

THE TRANSFORMATION OF ISLAMIC POLITICAL IDENTITY IN THE COUNTRYSIDE OF BANYUWANGI THROUGH OSING CULTURE IN 1970-2005

Muhammad Agung Pramono Putro^{1*}, Nur Aini Setiawati²

¹Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, e-mail: muhputro@gmail.com

²Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, e-mail: nur.aini.fib@ugm.ac.id

*Corresponding Author



©2022 by the authors. Submitted for open access publication under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License-(CC-BY-SA) (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>)

 DOI : http://dx.doi.org/10.30983/islam_realitas.v8i2.5992

Submission: October 21, 2022

Revised: December 18, 2022

Accepted : December 21, 2022

Published: December 31, 2022

Abstract

This research examines why local identity building was conducted in Osing village, Banyuwangi Regency, East Java, and how this identity was initiated and invested by actors who have power using Islamic political identity. To respond to these questions, this research used the historical method by utilizing primary and secondary sources, such as official archive in form of decrees, interview with historical actors, and various references such as books, journals, and newspapers. This research findings are the following: Osing's identity was a deliberate blueprint and not a natural continuity. This construction involved cultural practitioners, journalists, artists, intellectuals, traditional figures, and national administrators. Osing's identity construction, transformation, negotiation, and mobility are the site of the contention of various interest. The attempt of creating a sympathetic and caring reputation of Osing culture represented by almost all of Banyuwangi regent continued from the New Order era until the post-Reformation era, despite various paradigm shifts. This needs to be interpreted as efforts to build identity and not just to eliminate the stigma attached. It has had an impact on political support and legitimacy in Banyuwangi, especially Osing Kemiren Village.

Keywords: Transformation, Identity, Politics, Islamic, Osing village.

Abstrak

Penelitian ini dilatarbelakangi oleh sebuah pertanyaan mengapa upaya membangun identitas lokal dilakukan di Desa Osing Kemiren. Kemudian bagaimana identitas tersebut mengalami transformasi dan terus disemaikan para aktor-aktor yang melakukan pengelolaan kekuasaannya dengan menggunakan identitas politik Islam. Untuk dapat menjawab permasalahan itu, penelitian ini menggunakan metode sejarah dengan memanfaatkan sumber primer dan sekunder, seperti arsip-arsip resmi berupa surat keputusan, nota, laporan, wawancara dengan pelaku sejarah, dan menggunakan referensi lain seperti buku, jurnal, majalah, dan koran. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa, konstruksi, transformasi, negosiasi, dan mobilisasi identitas Osing ditempatkan pada berbagai kepentingan yang diperjuangkan. Pasca Reformasi, terkait budaya politik di Desa Kemiren telah memunculkan aktor-aktor baru dalam masyarakat desa. Aktor-aktor baru tersebut berafiliasi manis dengan pemerintah daerah dan mempengaruhi transformasi identitas politik Islam di Desa Kemiren. Perlu diketahui secara mendalam terkait motif dan kepentingan dari masing-masing aktor politik tersebut. Hal tersebut perlu ditafsir bahwa, upaya membangun identitas tidak sekedar menghilangkan stigma-stigma yang melekat, tetapi juga berimbas pada dukungan dan legitimasi politik di Banyuwangi, khususnya Desa Osing Kemiren

Kata Kunci: Transformasi, Identitas, Politik, Islam, Desa Osing.

Background

Political expression in the form of Osing's identity is still marginalized. This was due to the fact that in the 1960s, the community

was stigmatized as a leftist enclave, their unique identity, and cultural and political activities.¹ At first, the effort to establish a local identity in

¹Ikwan Setiawan, 'Transformasi Masa Lalu dalam Nyanyian Masa Kini: Hibridasi dan Negosiasi Lokalitas dalam Musik Populer Using', *Kultur*, 2.1 (2007), 24.

Banyuwangi was indeterminate. However, it developed into a clear identity in the early 1970s.

Several polemics followed the transformation process of the next political identity. These have taken place among political elites, who has attempted to establish Osing's identity by confirming Osing Village as the center of Osing culture in Banyuwangi since 1995.²

The effort to establish Osing Village in 1996 to build a local identity was influenced by several actors, such as local elites and village political elites who were lobbied to formulate Osingan identity.

It is interesting to see that a political transformation in the local sphere also accompanied the polemics over Osing's identity. During the New Order era, the political identity of the Osing people was always controlled by Golongan Karya political agents and the military who served as the village administration.³ Islamic political identity is very difficult to exist in the Osing community. According to Sri Margana (2015)⁴, since the appointment of Regent Joko Supaat Slamet, the central government has been given an important task: to change the identity of the Osing people, who were previously stigmatized as leftist and "*abangan*" which means "lay people" in East Java. Politically, agents from the ruling Golongan Karya still control the practice of Islam in areas such as Banyuwangi.

According to Titik Maslikatin, Edy Hariyadi, and Heru S. P Saputra (2020)⁵, during the New Order era, the identity of Banyuwangi was built within an Islamic framework through the literary and musical works of Hasnan Singodimayan and

Hasan Ali who were part of HSBI (Islamic Arts and Culture Association).

However, all of them underwent a real transformation after the post-New Order era during the reign of Regent Samsul Hadi, who was from the National Awakening Party (PKB). Samsul Hadi had succeeded in bringing the influence of Islamic ideology among the Osing ethnic group in rural communities, especially the Osing people of Kemiren Village, who have so far been synonymous with "*Islam abangan*," which means Muslim who do not really understand and practice Islam.

In 2002, identity polemics was raging regarding the determination of Gandrung as Banyuwangi's identity, belongs to Osing Kemiren Village.⁶ These conflicts over identity involved various actors with their own interests and political agendas.⁷

As an example of his case, Novi Anoeграjekti has argued that the regent, Purnomo Siddiq, has been trying to create a branding campaign to designate Osing's political identity as a marker of the Banyuwangi district identity.⁸ Kemiren Village is designated as the Osing Cultural Village, which has two Osing ethnicity: the Osing Mulo ethnicity and the Osing Suko ethnicity.⁹ The existence of the two ethnic groups in Kemiren Village has political implications.

Several such cases have occurred outside Java, as described in the book by Jamie S. Davidson, David Hanley, & Sandra Moniaga (ed), entitled *Adat in Indonesian Politics*¹⁰ and also in the book by Henk Schulte Nordholt and Gerry van Klinken (ed), entitled *Local Politics in Indonesia*.¹¹ These works explain that local elite actors have hijacked regional

² Novi Anoeграjekti, 'Kontestasi dan Representasi Identitas Using', *Humaniora*, 1.1 (2011), 11.

³ M. A. Ackelberg, 'Identity Politics, Political Identities: Thoughts Toward a Multicultural Politics', *Journal of Women Studies*, 16.1 (1996), 28.

⁴ Sri Margana, *Outsiders and Stigma: Reconstruction of Local Identity in Banyuwangi* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2015).

⁵ Titik Maslikatin, Edy Hariyadi, dan Heru S. P Saputra, 'Sastra Using: Tafsir Lokalitas dalam Konteks Perkembangan Zaman', *Jember University Press*, 1.1 (2020), 81.

⁶ Ben Arps, 'Using Kids and the Banners of Blambangan: Ethnolinguistic Identity and the Regional Past as an Ambient Theme in East Javanese Town', *Wacana*, 11.1 (2009), 3.

⁷ Muhammad Nawir and Sam'un Mukramin, 'Identitas Etnis dalam Ranah Politik', *Phinisi Integration Review*, 2.2 (2019), 348.

⁸ Novi Anoeграjekti, *Potensi Budaya Using dan Industri Kreatif* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak, 2018).

⁹ Novi Anoeграjekti, 'Kontestasi dan Representasi Identitas Using'.

¹⁰ Jamie S. Davidson, David Hanley, & Sandra Moniaga, *Adat dalam Politik Indonesia* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor, 2009).

¹¹ Henk Schulte Nordholt & Gerry van Klinken, *Politik Lokal di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia & KITLV-Jakarta, 2010).

autonomy and indigenous peoples awareness movements for their political interests. According to Carolyn D'Cruz in her book entitled *Identity Politics in Deconstruction: Calculating with the Incalculable*,¹² the political identity of Osing is based on the historical journey of the group that can be used in gathering group members to carry out agenda-agenda for strengthening the positions of those involved.

Floya Anthias (2002)¹³ explains that political identity describes a construction that can decide the subject's position of interest in an alliance of political communities. These main problems of this research will be discussed as follows: Why was the effort to build the identity of Osing Banyuwangi carried out through Osing Kemiren Village in 1970-2005? What were the power relations involved in the transformation of the social and political culture of Islam in Kemiren Village from 1970-2005?

This historical research aims to reveal social facts chronologically to avoid anachronism. The steps of historical method are as follows: the first is heuristic. Archives of letters of appointment for the first Kemiren Village head is the first step in reading the historical traces of Kemiren Village. Several archives of decrees, such as the Decree of the Level II Local Government Number 50 of 1970 concerning the Fostering and Preservation of Osing Arts and Culture in Banyuwangi District Level II Region, is important to establish the purge of Communism from Osing's identity in Banyuwangi. Furthermore, we also look at the Decree of the Level I Regional Government Number 014 of 1996 concerning Coordination of the Osing Kemiren Traditional Village Development.

We also take into account several decrees regarding party membership of cultural and intellectual actors, such as the Decree of the Level II Regional Leadership Council Number

042/DPD/-II/SGK/XI of 1976; the Decree of the Level I Regional Leadership Council Number 235/KPTS/DPD/VI of 1987.

In collecting data, observations and direct interviews were also carried out with relevant informants such as cultural figures, especially artists who were directly involved in several identity projects from the New Order period to the post-Reformation period.

The second is criticism. Criticism is made regarding the content and substance, the most important being the relevance of sources with political substance in accordance with the time frame of 1970-2005. The selection of the 1970 is because there were efforts to form local political identities from "de-Communism" efforts during the New Order era. This has had an impact Kemiren Village when Osing's identity was established in 1996. The scope of this research ends in 2005, which was marked by the waning of development efforts. During the reign of Regent Ratna Ani Lestari in 2005, identity development through politics also faded because Ratna Ani Lestari was not part of the Osing community. However, his political policies lead to efforts to increase his electability in the Osing community through the cultural and political regulations he implemented.

The third is interpretation. In this important stage, a cultural-political approach is used. This approach can reveal the values that underlie Osing's identity and the behavior of historical figures. Kuntowijoyo (2003)¹⁴ has explained that the political approach can be used to analyze the forms and practices of political contestation patterns in the search for Osing's true identity, which has an impact on the community as a whole. The fourth is historiography. After analyzing the sources, combining them into historical facts. These facts will be compiled into a historiography.

¹² Carolyn D'Cruz, *Identity Politics in Deconstruction: Calculating with the Incalculable* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008).

¹³ Floya Anthias, 'Where do I belong?: Narrating Collective identity and Translocational Positionality', *Journal Ethnicities*, 2.4 (2002), 26.

¹⁴ Kuntowijoyo, *Metodologi Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana Yogya, 2003).

Building an Osing Identity: Policy, Transformation, and Awareness

Cultural Policy of Osing Kemiren Village Identity as Political Control

Efforts to revitalize local identity in Kemiren Village, which were initially vague, developed into an affirmation in the early 1970s. This also illustrated an important period in the New Order political policy related to cultural re-actualization and anti-Left campaigning. This condition was related to the direct impact of the political events in 1965. Following this year the entirety of Osing Kemiren culture was purged of all things related to the Left movement.

Folk art organizations in Kemiren Village, such as the instruments of angklung and Gandrung, are often arranged by Lekra artists.

Table 1. Data of Lekra Writers and Artists of Kemiren Village

No.	Art Genres	Arts Total	
		In 1965	
		Lekra	Non-Lekra
1.	Barong	10	58
2.	Hadrah	-	40
3.	Gandrung terob	18	57
4.	Karawitan	-	30
5.	Angklung paglak	14	56
6.	Angklung daerah	7	49
7.	Angklung caruk	4	11
8.	Angklung sindenan	1	24
9.	Mocoan lontar	-	24

Source: Amuk Massa Banyuwangi 1965 Vol. 7, No. 1, Juli 2007: 1-13.¹⁵

Osing's identity, which was originally defined by a desire to fight against social inequality in society suddenly changed away from the concerns of the poor. During the leadership of Regent Joko Supaat Slamet, a cultural policy was enacted that united artists within the party ideology.¹⁶ The Regent gave advice to a member of the Islamic Arts and Culture Association or commonly called

HSBI, Hasnan Singodimayan, that there was the potential for Kemiren Village to be appointed on condition that it does not cause the party any problems.¹⁷

This decision was legitimized in Decree Number um/1968/50 dated May 19, 1970. The Regent Joko Supaat Slamet received a positive evaluation by a group of cultural actors and artists in Kemiren Village.¹⁸ This was the beginning of state domination on the ancient culture of Kemiren Village, especially those related to Osing identities.

Kemiren Village then received the title of Osing Village in 1996 during the reign of Colonel Purnomo Sidik. This was a cultural policy taken at that time. The confirmation of the cultural identity of Osing in Kemiren Village colored the political identity of Purnomo Sidik.¹⁹

The development of the cultural identity of Osing in Kemiren Village transformed, both in terms of bureaucratic blueprints and implementation. Henk Schulte Nordholt and Gerry van Klinken has explained that these conditions were aligned through the authority of regional autonomy, which took place after the Reformation. During this period, regional governments were given rather broad powers in managing cultural and economic wealth.²⁰

Following this implementation is there were efforts to mobilize the cultural identity of the local community in negotiating with political lobbies on behalf of the needs of the community. This was how identity politics was formed.

During the leadership of Regent Samsul Hadi in 2000-2005, the affirmation of the identity of Kemiren Village increasingly gained strong momentum. Samsul Hadi, a native of Banyuwangi, issued the Banyuwangi Jenggirat Tangi policy, which means "the spirit of revival of

¹⁵ I. G. Krisnadi, 'Amuk Massa Banyuwangi 1965', *Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial*, 7.1 (2007), 6.

¹⁶ Novi Anoeграjeki, *Kesenian Using: Resistensi Budaya Komunitas Pinggir Dalam Kebijakan Kebudayaan Di Masa Orde Baru* (Jakarta: PMB-LIPI, 2001).

¹⁷ Hasnan Singodimayan, 'Wawancara' (Banyuwangi, 2021).

¹⁸ Pemerintah Tingkat II, *Surat Keputusan Pemerintah Daerah Tingkat II Nomor Um/1968/50 Pembinaan Dan Pelestarian Kesenian Dan*

Kebudayaan Using Di Kabupaten Daerah Tingkat II Banyuwangi, 1970, p. 1.

¹⁹ Pemerintah Tingkat II, *Surat Keputusan Pemerintah Daerah Tingkat II Nomor 401 Penetapan Desa Using di Kabupaten Daerah Tingkat II Banyuwangi*.

²⁰ Henk Schulte Nordholt & Gerry van Klinken, *Politik Lokal Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor, 2009).

Banyuwangi.²¹ A close look at the terminology used will show that it is very Osing-centric.

The next phase of Osing's identity politics, one of which was legitimized Kemiren Village to become part of Banyuwangi's cultural identity, was the Regent's Decree Number 371 of 2002 concerning the Gandrung identity of Kemiren Village.²² All forms of identity mobilization were centered on the existence of the Kemiren Village identity. Through a long historical process, the people of Osing in Kemiren Village have increasingly made its culture more stable to maintain cultural, economic and social groups within certain political boundaries.

Osing's identity Transformation Through Kemiren Village

The transformation of Osing Kemiren's cultural identity began since 1970 when there was a major transformation in cultural identity, which was originally attached to the Left movement. This identity was changed from a grassroots perspective to an emphasis on national heroism.

This transformation can also be seen in the Gandrung and Barong arts, which have become a subculture of the Osing people of Kemiren Village. The Gandrung and Barong of Kemiren Village cannot use the color red. This is a limitation from the local government, bearing in mind that in the previous period, the Gandrung and Barong arts of Kemiren Village were used as political propaganda tools by Lekra artists.²³

The transformation of identity of Osing in Kemiren Village was strongest from 1980 to 1990, with the peak being in 1996 and Kemiren Village is the center of Osing culture in Banyuwangi.²⁴ In terms of the administrative system, Osing Kemiren Village has two systems of government: the official government and the customary local government. A traditional leader heads the local government .

²¹ Pranoto, 'Gandrung Dalam Identitas Kelokalan', in *Seminar Kebudayaan Banyuwangi* (Banyuwangi: Dewan Kesenian Blambangan, 2002), p. 37.

²² Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Banyuwangi, *Surat Keputusan Bupati Nomor 371* (Banyuwangi, 2002), p. 1.

²³ Novi Anoerajekti, 'Kontestasi Dan Representasi Identitas Using'.

Table 2. List of Kemiren' Traditional Figure Since 1970-2005

No	Name	Period
1.	Samsuri	1960-1970
2.	Saleh	1970-1999
3.	Sapi'i	1999-2005

Source: Interview with Setyo Her Fendi (33 years old) traditional figure of Kemiren Village.²⁵

Because the condition of authenticity and originality, the Osing Village area is managed by the local government as an area devoted to its cultural identity. For local political elites and bureaucrats, the Osing Kemiren Village culture is presented as an exotic and unique object of tourism with potential in the economic and political fields.

Attempts to create a sense of care and sympathy for Osing's culture in Kemiren Village have been expressed by all Regents in Banyuwangi from the New Order to the post-Reformation era, although at different intensity paradigms.²⁶

The case of identity transformation is concretely proven by the strengthening and unification of the Osing language throughout Banyuwangi is the concrete proven. This effort began in 1997. It concerned the protection of the Osing language of the people of Kemiren Village with the issuance of the Regent's Decree Number 428 of 1996.²⁷ In 1996, the Regent of Purnomo Siddiq followed up by issuing Regent's Decree Number 428 of 1996 regarding the Formation of a Team for Compiling Osing Language Material Books for the Local Content Curriculum at academic institutions throughout the Banyuwangi Regency.²⁸

The issuance of the Decree was considered a significant step by intellectuals and cultural actors in Osing Kemiren Village because the Regent himself had a political identity of ethnic Javanese

²⁴ Novi Anoerajekti, *Potensi Budaya Using Dan Industri Kreatif*.

²⁵ Setyo Her Fendi, 'Wawancara' (Banyuwangi, 2021).

²⁶ Novi Anoerajekti, 'Kontestasi Dan Representasi Identitas Using'.

²⁷ Hasan Ali, 'Kata dan Predikat Using', *Majalah Budaya Jejak* (Banyuwangi, March 2003), p. 21.

²⁸ Ben Arps.

background. On the other hand, Purnomo Siddiq's efforts as regent for issuing this policy were interpreted as a strategy to obtain political consensus from the people of Osing, Kemiren Village.

The next concrete evidence of strengthening Osing's identity was the selection of Kemiren Village as the only Osing Village of the regency in 1996.²⁹ Apart from the pretext of customary conservation, it is hoped that the political agenda of Osing Village can provide foreign exchange input from people who visit, such as researchers and civil society.

As concretely proven in the case of the Gandrung identity transformation that occurred in 2002, this culture was constructed and commodified from the commerce of folk art oriented towards Gandrung, which was conceptualized in Kemiren Village and was based on the themes of national heroism and struggle.³⁰

The Kemiren Village government immediately responded to the regional authority by mobilizing its people to develop their economy through their Osing culture. One of its implementations is the establishment of new Osing cultural studios in Kemiren Village. Indeed, the Osing culture of Kemiren Village is popular among the people of Banyuwangi. These cultural studios also contribute a monthly fee of Rp. 40,000 to the income of Kemiren Village.³¹

This transformation is the result of regional autonomy. This has made regional revenue sources (PAD) the main sector of regional finance. Thus, Osing Village has been used by various actors in the region in their practices of political domination.³²

Awareness of the Political Identity of Osing Kemiren Village

The politicization of identity aims to secure patronage from various actors. In 1995, this polarity led to a polemic over the identity of Osing Village in Banyuwangi.³³ The Osing community of Kemiren Village is part of the Osing ethnic group in Banyuwangi and occupies narrow rural spaces.³⁴

On February 15, 1995, a joint meeting was held to discuss the problem of the identity of Osing Village. It was held at the Sabha Swagata Blambangan Hall.³⁵ The meeting resulted in the selection of regional candidates that would lead the development of Osing Village. These were Aliyan Village, Alas Malang Village, and Kemiren Village. Kemiren Village was the superior candidate to represent the identity of Osing Village.

On April 14, 1995, another meeting was held to determine the selection. It was held at the East Java Governor's office.³⁶ The meetings were difficult because each candidate insisted on showing their credentials.³⁷

On July 11, 1996, Kemiren Village was officially designated as the Osing cultural identity area in Banyuwangi by the head of the regional government Level II, Regent Purnomo Sidik, based on Decree number 401.³⁸ The decision letter also mandated the development of a political identity in Osing Kemiren Village.

The collective consciousness of the people of Osing, Kemiren Village, was used for regional identity politics. This has been their social reality from the New Order period to the regency of Samsul Hadi. Their village is simply a commodity that the state has continuously manipulated through their political and economic objectives.³⁹

²⁹ Pemerintah Tingkat II, *Surat Keputusan Pemerintah Daerah Tingkat II Nomor 401 Penetapan Desa Using Di Kabupaten Daerah Tingkat II Banyuwangi*.

³⁰ Pranoto.

³¹ Kantor Desa Kemiren, *Nota Dana Iuran Masyarakat* (Banyuwangi, 2003), p. 2.

³² Nanyung Choi, 'Democracy and Patrimonial Politics in Local Indonesia', *Journal Southeast Asia Program Publications at Cornell University*, 10.88 (2009), 106.

³³ Novi Anoegrajekti, *Pengembangan Gandrung Banyuwangi Dalam Rangka Penguatan Aset Budaya dan Identitas Lokal* (Jember, 2009).

³⁴ Taufik Firmanto, *Suku Using: Perspektif Etnografi, Sosial, Hukum, dan Budaya* (Malang: Intelegensia Media, 2019).

³⁵ Abdullah Fauzi, 'Wacana Desa Using Undang Tokoh Masyarakat di Pendopo', *Radar Banyuwangi* (Banyuwangi, 1995), p. 2.

³⁶ Abdullah Fauzi, 'Gubernur Undang Tokoh Adat Se-Banyuwangi', *Radar Banyuwangi* (Banyuwangi, 15 April 1995), p. 1.

³⁷ Abdullah Fauzi, 'Bupati Umumkan Bangun Rencana Desa Adat Using', *Radar Banyuwangi* (Banyuwangi, 1995), p. 3.

³⁸ Pemerintah Tingkat II, *Surat Keputusan Pemerintah Daerah Tingkat II Nomor 401 Penetapan Desa Using Di Kabupaten Daerah Tingkat II Banyuwangi*.

³⁹ Novi Anoegrajekti, *Potensi Budaya Using Dan Industri Kreatif*.

The identity of Osing Kemiren Village has been utilized by bureaucrats and regional leaders who receive political assistance through public patronage.

Osing Village: Power Relations in Kemiren's Social and Political and Cultural Transformation

Political Culture of the Osing Community

In political contestation at the regional or village level, the position of ethnicity in identity plays a substantial role as a pillar in gaining power. When making political choice in elections, people would vote based on ethnic loyalty. Policy ideas socialized by the candidates are a secondary consideration.⁴⁰ This is a common trait of regional politics.

In the macro-social scope, the Osing people of Kemiren Village are divided into two Osing ethnic groups: the Osing Mulo ethnicity and the Osing Suko ethnicity. The Osing Mulo ethnic community is still classified as a traditional society because they only engage in agriculture and cultural arts. Meanwhile, the Osing Suko ethnic community has been engaging in the non-formal and formal employment sectors, such as the police and army (TNI), and have contributed to the political leadership of Banyuwangi.⁴¹ In 1976, the Osing Suko ethnic community also contributed one of the intellectual figures of the local community who was involved in regional politics.⁴² Hanapi, the former head of Kemiren Village served from 1950-1975 and was involved in regional political contestation. Hanapi, who was a former corporal II of the Glagah district military command, joined the secretariat with the Golongan Karya party. Hanapi's position in the Golongan Karya party was the Banyuwangi DPD election-winning secretariat.

One of the strategies taken by Hanapi is to carry out cultural and economic actualization for the Osing Suko ethnic community in Kemiren

Village.⁴³ Hanapi often lobbies on behalf of cultural and artistic activities owned by studios in Kemiren Village to the local Pendopo administration.⁴⁴

Hanapi also carried out the important task of helping Soedjatmiko, a political figure in Glagah District, who was nominated for a seat in the Banyuwangi DPRD for the electoral district of Glagah.⁴⁵ Soedjatmiko is one of the candidates running for the DPRD seat in the second-level local government of Banyuwangi Regency through the Golongan Karya Party. Soedjatmiko has a political identity that is not much different from Hanapi. He received the vote of the Osing people of Kemiren Village in the 1977 and 1982 elections by winning the Golongan Karya party in Kemiren Village.

Table 3. Data on Election Vote Results in Kemiren Village in 1977 and 1982

In 1977			In 1982		
PPP	PDI	GOLKAR	PPP	PDI	GOLKAR
0%	4,4%	90,4%	0%	6,7%	88,2%

Source: Elections Committee (PPS Glagah Sub-District in 1977 and 1982).⁴⁶

The Golongan Karya party has been elected to represent the region since the 1971 election. This condition gives them legislative and executive power. Given their dominance, other parties, such as the PPP (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan or Development Unity Party) and PDI (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia or Democratic Party of Indonesia), seem to only be accessories to the elections in 1977 and 1982.

Soedjatmiko's victory in two elections for the Banyuwangi DPRD seat in 1977 and 1982 could not be separated from Hanapi's important role. In 1983, Hanapi served as head of the Development Planning Agency for the Level II Regional Development Planning Board of Banyuwangi Regency.⁴⁷ In 1984, the Osing Mulo ethnic group

⁴⁰ Nawir and Mukramin.

⁴¹ Kantor Desa Kemiren, *Pendataan Profil Desa (PPD) Kemiren* (Banyuwangi: Kantor Desa Kemiren, 2000).

⁴² DPD Golongan Karya, *Surat Keputusan Dewan Pimpinan Daerah Tingkat II Nomor 042/DPD/-II/SGK/XI* (Banyuwangi, 1976), p. 1.

⁴³ Jumhari, 'Wawancara' (Banyuwangi, 2021).

⁴⁴ Hasnan Singodimayan.

⁴⁵ Jumhari.

⁴⁶ Panitia Pemungutan Suara, *Hasil Suara Pemilu di Desa Kemiren Tahun 1977 Dan 1982* (Banyuwangi, 1982).

⁴⁷ Jumhari.

had intellectual figures who also joined political parties. Jumhari, who is part of the Osing Mulo ethnic community group, previously served as village secretary during the Hanapi government. Jumhari joined the PDI political party based on the struggle for equal rights for the Osing community group in Kemiren Village.

Unlike Hanapi, the political steps that Jumhari went through were quite short. In 1984 Jumhari first joined PDI; in 1987, he received a party recommendation as a candidate for a seat in the Banyuwangi regional legislature (DPRD), representing the electoral district of Glagah Subdistrict based on DPD Level I Decree Number 235/KPTS/DPD/VI of 1987.⁴⁸ Jumhari's brief political move was supported by his relationship with Bambang Soemarjono, who was the treasurer of the PDI Regional Leadership Council in Banyuwangi and who has family ties with Jumhari.

The struggle for the Banyuwangi DPRD seat in 1987 was fought by two figures in the Osing Kemiren Village community. Jumhari lost in the seat contestation in the Banyuwangi DPRD election to Hanapi.

Table 4. Data on Election Vote Results in Kemiren Village in 1987

No.	Party	Voice	Persentase %
1.	PPP	-	0
2.	PDI	324	24%
3.	GOLKAR	1873	76%

Source: Voting Committee (PPS Glagah Sub-District in 1987).⁴⁹

The political voice of the Osing Kemiren Village community is divided into two party, namely the PDI party and the Golongan Karya party. The PPP party in the 1987 election did not get any votes from the people of Osing, Kemiren Village. From a religious point of view, the people

of Osing Kemiren Village do not strongly identify with Islamic political ideology. The majority of the Osing people of Kemiren Village are Muslims. However, their Islamic belief and practice is more like the abangan (lay and syncretic) Islam of rural communities.⁵⁰

In the context of religiosity and culture, the identity of the Islamic party in Kemiren Village is not strong enough to get votes. The table data shows differences of political culture between the two hamlets in Kemiren Village. The Osing Mulo ethnic group belongs to the parochial political type.⁵¹

On the other hand, the Osing Suko ethnic community is closer to the participant political type. During his time in the Banyuwangi DPRD, Hanapi participated in the struggle to construct Osing's identity in Kemiren Village, putting aside the differences in ethnic groups between the Osing Mulo and Osing Suko ethnicities.

During the 1990s, more and more intellectual figures and cultural actors in Kemiren Village joined political parties. In 1994, Soenardi, who was the former head of Kemiren Village for the 1975-1989 period, followed Hanapi's footsteps in his membership of the Golongan Karya party.⁵² Besides Soenardi, Samsul Handoko, who is a cultural actor and owner of the Uncle Iris angklung studio in Kemiren Village, also joined the Golongan Karya party in 1995.⁵³

In 1996, Sahunik, one of the cultural actors in Kemiren Village, following in the footsteps of his colleague Samsul Handoko, joined the Golongan Karya party.⁵⁴ In 1999, Sahunik then won an important position because of the political lobbying within the Pendopo administration.⁵⁵

During the 2000s, the contributions of artists from Kemiren Village played an increasingly

⁴⁸ DPD PDI, *Surat Keputusan Dewan Pimpinan Daerah Tingkat I Nomor 235/KPTS/DPD/VI*, 1987, p. 1.

⁴⁹ Panitia Pemungutan Suara, *Hasil Suara Pemilu di Desa Kemiren Tahun 1987* (Banyuwangi, 1987).

⁵⁰ Clifford Geertz, *Abangan, Santri, Priyayi Dalam Masyarakat Jawa* (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1989).

⁵¹ Kurniawati Hastuti Dewi, *Indonesian Women and Local Politics. Islam, Gender and Networks in Post-Subarto Indonesia* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2015).

⁵² DPD Golongan Karya, *Surat Keputusan Dewan Pimpinan Daerah Tingkat II Nomor A-26/DPD/GK-BWI/IV*, 1994, p. 1.

⁵³ Samsul Handoko, 'Wawancara' (Banyuwangi, 2021).

⁵⁴ DPD Golongan Karya, *Surat Keputusan Dewan Pimpinan Daerah Tingkat II Nomor 140/DPD/GK-BWI/A/XII*, 1994, p. 1.

⁵⁵ Sahunik, 'Wawancara' (Banyuwangi, 2021).

important role in local politics. Artists from the Osing Kemiren Village, such as Samsul Handoko, Sabar Subari, Koesniah, Sahunik, Sumiati, and Temu also enriched Osing's identity through musical and dance works.⁵⁶

Cultural actors in Kemiren Village such as Samsul Handoko, Sabar Subari, Koesniah, Sahunik, Sumiati, and Temu have contributed to popularization of Osing's identity. The recording is distributed via Suara Blambangan Radio and Regional Government Special Radio (RKPD).⁵⁷

Cultural actors in Kemiren Village, such as Samsul Handoko and Sahunik, who previously owned studios in Kemiren Village and were members of the Golongan Karya party, changed their political affiliation during Samsul Hadi's leadership to the National Awakening Party (PKB).⁵⁸ The National Awakening Party is a party that represents Islamic political ideology and identity. This represents a shift in the political climate of Banyuwangi, which is now open to new political identities.

Gradually, the political culture of these cultural actors also contributed to uniting the voices of the common identity of the Osing Kemiren Village community. The political culture of ethnic equality has also become corporatized and commodified to improve the people's economic condition.

Elite Contestation in Political Development and Cultural Conservation of Osing Kemiren Village

In the political contestations of Kemiren Village, the Osing Suko ethnicity has contributed more representatives in leadership positions of Kemiren Village.⁵⁹ Meanwhile, the Osing Mulo ethnic group has contributed more traditional leaders in the village. Politics, which also takes place in the local realm, can be seen as the

interaction between the people who participate and the influence of policy.⁶⁰

When viewed in terms of the democratic paradigm of the local leadership of Kemiren Village in the New Order era, all political positions up to the village head were filled with appointed figures.⁶¹ The village head election actions were carried out only to reduce community tensions and continue to carry out the principles of governance.

Table 5. Headman of Kemiren Village

No	Name	Period
1.	Hanapi	1950-1975
2.	Soenardi	1975-1989
3.	Sutris	1989-1999
4.	Bambang Sugiharto	1999-2007

Source: Village Hall of Kemiren in 2004.⁶²

Both Hanapi and Soenardi are former corporals II of the Glagah District Kodim army. The 1974 Law on Village Administration states that the village head is considered to be a sub-district head directly appointed by the second-level regional government, namely the Banyuwangi regional government.⁶³

In 1979, the Law on Village Administration changed. The village can now manage its own affairs, including electing the village head directly by the community.⁶⁴ The election of the village head of Kemiren directly by the community was realized in 1989.

Sutris was an elite actor chosen by the sub-district head of Glagah Basuki Handoyo, who at that time had the task of appointing the Kemiren Village head. Sutris was a rank III member of the Village Trustees (Babinsa) who previously served in the Banjarsari sub-district.⁶⁵ Sutris was also a member Osing Suko ethnic group that inhabit the Dusun Krajan area.

⁵⁶ Novi Anoeграjkti, *Pengembangan Gandrung Banyuwangi Dalam Rangka Penguatan Aset Budaya Dan Identitas Lokal*.

⁵⁷ Hasnan Singodimayan.

⁵⁸ Joni Subagio, 'Wawancara' (Banyuwangi, 2021).

⁵⁹ Jumhari.

⁶⁰ F. W. Riggs, 'Turmoil among Nations, A Conceptual Essay: Ethnonationalism, Authoritarianism, Anarchy, and Democracy', *International Studies Association*, 4. 22 (2004), 18.

⁶¹ Sadu Wasistono, *Desentralisasi, Demokrasi, dan Pembentukan Good Governance* (Jakarta: LIPI Press, 2004).

⁶² Kantor Desa Kemiren, *Monografi Desa Kemiren dalam Angka 2004* (Banyuwangi: Kantor Desa Kemiren, 2004).

⁶³ Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia, *Undang-Undang Nomor 05 Tahun 1974 Tentang Pemerintahan Desa*, 1974, p. 6.

⁶⁴ Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia, *Undang-Undang Nomor 05 Tahun 1979 Tentang Pemerintahan Desa*, 1979, p. 07.

⁶⁵ Sahunik.

On the other hand, the Osing Mulo ethnic community wanted Jumhari, who was a former village official during the Hanapi administration, to run as a candidate for village head. Jumhari conducted political lobbying with cultural actors in the villages of Kemiren Sahunik and Sumiati to support his future government.⁶⁶

Furthermore, Sutris, backed by his common political identity with Basuki Handoyo, has launched an attack against rivals on the issue of money politics. Basuni and Mislani as hamlet heads received funds to be distributed to the families of orphans and widows in Kemiren Village.⁶⁷ Sutris also offered the idea of developing village facilities and infrastructure. The excess funds from the development would become the property of the Kemiren Village community. Sutris's policy idea was considered to only benefit the political organizational structure of his government.

The general election for the Kemiren Village head was held on October 15, 1989, at the Kemiren Village Hall. Elements of Osing's culture such as Gandrung belonging to Sumiati studio, angklung belonging to Sahunik studio, and Barong belonging to Saleh, were present at the event. This strategy can be seen as a political strategy from Jumhari's camp to remind people to vote for him.

The vote acquisition established Sutris as head of Kemiren Village with 64% of the vote compared to Jumhari who only received 36% of the vote.⁶⁸ The Osing community of Kemiren Village must accept the election results amicably. Sutris' reign as head of Kemiren Village would end in 1997.

However, Sutris' reign as Head of Kemiren Village was extended for the next period. The extension of Sutris' reign was based on his political lobbying with Agus Suliyanto as the head of Glagah District, who at that time was in charge.⁶⁹ This political lobbying resulted in the

reappointment of Sutris' term as village head of Kemiren. The Osing community of Kemiren Village accepted this political policy, because the community was swayed by the development of Osing's identity at that time which had gained legitimacy from the second level local government.

Political events in the regional realm have affected the continuity of Sutris' government in Kemiren Village. In 1999, Regent Purnomo Siddiq was urged to resign from his post over the witchcraft massacre controversy. Sutris, part of Purnomo Siddiq's relationship, seemed to have wanted to wash his hands clean of this case. The political event also resulted in the killing of a religious figure from the Osing Mulo ethnicity, ustadz Suradji.⁷⁰

On May 12, 1999, Regent Purnomo Siddiq resigned from his position as Regent of Banyuwangi.⁷¹ Purnomo Siddiq's resignation at the regional level was immediately followed by Sutris who resigned as village head. After the end of Sutris' government as head of Kemiren Village in June 1999, village officials and the Kemiren Village Correctional Institution held an emergency meeting urging that elections of the Kemiren Village head be carried out immediately.⁷²

The village elites nominated the following candidates: Serad, a representative from the Osing Mulo ethnicity, and Bambang Sugiharto, a representative from the Osing Suko ethnicity. Serad is one of the traditional government figures and hails from a long line of local stakeholders. Meanwhile, Bambang Sugiharto's is part of the Kemiren Village apparatus, and was previously one of the members of the Village Trustee Officer (Babinsa) rank II.⁷³

In the general election results for the head of Kemiren Village, Bambang Sugiharto gained 57% of the votes compared to Serad, who had a narrow

⁶⁶ Jumhari.

⁶⁷ Sahunik.

⁶⁸ Kantor Desa Kemiren, *Hasil Suara dalam Pemilihan Kepala Desa 1989* (Banyuwangi, 1989).

⁶⁹ Samsul Handoko.

⁷⁰ Latif Kusairi, 'Ontran-Ontran Demokrasi Kekerasan Dengan Isu Dukun Santet di Banyuwangi 1998-1999' (Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2015).

⁷¹ Ridwan Kristianto, 'Demo Menuntut Turunya Bupati Banyuwangi Mendapat Dukungan Para Kiai NU', *Jawa Pos* (Surabaya, 1998), p. 1.

⁷² Bambang Sugiharto, 'Wawancara' (Banyuwangi, 2021).

⁷³ Bambang Sugiharto.

margin of 43% of the votes out of a total of 2,648 votes.⁷⁴ The political steps taken by Bambang Sugiharto in the early stages were to guarantee equal rights for the two Osing ethnic groups in Kemiren Village. This political step is considered a strategic way to reduce tension between the ethnic groups. To achieve this, Bambang Sugiharto appointed Serad as an advisor in the village government and gave him the status of a civil servant.⁷⁵ This policy was expected to ensure the equality of ethnic identities being promoted.

The cultural actors of Kemiren Village also voiced their aspiration regarding political policies that began to privatize and industrialize aspects of Osing cultures in Kemiren Village. Cultural conservation initiated by village political elites affiliated with various parties, such as the cultural actors of Kemiren Village, has had a domino effect on other elements of Osing culture. Since the 2000s, several cultural actors positioned themselves within the discursive orientation of finding and retracing local identities.

Gandrung, for instance, was positioned as a profane performance whose orientation is primarily erotic. Establishing the legitimacy of Gandrung as an identity received strong protests from the Banyuwangi Muslim authorities, including the Kemiren Village scholars.⁷⁶ However, local governments seem to emphasized the erotic aspects of the performance due to political agendas in the national sphere. Regarding this problem, the National Awakening Party (PKB), whose political identity is mostly filled by the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) organization figures, intervened in this incident.

These NU figures argued that culture is part of the process of Islamic propagation (dakwah) in Banyuwangi. Gandrung's erotic side should not need to be magnified, since it leads to social tension.⁷⁷ This position has been regarded as

political mobilization and an effort to increase the electability of PKB in society. During this period, PKB dominated regional politics.

On the other hand, Sumiati and Temu, who were cultural actors, were still working with political elites in the bureaucracy to construct a positional discourse regarding Kemiren Village, especially in regard to traditional songs which have been reinterpreted in the context of national struggle.⁷⁸ That is, cultural actors also invest in culture to build society's collective political awareness.

The Transformation of Islamic Social and Political Culture in Osing Village in Banyuwangi Identity

The dynamics of social transformation at the local level are not much different from what Osing Village has undergone through the actors who contributed directly or indirectly.⁷⁹

Against this background, since 2000, the village government has begun to rethink its strategy in carrying out the transformation of progress for Osing Kemiren Village, which can then be applied in a bureaucratic and democratizing manner. This period was accompanied by a period of regional decentralization during the leadership of the Regent Samsul Hadi as the leader of Banyuwangi Regency. He carried out many program schemes to mobilize social movement and political culture in Osing Village by involving several groups of parties such as the general public, community leaders, cultural actors, the regional government, and the private sector.

When viewed through a political lens, almost all Banyuwangi Regents, since the leadership of Joko Supaat Slamet to Samsul Hadi, have tried to represent their constituents through the various programs and regulations related to Osing's culture.⁸⁰ Participation is always strong among the local and wider communities every time traditional celebrations are held in Osing Village.⁸¹ Something

⁷⁴ Kantor Desa Kemiren, *Hasil Suara dalam Pemilihan Kepala Desa 1999* (Banyuwangi, 1999).

⁷⁵ Jumhari.

⁷⁶ Novi Anoeграjekti, *Pengembangan Gandrung Banyuwangi dalam Rangka Pengnatan Aset Budaya Dan Identitas Lokal*.

⁷⁷ Joni Subagio.

⁷⁸ Taufik Firmanto.

⁷⁹ Andang Subaharianto Ikwani Setiawan, Albert Tallapessy, *Politik Identitas Etnis Pasca Reformasi* (Jember: Unej Press, 2015).

⁸⁰ Sutoro Eko, *Meletakkan Desa dalam Desentralisasi dan Demokrasi* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2006).

⁸¹ Bambang Sugiharto.

new was realized during Bambang Sugiharto as head of Kemiren Village. Social relations like this are established through customary and community activities.

The transformation of Osing Village was meant also to effect a sustainable political and economic structure in order to create a just, independent, democratic, and prosperous village life.⁸² Subsequent social transformation manifested itself in the awareness of the village community about the importance of educational institutions. The people of Osing Kemiren Village are required to have education up to the high school level to eliminate the low level of education in the community.⁸³ In turn, the social transformation of society also has a domino effect on the transformation of the Islamic political culture of the people of Osing Kemiren Village.

In the context of public administration, the political culture transformation model in Kemiren Village is the harmonization between the public-community partnership model and the public-private partnership.⁸⁴ During the Bambang Sugiharto government, a political lobby was established with the regional head, Samsul Hadi, whose policy orientation was to advance and facilitate the Osing Village community in attaining its development goals and to build the political culture of the community while at the same time increasing regional revenue. The figure of Samsul Hadi, who hailed from the PKB Islamic party, was very charismatic for traditional leaders and the political elite in Kemiren Village because he was considered to be very generous to them when assistance was needed.⁸⁵

The transformation of political culture in society can also be seen through the increasing number of political elites in the village who have joined Islamic parties. The political culture also

influenced the transformation of political identity in Kemiren Village. In the previous period, the village's political elites established affiliations with the ruling political parties, such as the Golongan Karya; during the reign of Samsul Hadi, however, these affiliations were heterogeneous and tended to Islamic parties.

Sri Margana (2015)⁸⁶ has observed that during the reign of Regent Samsul Hadi, there was a social and political shift in the Osing community from the "abangan" to the "santri" archetype (i.e., from the "syncretic" to the "orthodox" Muslim). This was preceded by a protest launched by local religious authorities against Samsul Hadi's policy of establishing Gandrung as Banyuwangi's identity. Novi Anoegrajekti (2011)⁸⁷ wrote that religious people consider Gandrung to be too an erotic performance. They countered by producing Gandrung performances that adhered to Islamic requirements of modest clothing, such as wearing a veil for femal dances. This has led to a shift from the the abangan tradition to a santri traditionn Osing's culture. Yulitin Sungkowati (2007)⁸⁸ has noted that cultural actors such as Armaya and Endro Wilis in their literary works at the Banyuwangi Cultural Studies Center critically responded to Samsul Hadi's religious and political policies which were considered rigid.

Even though he received quite a variety of responses, Samsul Hadi's position of power which legalized Gandrung as part of Banyuwangi's identity has increased the people's political trust in his electability. Several cultural actors who have Gandrung studios in Kemiren Village have shown their loyalty by joining the PKB, which is considered have been an open and accommodating party toward Osing culture.

New village elites with Islamic political identities emerged during the regional autonomy

⁸² Chancel Kumar, 'Multiculturalism in a Global Society: Minority Rights and Justice', *Research on Humanities and Social Science*, 1.2 (2011), 42.

⁸³ M. E. Gimenez, 'With a Little Class: A Critique of Identity Politics', *Ethnicities*, 6. 3 (2006), 424.

⁸⁴ Kurniawati Hastuti Dewi.

⁸⁵ Joni Subagio.

⁸⁶ Sri Margana, *Outsiders and Stigma: Reconstruction of Local Identity in Banyuwangi* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2015).

⁸⁷ Novi Anoegrajekti, 'Kontestasi dan Representasi Identitas Using'.

⁸⁸ Yulitin Sungkowati, 'Kerudung Santet Gandrung: Simbol Perlawanan terhadap Kaum Santri Banyuwangi?', *Diksi*, 14.2 (2007), 168.

era. The development of the level of education in society has also influenced the new political elites in the village.

Tabel 6. Political Elite of Kemiren Village

No.	Name	Party	Year
1.	Sahunik	PKB	2001
2.	Samsul Handoko	PKB	2001
3.	Saeman Busono	PKB	2002
4.	Akhmad Busairi	PKB	2003
5.	Joni Subagio	PKB	2003
6.	Abdul Karim	PDI	2002
7.	Lilik Handayani	Partai Demokrat	2004

Source: Kemiren' Village Profile Data Collection in 2005.⁸⁹

During the reign of Samsul Hadi, the political culture of the people of Osing Kemiren Village was dominated by the Islamic party. Previously political identity related to Islam in Kemiren Village was very difficult to develop. Most of the political elites in Kemiren Village are Samsul Hadi's subordinates in the party organization. This association may help their political careers. What is also interesting is the emergence of women political elites in Kemiren Village. This has become an incentive to build a political culture in society, especially for the women of Kemiren Village. It should be noted, however, that political identity in Kemiren Village has always been dominated by patriarchal culture.⁹⁰

Lilik Handayani, Joni Subagio, and Abdul Karim competed for seats in the Banyuwangi DPRD in the 2005 elections.⁹¹ Meanwhile, Sahunik, Samsul Handoko, Saeman Busono, and Akhmad Busairi consistently pursued political relations under Samsul Hadi.

It can be concluded that in the post-Reformation political culture in Kemiren Village new actors have emerged. The new actors are affiliated with the local governments in power. It is necessary to know in depth the motives and interests of each of these political actors. Political culture has also influenced the transformation of Islamic political identity in Kemiren Village.

Old actors were still mobilized during the post-Reformation period. They continued to negotiate, invest, and initiate political identities. These developments and the tensions they produced created a power relation between cultural elites and political elites in Kemiren Village. Ben Arps (2009)⁹² has emphasized the following arguments raised by cultural actors. First is to maintain and preserve ethnic identity and be able to contribute economically to local communities. In subsequent developments, supporting this identity through cultural politics will initiate economic development and regional autonomy in the villages that are the pockets of the Osing community in Banyuwangi. In 1999, there were two other villages, namely Olehsari Village and Bakungan Village, which also followed the strategy of economic development and regional autonomy like Kemiren Village. Awareness of political identity in terms of economic goals and the development of regional autonomy then spread to other Osing villages in Banyuwangi until now. In the end, the political goals that play into this identity consists of the need for a better direction in democracy and offering change for the villages that are the residential pockets of other Osing people in Banyuwangi.

Conclusion

Identity does not occur in a vacuum. The mobilization of Osing's identity was carried out by political actors and elites until the post-Reformation period. It was continually negotiated and involved communal tensions. This led to a power relationship between cultural and political elites.

Political identity was originally based on similarities, such as ethnic, religious, and territorial, and fate similarities. This led to public sympathy. The ethnic component is a strong foundation in elections, especially contestation at the local level, such as the village. Kemiren Village is designated

⁸⁹ Kantor Desa Kemiren, *Pendataan Profil Desa (PPD) Kemiren* (Banyuwangi: Kantor Desa Kemiren, 2005). p. 12.

⁹⁰ Kurniawati Hastuti Dewi.

⁹¹ Joni Subagio.

⁹² Ben Arps, 'Using Kids and the Banners of Blambangan: Ethnolinguistic Identity and the Regional Past as an Ambient Theme in East Javanese Town', *Wacana*, 11.1 (2009), 11.

as the Osing Cultural Village, which has two Osing ethnic strengths in one village, namely the Osing Mulo ethnicity and the Osing Suko ethnicity.

Indigenous cultural movements in the local community and the employment sector have influenced the differences in political identity and political cultures of the two groups. The emergence of political elites from the two groups also influenced their respective political identities. The political identity of the Osing ethnic group in Kemiren Village during the New Order era was dominated the Golongan Karya party.

However, all of that changed. In the post-Reformation era, the political culture of society transformed. This transformation was also supported by the presence of the charismatic Samsul Hadi as regent of Banyuwangi, who hails from the PKB Islamic party.

Islamic parties such as PKB then influenced the mobilization of a new political identity in Kemiren Village with the emergence of new village elites, most of whom joined and leaned towards Islamic parties. At that time, PKB dominated politics in Banyuwangi.

References

Books

- Pranoto, 'Gandrung Dalam Identitas Kelokalan', in *Seminar Kebudayaan Banyuwangi* (Banyuwangi: Dewan Kesenian Blambangan, 2002).
- Ridwan Kristianto, 'Demo Menuntut Turunya Bupati Banyuwangi Mendapat Dukungan Para Kiai NU', *Jawa Pos* (Surabaya, 1998).
- Sadu Wasistono, *Desentralisasi, Demokrasi, Dan Pembentukan Good Governance* (Jakarta: LIPI Press, 2004).
- Sri Margana, *Outsiders and Stigma: Reconstruction of Local Identity in Banyuwangi* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2015).
- Sukamdi & Setiadi, *State-Created Socio-Cultural Poverty: Lesson from Some Micro Studies* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2003).
- Sutoro Eko, *Meletakkan Desa Dalam Desentralisasi dan Demokrasi* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar,

2006).

Taufik Firmanto, *Suku Using: Perspektif Etnografi, Sosial, Hukum, dan Budaya* (Malang: Intelegensia Media, 2019).

Titik Maslikatin, Edy Hariyadi, dan Heru S. P Saputra, 'Sastra Using: Tafsir Lokalitas dalam Konteks Perkembangan Zaman', *Jember University Press*, 1 (2020).

Yulitin Sungkowati, 'Kerudung Santet Gandrung: Simbol Perlawanan terhadap Kaum Santri Banyuwangi', *Diksi*, 14 (2007).

Documents

DPD Golongan Karya, *Surat Keputusan Dewan Pimpinan Daerah Tingkat II Nomor 042/DPD/-II/SGK/XI* (Banyuwangi, 1976).

———, *Surat Keputusan Dewan Pimpinan Daerah Tingkat II Nomor 140/DPD/GK-BWI/A/XII*, 1994, p. 1

———, *Surat Keputusan Dewan Pimpinan Daerah Tingkat II Nomor A-26/DPD/GK-BWI/IV*, 1994.

DPD PDI, *Surat Keputusan Dewan Pimpinan Daerah Tingkat I Nomor 235/KPTS/DPD/VI*, 1987.

Kantor Desa Kemiren, *Hasil Suara Dalam Pemilihan Kepala Desa 1989* (Banyuwangi, 1989).

———, *Hasil Suara Dalam Pemilihan Kepala Desa 1999* (Banyuwangi, 1999).

———, *Monografi Desa Kemiren Dalam Angka 2004* (Banyuwangi: Kantor Desa Kemiren, 2004).

———, *Pendataan Profil Desa (PPD) Kemiren* (Banyuwangi: Kantor Desa Kemiren, 2000).

———, *Pendataan Profil Desa (PPD) Kemiren* (Banyuwangi: Kantor Desa Kemiren, 2005)

Kemiren, Kantor Desa, *Nota Dana Iuran Masyarakat* (Banyuwangi, 2003).

Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia, *Undang-Undang Nomor 05 Tahun 1974 Tentang Pemerintahan Desa*, 1974.

———, *Undang-Undang Nomor 05 Tahun 1979 Tentang Pemerintahan Desa*, 1979.

Abdullah Fauzi, 'Bupati Umumkan Bangun Rencana Desa Adat Using', *Radar Banyuwangi* (Banyuwangi, 1995).

———, 'Gubernur Undang Tokoh Adat Se-Banyuwangi', *Radar Banyuwangi* (Banyuwangi,

15 April 1995).

———, 'Wacana Desa Using Undang Tokoh Masyarakat Di Pendopo', *Radar Banyuwangi* (Banyuwangi, 1995).

Carolyn D'Cruz 2008. *Identity Politics in Deconstruction: Calculating with the Incalculable*. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Clifford Geertz, *Abangan, Santri, Priyayi Dalam Masyarakat Jawa* (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1989)

Henk Schulte Nordholt & Gerry van Klinken, *Politik Lokal Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor, 2009).

Ikwan Setiawan, Albert Tallapessy, Andang Subaharianto, *Politik Identitas Etnis Pasca Reformasi* (Jember: Unej Press, 2015).

Kuntowijoyo, *Metodologi Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana Yogya, 2003).

Kurniawati Hastuti Dewi, *Indonesian Women and Local Politics. Islam, Gender and Networks in Post-Subarto Indonesia* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2015).

Latif Kusairi, 'Ontran-Ontran Demokrasi Kekerasan Dengan Isu Dukun Santet di Banyuwangi 1998-1999' (Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2015).

Novi Anoegrajekti, *Kesenian Using: Resistensi Budaya Komunitas Pinggir dalam Kebijakan Kebudayaan di Masa Orde Baru* (Jakarta: PMB-LIPI, 2001).

———, 'Nyanian Gandrung: Membaca Lokalitas dalam Keindonesiaan', in *Seminar Internasional HISKI* (Solo: Seminar Internasional HISKI, 2006).

———, *Pengembangan Gandrung Banyuwangi dalam Rangka Penguatan Aset Budaya dan Identitas Lokal* (Jember, 2009).

———, *Potensi Budaya Using dan Industri Kreatif* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak, 2018)

Journals

Ben Arps, 'Using Kids and the Banners of Blambangan: Ethnolinguistic Identity and the Regional Past as an Ambient Theme in East Javanese Town', *Wacana*, 11 (2009).

Chancel Kumar, 'Multiculturalism in a Global Society: Minority Rights and Justice', *Research on Humanities and Social Science*, 1 (2011).

Floya Anthias, 'Where do I belong?: Narrating

collective identity and translocational positionality', *Ethnicities*, 2 (2002).

F. W. Riggs, 'Turmoil among Nations, A Conceptual Essay: Ethnonationalism, Authoritarianism, Anarchy, and Democracy', *International Studies Association*, 4 (2004).

Hasan Ali, 'Kata Dan Predikat Using', *Majalah Budaya Jejak*, March 2003).

I. G. Krisnadi, 'Amuk Massa Banyuwangi 1965', *Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial*, 7 (2007).

Ikwan Setiawan, 'Transformasi Masa Lalu Dalam Nyanian Masa Kini: Hibridasi Dan Negosiasi Lokalitas Dalam Musik Populer Using', *Kultur*, 2 (2007).

M. A. Ackelberg, 'Identity Politics, Political Identities: Thoughts Toward a Multicultural Politics', *Journal of Women Studies*, 16, (1996).

M. E. Gimenez, 'With a little class: A critique of identity politics', *Ethnicities*, 6. (2006).

Nankyung Choi, 'Democracy and Patrimonial Politics in Local Indonesia', *Journal Southeast Asia Program Publications at Cornell University*, 10 (2009).

Nawir, Muhammad, and Sam'un Mukramin, 'Identitas Etnis dalam Ranah Politik', *Phinisi Integration Review*, 2 (2019).

Novi Anoegrajekti, 'Kontestasi dan Representasi Identitas Using', *Humaniora*, 1 (2011).

Panitia Pemungutan Suara, *Hasil Suara Pemilu di Desa Kemiren Tahun 1977 dan 1982* (Banyuwangi, 1982).

———, *Hasil Suara Pemilu di Desa Kemiren Tahun 1987* (Banyuwangi, 1987).

Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Banyuwangi, *Surat Keputusan Bupati Nomor 371* (Banyuwangi, 2002).

Pemerintah Tingkat II, *Surat Keputusan Pemerintah Daerah Tingkat II Nomor 401 Penetapan Desa Using di Kabupaten Daerah Tingkat II Banyuwangi*, 1996.

———, *Surat Keputusan Pemerintah Daerah Tingkat II Nomor Um/1968/50 Pembinaan dan Pelestarian Kesenian dan Kebudayaan Using di Kabupaten Daerah Tingkat II Banyuwangi*, 1970.

Interviews

- Bambang Sugiharto, 'Wawancara' (Banyuwangi, 2021).
Hasnan Singodimayan, 'Wawancara' (Banyuwangi, 2021).
Joni Subagio, 'Wawancara' (Banyuwangi, 2021)
Jumhari, 'Wawancara' (Banyuwangi, 2021)
Sahunik, 'Wawancara' (Banyuwangi, 2021).
Samsul Handoko, 'Wawancara' (Banyuwangi, 2021).
Setyo Her Fendi, 'Wawancara' (Banyuwangi, 2021).