

BETWEEN LEGALITY AND MORALITY: THE HISTORY OF GAMBLING IN SEMARANG CITY IN 1970-1993

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Abstract

This study explores the process of gambling legalization in the city of Semarang during the period from 1970 to 1993. The background of the research lies in the contradiction between the moral and legal prohibition of gambling and the reality of government policies that legalized such practices in the form of prize lotteries. The aim of this study is to understand the socio-political dynamics behind the legalization of gambling and its impact on urban society in Semarang. The research adopts a historical method, which includes the stages of heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography. Primary sources consist of local newspapers and legislative regulations. The findings reveal that the legalization of gambling was a state strategy to raise public funds for development while simultaneously attempting to control illegal gambling activities. On the other hand, the policy also illustrates how the state compromised social norms in pursuit of economic interests and political stability. The conclusion of this study is that the legalization of gambling in Semarang was not merely a response to fiscal needs, but also a reflection of the power relations between the state and society during the new order era.

Keywords: Gambling legalization; State policy; Urban society.

INTRODUCTION

The legality of gambling is one of the controversial issues in various countries. The practice of gambling in a country that does not adhere to norms and morality in its social life is commonplace, even the government gives permits for the construction of gambling places such as casinos in certain areas. The policy is carried out by considering the economic aspect, where legal gambling makes a significant contribution through taxes from the management of the entertainment industry. Not only does it contribute to the country, legal gambling also opens up jobs as well as local income. Although it provides benefits in the economic sector, the negative impact of the policy is also something that cannot be ignored. Nevertheless, some countries make special regulations to oversee legal gambling operations, such as those done by the United States (Walker, 2007; Walker & Sobel, 2016; Rettig, 1996; H.C.Hsu, 2013).

When the legal gambling policy was enforced in Indonesia, it was clear that there were pros and cons from various circles. Gambling is normatively seen as behavior that is not in accordance with applicable moral, religious, social, and legal norms. However, in the midst of Indonesian society that tends to reject the practice of gambling, the government actually issued a contradictory policy by legalizing certain forms of gambling (Scott, 2007) such as the National Lottery (Nalo), Sports and Agility Week (Porkas), and Prized Social Benevolent Donations (SDSB) through official regulations in the period 1970-1993. This policy comes under the pretext of raising funds for social activities, sports, and infrastructure development. The legalization of gambling by the state, especially during the new order period, shows how the regime used legal legitimacy to gain state revenue. This practice shows the paradox between morality and state policy, and opens up space to see the state that takes part in regulating and even exploiting the great desires of the people through games of chance (Rosidah, 2016; Anderson, 2006).

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One of the interesting regions in the context of gambling is Semarang. As a city that has heterogeneity, the legalization of gambling brought about major changes in the social, economic and cultural order of urban society. Moreover, the Semarang City government facilitates gambling activities by making a gambling localization New (Tio, 2001). International Amusement Center (NIAC). Semarang is not only the location for the distribution and consumption of these gambling coupons, but also an arena for intensive interaction between state actors, officials, economic actors, and local communities. At first, the legalization policy of gambling at the national level, including the city of Semarang, went as expected, of course with various controversies in the course of the policy. However, behind these legalities, there are various social impacts such as structural poverty, domestic violence due to gambling addiction, and the emergence of illegal gambling networks that grow along with legal practices. The legalization of gambling officially ended in 1993 when pressure from civil society, religious groups, and political shifts began to demand stronger public morality (Rosidah, 2016).

Several studies that discuss the legalization of gambling in the national and local scope from various aspects, Nestiani Hutami adapted the short story *The Lottery* by Shirley Jackson which describes how the gambling culture in America that developed into a large industry and had an impact on Indonesia. This study is a social critique of society and government that maintains tradition without questioning its moral value. A study by Aura Rahayu and Nurhilmiah, which compared gambling regulations between Indonesia and Thailand, highlights how gambling laws in Indonesia are used more as an instrument of socio-political control than substantive justice enforcement. Legal policy in Indonesia is influenced by the regime's interests to maintain power and control society. Then Wahyu Lumaksono & Anik Andayani in their study specifically highlight the legalization of gambling as a form of state compromise in the face of funding needs and social control. Meanwhile, a study from Hendra Prabowo and Wijayati, illustrates how gambling in Semarang has undergone a transition, which at first was only an entertainment activity in the night market to a prohibited activity. However, these studies still look at it from a macro perspective and do not explain in detail how this policy is responded to at the local level. In addition to complementing previous works, this study is important to see how the state, through the legalization policy of gambling, has also shaped the social landscape of Semarang's urban community (Hutami, 2014; Rahayu & Nurhilmiah, 2025; Lumaksono & Andayani, 2014; Prabowo & Wijayati, 2021).

This study aims to examine the reasons behind the central government's policy that legalized gambling in 1970-1993, analyze the social and economic impact of gambling legalization on the people of Semarang City, and understand the response of local governments and communities to the existence of legal gambling in the city. This research also aims to uncover how legalization policies such as Nalo, Niac gambling, Rewarded Social Donations (SSB), Sports and Agility Week (Porkas), and Prize Social Fund Donations (SDSB) are implemented and then stopped, as well as the impacts caused by these legal gambling practices, including changes in the morality of society and social problems that arise due to gambling addiction. This study will also explore the role of legal gambling policies that contribute to shaping the response of the urban community of Semarang City. When formal economic opportunities are limited and social mobility is stagnant, the lower classes will look for alternatives as part of survival strategies, including through participation in prize coupons (Jamiludin et al., 2023).

RESEARCH METHOD

When you want to do research, it is impossible to just bring an empty brain. Thinking that is accompanied by presumption without involving relevant data in the research will result in misunderstandings in interpreting historical reality. History has its own method that uses observation. When a statement is not supported by historical facts contained in the form of archives, newspapers and other important documents, then the statement is rejected. Archives are information recorded in any form and format created, received, and maintained by a body, institution, and organization in the context of carrying out its activities. In an effort to reconstruct past events, a set of rules must be used to obtain the truth from historical evidence called the

historical research method. There are 4 stages in historical research methods, heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography (Kuntowijoyo, 2013)

The first stage of heuristics, tracing and collection of resources. The researcher used newspapers as a primary written source. Then the researcher conducted a search at the Central Java Provincial Archives and Library Service. The second institution that the researcher visited was the Independent Voice Archive Depot in Semarang City. Then the teruchri agency, namely the National Press Monument located in the city of Surakarta. The primary source search process was carried out for 3 months, and newspapers were found that contained legal and illegal gambling in Semarang City with the period 1970-1993. In addition to using primary sources, supporting literature (secondary sources) such as books and previous research is no less important to build a historical narrative.

The second stage is source criticism, assessing the validity of the sources used. This is done to ensure that the data taken and obtained from various sources, is truly trustworthy and relevant to the historical events being studied. Source criticism is divided into two types, namely external criticism and internal criticism. External criticism focuses on the physical aspects and origin of the source, such as the authenticity of the document, the time of writing, and the identity of the author. This is important to rule out the possibility of falsification or manipulation of data. Meanwhile, internal criticism aims to examine the content of the source, by assessing the accuracy of the information, the objectivity of the author, and the consistency of the data against other sources. Through source criticism, historical researchers not only collect facts, but also make critical selection of the information obtained.

The third stage of interpretation, in this stage is the incorporation or connection of historical facts that have been obtained after going through the process of criticism of the source, based on the chronological relationship and the causal relationship by performing imagination and analysis. Before doing this stage, the author reads the relevant sources classifying the facts obtained from the sources to facilitate the interpretation process. After the author categorizes the facts, he begins to connect the facts with each other to become a coherent historical writing.

The last stage is historiography, this stage presents the results of historical research into historical stories in various forms of thesis. Historiography is the last step, historical facts determined in historiography must be processed and analyzed first by researchers. In doing writing, there are aspects that must be considered such as chronological aspects, arranging and understanding historical events based on the order of time. This is done to find out how these events are related. Then what is no less important is the selection and use of language in each sentence. Historical narratives are written not only for the author to enjoy, but also for the general public.

This research uses a social history approach that includes life, structure, and social change in society. The main focus is how a policy made will affect the social pattern of society. Then this research also borrows the concept of (Kartodirdjo, 1993) legal pluralism by Merry cited by Webber, Napoleon, et al., when more than one legal system is enforced in one place, people can choose or negotiate which law to follow. This is reflected in the state issuing a law regulating gambling through presidential decrees or other instruments that legalize forms of gambling such as Nalo, Porkas, and SDSB. On the other hand, society still holds fast to moral values and social norms that reject gambling (Webber et al., 2024).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Faces of Gambling in Semarang City

The city of Semarang is one of the centers of economic and cultural growth in Central Java. As the provincial capital, Semarang has a strategic position as a major port on the northern coast of Java, which makes it an important node in the trade and distribution network of goods. The social life of the community has also undergone changes towards modern society. This process is

known as Modernization, traditional society seeks to renew itself and obtain the characteristics or characteristics that modern society has. These developments not only physically changed the urban layout, but also created a change in the social life patterns of society that were more dynamic and connected to the values of the modern city: speed, efficiency, and the need for entertainment. The reality of the development of Semarang City can be seen from the many people from outside the region who came with hope for a more decent life. Thus, the public's demand for entertainment venues is also increasing (Tio, 2001; Shah, 2013).

In the context of changes towards modern society, the need for entertainment has emerged as one of the important aspects of urban life. Entertainment is not just an activity to fill free time, but also part of social dynamics that reflect changes in lifestyles, values, and identities of urban communities. According to Featherstone, the culture of consumption, including entertainment, is one of the main aspects of the life of a postmodern society that expresses identity and social class through consumption patterns. Indirectly, entertainment is a product of culture that reflects changes in social and economic structures (Featherstone, 1991).

The plural and multicultural city of Semarang is characterized by ethnic diversity such as Javanese and Chinese who have long settled and contributed to the social and economic life of the city. The relationship between the Javanese and Chinese people is reflected in trade, culture, and social acculturation. This interaction was strengthened during the colonial period when the Chinatown area was designated as a special area for the Chinese community. In this area, night markets, entertainment houses, puppet shows, and other forms of folk entertainment grow. The existence of entertainment venues is a melting pot of boundaries between ethnicities and diverse professions in the people of Semarang City. This shows that the relationship between residents is not only about economic interests, but also about sharing pleasure. Like the night market in the Chinatown area which was initially a ritual of the Chinese community, gradually it was also enjoyed by other ethnicities (Thian, 2004; Hakim & Atmaja, 2020; Wijayati, 2016).

Night markets have an important role in forming social bonds in the midst of heterogeneous urban society. Different groups of people from different economic, ethnic, and religious backgrounds can interact in an egalitarian manner. According to Lombard, public spaces such as night markets are an important medium in cultural mixing in port cities such as Semarang. In addition to being a place of economic exchange, the night market is also another alternative entertainment in the form of various folk games. The relationship between the night market and entertainment makes various games such as craps, cards and dexterity games, an activity that is in demand enjoyed by the public, outside of the sale of goods and basic necessities. But on the other hand, the existence of the night market is also a place for various informal social practices, such as gambling. Without realizing it, gambling became part of the folk entertainment culture that was culturally "legalized" even though it was in the gray area of the law. The presence of gambling practices in the night market shows the complexity of the relationship between the state, urban society, and people's entertainment activities (Lombard, 1996; Wijayati, 2016; Sound Independence, 1954).

So far, the night market as a people's recreation space has shown a blurred line between gaming activities and gambling practices. Not only presenting visual and culinary entertainment, the night market is also a medium for the growth of forms of covert gambling practices wrapped in the narrative of games and folk fun. Such as spinning wheels, dice rolling, coin tossing, and passing toss. Although visibly promoted as prize games, in practice, these games contain elements that meet the gambling criteria according to Kartono, namely the element of "luck" with betting money or goods of economic value. This activity is a magnet for entertainment for the residents of Semarang City, but it is also a latent channel for the expression of the desire to gamble in public spaces. As time goes by, it requires the Semarang City government to regulate entertainment activities, including the night market, in order to generate economic benefits through taxes. As stated in Emergency Law Number 11 of 1957 concerning general regulations on regional taxes. The urgency of this regulation is so that there is a legal basis for all regions to explore their own financial sources. Then the revenue from tax proceeds is used for the development of city infrastructure. This certainly has an impact on the development of gambling in the city of Semarang in the following

years with very long and complicated dynamics (Scott, 2007; Government of the Republic of Indonesia, 1957).

The city of Semarang is one of the cities that was targeted by the national-scale legalization policy of gambling in the form of lotteries or lotteries in the 1960s. The legal basis used to regulate this policy is Law Number 22 of 1954 concerning lotteries:

1. Whoever holds a lottery must first obtain permission from the authorities based on the regulations in the following articles, except as stipulated in article 2.
2. This law does not apply to votes held by: first, by the state. Second, by an association recognized as a legal entity, or by an association that has been established for a little more than one year, in an environment limited to members, for social purposes, the total nominal price of the lottery is not more than Rp. 3,000,-(three thousand rupiah). This lottery must be notified to the authorized Government agency, in this case the Regional Head" (Government of the Republic of Indonesia, 1954).

Then the government issued legal forms of gambling such as Lottre Buntut, Lotto (Lottre Toto), and Nalo (National Lottre) with the aim of raising funds for national development and social rehabilitation. The game system is by guessing the numbers drawn every week. These coupons are spread across several cities including Semarang through official agents such as those located on Jl. Mataram 659 and 725, Jl. Sultan Agung 71, and Semarang Cultural Park However, at a time when the policy is ongoing, the practice of illegal gambling is actually mushrooming. This situation is used by individuals to reap benefits from the legal gambling policy (Suara Merdeka, 1963a, 1963b).

Seeing the many irregularities of the legal gambling policy and accompanied by the political situation at that time which was anti-Western, President Soekarno issued Presidential Decree Number 133 of 1965 which stated that the lottery with the music of the nook damaged the nation's morale and was included in the category of subversion. Gambling activities had stopped for a moment, coupons that had been scattered were urged to be withdrawn after 5 days of the presidential decree being issued, including in the city of Semarang. Local/city governments and law enforcement officials work together to crack down on rogue individuals who seek profit. Some time after the regulation was enacted, the political situation became even more tense when Sukarno was removed from office, who was later replaced by Suharto (Decree of the President of the Republic of Indonesia No. 133 of 1965, 1965; Kedaulatan Rakjat, 1965; Lumaksono & Andayani, 2014).

The New Order government under the leadership of President Suharto, became a new chapter for the legal gambling policy that had been stopped by the previous regime. As a result of the political tensions in 1965, to reunite the Indonesian people was by holding the VII National Sports Week (PON) in Surabaya in 1969. However, this activity was constrained by the minimal government budget, because the state was bearing the burden of debt left by the Soekarno regime. In the midst of budget limitations, the idea emerged that the only solution to get a large amount of money was through gambling. So, in 1968, the Surabaya Regional Government issued a gambling game in the form of Lotto (Lottre Totalistator) as an effort to raise funds to hold PON VII in 1969. (Lumaksono & Andayani, 2014; Abadi, 1968; Kompas, 1973).

The pattern of collecting funds through gambling was also carried out by Gurbenur Ali Sadikin who legalized gambling in the form of localization (casinos) and lotteries in Jakarta. This is done on the legal basis of Law number 11 of 1957 which allows local governments to collect taxes on gambling licenses. Governor Ali succeeded in transforming Jakarta into a better metropolis. The same pattern was also used by the Semarang City Government by making a gambling localization with the private company Niac (New International Amusement Center) located on the 3rd floor of the Djohar Shopping Center, inaugurated by Mayor R. Wasito Soegarto on May 12, 1970. In the room there are various kinds of gambling games such as jackpot, jack black, big small, and tjap djiek. In addition to the funds generated for urban development, Soegiarto explained that there is also localization to supervise and suppress illegal gambling that is rampant. At first, Niac gambling ran according to the expectations of the Semarang City government with the right market targets. However, a few months after it was inaugurated, there were protests from students and religious

circles. Representatives from the Semarang Islamic Youth Force (AMI), held a discussion with the mayor regarding Niac gambling. The common point obtained from both parties is that this policy will continue to be carried out for the sake of city development, but if in the future it causes moral damage, Niac gambling will be closed (Ramadhan, 2012; Suara Merdeka, 1970c; Suara Merdeka, 1970c; Suara Merdeka, 1970h).

Niac gambling can only be accessed by the elite and for ordinary people who cannot access it, then establish gambling on a small scale. Along with the ongoing Niac gambling, the Semarang City government announced a ban on the sale of Nalo tail coupons and forecasts that are close to official agent stalls. Through Komadan Kodim 0733, Lt. Col. Untung Sriadi has prohibited all people in the jurisdiction of Semarang City to trade and distribute coupons with prizes such as Nalo tail and for those who make predictions with the aim of attracting the purchase of coupons, action will be taken in accordance with applicable regulations. In addition, it is expected for the sub-district and village head to help supervise their respective areas from all forms of illegal gambling activities. (Angkatan Bersendjata, 1971; Suara Merdeka, 1970e; Suara Merdeka, 1970a; Suara Merdeka, 1970b).

Meanwhile, in the national realm, there was a conflict between Governor Ali Sadikin and President Suharto which intersected with politics. Governor Ali, who first issued legal forms of gambling such as Toto and Nalo in 1971 and the existing Lotto KONI, made a public uproar over his policy. This forced President Suharto to take a firm stance by issuing Law No. 7 on gambling regulation in 1974 which stated that all forms of gambling are criminal acts and Government Regulation No. 9 of 1981 on the implementation of gambling control. This regulation further cornered and suppressed the popularity of Governor Ali who succeeded in building Jakarta. President Suharto felt that his position as president was threatened to be able to perpetuate his power. These regulations and laws certainly also have an impact on the City of Semarang which requires Niac gambling to be closed. But in reality, illegal gambling practices still occurred in the city of Semarang in the following few years (Suara Merdeka, 1968; Government of the Republic of Indonesia, 1974; (Government of the Republic of Indonesia, 1981).

Actually, President Soeharto also had the desire to implement a lottery model with prizes without any gambling excesses as an effort to gain sympathy from the public. It began with the Hope Fund Lottery or Hope Lottery managed by the central government and under the auspices of the Social Rehabilitation Foundation in 1976, then changed its name to the Hope Lottery Business Entity in 1978. The results of the lottery fund withdrawal are used to finance social problem management. Regarding the lottery has been listed in the Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia Number: B.A. 5-4-76/169 concerning the implementation of the lottery of hope. The Harapan Lottery was transformed into a Prized Social Donation (SSB), after being frozen in 1978 due to controversy and protests from the public. Coupons from SSB are known as Tanda Kontribusi Social-Kontribu Gratis Prizes (TSSB) which came into effect in 1979. TSSB coupons are printed in 4 million pieces and drawn every two weeks. The management of SSB was then handed over to the management of the Social Welfare Bhakti Fund Foundation (YDBKS) based in Jakarta (Lumaksono & Andayani, 2014; Tempo, 2004; Lumaksno & Andayani, 2014; Rizal, 2022; Tempo, 1993).

In 1974-1976, President Suharto sent the minister of social affairs to conduct a comparative study on the application of the lottery model in the United Kingdom. The result of the comparative study conducted by the Minister of Social Affairs is the idea of organizing a forecast lottery model without causing gambling excesses. Forecast was inaugurated on December 28, 1985 under the name Porkas, an acronym for Sports and Agility Week. The game system is no longer guessing numbers, but guessing wins, draws, and losses. Porkas was born based on Law Number 22 of 1954 concerning lotteries, which among other things aims to generate prizes and not cause social evil. The reason for the development of the Porkas lottery was further strengthened by the Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs No. BBS/10-12/85 dated December 10, 1985. Porkas coupons were officially circulated in 1986. The two lottery coupons, TSSB which was renamed to Prize Social Benefactor Donation (SDSB) and Porkas got a place in the people of Semarang City (Bernas, 1986; Lumaksono & Andayani, 2014).

Porkas and SDSB coupons are only sold in big cities, the government prohibits the sale of coupons in remote villages. This is because supervision of lottery policies is easy to run. In Semarang City, there are several coupon sales points by official agents, such as on Jl. Gajah Mada, Jl. Dr. Cipto, Jl. Majapahit, and the PRPP area. Porkas coupons are only sold with a counter system, in addition to creating a neat scenery, it is also administratively and financially structured. The system also applies to the purchase of SDSB coupons, in order to avoid "rogue" individuals who take the opportunity to sell tail coupons. After lasting for approximately 9 years, SDSB experienced a decrease in interest due to the new coupon purchase rules. In Semarang City, the winner of the series B coupon is required to buy a series A coupon whose price is Rp. 4,000, the price of the series A coupon is Rp. 5000, while the series B coupon is priced at Rp. 1000 (Suara Merdeka, 1987a; Scott, 1986; Suara Merdeka, 1989a; Suara Merdeka 1989d).

Such are the dynamics of gambling that occurs in the city of Semarang, both legal and illegal, with various controversies and interference from the central government. The practice of gambling, which was originally only limited to entertainment activities of the urban community of Semarang, developed into a social phenomenon that borders economic and political interests. Semarang's experience in regulating and then banning gambling shows that the legalization policy has not simple socio-economic consequences, both in terms of regional revenue revenue and its impact on the social and moral order of the community. Therefore, to understand further how the legalization of gambling affects socio-economic life in the city of Semarang, it is necessary to examine in depth the implications that arise from these policies, both for the government, the community, and the socio-economic structure of this city.

Socio-Economic Implications of Gambling Legalization

The reality that often appears in the discussion of city government policies is the tendency to act within the legal corridor and applicable regulations. Budget preparation, for example, is often presented as the success of the city government in financing development through the Regional Expenditure Budget (APBD). Then this study will show that the Semarang City government implements several negative activities, such as gambling to support policies in terms of development. This step was taken not without reason, of course, considering that during the New Order period which focused government work programs on the development economic sector with limited use of the APBD. Gambling, which is a product of entertainment, provides an alternative way for the Semarang City government to increase regional revenue through taxes. In making the decision to legalize gambling, the Semarang City government tends to ignore the negative excesses caused, for pragmatic and structural reasons (Mas'ood, 1989; Rosidah, 2016).

Gradually, the Semarang City government made improvements to the gambling policy after the enactment of Law No. 7 of 1974 by President Soeharto. Niac gambling has indeed been closed, but national-scale forms of gambling such as Porkas and SDSB are still ongoing with strict supervision. In order to make it easier for the Semarang City government to supervise the policy, localization is present as an idea to place certain activities in a local context and limited by applicable rules. Localization is a means for people to find various entertainments, such as gambling. The destructive impact of this activity on society is very thick with nuances of morality, localization is a solution to prevent the destructive impact and moral decadence experienced by society (Prabowo & Wijayati, 2021).

Legal gambling does not always have a negative impact on the socio-economic of the people of Semarang City. In its implementation, this policy has more or less brought a positive impact that cannot be ignored. The Niac gambling organized by the Semarang City government is one of the efforts to get additional funds that will be distributed for urban development agendas such as schools, road construction, and disaster management. From the proceeds of the gambling tax, it has helped around 10,000 refugees due to the flood that occurred on February 10, 1971 in the form of medicines, basic necessities, and decent clothes. Then legal gambling on a national scale Lotto and Nalo, provides economic opportunities for distributor agents in Semarang City as well as having

an impact on stall owners who are rented to sell coupons. Many hawkers have switched professions to sell Nalo coupons (Prabowo & Wijayati, 2021; Suara Merdeka, 1971; Harian Neraca, 1973).

After the New Order government enacted laws to regulate all gambling activities, including Lotto, Nalo, Niac gambling, and lotteries that had existed since the previous regime, then President Soeharto issued the Porkas and SDSB lottery that did not contain gambling elements. This lottery does not depend on mere profits, but it also requires complex theory and calculations. The funds withdrawn from Porkas are used for the development and coaching of national sports. Minister of Social Affairs Mrs. Nani Soedarsono argued that the practical benefits of Porkas had been felt when the Indonesian National Team won the 1986 Sea Games, then Nani emphatically conveyed that, the government had said that there was no negative impact from Porkas and there was no use of Porkas funds other than for sports development. The sports achievements of the Indonesian National Team from 1985-1988 began to bear fruit, all this was thanks to the community who were willing to donate through Porkas, the Minister of Youth and Sports. Meanwhile, the Semarang City government uses the funds generated by Porkas to provide coaching money and bonuses for athletes who win sports in the upcoming PON XIII and PON. Likewise, SDSB is used for social activities (Harian Neraca, 1987; Alert, 1989; Suara Merdeka, 1993).

Lasting for a decade, the Prized Social Donation (SSB) which was transformed into SDSB in 1978 was met with a lot of controversy. Starting from prizes that are difficult for the winner to withdraw, to taking away someone's sanity, to making a reason for someone to commit criminal acts. Many individuals take advantage of this policy for personal gain or even open illicit gambling. Forecasting the tail codes given to the public then getting a reward for a certain amount of money, in this sense of circulating and trading tail coupons, is not justified and will be dangerous. Regarding the issue of prize withdrawals that were found to be difficult, TY was a victim of SDSB prizes that were difficult to take. According to TY's statement, SDSB coupons were not purchased directly at an official agent but left to his friend, after further investigation, it turned out that the coupon was fake and could not be redeemed. According to the Indonesian Renewal Youth Force (AMPI), the presence of TSSB and KSOB or better known as porkas, only weakens work ethic and erodes one's faith. Then, the pedicab drivers use the shoulder of the road or sidewalk to gamble, not only endangering themselves but also other road users (Suara Merdeka, 1987b; Suara Merdeka, 1989g; harian Neraca, 1989; Suara Merdeka, 1989c).

The impact of legal gambling on perpetrators is significant and generally negative, especially in terms of financial, social, and mental health. Financially, many individuals who get caught up in the habit of gambling suffer huge losses, including debt accumulation, loss of savings, and difficulty meeting daily needs. This loss also causes stress and depression which has an impact on the mental health of the perpetrator. From a social perspective, gamblers often experience conflicts in families, damaged interpersonal relationships, and even the risk of losing their jobs due to these addictive behaviors. Psychological impacts such as gambling addiction also cause mental health problems that require a significant social and rehabilitation cost. A young man is willing to sell assets in order to be able to gamble, go into debt to deceive and harm others. As for Niac gambling, it also makes a person lose their sanity due to losing this gambling. Gambling is written in such a way (Porkas), reducing activities in a halal way, the perpetrator is shrouded in delusions to become a billionaire with small capital (Maarif, 2001; Lubis & Mardianto, 2024; Nurjannah & Maturidi, 2021; Suara Merdeka, 1970d; Alert, 1987a).

When a person is already trapped in a gambling circle, it is difficult for him or her to get out of the abyss of loss. This condition is called Gambling addiction disorders, a condition in which a person will continuously play gambling with all the consequences. Gambling is a social phenomenon that is not easy to overcome. Gambling is still gambling, even though it is wrapped in the narrative of donations such as Porkas and SDSB, the negative excesses cannot be ignored. Thus, although legal gambling can provide revenue for the government, the negative impact on the perpetrators is enormous and requires serious attention from the government and the community to mitigate through regulations, education, and rehabilitation programs (Shaffer & Hall, 1996)

Response of the People of Semarang City

Gambling inherently creates a dilemma between aspects of legality and morality that are difficult to separate. On the one hand, gambling is often strictly regulated or even prohibited by law because it is considered to violate religious, moral, and moral norms and has the potential to have serious negative social impacts. However, on the other hand, there are government policies that occasionally legalize or regulate gambling in some form as a source of state or regional revenue. This condition causes a tension between the acceptance of the legality of gambling as an economic instrument and the moral rejection of a society that sees gambling as a behavior that undermines the social order and ethical values. Obviously the policy to legalize gambling invited a variety of public reactions (Prasertsiwaporn & Chomtohsuwan, 2023; Amelia et al., 2024).

The debate between the legality and morality of gambling became increasingly complex when the New Order government adopted legalization policies in an effort to increase regional revenues and support socioeconomic development. The government legalized forms of gambling such as TSSB which changed its name to SDSB and Porkas, as well as the Semarang City government with its Niac gambling. However, this legalization is not necessarily accepted by all walks of life, especially religious groups and social organizations that consider gambling to be a morally destructive practice. As done by the Semarang Islamic Youth Force (AMI), a dialogue with the Mayor of Semarang regarding the Niac gambling protest which is considered to erode the morale of the younger generation. The demonstration was carried out by the participants of the Indonesian Islamic Student Conference in the Semarang City area, which supported the development of the city without funds from the Niac gambling tax (Suara Merdeka, 1970g; Suara Merdeka, 1970h).

In the scope of legal gambling on a national scale, waves of protests continue to arrive demanding a firm stance from the government. The Chairman of Commission VIII of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, Iskandar Jayusman, could not accept the government's plan submitted by the Minister of Social Affairs, Mrs. Nani Soedardono, so that Porkas would remain a source of funds for sports development in Indonesia. Not without reason, even less than one year after its inauguration, Porkas has had a negative impact on the Indonesian people. The Indonesian Ulema Council sent a letter addressed to the government so that the implementation of the Porkas lottery be re-evaluated. Student representatives of the University of Indonesia expressed their aspirations for the troubling impact of porkas. Due to the large wave of protests, Porkas was renamed the Prize Sports Donation Coupon (KSOB) at the end of 1987 which was considered more realistic. Before the wave of protests emerged, President Suharto had predicted that it would happen, so the Statistical Testing Agency was formed to review the policies on Porkas and TSSB. The United Development Faction (FPP) and the Indonesian Democratic Party (FPDI) faction have consistently asked the government to stop SDSB (Dawn Daily, 1986; Dawn Daily, 1986; Lumaksono & Andayani, 2014; Tempo, 1987; Alert, 1987b; Neraca Ekonomi, 1993).

Regarding the problem of legal gambling organized by the central government, the voice of protest was also heard loudly from the people of Semarang City. The Semarang City Government has not been able to do much to respond to the proposals that have been raised, because the legal gambling policy is related to the central government's decision. One of the lecturers of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences Undip, proposed that SDSB should no longer be circulated in Central Java, because he saw the rampant misappropriation as an akibaat of gambling under the guise of donations. The Chairman of Nahdhatul Ulama, Buchori stated, it is better that the SDSB lottery is not allowed or if necessary, the lottery permit is reviewed as conveyed by the Minister of Youth and Sports that the purchase of SDSB coupons depends on the community, and if problems are found, then the local government must take a stance. The United Development Faction (FPP) of the Semarang City DPRD sent a letter to the Mayor of Semarang about its willingness to allow the circulation of SDSB and Porkas, because it is considered to stimulate the community to take (Suara Merdeka, 1989e) advantage of it rather than stimulate the community to be "generous" (Suara Merdeka, 1989f).

The fever of the anti-SDSB demonstrations, finally, infected the students in Semarang, after the students in a number of other cities came first. The action was launched by the Undip Higher

Education Student Senate (SMPT) some time ago by facing the people's representatives in the Central Java DPRD. The demonstrators came from Diponegoro University, IAIN Walisanga, Unissula and Sugiyopranoto University. They were members of the Semarang Student Forum (FMS) who took action by taking to the streets and flocking to the Central Java Governor's Office. In its circular, FMS regrets the government's seemingly ignoring actions demanding the abolition of SDSB. In fact, the government still insists on legalizing the 'poison' of SDSB. Then FMS held an action subtitled "SDSB Death Process", then paraded through Jalan Atmodirono, Jalan Ahmad Yani, Simpanglima then stopped at the 'cremation place' in the courtyard of the Central Java Governor's Office. The action was accompanied by a poem read by one of the students, which read: "(Bernas, 1991a; Bernas, 1991b) SDSB is a form of mental fragility of the Indonesian nation, SDSB is a form of abandonment of Indonesian people, SDSB is a form of drowning of Indonesian people into the abyss of poverty" (Bernas, 1991b). As a response to the demonstrations in Semarang City and its surroundings, Governor H. Ismail considered the prohibition of the circulation of SDSB coupons in Central Java which was supported by the people's representatives at the plenary session of the 1st DPRD (Vision, 1991).

On a national scale, SDSB is still running without any obstacles, even though demonstrations are being held in various regions. The government seems to be apathetic to what is happening. The response given is felt to have not satisfied the demands of the counterparts. Minister of Youth and Sports Akbar Tanjung when met by reporters during a visit to the Sultan Agung Islamic University (Unisula) Semarang emphasized that if you don't want to donate, it's better not to buy SDSB coupons. The attitude of the Minister of Youth and Sports is considered inappropriate to answer the public's anxiety as a result of SDSB. Then a similar attitude was also shown by the Minister of Social Affairs Mrs. Inten Soewarno who commented on the protest carried out by hundreds of students at the Ministry of Social Affairs to demand the abolition of SDSB, Mrs. Inten stated that the aspirations of students should be channeled to the House of Representatives, in this case the DPR/ DPRD of their respective regions. Both responses representing the New Order government seem ambiguous and tend to be irresponsible for what is happening (Suara Merdeka, 1989b); harian Neraca, 1990.

The incessant action that could no longer be stopped made the New Order government desperate. Negotiations with the protesters have been underway, but there has been little change in the demand for the abolition of the SDSB. Finally, in a working meeting of Commission VIII of the House of Representatives with the Minister of Social Affairs, after listening to suggestions and inputs and conducting a thorough evaluation, the Minister of Social Affairs Mrs. Inten Kusuma decided to revoke and cancel the Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia Number: BBS 30-9/1993 on November 9, 1993 which granted permission for the implementation of SDSB until 1994 and also revoked the Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia No. BBS 24-10/1992 dated September 16, 1992 concerning the granting of permits for the implementation of SDSB that should have been ended on December 31, 1993 to November 24, 1993. Thus is the end of the journey of gambling policy in Indonesia, including the city of Semarang. But until this second, the practice of gambling is still a social problem that is difficult to overcome (Harian Ekonomi Neraca, 1993).

CONCLUSION

Since the issuance of policies that regulate gambling as state revenue, from the previous regime to the new order regime, it shows how ambiguous the government is in setting policies. The concept of legal pluralism initiated by Merry has been applied in Indonesian law. The legal basis for gambling in Indonesia is in reality to support the policies of the new order government. However, the Indonesian people also have the right to negotiate and choose other laws such as religious, moral, and moral laws as a guideline to reject government policies that are considered less important to ethical values, including the legalization of gambling. Policies that do not consider moral values can potentially have a negative impact on society and violate the principles of justice and human rights. However, challenges arise when policies have to choose between practical interests and moral values, so that in some cases moral values may be set aside for the sake of

effectiveness or short-term political interests. The implementation of legal gambling policies by the New Order government, considered very pragmatic such as social fundraising and infrastructure development, actually indirectly provides a reflection for the community to legalize all means to get something.

Based on the results of research on the legalization of gambling in Semarang City in 1970-1993, it can be concluded that the gambling legalization policy taken by the New Order government was a form of state compromise on moral and social norms that apply in society for economic interests, development fundraising, and political stability. The findings of the study show that the state consciously uses legal instruments to legalize the practice of gambling through prize draw mechanisms such as Nalo, Porkas, and SDSB, which were initially accepted by some people as a solution to economic limitations and social opportunities. However, this policy also creates a paradox, where on the one hand the state plays the role of regulator and controller, while on the other hand society still holds fast to moral and religious values that reject gambling. The social impacts that arise include the increasing instant expectations of the lower class to get out of poverty, the emergence of gambling addiction, and the growth of illegal gambling networks that are difficult to control. The public response was mixed, ranging from pragmatic acceptance to strong rejection encouraged by religious and civic groups, which eventually forced the government to end the legalization of gambling in 1993. This study recommends that the government pay more attention to the balance between economic needs and the enforcement of moral values in every public policy, as well as the importance of involving community participation in the policy formulation process in order to create strong social legitimacy. For the next research agenda, it is recommended to further research the dynamics of public resistance to controversial state policies, as well as the long-term impact of gambling legalization on the social and economic structure of urban communities in Indonesia.

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