

THE LOCAL POLITIC, KYAI, AND THE FIGHT OF ORENG KENEK¹ IN SAMPANG 1992-1997

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ABSTRACT

There are two questions underlying this study. That is, why did the fight against the government by oreng kenek take place?, and what was the pattern of their fight like from year to year? In this study the fight done by the oreng kenek against the government became their tradition from the Dutch government occupation up to the era of Indonesian government. In the era of Orde Baru the relation of oreng kenek and the government was not in harmony due to the hard competition of PPP and Golkar, then it spread out to any aspects of life. PPP as Islamic party was guided by kyais, where as Golkar was the representation of the government. This competition was not only in the context of political rivalry but also perceived by oreng kenek as the conflict between Islam and the enemy of Islam, PPP the Islam against Golkar the kafir to be kicked away due to the perception that it would threaten the existence of Islam. Such exclusive attitude and glorification were established surely due to the presence of a kyai (Alawy Muhammad) who keep planting and reproducing people's hate towards the government with several Islamic symbols and discourses. The fight of oreng kenek constantly has the same pattern, that is, by the religious spirit (jihad) under the guidance of charismatic leaders such as Kyai Alawy Muhammad, therefore the study used the theory of Marx Weber regarding the values affecting and underlying the movement, and by the charisma of the leader. The fight reached its peak on 29 Mei 1997 with many victims. Cheating was systematically committed by Golkar in every general election, and the absence of the government in people's poor life made kyais and oreng kenek disappointed so that contempt and hate are considered 'legitimate'. The hate was manifested in various forms of rebellion ranging from a kind of sabotage and civil disorder up to strikes and riots.

Keyword: Oreng kenek, kyai, PPP, Golkar, Islam

INTRODUCTION

The history of the people and the political development in Indonesia was never free from conflict.² The conflicts did not rise from empty space, in fact many problems were not solved due to the attitude to hold and claim that one's view was the only true. Political conflicts were heavily colored by group's interest, opposing views, as well as differences of political ideologies that frequently became the trigger of the conflicts. Basically the conflict among nationalists had been going long before the independence. The sharp difference of opinions in the internal party, between Sartono and Hatta-Syahrir, occurred in the early 1930s.

The fusion of political parties in 1973 by Suharto indicated a clear stance for the religious Sampang society. The existence of the three parties: Golkar, PDI, and PPP brought a positive

¹Oreng kenek is an important and unique entity in Sampang community. They are the majority as farmers. Literally oreng kenek are low class people or *wong cilik*, but in the social, cultural, political, and religious context they have different characteristics and characters compared to low-class people in general.

²Syamsuddin Haris, *PPP dan Politik Orde Baru*, Jakarta: Grasindo, 1991, p. 92.

effect for PPP in Sampang due to their Islamic power centralized in the PPP. It could not be denied that the PPP was the only strong party in Sampang not easily defeated by the party's competitors. Sampang community (*oreng kenek*)'s strong tendency to back up PPP was inevitably due to the Islamic ideology utilized as symbols and political discourse by PPP with the charismatic figures, namely Ulama (Kyai Alawy Muhammad).

Since the 1982 election in Sampang as its base, PPP gained its absolute victory winning twenty-three seats compared with the government party that got only nine seats. In the 1987 election, Golkar took frontal action through bureaucracy operation that managed to boost the votes and gained up to 16 representatives in the parliament while the position of PPP was reduced to 20 seats. Even in Madura did Golkar gain a victory except in Sampang.³

In 1984 through its seventh congress in Situbondo NU was determined to go back to its khittah 1926, and then on 1-5 December 1994 through its congress namely Mukatamar Cipasung. NU reaffirmed that Mukatamar Cipasung would not intend to request the khittah 1926, and upon its abandon from the political orientation, NU re-organize it self seriously. That means that the demand raised by the "trio Kyai", namely Kyai Alawy Muhammad, Yusuf Kyai Hasyim, and Kyai Syansuri Badawi, that Mukatamar Cipasung review the khittah, was not accommodated by Mukatamar.⁴

The struggle of Kyai Alawy Muhammad to review the khittah 1926 apparently due to his anxiety about the loss of PPP in Sampang in 1992, of which the indication resulted from the return of NU to its khittah, that is, its withdrawal from the arena of practical politics and its re-concentration on socio-religious activities. Moreover, the depoliticization done by Soeharto during his ruling gave birth to the so-called floating mass, and the grassroots were only involved as voters during the elections but not provided with a room for their expression outside the elections. In this system political parties like PPP and PDI-P were not allowed to have it structural arrangement lower than that of the sub-district level.

PPP then gained votes of 38.90%, PDI 01.15%, and Golkar 59.95%, and these results, of course, were beyond prediction. It is not exaggerating if DPC and the Ulama in Sampang did not believe the results. PPP's loss in the 1992 election in Sampang, when objectively viewed, was not mainly due to NU's return to its khittah, since the people of Sampang it would not have been affected at all if the *Ulama* had remained as the motor or the speaker in campaigning for PPP. Such formal loss resulted from the every possible effort made by Golkar to gain its victory. From that defeat it had become a turning point in the history of the resistance of *oreng kenek* in Sampang up to the election in 1997 which resulted in many victims.

THEORETICAL BASIS

Social movement is usually defined as a set of beliefs and actions that are non-institutionalized and committed by a group of people or to promote or hinder change in a society.⁵ While this definition is still controversy among sociologists, but can be used as a starting point in the analysis. According to Tarrow, social movement is a collective challenge

³ Dwi Ratna, et al., *Kerusuhan Waduk Sosial di Madura Kasus Waduk Nipah dan Ladang Garam*, Jakarta: Kemendikbud, 2005, p. 44-45.

⁴ Eep Syaifulloh Fatah, *Catatan Atas Gagalnya Politik Orde Baru*, Yogyakarta, Pustaka Pelajar, 1998, p. 11.

⁵ Robert Mersel, *Teori Pergerakan Sosial Kilasan Sejarah dan Catatan Bibliografis*, Yogyakarta: Resist Book, 2004, p. 6.

posed by a number of people who have the same purpose and solidarity, in the context of ongoing interaction with elites, opponents, and rulers.⁶

Tarrow elaborates the definition by emphasizing that such movements prepare disruptive action against the elite, ruling, other groups, and certain cultural norms. Conducted on behalf of the same demand against the opponent and the ruling elite, it is rooted from a sense of solidarity or collective identity, and such collective action is persistently done into a social movement. Thus, such social movement followed by a number of individuals who have a common goal and collective identity, jointly engaged in collective action to create disruptive situation is the movement as practiced by *oreng kenek* in Sampang against the ruling elite.

For Madura community and Moslems in Indonesia Islam is a religion whose teachings have final and absolute values. Even though the action or movement based on the religious impulse is sometimes irrational and unobjective, according to Weber, compared with instrumental rationality, the nature of important value-oriented rationality that tools are only an object of consideration and conscious calculation, the objectives already exist in relation to the values of the individual or group, absolute ones in nature or as the final value to him or them.⁷

Weber stated, religious action may be a basic form of value-oriented rationality. The presence of Islam for Sampang community is the very entity that must be protected and the very value that must be preserved as the manifestation of God's revelation that will bring peace in the heart and therefore other values such as modernization are not important for them even be thought of as a threat to them. Those who are thought of as a threat to the existence of Islam in the area then have to deal with them even by holy war (jihad).

Kyai figure has central position in a day-to-day life. Religiously, socially, and politically remain a role model for them. *Oreng kenek's* resistance could not be separated from the charismatic figure of Kyai Alawy Muhammad as an alternative leader. Even a number of myths related to him and transcendental in nature were rooted in a society. Whether it is true or not that a *kyai* has magic power, but public confidence is an undeniable reality. So, to explain this phenomenon, it is necessary to apply Weber's theory of charismatic authority.⁸

The concept of charisma by Weber is taken from the concept of the historians of the Church and used for political studies. Weber defines charisma as a certain quality attached to a person's personality that makes him considered extraordinary and treated by people as someone blessed with supernatural power (*ghaib*), a superhuman, or at least the one with power or special quality.⁹ In the political problems in the form of domination and resistance, aspects of culture, ethos, mentality or ideology must be taken into account.¹⁰ Patron-client system depends on the value system based on a certain ethic that includes respect. The excessive respect toward a figure of *kyai* considered sacred makes his hegemony grow in the community (*oreng kenek*).

Supernatural quality is an exclusive quality solely owned by a *kyai* in the context of Sampang community, attracting followers (*oreng kenek*) loyal to the charismatic leader in terms of personality and committed to the normative or moral regularity that he describes and relates closely to the absolute values he preaches, such as the teachings of Islam. So, a *kyai* is not

⁶ Bert Klandermans, *Protes Dalam Kajian Psikologi Sosial*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2005, p. xiii.

⁷ Doyle Paul Johnson, *Teori Sosiologi Klasik dan Modern*, Jakarta: Gramedia, 1986, p. 221.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 229-230.

⁹ Peter Burke, *Sejarah dan Teori Sosial*, Jakarta: Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2011, p. 133.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

only a religious leader but also, for political affairs and even all the affairs of life, *oreng kenek* always consult the *kyai*.¹¹

METHODS OF WRITING

The methods used in this study include four stages: heuristic, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. Besides, it was descriptive and analytical in nature presenting data and informing facts available in concept of causality and conditional factors that tend to expose historical events in a narrative by describing them chronologically in relation to place and time.¹²

The data collection in this study used a variety of sources. Firstly, the data were collected through interviews with the actors or witnesses were conducted because the agents of history such as the victims tortured by the government apparatus, field coordinators, and *kyais* were still alive and the photographs of the burned and damaged buildings were available. Secondly, the data were collected from the formal documents: the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), the Regional Archive of East Java, Archive of Socio-Political Department of East Java, Sampang Archives, National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia, reports of the General Election Commission (KPU) 1971-1997 of East Java, and Sampang Election Commission in order that the information used was really valid, credible, and comprehensive. Thirdly, Sources from supporting materials such as books and writings such as articles, although limited, was also important to use as a comparison to complete information, and not less important were the newspapers and magazines. Almost all newspapers of both national and local levels recorded the tragedy in Sampang.

Then criticism toward all the sources obtained was made and prevalent in the history of external criticism and internal criticism. In its implementation, the external criticism put its focus more on originality used to create documents, whereas the internal criticisms put focus more on the truth of the sources or documents.¹³ External criticism aimed at answering three main questions associated with materials from historical sources or documents collected. Internal criticism also related to author's ability, mastery of supporting science, confidence, belief, prejudice, or status. Following criticism of the last stage is the historiography using the method of historical explanation as stated by Kuntowijoyo.¹⁴

DISCUSSION

The Resistance of *Oreng Kenek* 1992

The election 1992 became an important day to always remember for *oreng kenek*, *kyais*, and the officials of PPP in Sampang. That day is always remembered for the first defeat of PPP against Golkar. PPP defeat spontaneously caused resistance of *oreng kenek*. Previously many of them had come to see the process of voting and calculation of the votes. In addition, they came to support PPP. For *oreng kenek* it was very important to participate in "the party of PPP", to enliven moral support, and always to be prepared if they have to fight against injustice.

¹¹ *Oreng kenek* - in their life affairs in dealing with either their life problems or merely their need for life teachings – always consult *kyais*, and such action is called *acabis*. Such tradition goes on until now. Generally *oreng kenek* ask *kyai* for prayers for day-to-day practice. *Oreng kenek* will feel peaceful when all the matters have been consulted with *kyai* and they will have prayers.

¹² Louis Gostlack, *Mengerti Sejarah*, Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press, 1982, p. 34.

¹³ Aminuddin Kasdi, *Memahami Sejarah*, Surabaya: Unesa University Press, 2005, p. 27-28.

¹⁴ Louis Gotschalk, *op. cit.*, p. 81-83.

Oreng kenek's defeat beyond spontaneously sparked the emotion of those who witnessed the calculation of the votes, eventually led to inevitable clash between supporters so that some of the mass of PPP under the leadership of kyai attacked Golkar by provoking the mass of PPP. This defeat could not be accepted by *oreng kenek*, and even though the conflict as a direct response to the defeat did not result in the destruction, their follow-up fights were often done by sabotage, strikes, destruction to several buildings such as BANK, shops and buildings thought of as the property of the government up to the killing of a veteran.¹⁵ The killing of a veteran was subjected to the fury of the mass who damaged several target buildings.

PPP's defeat against Golkar in 1992 raised an agreement in the internal PPP and also the demands of community for not signing the minutes, yet all felt disappointed and hopeless when Kyai Alawy Muhammad signed it. It was also the starting point of people's confusion towards the attitude of Kyai Alawy Muhammad because he initially strongly opposed and promised not to sign it,¹⁶ but the incidence was not reduced to less trust to him, even after the case of Nipah 1993 his reputation soared up.

Table 1. Percentage of Vote gathering the Results of General Election of 1987-1992 in Sampang Regency

<i>OPP</i>	1987	1992
PPP	57.02 %	38.90 %
Gokar	43.36 %	59.95 %
PDI	0.6 %	01.15 %
Jumlah	100.98 %	100.00 %

Sources: Social Political Office of Regional Government of level II, Sampang Regency.

PPP's defeat in the election 1992 led to the worse relationship between *oreng kenek* and the government, not even a bit in the mind of *oreng kenek* that the government was a leader who would protect them and must be obeyed. Hatred is embedded so deeply that all government activities related to them were always suspected of only hurting them such as the efforts for the Nipah reservoir construction in Banyuates which encountered with the massive resistance of *oreng kenek*.

Tragedy of Nipah Reservoir Construction up to Day-to-Day Resistance

When people were doing Friday prayers, a team from the National Defense Agency (BPN), accompanied by soldiers of Sub-district Military Commando (Koramil) Banyuates, District Military Commando (Kodim) 1828 Sampang, and Sampang Police on September 24, carried out measurements. Such activity spontaneously attracted the public attention so that after Friday praying some people came and tried to stop the measurement so that the measurement was really canceled by BPN because they were not ready to face the public fight. One of the officers before leaving the scene threatened "Watch out, for the tomorrow measurement, do not come out or will be shot!"¹⁷.

¹⁵Letter of District Committee 1328 of Communication Forum of RI Army and Ex-army' Sons and Daughters, Sampang, Compilation of letters regarding Waduk Nipah in Banyuates Sub-district, Sampang Regency dated 9 December 1993, No. 2884, Social and Political Office, East Java.

¹⁶ Interview with Marzuki Nahrawi, 18 September 2014

¹⁷*Ibid.*

The resistance of the local community made BPN ask for a help to the village chief, Asdin and the local village officials to assist in the process of subsequent measurement on Saturday, September 25th. Asdin carried sharp weapons and wore yellow leaves of a coconut tree or weeds hung around his neck. The team was also accompanied by 60 officials of police and army equipped with complete weapons. The leaf or weeds Asdin and his cronies wore were clearly as a mark to distinguish them from others who showed resistance towards so that the authorities would not aim at the wrong target.

Around 13:00 the people from three villages: Nagasareh, Pelanggaran Barat, and Pelanggaran Timur, Banyuates Sub-district, Sampang, around 250-300 people approached several BPN officers who were measuring the land for the construction of the reservoir.¹⁸ Earlier in the morning of the funeral of the deceased in the neighboring communities, the timing is appropriate when many people gathered as all Madurese would come to help the family of the deceased. That was the moment the public and landowners and farmers gathered at the home of one of those driving action named Khudori who briefed them, and not long after that, a flock of people moved by shouting, "Live ... Khudori ... Live ... Khudori ... better a bullet than drowning to death".¹⁹

People moved across a creek, and the soldiers and police moved forward as far as about 10 meters into a large river by shooting into the air three times as a warning. But people continued moving forward by taking a different path to the West through a path in hilly area with an altitude difference of about half a meter to each other path. The people continued moving forward to the West by constantly saying "*Nyo'on odik, Nyo'n odik*" (please spare our life, please spare our life), and the soldiers and police reached the bank of the big river.

After the people were off the creek, they lined up to about 30 meters, and when the distance to the military forces was approximately 125 meters, suddenly the forces fired at the villagers were thought to interfere with the course of the measurement.²⁰ as it happened before, when people had foiled the measurement, the government gave a warning and a signal that the next measurement would be carried out under any circumstances. The forces' gunfire killed four people, and the others saved themselves by running scared leaving the area. Three people died at the scene, while the other was severely injured and taken to hospital. People who died on the spot were Mutirah 51 years old, leaving her husband and three children, Nindin 14 years old, a four grader of the Government Elementary School (SD) the second child of six children, the son of Mr. Musa and Mrs. Marsinten, and Simuki 30 year widower, leaving one child. While Muhammad 30 years old from the village of Lar Lar died five days later in Hospital dr. Soetomo, Thursday, September 30, 1993. There were three other victims, but they survived, namely De'ira 30 years with hands injured and his side waist pierced by a bullet, Sunari 40 years with his hip cut by a bullet, and Surideh 25 years with her foot pierced by a bullet.²¹

After the Nipah tragedy and when the election period was over, the day-to-day techniques of the fight became special characteristics of *oreng kenek* as a community that claimed to maintain the values of Islam threatened by Golkar spread out geographically, often without the discipline and organized leadership. *Oreng kenek* promoted a propaganda or a guerrilla-style campaign to fight that requires little coordination or even no coordination at all.

¹⁸Tempo interaktif, *Nyo'on Odik, Lalu Robohlah Mereka*, 9 Oktober 1993, p., 32

¹⁹*Ibid.*,

²⁰Tempo interaktif, *Nyo'on Odik, Lalu Robohlah Mereka*, 9 Oktober 1993, p., 32-33

²¹ Report chronological incident of Waduk Nipah 1993, No Inventory 151 MUI east-java, p. 6-7.

Throughout the 1994 and 1997 elections *oreng kenek* continued their resistance despite no major opposition mass action, but sabotage, theft, and insubordination continued.²²

In Banmote Kedungdung, *oreng kenek* committed a theft to the State Electricity Company (PLN), coordinated by Salimin. They stole energy or electric power secretly to get free electricity. In the village they were shortage of water, but there were reservoirs that provided water for daily needs in addition to drinking. To get water from the reservoirs using Sanyo pumps in order not to pay to PLN, they stole by connecting cords without kilometer controller (*mbandol*). For them it was not a sin because the government was perceived as the *kafir*. In the village of Cemkerrep a theft of electricity was also committed by Sawatun, he deliberately flowed the electricity illegally (*mbandol*) for the same reason thinking it was not a sin, but a form of resistance to the government that was *dzolim*.

During the *Order Baru's* ruling family planning program was intensified to curb the ever increasing population for the welfare of the Indonesian people. The family planning program received negative response from *oreng kenek* who thought that it was the manifestation of *kafirization* because birth control was forbidden in Islam. They assumed that the government not only disbelieved in Allah's *rezeki*, it had tried to kill baby candidates to be born. Certainly none of *oreng kenek* was willing to carry out the program with a strong belief that not matter how many children we had, their *rezeki* must have been arranged by Allah.²³

The daily resistance kept going in various ways ranging from their disobedience to all policies up to their quiet resistance such as stealing things considered to be associated with the government. Even *oreng kenek* destroyed public telephones in Sampang City, and they were also trying to take all the coins out of it. One thing that becomes their belief was that all they did were not sins, so they did not have any burden and even too a pride in such action.²⁴ Acute hatred of their hearts would burst out at any time there was a trigger like a tragedy in May 1997.

Tragedy Mei 1997

In afternoon, Thursday, May 29, 1997 Sampang was in tense. The crowds of thousands of *oreng kenek* went down the the streets doing a 'procession' by holding sickles, sticks and other sharp weapons. They moved toward each subdistrict, by enchanting *Allahu – Akbar ... Allahu – Akbar....* after making destruction and / or burning in Banyuates, Kedungdung, Tambelangan, Jrengik, then the masses moved towards Sampang City and also vandalized and/or burned the buildings associated with the interest or property of the government, and the government's political representation and elections.

According to the sources of *Media Indonesia* dan *Kompas Amanat Hati Nurani Rakyat*, the number of *oreng kenek* who went down the streets to fight was about 3,000 people, but according to Su'in, a teacher of Qur'an reading and a resident of Kedungdung, the mass was more than 3,000 people, it reached about 5,000 people. Although only four sub-districts were successfully destroyed, these crowds came from almost all Districts in Sampang. Su'in's opinion was more acceptable because he witnessed firsthand and interacted directly with the masses. The resistance was the climax of the disappointment and hatred, and fights of *oreng kenek* in previous years as discussed before.

²² Interview with Moh. Tamri, 10-Oktober-2014

²³ Interview with Asmar, a poor farmer, in the village Banmote, Sampang, 13-June-2015. He assertively stated that the family planning program was against the teachings of Islam.

²⁴ Interview with Moh. Fauzi, a resident of Tambelangan, on 13-June-2014. Fauzi once did so because he did not feel guilty considering the government *dzolim*.

The implementation of the voting, which fell on Thursday, May 29, 1997, took place from 08.00 to 14.00. Initially the voting ran smoothly, by 14:00, the moment of starting the calculation of the votes, the indication for continuing conflict was apparent. *Oreng kenek* started to re-question the distance of the witnesses's seats during the calculation of the votes, and almost all the ballot stations in rural areas were visited by the masses of PPP by showing their attitudes and actions that suppressed the ballot station officials because they considered the election was run with cheating.

In addition, the mass of PPP also re-questioned the form of CA-1 Model. The witness of PPP threatened, if not given the form, to commit a chaos at the ballot station. The witnesses of PPP requested that the ballot boxes put in the open air in order to avoid manipulation of votes. Previously Kyai Alawy Muhammad had made a speech delivered to all communities in Sampang order to oversee the elections, and that the struggle of PPP was *jihad fisabilillah*.

The *Fatwa* of Kyai Alawy Muhammad had tremendous strength to *oreng kenek*. In Tambelangan the ballot boxes that were going to be submitted to PPS/District Office were seized by PPP Task Force on suspicion of false ballot. In Robatal initially the calculation of the votes failed to be carried out because *oreng kenek* always tried to thwart the vote calculation that was considered intransparent and full of manipulation. Beside several previous chaotic situations, the suspicions of *oreng kenek* came true, the fact that Golkar outperformed the voting outcomes which mathematically and logically impossible to occur.

Table 2. Votes gaining of General Election 1997 before revoting

No	OPP	DPR	DPRD I	DPRD II
1	PPP	170,966 (42.94 %)	168,487 (41.65 %)	161,986 (39.64 %)
2	Golkar	235,135 (57.68 %)	234,427 (57.96 %)	245,061 (60.00 %)
3	PDI	1,579 (0.39 %)	1,579 (0.39 %)	1,470 (0.36 %)

Sources: Letter from Governor to Minister of Home Affairs regarding the incident during the voting , no inventory 2191. p. 3

Considering the strength and political map of the voters, Golkar objectively realized the potential of PPP victory. But in the tradition of the *Order Baru* bureaucracy that had always functioned as a winning machine of Golkar in various elections so this time, in the 1997 election, Golkar used any possible formal way to snatch victory in the election. Widjojo and Fauzia (Torch, 1999: 79-81) was able to interview former ballot station officials filled by Civil Servants, the types of fraud committed Golkar were realized in two stages before and during the voting day. Before the voting was carried out fraud had taken place.

There were about 27 buildings that suffered from damages as they were burned and stoned by the mass in Sampang City after they had done the destruction in some districts. They moved into the city to continue their *takbir* and to carry their sharp weapons. Around 21:00, five thousand people arrived in Sampang City, from the West, the mass of Jrengik, Torjun, Tambelangan, from the North, the mass of Banyuates, Ketapang, Robatal, Kedungdung, and from the east, the mass of Omben Camplong.²⁵

The masses from the West and the North without any field-coordinator (Korlap) but they simultaneously enchanted *takbir*, violently did destruction in several buildings in the West,

²⁵Media Indonesia, 31-May-1997, p. 1. Surya, 30-May-1997, p.1. Surya 31-May-1997, p. 1 dan 8. Kompas Amanat Hati Nurani Rakyat, 31-May-1997, p. 1.

such as Local Government Office, Sub-district Office of Sampang where the ballot boxes, results of the voting, Regional Revenue Office, Economic Affairs Office, Statistics Office, Health Office, Office of Regional Secretary, Office of Regional Executive Committee of Golkar, Office of Education and Culture, the house of Musaffak, the campaigner of Golkar, and other buildings.²⁶

The mass from the East destroyed several buildings located in the Eastern part of the City Sampang such as the shop buildings of Toko Laris, Toko Mas, Toko Setia Karya, Kalpataru Monument, public phones near Terminal, the office and house of Village Chief of Dalpenang, Banyuwanyar Community Health Center, Worship House of Christians, decorative lighting stores and ornamental plants along Jalan Panglima Sudirman and KH Wahid Hasyim, as well as other buildings.²⁷

There are two Islamic boarding schools that had an important role in this resistance, that is, Pondok Pesantren At-Taroqqi Karongan with Caregiver Kyai Alawy Muhammad, and Pondok Pesantren Enjelen with Caregiver Kyai Muhamimin. Both *kyais* were the campaigners of PPP but not as popular as Kyai Muhaimin Alawy Muhammad. His name was not widely recognized. The involvement of these two boarding schools included their students because of its location not far from town. At-Taroqqi is about 3 KM to the north of the city, and Enjelen about 4 KM to East of the city.

Basically the involvement of the boarding schools in politics was due to their position mostly perceived as institution like a small kingdom. In such boarding schools were respected and charismatic *kyais*, hundreds even up to thousands of Islamic boarding schools' students assembled. The mosque is the place of collective praying and discussion, and the boarding school is a place to stay. Many circles of people focused their attention, particularly towards the campaign season, to boarding schools as primadona for election contestants to mobilize masses, generally Nahdliyin with more or less 30 million followers.²⁸ Those *kyais* involved in politics like Kyai Alawy Muhammad Muhaimin, once a PPP campaigner, exploited Islamic symbols and formalism, and automatically involved the students. Even during the campaign period, such action was not uncommon to mobilize them to go down to enliven the campaign.

The tragedy of May 29, 1997 left many casualties, according to Muyassir Abdullah, Marzuki Nahrawi, and Ahmad Live as witnesses. The number of the victims was not only 16 people as widely spread in the community. Dozens of casualties due to the gunfire of TNI, but the officers quickly threw the victims into the military truck and they were taken to the West and the East. They did not know exactly where they were dumped because until now this tragedy has always been covered up. Various printed sources never reported the dead victims except for one man who came from Tamansareh Wafir mass led by KH Kholil. The disclosure of Wafir's death because he was found in Sumenep carried away by the current of the river at the bridge near *Toko Laris Panglima Sudirman* because he was overlooked and not taken in the "evacuation" by the state apparatus at that time.

Hail of bullets and bloodshed was the very term used by several witnesses, but that action was performed quickly by the officials when the victims were killed and injured and then transported in the truck. The blood was quickly sprayed from the tank so that after the

²⁶Interview with Muyassir Abdullah, Ustadz Lathif, Mardiyah, Marzuki Nahrawi, and Su'in

²⁷Letter of Sampang Regent, Fadilah Budiono, addressed to Governor of East Java, regarding the report on the execution of the general election of 1997 in Sampang, on 5-June-1997, number: 74/13.05/VI/1997. And interview with Ustadz Lathif.

²⁸"Kyai Tidak Akan Menggadaikan Pondoknya Demi Orsospol", *Tempo*, Issued in September 1996-February 1997, p., 558

incident the streets were clean and did not leave any blood stains. The victims consisted of students and residents of several villages.

CONCLUSIONS

There are a few things why the fight carried out by *oreng kenek* very massive and almost simultaneously involving all *oreng kenek* in Sampang. *Oreng kenek* is a community that has a tradition of high obedience to *kyais*, and all problems of life are often, if not always, consulted with *kyais*. The close relationship between *oreng kenek* and *kyais* is paternalistic in nature, and PPP as the only Islamic party that carries the slogan of Islam and supported by almost all *kyais* of Sampang.

Such social, political, and religious reality was also based on several reasons. *Oreng kenek*, lower class, were the ones who did not receive any education services of the public schools, many were illiterate and poor, they lived a homogeneous life, mainly concerned with religious affairs, and they ignored public education. Of course, rumors, slogans, symbols were more influential than the effective mass communication. Through the slogan of heaven-hell and *jihad* to defend the religion, *kyais*' hegemony worked.

When drawn backward and seen historically, the tradition of resistance against the government by *oreng kenek* already had occurred long before 1992. The very first recorded resistance by *oreng kenek* against the government took place during the Dutch colonial government conducted by *Kyai Semantri*. Then the resistance also occurred in the era of Sukarno government in 1965, during which massive killing were committed to the Police Resort Sampang. In the Suharto era the resistance began in the first election in 1971 even though its scale was not large, the insurgency by *oreng kenek* began in a large-scale and damaged the building from 1992 when PPP was, for the first time, defeated by Golkar.

If seen objectively, *oreng kenek*'s tendency to support PPP was not due to the drive to meet material needs but the high religious spirit to defend the religion of Allah. *Oreng kenek* never demanded for power and material, the concrete support for PPP from 1971 up to 1997 was purely due to *oreng kenek*'s obedience to *kyais* as an expression of their obedience to the religion. Not only energy and material did they sacrifice but also their bodies and lives in a tragedy.

The resistance manifested in the movement was started by *oreng kenek* as low-class people. In this context it is congruent to the theory of Marx stating that a movement or a change was started by low class people (proletariat), but Marx was not fully right when the argument that the main factor raising a movement or a change was material things. His thesis that whether an idea could work or not mainly depends on material things - in the context of the resistance occurring against the government in Sampang- proved different, but it was due to absolute religious values.

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