

The Influence of Carok Culture on Reproductive Violence for the Younger Generation Bangkalan

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Abstract. Reproduction of violence in Bangkalan Madura often occurs; this is influenced by carok culture, which is passed down from generation to generation. Carok is one of the acts of violence that has become cultural and rooted in the community of Bangkalan, Madura. Carok's actions were taken in defending his pride, the way to solve the problem that led to this act of violence positively affected the character and attitude of the young generation of Bangkalan. This study examines the effect of reproduction of violence inherited from today's young generation, what must be done to stop the reproduction of this violence. The method used is a survey and interview with youth in Bangkalan, Madura. The results of this study indicate that the Carok tradition still influences the younger generation in Bangkalan Madura, this is because of the high value of self-esteem and the encouragement of the social environment of the Bangkalan Madura community. The act of violence in the form of carok often gets support from the social environment, and this is what then triggers the aggressive and temporal attitude of the Madurese community. In some cases of carok, what happens is always triggered by the same motives, namely, wife's honour, self-esteem and revenge.

Keywords: *Carok Culture, Reproductive Violence, Youth Violence*

1. INTRODUCTION

Madura with all its uniqueness, has several distinctive cultures, and the Madurese is generally loyal to their culture, and it is brought wherever they go to migrate so that the culture will not become extinct and so that the culture will not become extinct and continue to be inherited on to generations. Problems arise when harmful tradition and the cultures are also held firmly, inherited and finally influence the attitude of the young generation of Madurese society. One of the negative cultures is that while carok still becomes a way to solve problems (Ulum, 2017). Carok is a form of expression of angry of Madurese when his pride of himself or his wife is abused. The understanding of self-esteem (dignity) about feelings of shame (Malo / Todus) which caused when there was abuse, becomes the main trigger factor for Madurese to do Carok, besides the other factors such as the disputes happened in KarapanSapi (Cows Competition) tradition, and so on. (Latief, 2013).

Carok and celurit have a similar meaning. This has emerged among Madurese since the Dutch colonial era in the 18th century AD. Carok is a symbol of knighthood who fights for his dignity (honour) (Abdurrahman, 1971). In Cakradiningrat era, JokoTole and PanembahanSemolo in Madura, do not know its tradition. The tradition that exists in that era is

to kill someone with sword and keris knightly. The weapon of celurit appeared in the era of the legend, Pak Sakera. Pak Sakera as a foreman of sugar cane plantation rarely leaves his celurit in every day he goes to his farm to monitor the workers. Celurit for Sakera is a symbol of commoner resistance. (De Jonge, 1989).

In every violence, the victims come from those both who fight (Bushman et al., 2016; Wilkinson & Fagan, 2001). The problem will not finish at that time, and it will continue to their children or relatives who will do revenge as the loser side. The member of family or relatives usually keeps the clothes which wore by the victims when did carok, and then they will tell the story of the tragedy while pushing the children to do revenge of the defeat in the past. This causes the reproduction of violence among the young generations in Madurese society becomes hard to be handled. The Madurese is generally trusted in the slogan "Ango'anpoteyahtolangetembengpotematah (better die than living with prudence), and it becomes a reference before doing carok (Mahrus: 2009). The connotation of the slogan above is, it is better to die while doing carok than become ashamed because they cannot avenge defeat or become ashamed because of dignity trampled. That ethnographic expression has been being a motivation to do carok, which then influence the character of young generations.

The sentiment about the importance of revenge among the society by using the slogan "jhekngakohorenglakekmunlokbengalacarok (do not claim yourself as a man if you do not dare to do carok) is aggressively pushing reproduction of violence among the young generations. All the case of carok which happened begins from a conflict. Different problems usually push that conflict. Based on the report from Constabulary (police department), there are four factors causing carok, and they are; woman, an accusation of stealing on someone, the struggle for an inheritance, and revenge. Those motivations are similarly from a disgrace (malo/malu) because of self-esteem abuse (Police Department Bangkalan, 2017). To rehabilitate their self-esteem is the reason of why they do carok, and it is always getting support from people surrounding. No matter the way of carok they did, all the carok doer who succeed to kill his adversary will bring up a feeling of relieved, satisfied and proud.

The research and studies of social science about acts of violence, generally tend to ignore cultural dimension because of the power of stigma that says a psychological factor causes the violence. Abink (1994, 8) said that ethological violence usually notices more about the instinct and biological factors than social-cultural factors. Factually, carok becomes a form of violence which has support from the local culture. The doer of carok is not ostracized from the intercommunication among the society. They precisely tend to be respected as being considered as a champion or *orengseppo* (a respected person). For Madurese, carok have formed an aggressive mindset structure among parents or teenagers. They assume that the ability to carok is an act that is valued in the order of the Madurese community (Hasani, 2018).

1.1. State of Art

Research on carok has been carried out by several researchers, including Latief Wiyata (2002, 2013). He examined the carok culture from the perspective of the socio-cultural Madurese society, which indeed tends to be hard and temperamental by presenting several cases of carok that occur. In contrast to the research conducted by Mahrus Ali (2009), he saw that carok from a legal settlement point of view on the formal legal issues of carok often could not resolve the conflict that led to carok case because several factors influenced Madurese people's lives.

The research conducted by Henry Alianto and Krisnha (2012) sees carok as a tradition that helps people regain their self-esteem, and the most effective, though the momentary, solution

to conflict resolution is a consequence as a great nation and is formed from countless forms and numbers. Therefore, people outside the ethnic Madurese need to understand that the difference is not in the eyes of the majority but rather from the perspective of the minority. While RetnoHastijanti (2005) focuses her research on traditional settlements in Madura, settlement patterns according to this study also influence the carok tradition. This is due to traditional settlements as an architectural form that plays a role in preserving culture, including the carok tradition.

This research will discuss carok from the perspective of youth who are often involved in carok. Youth is often the actor behind this occurrence of carok because it is caused by an environmental drive that requires the younger generation to take such negative actions. The research will focus on the younger generation and see how far the youth is influenced by carok tradition.

1.2. Theoretical Basis

What is meant by violence is what is usually translated from violence. R. Audi formulates violence as an attack or physical abuse against a person or animal; attack, destruction, a rude-cruel-vicious and hard destruction on the property or something which potentially will become someone's. (Robert Audi, 1997). According to Thomas Hobbes, violence is a state of nature. This is based on the view that humans are beings controlled by irrational and anarchistic and mechanistic impulses which give birth to jealousy and hatred, which then give rise to a rude, evil and narrow-minded attitude. While Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) argued that human beings in their natural state as an ugly creation, they love themselves spontaneously, do not selfish and do not an altruist. It is only the chain of civilization that has shaped humans into creatures that have the same attacking nature. The theory put forward by Rousseau is very suitable to describe the violent behaviour in the form of carok, the Madurese who were initially friendly and polite have been shaped by the carok culture to carry out cruel acts of attacking and killing people with sharp weapons in the form of sickles. This is undoubtedly a problem for the younger generation in the future when negative culture like this continues to be allowed and instead gets the support of community leaders to carok in resolving the already pointed problems.

Violence occurs when humans are influenced in such a way that actual physical and mental realization is under its potential realization (Johan Galtung, 1964). If the potential is higher than the actual one, then there has been violence. So, the violence here is interpreted as a cause of the difference between the potential and the actual in the form of carok.

As a culture, violence tends always to be distributed from generational generations both in socialization patterns and in the form of meaningful ritual activities. Therefore, in many societies, violence is often regarded as "something that must be taken for granted" (Latief, 2013). This can be seen in the structure of Madurese society which makes carok the last way to solve substantial problems, such as self-esteem or abuse of wives. Similar culture also exists in the Bugis community, Makassar with sericultural legitimacy as a justification for killing people demeaning self-esteem or committing murder (life is avenged). Both cultures (carok and siri) which its culmination in acts of violence are necessarily both upholding the importance of self-esteem, socio-cultural society has established that self-esteem that has been harassed by others can only be restored by killing. Bugis people themselves have an expression that connotes the importance of self-esteem, such as "laritatusiriqtari - we are called human beings only because of our self-esteem" (Solombe, 1984: 1) whereas the Madurese has more assertive expression, namely "tambhanatodus /malo. To die- the drug of being ashamed of being killed (Latief, 2013).

Understanding self-esteem (dignity) is closely related to the feeling of shame (embarrassment) that results when harassment occurs. Both of these are the primary trigger factors for Madurese to do Carok, in addition to other factors (Latief, 2013). Both of these are the primary trigger factors for the Madurese to do Carok, in addition to other factors (Latief, 2013). Madurese who are sick (ashamed) because of being abused by their pride and then doing Carok are called as Carokperpetrators. However, when Carok happened, what was meant by Carokperpetrators were both parties, both those who felt their pride was harassed (who attacked) and those who were considered to have carried out the harassment (who were attacked). However, the fact today is that carok is no longer done by duelling one-on-one or more, but more consoles (playing back/discreetly), when the opponent is not ready he slashes the opponent so that the opponent dies without fighting.

Cultural violence means that culture is the legitimacy of direct acts violence and structural violence (Christie et al., 2001). Cultural violence means aspects of culture, symbolic space of human existence exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical and formal knowledge (logical, mathematical that can be used to justify or legitimize structural and direct violence).

The formal legal context defines carok as a manifestation of the courage of the perpetrator in violating the rules which set out in the Criminal Code, so that they must undergo imprisonment for years as perpetrators of serious crimes. According to the Criminal Code, they are threatened with criminal sanctions in the form of prison sentences of a maximum death sentence, life imprisonment, or 20 years imprisonment. However, the threat of legal sanctions in practice tends not to be applied consistently, and even seems very mild, because carok perpetrators usually only serve a prison sentence of no more than ten years (Latief, 2013).

In the end, carok becomes a commodity that causes the application of legal sanctions that are inconsistent with the perpetrators. From a sociological point of view, a conflict arises and exists because there is a structure that supports it. Sociological analysis sees conflicts with specific social structures. Self-esteem conflict in Madurese society which certainly keeps its mystery, especially about the social structure that supports it. Self-esteem bias is no longer present in every carok event, but because of pressure in specific social structures (Augustine, 2008).

2. RESEARCH METHOD

This study used descriptive qualitative data, research data that is descriptive in the form of meanings, cultural values, traditional concepts that have long been running in the Madurese community. The study will also conduct surveys and interviews with youth in Bangkalan Madura District. The type of data used is as follows. Primary Data, it is directly taken from the object of research by researchers, both individuals and organizations. Secondary Data, it is data obtained not directly from the object of research. Researchers get ready data collected by other parties in various ways or methods both commercially and non-commercially.

2.1. Carok Tradition

Carok tradition is an act of violence that has been passed down from generation to generation for generations. Carok himself is an expression of the Madurese community when his rights are violated.

2.1.1. Shifting the Meaning of Carok Meaning to Pure Violence

Carok himself among Madurese figures and cultural observers is considered to have experienced a shift in meaning. Formerly, Carok was a male method practised by Madurese in resolving conflicts (Thohir, 2018). The same thing was expressed by the Student President of Trunojoyo Madura University. He argued even though the community still called it an act of carok but it was an act of non-carok violence (Presma UTM, 2018). Ir. MoendirRofi' I also denies the violence that is still labelled as carok, the former vice-regent of Bangkalan, he said that carok is now gone, it is difficult now to prove that it is carok because most of the time it is playing behind or out, so there is no resistance to the opponent, even though carok is the principle of duelling and fair. Carok tradition it used to be done with a time and place agreement and the person who would do a balanced one on one, two to two or if the champion would challenge one against three or more. Carok was conducted in a fair duel and witnessed by many parties, and there was an agreement that there was no punishment from the police.

The shift of the carok tradition today is marked by carok, which always tends to be done by way of slipping/slashing when the opponent is not ready. In the end, this kind of action becomes an act of violence as in general, although some people still consider it to be a carok act. Thus it can be formulated that the understanding of carok today has undergone a change from a duel to an act or attempted murder by using sharp weapons in the form of sickles. This is in line with the presentation of "Bangkalan Police Chief (AKBP Bobi P Tambunan, 2018) that the carok tradition is now more inclined to unfair violence, even though the causes of carok were the same and are now the same, but the expression is very different".

The practice of carok was formerly, and now the same motive is about self-esteem and shame. This carok tradition is related to solving the problem without going through the mechanism of legal channels. This is what sometimes carok is triggered by trivial matters. The act of violence or attempted murder which is pointed to make up for the feeling of malo (shame) is in addition to encouragement and always get social support and approval. Besides, carok is a cultural medium for actors who succeed in suppressing their enemies to get the title as orengjago (champion) or if carok actors have experienced killing, the title of orengjagobecomes more assertive, so that success in carok always brings feelings of satisfaction, relief and even pride. For the perpetrator (Latief, 2013).

2.1.2. The pattern of Violence and Carok

Patterns of violence which are still called carok by the people occur because of problems of self-esteem related to family, property or revenge.

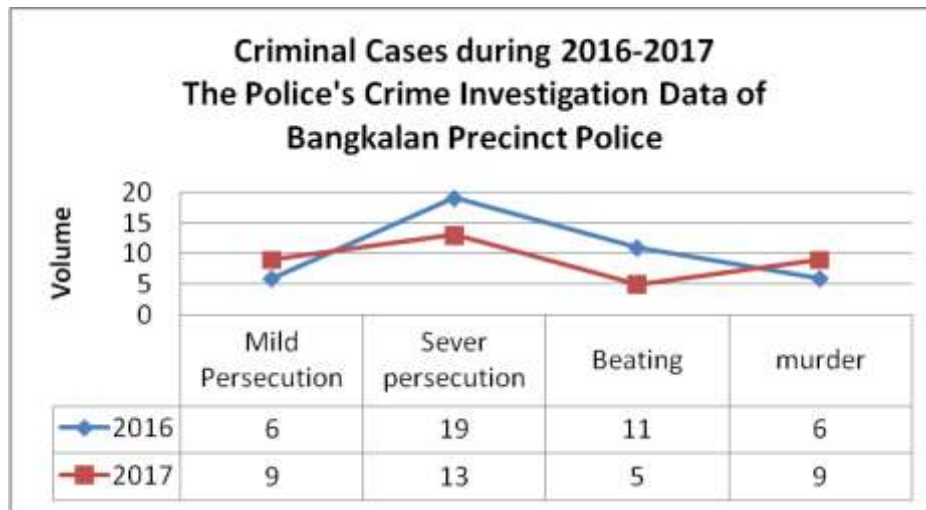


Figure 1. Criminal Case
Resource: The Police's Crime Investigation Data of Bangkalan Precinct Police 2016-2017

In the data above, we can see that cases of light maltreatment, severe persecution, beatings and killings that occurred on the basis were still quite high. The general public still considers the acts of violence or attempted murder as acts of carok which then the criminal perpetrators still get social support and predicate orengjago (champion / brave person). This is a factor that acts of violence with a variety of ways and motives continue to occur, perpetrators of acts of violence to get cheated or ostracized in the community tend to be respected as a Blater, so they feel proud and relieved by the acts of violence committed. The motives for violence that occur are quite diverse, from processed Criminal data from Bangkalan District Police and interviews with KBO of Precinct Police (Reskrim) then obtained Pareto Diagrams as in the following figure.

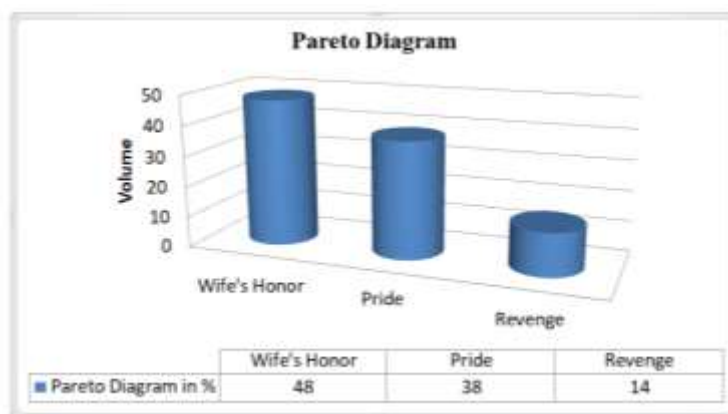


Figure 2. The motive of Violence and Carok
Resource: The Police's Crime Investigation Data of Bangkalan Precinct Police 2016-2017

The data on cases of violence that occurred during 2016-2017 had a variety of motives but broadly concluded into three, namely the issue of honour of the wife, the problem of revenge

and the issue of self-esteem. These three motives often trigger violence in the Madurese community, especially the community of Bangkalan. Of the 78 cases of violence that occurred 48% due to the issue of honour of the wife. The wife's honour classification consists of infidelity, jealousy and rape. Whereas 38% of violence occurred because a problem of self-esteem triggered it, the issue of self-esteem consisted of disputes, defamation, spontaneous problems on the road and challenged carok. While the remaining 14% of violence occurred because an old grudge triggered it, as revealed by the Bangkalan community leader, carok was very demanding of revenge, even though it had been decades but often there was a lively response from the former loser (Imam Bukhori: 2018), This revenge has usually occurred from decades and has been passed down from generation to generation.

The Madurese are typical of a religious, friendly and mutual community. Nevertheless, the temperamental characteristics of the Madurese people sometimes also affect attitudes and daily life. Because of this, trivial things often become conflicts which then propagate to acts of violence in the form of carok either face to face or nyeleb (playing back). Bar-Tal (2012) states that when conflicts have dragged on, totally involving the entire community, and have touched directly on religious and ethnic identities, the conflict is almost impossible to be resolved (intractable conflict) (Malik, Ichsan, 2017). In some cases of conflict that led to the trigger of the trigger is a matter of old self-esteem and revenge, conflicts related to the wife's self-esteem and old revenge are complicated to resolve. Most of these conflicts will lead to carok, which will undoubtedly take a toll on both sides.

Past grudges are usually inherited by families who have carok and are on the losing side. In this case, the family or relatives will demand revenge for the death of their family. So that the opponent or the victor will be labelled as the enemy family (moso), these two families will usually remain hostile from generation to generation. This business has made those in conflict have anxious and worried attitude so that they always carry skep/sharp weapons in the form of sickles or knives when they want to travel. They were worried that if suddenly on the road they were blocked by the enemy they could not fight, the result would be to die in vain or they had the opportunity to take revenge when the enemy was off guard or alone. This kind of conflict is usually passed down from generation to generation in a long time.

Cases in Sru'il and Sanol's family, in Panyaksagan Village Dhejeh, describe how the carok tradition is inherited and demands revenge. The beginning of this conflict was when Sanol's father was killed by Sru'il's father, in 15 years, Sanol killed Sru'il's father, who was no longer young. At the time of 20 years Sanol himself, who had grown old, was finally killed by Sru'il to avenge his father's death. Based on Sru'il's narrative to researchers "that revenge must be resolved to restore the family's good name and answer people's ridicule". The consequences that he obtained must be imprisoned for four years. However, the sentence is nothing compared to self-satisfaction because it has avenged the family. After serving his sentence, he and his family were faced with a state of anxiety and fear of the revenge of the Sanol family as a losing party. To the researcher, Sru'il said that he had reminded the family to be afraid of revenge from the Sanol's family.

The above case provides a picture of the chain of violence or carok that cannot be avoided. Derision from people around like 'tidakdianggapjantan' (chicken) because they did not do carok, became one of the factors why carok is inherited.

Carok is influenced by relatives and a supportive environment to take revenge. It is not a wrong or real problem that is important to have revenge. As expressed (MondirRofi'I, 2018), violence in the form of carok is very demanding revenge so that the chain of hostility continues to be inherited to the next generation.

3. FINDINGS

In this study, the authors found the character of Bangkalan's violence to revolve around the same cases of self-esteem, wife's honour and revenge. The character of this violence was also passed on to the younger generation in Bangkalan through encouragement and social legitimacy.

3.1. Carok In the Youth Circle

Some research results conclude that there is violent behaviour in a person, especially young people, caused by two things, family (family effect) or surrounding (neighbourhood effect). Encouragement to do violence sometimes comes from the people closest. On the other hand, the environment with conditions that are not good (slum/poor) also influences the evil influence of the environment causes social attitudes and behaviour at the end of violence. This is in line with the opinion of (Winton, 2004) that violence and social conflict are some of the problems that often arise in dense and sparse communities in urban areas.

Some carok or acts of violence that occur in the Madurese community, especially in Bangkalan, many involve the younger generation. This kind of thing is due to some forms of community support and approval of carok. Village heads (klebun) or Blater figures will feel embarrassed if a family or community member has problems with people from other villages but does not dare to carok. Therefore the village head and the Blater character will usually support the warring people to do carok. Trivial problems in the community will become complicated because these figures tend to support violence in the form of carok. There are three motives for acts of violence which are always associated with the first carok tradition of violence because of wife's honour, second because of self-esteem and third because of revenge.

3.2. Violence Due to Honor of the Wife

For people in Bangkalan, Maduragenerally considers that people who are harassing or having an affair with the wife of a person as well as someone who risked his life. People assume that a wife is a moral responsibility before humans and God so that when someone dares to abuse or cheat, then the ransom/the compensation is his or her life. Madurese will dare to kill anyone if the reason is related to the honour of the wife (Mahrus, 2009). The basis for the defence of the wife was found by the Madurese poet, Dr. ZamawiImron, in the phrase "I was married by penghulu (Muslim Wedding officer), witnessed by many people and by fulfilling religious regulations. So whoever disturbs my wife means insulting, my religion and at the same time trampling on my head."The wife's norms are a manifestation of the dignity and honour of the husband. The act of disturbing the wife of a person is calledagaja' nyabah. It means the same as the act of risking your life or playing a life (Andang et al., 2004). This is in line with the opinion of Ahmad Faruq, the Head of Klapayan Village, Kc. Sepolo Districts.

"masalah apakah baih bisa e erembug hisa reng tokoh masyarakat sopajeh damai, lok sampe kaca ro kataue pate'eh, ken mun masalah bini nah make bunbe ichlok bengalrok-nurok ben alang-lang, masalah binih jih sakral ben kebennyak'an paste he pate'ehmakoh ken nyurooreng (any problem can be compromised to avoid the carok violence or murder, but if it is already concerned with the honour of the wife, even the village head will not dare to interfere, the wife's problem is very sacred and most must be killed even by handing in a professional killers) "

The existence of this very high self-esteem which then encourages acts of violence caused by the wife's infidelity and becomes a standard that when another person harasses the wife, the only recover of the trampled self-respect is acts of violence or murder, most of which are still named carok. Such things are passed down from generation to generation. If the problem is in the name of honour the wife is not only a Blater, champion and parent, even young people who range in age from 25-30 years old are driven by social construction to carry out violent acts in the form of carok. Based on the survey and the opinions of 100 young people in Bangkalan, the figures still tend to lead to violence, as shown in the diagram in Figure 3 below.

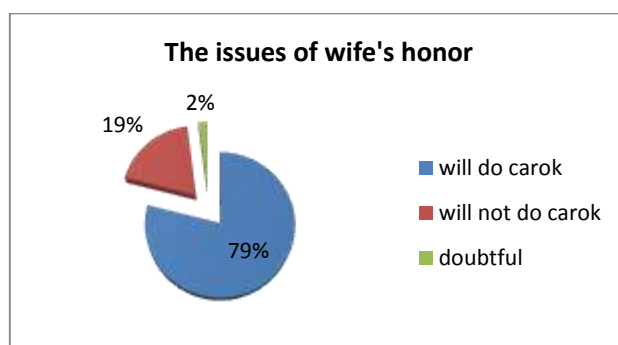


Figure 3. The Diagram
Resource: a survey of Bangkalan youth 2018

The data above shows that the tradition of violence in the form of carok still dramatically influences the younger generation in Bangkalan Regency, especially in cases involving the honour of the wife. Of the 100 youths who were asked questions about "would commit to doing violence/carok if the honour of his wife was harassed or his wife cheated" then 79% would do carok or violence, while 19% would not carok and 2% would hesitate. The group who will commit carok has a reason that it is a must and they will get censure or ridicule from colleagues and society if they did not do it. They also argue that if they did not do carok while someone harassed his wife's honour, they deserved to be called as 'a coward' or in Madurese derision term is lo' lake' / not a man. Whereas, the group that refused to do carok reasoned that women could be searched again and worried about the consequences of the carok. ArifLukman stated that carok's actions, if he won, was imprisoned and if he lost his life. That is a reason for them who will not choose to do carok.

Socio-cultural conditions related to acts of violence in the lives of the Madurese people, particularly inBangkalan, arise due to friction that occurs in the community itself. The honour factor determines the emergence of acts of violence in the community that do not receive supervision from the government (Latief, 2013). Like the carok case that occurred on June 15, 2018 yesterday involving the youth of Kampak village and the youth of Katol village,BangkalanGeger, in convoy to TakbirKeliling (Muslim tradition to convoy around the village while lauding praise to their God) that passed the highways of Campor village, Geger sub-district. A youth convoy from the village of Kampak met with a convoy of young men from Katol who both used a motorcycle, a few hours after the two young men were involved in an exhaustion which led to a quarrel between the two parties which eventually happened to carok between Jamil (18) of Katol Village and Hariyanto (29) Residents of Kampak Village. This then angered the youth group who joined the Ngalas group.

Some sources interviewed by researchers said that retaliation is an absolute price, a life must be rewarded with life. Some community leaders have also expressed support, but the anger of the youth, Blater figures, klebun and community leaders can be suppressed by the kiyai figures in the Kampak village who are respected by the community, and their advice can be accepted. Here we can see how the position of a kiyai is significant for the Madurese people. Kiyai leaders have a significant role in determining the occurrence of carok. Usually, the person who wants to do the carok will consult three characters, namely Blater, Village / Planter and Kiyai. If these three characters approve it, carok is duelled, or carok is sure to happen.

4. DISCUSSION

Carok has formed a young man with strong character and high self-esteem. The influence of the carok tradition and the pattern of violence that has taken place in Bangkalan Madura lately involves many young people, and this is very worrying for all parties. Hard character does not only affect students but also affects high school and junior high school students. There are many factors that influence this youth's violent behaviour including Environmental Factors, this factor has a negative impact on the occurrence of patterns of violence in youth, the tradition of carok violence that is still maintained forms the youth's thought that the end of problems that cannot be solved by eating negotiations will be solved by action carok.

Community support factors also have a significant impact. Usually, there is a role model or role model. For example, in the group, they have a mindset that triggers and leads to acts of violence (Melde&Esbensen, 2011, 2014). In this case, the community leaders (Kiyai, Klebun and Blater) give influence for young people to do carok when their self-esteem is lowered. That encouragement then makes young people brave to take violent actions in solving problems.

Since the beginning, the author has emphasized that the conflict which culminated in the Madurese community is mostly due to self-esteem that feels harassed. As previously explained that the act of carok involves several components, namely the Blater, klebun and kiyai figures. Therefore, the resolution of the carok conflict must involve the three figures.

4.1. The role of Klebun / Village Head

Klebun or Village Chief is one of the most respected people among the people of Madura. Madurese society is known to have a typical, unique, stereotypical and stigmatized culture. The specificity of the culture appears among others in their hierarchical obedience, submission, and submission to the four central figures in further life in religious practice (Mahrus, 2009). The four figures are Buppa, Babbu, Guruh Ban Ratoh (father, mother, teacher and government leader) (Taufiqurrahman, 2006). To the four figures, the adherence of the Madurese appears in their socio-cultural life.

Every Madurese who has the power at the village level gets the mandate as the village head, or klebun who Blater becomes a figure of rato, in this context rato is a clan who is highly respected and respected by the Madurese people. The connection with the action of carok is that every problem in the culture of Madura culture is discussed with Klebun. The term of arembughendekromanahklebunkadhinapabagussah (discussion in Klebun house to find the win-win solution) becomes a formula when problems occur both for self-esteem or disputes. Problems that can still be tolerated by village heads/planters usually give good suggestions, so that problems do not end up leading to violence in the form of carok. In this case, the expertise of a planter and charismatic is shown to reduce conflicting anger, as parents who are highly

respected by the words and suggestions of the farmers can usually be accepted by people who have problems or conflict.

4.2. Blater or Bajing Figure Role

Blater figures are community leaders who have the capacity as *orengjago* or champions. Each village has a Blater figure as a reference and elder in solving problems or social conflicts in the community. Put, Blater or Bajing figures are put on someone who has intelligence in martial arts and immune competence, as evidenced by having won in *carok* (Mahrus, 2009). This figure has a central role in its relationship with *carok*, sometimes trivial problems lead to *carok* because of the support of this Blater character.

In some cases, *carok* happened because this character acted as one of the perpetrators. Even though a person who has a problem himself is afraid, Blater figures sometimes act as executors in *carok* provided that they are responsible for the legal consequences of the police who have the problem. With the position of the Blater character in such a way that the solution to the problem of *carok* must involve the role of a Blater character.

The government must have a Blater figure through the village head in order to prioritize deliberation/discussion to solving problems during the community, considering that the Blater character is still very respectful of the *Klebun* or village head. The regional government must also encourage related parties to provide counselling to the Blater figures about the importance of wise attitude in addressing a problem because basically, *Carok* will not happen without the support of the *klebun* and the Blater figure.

4.3. Role of Chaplain Figures

For Madurese the *kiyai*, to have a strategic position not only in its position as a person who has expertise in the field of religion (Islam) but also as a role model in the association of daily life (Mahrus, 2009). The central position of the *kiyai* makes him the first reference figure in all matters, even the *klebun* and the Blater figure do not dare to oppose the advice of a *kiyai*. This submissive and obedient attitude is because the position of the *kiyai* is following the religious values adopted by the Madurese. We can say that the *kiyai* is no different from the position of the head of an *adat* in terms of customary law (C. AdityaBakti, 2004). In some ways, the *kiyai* in Madura is indicated by its specificity with the forms of clothing which are symbols of wisdom, namely skullcap and turban (D. Zhamakhsyari, 1985).

The words and actions of the *kiyai* have a significant influence on the Madurese, even in the context of *carok* even though the *kiyai* are still being asked for their opinions and blessings in *carok*. Some *Kiyai* is 'consultants' before someone *carok* (Kuntowijoyo, 2002). This is due to the belief of the Madurese people with mystical rituals before *carok*, for example, *ijaza* 'invulnerable competence and knowledge of *kanuragan* distributed by a *Kiyai*.

The influence of the *kiyai* in Madura is very pronounced, and even the *kiyai* are more influential than government officials (Mahrus, 2009). This is undoubtedly a massive opportunity in reducing *carok* actions with the influence of the *kiyai* who are highly respected by the Madura community leaders. *Kiyaican* provides prevention through the mediation of people who conflict so that *carok* actions can be minimized. Not only that, but the *kiyai* can also convey a message of peace to the public regarding the importance of turning on discussion (colloquy) in solving problems.

4.4. The Role of Police in Reducing Carok's Acts

In order to reduce acts of violence in the form of carok triggered by trivial problems, Bangkalan District Police, in this case, have carried out repressive or preventive efforts (Bangkalan Police Chief AKBP Bobi P Tambunan, 2018).

- a. Repressive
 - Law Enforcement
 - Firm Action
 - To process the sharp weapons carrier and carok perpetrators legally.
- b. Preventive
 - Patrol
 - Visiting Community and Religious Figures
 - To hold a discussion and a dialogue with Klebun and Blaterfigures.
 - Safari (get around to monitoring)
 - Having program 'ShalatJumátKeliling' (Friday Prayer move from one mosque to another mosque every week) for Muslim member of Bangkalan District Police to the villages alternately.

This is done in order to prevent and to reduce acts of violence in the form of carok, which often occur in society triggered by trivial matters. The strategy for the resolution of conflicts in Madura society is developed and modified from the making peace framework made by Adam C. Curle in 1971 (John Paul Lederach: 1998). It can be seen in the picture below:

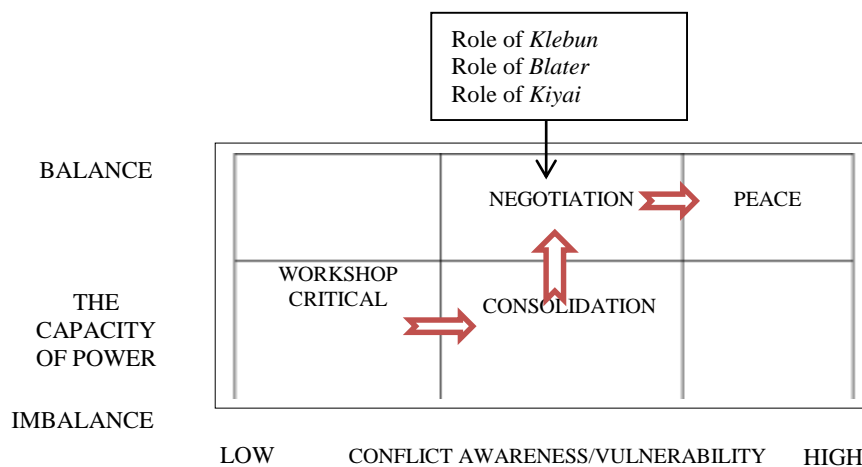


Figure 4. The Conflict Resolution Strategy

The picture above explains two conditions so that conflict does not lead to carok. The first is the existence of high critical awareness of elements of society who might be involved in a conflict that ends with carok such as Klebun and a Blaterfigure. These figures must be able to calm the conflicting parties by prioritizing discussion (colloquy).

5. CONCLUSION

Carok is an act of violence that continues to be inherited from generation to generation, although there is a shift in the meaning and practice of carok today, the community is still acting as carok. Violent acts in the form of carok often get support from the social environment, and this is what triggers aggressive and temperament attitudes of the Madurese people. In several cases of carok that occur, it is always triggered by the same motives, namely, the wife's honour, self-esteem and revenge. Criminal data from Police Crime Investigation Unit of Susprecinct Police (Polsek) of Bangkalanin 2016 - 2017 showed that 48% of carok was done because of defending the wife's honour, blind jealousy which eventually encouraged carok. Next, 38% carok occurred because of self-esteem problems which included disputes and trivial problems, while 14% carok occurred with a motive of revenge. Researchers found the facts in the field based on surveys and interviews with youth in Bangkalan Regency, that the carok tradition is still very influential on the character of its youth. Of the 100 youth, 79% will commit acts of violence in the form of carok when the wife's honour is abused, while 19% will not take carok action and the remaining 2% are hesitant. These actions are carried out, referring to the malo (shame) and high self-esteem values. Efforts that must be carried out by the Bangkalan Regional Government and Precinct Police (Polres), they are encouraging and providing counselling to community leaders (Klebung, Blater, Kiyai), so that prioritize discussion (colloquy) in solving problems and conflicts that occur.

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