Maduranese Meaning About Carok
Case Study in Sampang Regency, Madura Island

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ABSTRACT

Carok is an act of fighting as an expression of Madura's men to defend self-esteem when they feel harassed by others men and as symbol of virility even end by dying one or both the fighter. This action is closely related to the cultural values that are used as guidelines for the Madura People behavior then carok can not be equated with cases of criminal murder in general also it can be done with deliberation between both side. These activities can not be justified in religious or legal views but the people there still much choose the carok as a way to resolve the conflict. The purpose of this study is to know the history of carok, how people interpret the tradition of carok in resolving conflicts in society and how people suggestion to minimize Carok Case. The method used in this research is qualitative descriptive describing data in the form of written or oral words of people and behavior observed in a field. The findings of this study, the origin or history of carok become various, but the history of the most trusted people is the characterization of Sakera as a hero who uses carok to defend of the small people. Currently, Carok is interpreted as a mechanism of conflict resolution to uphold individual or family self esteem, instead the closer family from dying fighter such as son, father and brother could fight back the murderer. It is because Maduranese believe that their self-esteem is more valuable than life. The literary reference to the carok is very limited, the writings of ancient times vary in depicting the history of carok itself. The informants said that Carok does not happen as often as the past because almost every young generations today have education at school better. But the efforts that be done or minimize the Carok is still important by deliberation between family or community by helping of religious and traditional leaders, the justice of the law, Then the next solution to consider is to maximize access to education and the economy, because most people who have low economies and education use carok as an alternative conflict solution

Keywords: Carok, Maduranese, Culture, defense of Self-Esteem

I. INTRODUCTION

Society and custom are two things that can not be separated each other. Interestingly, each community group has different customs so that it becomes the hallmark of the group. In Indonesia for example, The Madura tribe that has a distinctive characteristic with dialect, appearance, work, clothes and so on. The Madurese community in Indonesia is known as a society that has strong character, unique, stereotypical, stigmatic and distinctive culture. Those typically refer to Madurese entity has a speciality cultural unlike the ethnography of other communities in Indonesia, Alwi [2]. The Madurese cultural differences or uniqueness often is led other ethnic groups Madurese seeing this as absurd behavior. For example, Madurese are known as cranky, then choose the alternative solution to their irritation through physical violence, usually a Carok, Taufiqurrahman [6].

Carok is an action or assassination attempt using a sharp weapon, generally sickle among two men who one of them considered to harass self-esteem. The motive or background of the Carok event is mostly due to problems of disruption wife or fiancee, misunderstanding, seizure of land or inheritance, bad debts and other unknown reasons. Carok in the phrase Madura likened to "Lebbi Bagus Pote Tollang atembang Pote Mata" which means (Better to die, than life to bear the shame), Wiyata [7]. Carok is at the crossroads of tradition in society and Carok as a form of violent crime that is very disturbing to society as well as actions that are not justified by the State and religion as classified to the act of vigilante (eigenrichting).

The tradition of Carok by people outside Madurese is understood as a peculiarity of customs and also legal violations that are legalized by society. So that Madurese people in some areas imagined as a impolite, rude, violent, and cranky. However, not infrequently all people label that, that images will be gone after they make real communication with Madurese. The
background make author interested to study Carok in Madurese perspective by focusing on the study of how the history of Carok, and how Madurese people interpret the Carok currently because of the difference Carok meaning today from the past and how people suggestion to minimize Carok Case. So this study is expected to give a complete picture of the Carok that is understood by Madura community so that all people and reader can open their minds if Madurase have a good attitude and characteristic.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The most powerful and prominent labeling of Madurese ethnic group is physical violence that leads to fight armed with sickle popularly known as Carok. Carok tradition in Madurese community is a manifestation of the desire to defend self-esteem and family honor. The use of carok tradition is expected to rehabilitate the impact of self-esteem harassment, otherwise the family honor in the community’s view has no value, Asis [3].

All of Carok’s cases are initiated by specific conflict such as occurrence of disturbance a wife by other man, fraud accusations, seizure of inheritance, vengeance), all of them are referring to the same thing, that is harassment of self-esteem (dignity). To recover their harassed self-esteem, they do Carok, which is always supported by social environment. The man who success lose their enemies show a feeling of relief, satisfaction and pride, Wiyata [7]. Wiyata continues, the occurrence of Carok is closely related to a lot of conditions, such as, first, the socio-cultural conditions that bring a hoodlum into social status at the upper level in the social structure of Madurese community. Second, the condition of some judicial officers’ behavior who do not consistently apply and enact laws in accordance with legislation, so that the legal judgments taken are very unsatisfying the sense of justice for local communities. Third, until now, socio-cultural conditions in Madura have not known any institution that serves and acts as a deterrent or antidote to the occurrence of Carok, Wiyata [7]. Ignoring the facts, Madurese seem to have two opposing personalities. They do not hesitate to easily shed blood if their esteem and honor are disturbed. The stubborn is reflected in Carok. On the contrary, they have the tenderness of the yarn-like nature which is reflected in Madurese attitude of life which assumes that all people are brothers, Abdurrahman [1].

The study of carok has been done by Hidayat with the title of "Philosophy of Carok Study on The Nature of Appreciation and Disharmony in Carok Tradition". This research is a literature research. Research shows, the nature of carok tradition in terms of ontology, the cause of Carok is based on self-esteem and socio-cultural factors. Epistemologically, Carok is an instrument to maintain self-esteem must be done in order for an individual to be respected and acknowledged as a worthy party. Axiologically, self-esteem has a spiritual and socio-cultural value containing an ethical value by Hidayat [4].

III. METHODOLOGY

This researcher uses qualitative methodology, collecting data from informants on descriptive data in the form of written or oral words of people and behavior that can be observed thoroughly about the form, function and meaning of expression by Robert and Taylor [5]. This research chose two villages in asub-district in Sampang. Those are Pekalongan Village, Sampang Distric and Temoran Village, Omber District, Sampang regency by consideration of the perspective diversity of people who live in the main city of Sampang and peoplein suburb. Types of data obtained from this study are primary data obtained through observation and interviews to the people of Sampang and secondary data from mass media and other supporting literature such as books or scientific journals.

Determination of informant used in this research is purposive and developed with snow ball. The selected Key informants were local village apparatus: Mr. Nurcholis as staff of Pekalongan Village Office and Mrs. Wayas who was appointed directly by Temoran village head because at the time of data collection the village head was out of town. Then deeper information is searched to other informants in the village of Pekalongan, they are Umi Siti, Mr. Jamaludin, Ustad Zaini, Mrs. Lilik, Nur Cholis and informants from Temoran Village, Wayas, AR, Umar Neto, Sukron, Ma’mun, Ustad Rozaq. The secondary data is obtained from previous books and researches.

HISTORY OF CAROK

Based on the description of De Jonge the emergence of acts of violence in the life of Madurese are caused by two important things. The first was the government at that time did not pay attention to the Madurese and the second is as a consequence of the first cause, the community became distrustful to the
government, thus any problems or conflicts were resolved in their own way in violence regardless of the rules. The solution intended is Carok. In 1700s VOC began to control Madura. At that time there were three kingdoms politically given the right and authority by VOC to take care of its own government. Thus the king of Madura freely determined forced labor, withdrawing income tax or money tax. The longer the community felt very miserable and the condition of land that barely could support the community. The belief in the law was gone. Criminal acts were everywhere and people sought solutions in various ways of self-help. Citing a report of a government official, Brest Ban Kempen who became an assistant resident in Bangkalan in 1847-1851, said the court was not working and the bodies of the victims were dumped in the town square and virtually no judicial proceedings. Even if there was a judicial process, suspects and witnesses were held in prison for months without trial. In the 19th century the colonial government forbade to bring a sharp weapon because at that time a sharp weapon as if to hoard Madura strait. But the result of this policy is nil, because the root of the problem was the feudalistic government elite. According to De Jonge in Wiyata [7] the situation in Madura began to change direct government system was applied.

Refer to the search of articles written by Madurese in electronic media, carok history emerged among the Madurese since the era of Dutch colonialism in 18th century. Carok is a knight symbol in the fight for self-esteem (honor). Clurit began to appear in the age of Sakera legend. Clurit was used by Sakera as a symbol of resistance of commoners against Dutch colonizers. Instead for Dutch, Clurit was symbolized as a weapon of criminals. Those Dutch efforts were apparently managed to penetrate some Madurese and become the philosophy of their life. When there are problems, infidelity, seizure of land, and so on, Carok is always the solution for upholding self-esteem. Similarly, when doing crime, also using clurit. Such conditions eventually, drive people outside Madura to label Madurese like to perform Carok and and being rough. Meanwhile not all of Madurese live that way. Madurese have a subtle attitude, know good manners, do not like to quarrel. Carok behavior is the descendant of the ancient people who aimed against Dutch colonizers. After so many years of Dutch colonists left the island of Madura, Carok culture and using clurit to finish off his opponent still exist, whether in Bangkalan, Sampang, and Pamekasan. They think that culture is the creation of his ancestors, not aware that it is the results of the Dutch colonial falsity.

Characterizing Sakera with a soul of a knight eradicate Dutch colonialism was also expressed by Mr. Rozak. It came from an old Dutch story, Sakera who was born in Sampang, Madura. Sakera eradicated Dutch without fear with his organization (Interviewed with religious figure; Mr. Rozak). Another story that develops about the Sakera figure is that Sakera was a brave knight against the bourgeoisie. He took the wealth of rich people to be distributed to poor people in Sampang. The weapon that used is clurit. However, as time goes by, Carok is misunderstood, Carok becomes a symbol of courage to defend one's personal self-esteem1. Based on the different early history of Carok it can be concluded that the key problem comes from weak law enforcement by the authorities and also the government system that is not on its people’s side. Consequently people prefer to create legal tools that they consider to provide a deterrent to the perpetrators of crime effectively.

UNDERSTANDING OF CAROK BY MADURESE

Carok is an institutionalization of violence that historically has been practiced by several Madurese since several centuries ago. In addition, Carok also starts from the weakness of state authority since before and after independence to control the source of violence and the inability to provide justice to the community. This results, Carok performers are less able to express the language, thus putting forward the aggressive physical behavior in eliminating the lives of people who are considered harassing self-esteem by Wiyata [7].

According to field research, Mr. Jami clarifies Carok is as an instrument to vent the resentment through assassination attempts. This fight is only meant for the act of fighting between men only, because the action of fight between men and women is considered not gentleman. This fight is a form of social control so people can control their behavior, especially in respecting the rights of others, because people still do not fully believe in the existing legal institutions. Because Carok have existed before legal institutions legalized by the government. Carok is generally done by a man when he knows his wife is harassed by another man, because the wife must be kept well by the husband2. The people themselves, even those who are aware of the legal system, do not have the courage to interfere in violation of the law between the two parties in conflict. This is because the unwritten rules that are

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1 Interviewed with Woman Figure; Mrs. Wayas
2 Interviewed with Public Figure, Mr. Jami
already believed and agreed by Madurese, that between two parties in conflict, the other party cannot interfere. The unwritten rules is still exist due to some people perspective about law taking sides to person who has good financial ability then they can buy and set the case lighter. So when a conflict occurs, the solution that is considered the fairest is to apply vigilante (Interview with hoodlum; AR).

On the other hand, regarding to Carok as a symbol of men’s courage, nowadays the meaning of Carok as a courageous act is rarely encountered. Carok is often engineered by the perpetrators. Carok has now been organized in such a way that the perpetrator has prepared how the legal method will be met. In the same way, a murder could use the role of assassin or the murderer does not have to be jailed. Along with the level of public participation in education in Sampang Regency added by development infrastructures in Madura Island, urban communities have started to leave carok as an attempt to resolve the conflict. Contrarily, some marginalized society in suburbs still legalize carok. Even, to protect themselves from attack unexpectedly, they always save a sickle behind their backs so they can fightback.

All findings conclude carok as a mechanism for resolving conflicts especially when a Madurese man feel his pride disturbed by the other man. The doers choos carok because of the system of law cannot give them the consistent justice to poor people. Even, the aware people in law do not have a big bravery to make the fighter burying the hatchet. Majority cases happen in suburbs area with low quality of education.

Efforts to Minimize Carok

In accordance with the applicable law in Indonesia, as stipulated in Legal Criminal Code, Carok is categorized as murder (article 338 and 340) or persecution (article 351, 353, 354, 355) so that the perpetrator must be jailed for years or even sentenced death. However, the public assumption, the law does not go like that. Carok perpetrators serve only a minor punishment and their role as perpetrators can be replaced by other parties. The impact of this affect the people's skepticism in the legal institutions of the police and judicial institutions. Society understands the legal constraints on lower-class economic society. On the other hand, because Carok has become a habit, people already understand the rules of the game and choose not to intervene when Carok takes place. One way to reduce the case Carok by involving tradition leaders, religious leaders and even informal characterizations such as hoodlum (tojing or bajing in Madurese Language). For example, one of the religious leaders who are considered to be able to reconcile the two sides of the family is Religious leader who comes from the district Omben, Sampang regency. He brought both sides who promised to make peace. The public believes that if the promise is violated then he will get injured. The role of the two families is also one of the options to resolve Carok that runs through generations, meetings between two ancestors or people who are considered elder to end the dispute between the two families. So that there is no longer vengeance between both families.

Other mechanism to minimize Carok is through education and religion. Carok occurs due to the lack of education and knowledge of whole Islamic religion, especially in the suburbs. In his book, Wiyata clarifies the lack of education as a factor that causes Madurese to be provoked by the conflicts of every socio-economic problem affecting the region. Moreover, the social issues are offensive and involving self-esteem. This statement was supported by Mrs. Wayas and Mr. Umar Neto. Madurese are poorly educated, it was rarely found Madurese who were able to finish junior high school, high school, consequently their thoughts are old-fashioned and easily stuffed by something that is not good because their parents are not educated. In contrary if parents are already educated, parents will lead the children not to choose a Carok as a decision to end the self-esteem conflicts. The following is data of school participation rate in Madura Island and East Java. The data shows, the education level of Junior school and Senior High school of Madureseis still below the average of APS East Java province except the Senior high school level from Pamekasan Regency.

Table 1. School Participation Number in East Java and Madura Island in 2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Level</th>
<th>East Java</th>
<th>Madura Island</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>APS</td>
<td>87.2%</td>
<td>83.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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3 Interview with Woman Figure, Mrs. Wayas
4 Interview with Staff Administrative In Pakalongan Village; Mr. Nurcolis
5 Interviewed with a Collegian, Ma’Mun
6 Interviewed with Religious Figure; Ahmad Zaini
7 Interview with Woman Figure, Mrs. Wayas
8 Interview with Staff Administrative in Pakalongan Village; Mr. Nurcolis
9 Interview with Woman Figure; Mrs. Lilik
10 Interview with religious Figure, Ahmad Zaini
11 Wiyata, Op Cit
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Primary school</th>
<th>Junior school</th>
<th>Senior school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>East Java Province</td>
<td>99,06</td>
<td>92,87</td>
<td>62,11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bangkalan</td>
<td>98,01</td>
<td>82,46</td>
<td>48,83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sampang</td>
<td>98,34</td>
<td>88,42</td>
<td>43,09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pamekasan</td>
<td>99,72</td>
<td>92,72</td>
<td>59,19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sumenep</td>
<td>98,50</td>
<td>90,95</td>
<td>65,75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics of East Java Province

Embedding a good education system towards the young generation is very important because education will make young people think about the consequences in taking an action, so Carok actions can be minimized. According to one of the community leaders we interviewed, the need for additional educational facilities or infrastructure and religious knowledge will be able to develop the human resources capacity of Madurese so as to suppress potential of Carok or other potential crime. Besides, the importance of the village youth to maintain order, for example, one of the youth leaders in Sampangsub-district mentioned the importance of conducting youth activities and discussion among youth so as to create harmony among youth in their area. It is also transferred to the younger generations in the village through discussion forums and they are as much as possible not to mention the word Carok in their discussion.

In the contrary, one of hooldum who is poorly educated has a different opinion. He believed no matter how high educated Madurese could be, they would do carok. In fact he does not hesitate to tell his son to do Carok if the child's self-esteem is disturbed. The statement of several informants above shows the public's critical attitude about the importance of facilities and infrastructure of good human resource development (HR) in society by the government. The initiatives to stop Carok are also done by parents by providing education and provision of good religion to their children and the existence of an active youth organization to minimize the spread of the tradition of conflict resolution through Carok by not socializing or disseminating all matters related to Carok.

This study supports the study compiled by Hidayat, that Carok is an instrument to maintain self-esteem to be appreciated and acknowledged by others.

Although in Sampang region there are already legal and religious institutions, but most people, especially in the suburbs, they continue to understand Carok as a solute conflict resolution. In contrast to the prismatic worldviews in Sampang region who are more open to new things, they tend to criticize Carok as an attempt to defend self-esteem.

IV. CONCLUSION

Madura tribe, one of the biggest tribe in Indonesia, has a distinctive characteristic with dialect, appearance, work, clothing and so forth. Just same as other ethnic groups with distinctive cultures and customs, Madurese also has a mechanism for resolving conflicts of self-esteem abuse between men and fights known as Carok. Carok is an institutionalization of violence that has historically been practiced by some Madurese people since several centuries ago. The history of carok is defined by society in various ways. The red line from various sources of problems arises from the weakness of law enforcement by the governmental system that puts the people in poor sphere. So the public would prefer to create a resolving conflict by their own that they deem effective to provide a deterrent to the person that started the conflict. Sampang people agree if carok largely often starts from the interference of women who already have husbands by other men, then the husband feels harassed his self-esteem so to cure the heartache the husband must do duel with "Carok", the next cause is slander case, seizure inheritance, accounts payable and revenge for the dying family member. Carok still occurs because some people still consider the weakness of law enforcement also the lack of public access to education in schools. So it is important for the government to reduce the number of carok cases by providing good education in schools and religious education. As well as the importance of cooperation between government, law enforcement with community leaders and religious leaders.

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