty as well as helping their martial arts school so that not many monuments are demolished. Furthermore, this is also included in the resistance, which is a negotiation tactic with state power.

The various resistances by martial arts members within the government, the police, and civil society are ways of negotiating with state power. However, they will never be able to fight against state domination. Therefore, structured resistance is the best solution they can rely on. In addition, they use solidarity as a tool to fight against state power. Thus, state power can eventually be negotiated by its citizens.

VI. CONCLUSION

The Madiun City Government uses the creative economy discourse to develop and improve the community's economy. The use of martial arts cultural elements, which is supported by the existence of martial arts cultural elements such as monuments, adds to the city's existence in the eyes of tourists. The regional identity obtained from combining martial arts culture with a touch of modernity can create an artistic impression that attracts the eyes of a broad audience. In addition, members of martial arts are often involved in city festivals. As a result, besides being an advantage in increasing regional income, another positive impact is the sustainability of the martial arts culture.

Monuments from various martial arts schools were dismantled as a follow-up to issuing a Letter from the East Java National Unity and Political Agency Number 300/5984/209.5/2023. The monuments, which are the authentic identity of the martial arts schools, had to be removed because the local government considered them to be the cause of cultural conflicts between martial arts schools that had been occurring; nevertheless, the martial arts members did not remain silent in the face of the monuments demolition agenda. Furthermore, conflicts and economic development, which claim to be able to create creative cultural sectors, are still a game of power to maintain tradition or promote social order.

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