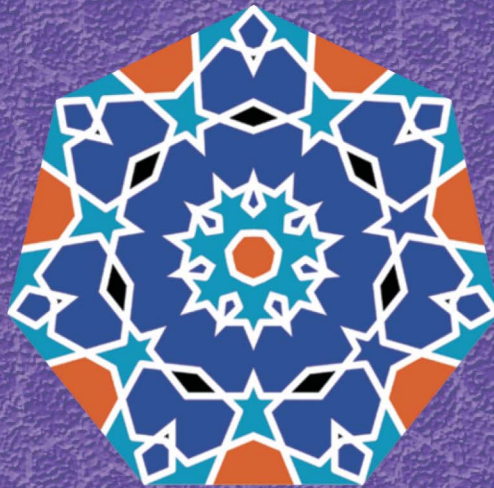


Vol. 7, Nomor 1, Januari - Juni 2022

ISSN : 2527-8118 (p)
2527-8126 (e)

Shahih

Journal of Islamicate Multidisciplinary



*Thailand's Halal Gastro diplomacy to Indonesia:
A Study from the Glocalization Perspective*
Ario Bimo Utomo, Kendalita Sari

Religious Freedom of Indigenous Beliefs in Yogyakarta, Indonesia
Muhammad Bayu Zuhdi, Daniel Kalangie, Satria Aji Imawan

*Tengka Tradition In Madura:
Constructive Role of Ulama as Religious and Cultural Leaders*
Hasanatul Jannah, Danang Purwanto



Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengabdian kepada Masyarakat
Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Mas Said Surakarta

Shahih

Journal of Islamicate Multidisciplinary

Editorial Team

Editor in Chief

Muhammad Zainal Anwar, Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Mas Said Surakarta

Editorial Board

Purwanto, Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Mas Said Surakarta
Nur Kafid, Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Mas Said Surakarta
Imam Makruf, Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Mas Said Surakarta

Managing Editor

Ferdi Arifin, Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Mas Said Surakarta

Editor

Martina Safitri, Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Mas Said Surakarta
Latif Kusairi, Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Mas Said Surakarta

Editorial Assistant

Tiya Agustina, Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Mas Said Surakarta

Section Editor

Muhammad Husin Al Fatah, Universitas Raden Mas Said Surakarta
Alfin Miftakhul Khairi, Universitas Raden Mas Said Surakarta
Abraham Zakky Zulhasmi, Universitas Raden Mas Said Surakarta
Galih Fajar Fadhillah, Universitas Raden Mas Said Surakarta
Muhammad Furqon Adi Wibowo, Universitas Raden Mas Said Surakarta

Reviewer

Faizah Zakaria, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, Singapore
Fuji Riang Prastowo, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia
Zainul Abas, Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Mas Said Surakarta, Indonesia
Nina Nurmila, Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Gunung Djati, Indonesia
Mirjam Lücking, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel
Bagus Riyono, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia
Sangidu, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia
Hendy Yuniarto, Beijing Waiguoyu Daxue, China
Yunus Sulistyono, Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta, Indonesia
Cholichul Hadi, Universitas Airlangga, Indonesia
Alexander Wain, University of St Andrews, United Kingdom
Bianca J Smith, Universitas Mataram, Indonesia
AdisDuderija, Griffith University, Australia

Alamat Redaksi:

LPPM, Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Mas Said Surakarta

Jl. Pandawa No.1 Pucangan, Kartasura, Jawa Tengah, 57168 Phone: +6221-781516, Fax: +62271-782774

Email: jurnal.shahih@gmail.com Website: <http://ejournal.iainsurakarta.ac.id/index.php/shahih>



Witchcraft and SumpahPocong: Transformation and resolution of cases with the issue of shamans in Banyuwangi

Latif Kusairi

Pusat Studi Pancasila dan Kebangsaan Surakarta

Abstract

Many people believe that misfortunes such as illness, death, crop failure, livestock death, and divorce are caused by certain people with magical powers and knowledge called “witchcraft”. Like many other areas in Indonesia, Banyuwangi is one of the areas stigmatized by a lot of witchcraft. This stigma is then embedded in society, something that is said to be rooted in myths from the past. Witchcraft which is attached to magical rituals is difficult to prove by state law, because the basis of proof is difficult. So we need another formula to solve this witchcraft case with other models. When the elements of culture and Islam came in, the way to solve witchcraft was done by involving these elements of culture and Islam. Ways such as *Sumpah Pocong* and that of the Koran as a way to resolve the case. This tradition is then often carried out to resolve witchcraft cases in society as a substitute for positive law which is difficult to prove in this case.

Keywords: Witchcraft; Sumpah pocong; Banyuwangi

DOI: 10.22515/shahih.v7i1.5198

Introduction

Witchcraft in Banyuwangi is considered as a form of culture because it was historically used as a war strategy by society. History of Blambangan noted that witchcraft was used by society as one of methods against invaders. Lekerkerker and Beatty (1999) stated that witchcraft is a part of Banyuwangi’s culture. Hence, witchcraft in Banyuwangi consists of several types, and each of them represents the functions particularly. According to Saputra (2007), witchcraft in Banyuwangi divides into four colors, which are red, yellow, white, and

Coressponding author

Email: latifkusairi2018@gmail.com

black. Society conceives that colors of red, yellow, and white to have a good deed character, meanwhile, the black witchcraft is to have a function to murder.

The incident of violence that occurred in 1998 in Banyuwangi, deserves to be observed, namely that the journey of violence began with the issue of witchcraft as a culture that cannot be resolved by cultural means. Regardless of the intent of the violence that was present in Banyuwangi, the pattern can be seen, namely witchcraft as a culture, then clashed by religion, and is clouded by politicization. According to Harkrisnowo (1998), the phenomenon of witchcraft was a living reality in society, therefore, criminal sanctions must also be considered. As a criminologist of Universitas Indonesia, Harkrisnowo (1998) claimed that positive law trying to solve it will be very difficult because people are invited to believe in irrational things by including witchcraft as a crime in the formulation of criminal law.

He assumed that witchcraft phenomena in Banyuwangi was biased because it was a part of cultural phenomena that society believed in witchcraft as an existence culture, also witchcraft in society's view as a culture that has been attached and should the state limit it with legal products. Nevertheless, the incident of violence that occurred in Banyuwangi cannot be separated from the belief system of society about witchcraft. The government must be aware of the irrational phenomena that happened in Banyuwangi, and put the regulation based on positive law to crack down on violent behavior.

The author assumes that the government and local communities make an effort to resolve this problem within many considerations. Historical research becomes one of scientific approaches to unveil the local belief about witchcraft and *sumpah pocong* that exists there, and it will contribute to the government regulating the belief system of the local community to avoid the incident of violation. I conduct research about shamans in Banyuwangi that relates to witchcraft and *sumpah pocong* to reveal the history of its tradition in Banyuwangi.

Historical view of Banyuwangi about witchcraft culture

Even though witchcraft leads to violation among local society, it is a cultural product of the local community in Banyuwangi. Society of Banyuwangi claims that several victims disclose that witchcraft exists among the local community. They believe that the incident of violation occurred in 1998 is a part of the phenomena of witchcraft. For the people of Banyuwangi, the reality of witchcraft has existed since the Blambangan Kingdom. Witchcraft, which was originally intended to protect people from external enemy threats, gradually became a science to protect themselves by acting aggressively, which is harming their enemies before they were harmed (Zainudin, 1998).

Witchcraft always identically relates to the local culture and always negotiates with cultural developments. In carrying out suprahuman actions, one must use certain symbols

that are unique to their culture and traditions, which by symbolizing the victim's target with a doll or the heart of a banana tree. Technological developments then made the symbolism not limited to such things, which could be with a photo of the victim or something that had been on the victim such as clothes and hair. The object then represents the victim who in practice it with a needle.

Recently, developed technology brings various changes including witchcraft methods. There is a new model of witchcraft. It does not necessarily use symbolic media, but victims are made harmless in their lives, such as accidents or prolonged illness (2013). Cases like this that often occur in our society are the pattern of relations between the magical world and culture in society about witchcraft.

At first, the case of witchcraft was part of the magical science that surrounded it on a daily basis. The community's response when they find out that a *dukun* has been practicing witchcraft is to expel him from his place of residence according to the agreed local law. This condition has been going on for a long time and the community also feels at peace with the existing law (Epton, 2014). The witchcraft case on February 4, 1998 with the first victim, Soemarmo Adi, was actually still closely related to cultural elements, which the expulsion of people accused of witchcraft. However it reached a stalemate because he did not want to leave his village, and eventually he was killed by a local community as a punishment and the law of local community.

The tradition carried out by the people of Banyuwangi was to prove that the suspected shaman was guilty or not, they must take *sumpah pocong*. According to KH. Abdul Fatah in his interview, who is a community leader in the Carpenter Village and the administrator of the Al Anwari Islamic Boarding School, Banyuwangi City, *sumpah pocong* is an effective medium to reconcile the residents with the suspected shaman so that violence does not occur. This effort is carried out using the media of local religious and cultural rituals. In addition, oaths with the media of the Qur'an are also often carried out to address the problem of the shaman.



Picture 1. *Sumpah pocong* rituals as a reconciliation of witchcraft case in Banyuwangi
(source: Kedaulatan Rakyat, October 18, 1998)

Before the occurrence of violent killings with the issue of suspected shamans, people have used the tradition of judgment in cultural ways. This means that this approach is considered to be very effective in prosecuting suspected shamans. According to Samsudin Adlawi in his interview, the people used to really believe in the existence of this law, the expulsion pattern aimed at the shamans was also effective in reassuring residents who were restless about witchcraft. The community also does not automatically judge the shaman, but leaders such as village elders, *kiai* or village officials have an important role in conducting trials and sanctions that will be imposed on the shaman. This process has been going on for a very long time and has become a tradition in witchcraft trials. This is very different from the case of violence with the issue of shamans in mid-1998, where the role of the character was very weak, resulting in murders with many victims.

The incident of the killing of witch doctors in the second period, on July 11, 1998, was initially perceived as an explosive process of injustice in culture. Hasan Ali, in the interview, said that the witchcraft is an inherent part of Banyuwangi culture, especially the Using people. The judgment process carried out by people against those accused of witchcraft was basically related to the weakness of the law at that time, so that the judicial process was carried out by the people themselves in the name of democracy on behalf of the people (Kompas, 1998). However, the influence of the killings that occurred in Banyuwangi is not solely from the criminal side, but also the cultural influence in dealing with shamans. Kinship factors and

emotional values in society have taken away the right and responsibility to conduct justice against those accused of witchcraft, especially to clean up their village. Even though this is in stark contrast to going against state law, the culture that has been passed down from generation to generation has grown even more during the Reformation period where the law was shaky.

Chronologically, the pattern of violence that exists is due to social unrest in the community related to culture. This unrest is caused by the absence of law and a firm role of the apparatus in dealing with it. The cultural law that should be able to oversee it, then cannot be presented because there is no strong bond between the accused, which is the shaman, the community and the apparatus, which then leads to conflict or violence movements. In Suhartono's view, unrest can be caused by the accumulation of problems in society, it can be socio-economic or political (1991), it causes people's psychology to be affected and makes the spirit to fight with violence to achieve harmony in life.

Religion and witchcraft tradition: A shifting paradigm

According to David Henley et al (2007) that religious institutions also play an important role in influencing violence when their leaders have a role and are responsible, or vice versa. Religion does not have to be free to emphasize democracy to reduce violence, but religion can also be a strong institution in creating a democracy that smells of violence. The people of Banyuwangi, who are predominantly Muslim, have been colored by violence with religious sentiments. In this case, people tend to see religion as part of their spirit of life. Nevertheless, religion in Banyuwangi society is not a threat to culture, in fact there has been cultural acculturation. Similarly with Clifford Geertz's (1976) thesis on *abangan*, *priyayi* and *santri* can help describe the Banyuwangi community.

When the issue of shaman witchcraft arose in December 1997, the community felt that the actions taken by some people were hostility and individual hatred towards shamans. During this period, people only responded to an issue in a normal way. It thus made the issue of witchcraft at the end of 1997 not experience an explosion because the religious views of the people were more able to control their emotional level. Early January 1998, the potential issue of witch doctors was getting louder. The pattern of killings carried out by people against suspected shamans was no longer in the Banyuwangi area, but the incident originated in the Jember area. The killings in Banyuwangi reflected the potential that was an old issue, and it was being presented again. The precedent that was labeled against the suspected shamans was then presented again, such as the rise of communism. On the other hand, the upheaval in 1998 was more related to the political issues surrounding it, the PKI and Petrus issues as part of the killing of suspected shamans. The old wounds of society against past violence then

contribute to the presence of religious spirit in their society. As a result, what happened was that religion was used as a symbol to commit murder. The presence of religion as an actor in the police over the issue of witchcraft seems to remind us of the history of this nation. Religion is very vital in shaping the state, as a solid pillar for the formation of an important part in society, which is as a social controller of abuse (Gaffar, 1993). This phenomena led to religion playing its role, and it could not be an inseparable part in life.

The issue of the involvement of ex-PKI political prisoners also added to the nuances of events with political indications, wgi acts of revenge for ex-PKI. Several religious circles, especially NU, which at that time was an opponent of the PKI, became a threat to the shamans, so a pattern of attacks through magic was necessary. However, the issue of the rise of the former PKI political prisoners has actually angered the clergy, especially NU, for guarding and even killing suspected shamans. In addition, there was a radiogram of Regent Purnomo Sidik dated September 17, 1998, which misinterpreted that data collection on people suspected of witchcraft was legalized to be killed (Anonymous, 1998). So, the religious spirit appeared to take action against witchcraft.

On October 5, 1998, the Minister of Religion, Malik Fadjar, considered that the issue of witchcraft in Banyuwangi was a series of cultural and religious issues. The role of religion is as an antidote to the problem of witchcraft by taking oaths in a religious way. However, this incident changed when the religious leaders were attacked by mysterious people called ninjas. The *kiai* and religious people were then terrorized by the murder of witchcraft shamans.

In the notes of Lakpesdam, an organization under Nahdlatul Ulama Banyuwangi, there was several motives behind the issue of witchcraft. One of them was the religious spirit that is so hostile to communism. Even though the issue of communism was rolling, it was actually an old issue and was always presented during the New Order era. When the issue of witch doctors emerged in July 1998, the public responded that the issue was part of the rise of communism or the PKI. The PKI's scapegoats were labeled here by witchcraft shamans, so the shamans must be tried before they could act. On the other hand, communism had inflicted very deep wounds in its actions. The violence, brutality and radicalism carried out by the PKI in the years leading up to 1965 had been traumatic for the community, especially the clergy who received a lot of terror. The discourse of communism at that time made the spirit to fight it very high with religion as its stronghold.

Several residents who interviewed said that communism was starting to happen again by being pinned to witchcraft shamans. This action occurred after the actions of witchcraft shamans that spread in the horseshoe area, which are Jember, Lumajang, Probolinggo and surrounding areas. However, and surprisingly, the swaying of opinion against witchcraft shamans who were labeled with communism did not just appear. In fact, why did Banyuwangi

take so long as a place for violence to occur, while in other areas it only happened in October 1998, the question then led to the fact that this issue was led through politicization by taking on culture and religion.

The East Java NU Regional Executive who received a report from the NU TPF on October 22, 1998 also issued a press release that the problem of witchcraft in Banyuwangi is a relationship between local culture and religion. Witchcraft which is identical with magical powers seeks to overturn certain natural laws, namely a kind of pseudo-science that wants to regulate the nature of human life (Frazer, n.d.). While religion is a way of taking heart and calming supernatural forces which are believed to have the power to guide and control human life. Although religion believes in supernatural powers, it does not believe in black magic. Therefore, the practice of witchcraft is contrary to religion. This is where religion becomes a court that rejects witchcraft. But religion also doesn't like violence, so rites such as religious law and the role of religious leaders need to be considered.

The existence of conflict between culture and religion in Banyuwangi is not interpreted as hostility, but religion is also used as a reference to reconcile cases of a cultural nature. Religion is used as a forum to reconcile the pros and cons of witchcraft. In the culture of the horseshoe area, especially Banyuwangi, the *sumpah pocong* and the pattern of expulsion from the village are the most effective laws for conducting trials in witchcraft cases. After the case of witchcraft shamans in Banyuwangi in 1998, many religious leaders assisted by village officials carried out the judicial process to make oaths to those accused of being *dukuns*. Then why was this judicial process not carried out before the occurrence of violence with the issue of witchcraft. This is because the position of religious leaders is also threatened in the case of the murder of a witch doctor. On the other hand, there are intellectual actors who exist and deliberately create riots in Banyuwangi

Dituduh Dukun Santet, 7 Orang Sumpah Alquran

Disaksikan Muspida, Kiai, dan Masyarakat

Pasuruan, JP-

Tujuh warga Desa Pekalongan, Kecamatan Gondangwetan, yang dituding sebagai dukun santet, siang kemarin minta disumpah Alquran dan disaksikan masyarakat. Selain masyarakat, turut menyaksikan ulama karismatis KH Jasmi Noer dan Pondok Pesantren Poddikatan, Kasdim Pasuruan Mayor A.D. Sojan, dan muspida setempat.

Ketujuh warga itu Sakiman, Sifak, Ny Marzuki, Samsi, Muslim, Sojan, dan Sarip. Pelaksanaan sumpah itu merupakan kesepakatan masyarakat dan muspida dengan ketujuh warga tersebut. Sebelumnya, mereka sempat dancam akan dihakisi massa. Namun,

aparat keamanan bertindak cepat dan mereka bisa segera diamankan.

Acara pelaksanaan sumpah berjalan lancar. Sebelum disumpah, ketujuh warga tersebut disuruh berwudu. Setelah itu, dengan Alquran di atas kepalanya, satu per satu dari mereka bersumpah tidak pernah punya ilmu santet dan tidak pernah menyantet orang. "Kalau saya punya ilmu santet dan pernah menyantet orang, saya tidak selamat dunia akhirat," tegas mereka.

Uniknya, setiap kali mereka usai membacakan sumpahnya, masyarakat dan muspida dengan tepuk tangan. "Ini yang kita tanggung-jawab. Dengan adanya sumpah ini, kita yakin mereka tidak

punya ilmu santet," ungkapan massa yang menyaksikan acara itu.

Sebelum sumpah dimulai, Kiai Jasmi sempat memberikan pengantar. Menurut dia, santet itu hal yang haram dan merupakan penyakit hati. Untuk itu, dia meminta agar masyarakat bisa berpikir dengan hati yang jernih.

"Semua ini karena hati. Kalau hati ini sudah memudik, itu dosa. Termasuk dikan yang memberi tahu adanya santet, jangan terlalu main tuduh. Sebab, itu juga dosa.

Yang penting, delakikan diri kepada Allah hingga kita tidak jadi sihir. Soal sumpah, kalau memang tidak punya ilmu santet, itu bisa meenterangkan umat," jelas Kiai Jasmi. (jmi)

Mau Nonton Bola, Pembunuh Ninja Ditangkap Seorang Lainnya Berusaha Lari Lalu Ditembak

Jember, JP-

Setelah menangkap para tersangka pembunuhan dengan isu santet, kemarin malam ini khusus Polres Jember menindak tiga tersangka pembunuhan dengan isu santet. Satu di antaranya terpaksa ditembak kakinya karena hendak kabur saat dibawa petugas.

Tiga orang tersebut Sdr, 45 tahun, warga Desa Balung Lor, Kecamatan Balung; Sdr, 35 tahun, warga Desa Carable, Kecamatan Balung; dan Sdr, 40 tahun, warga Desa Tanjungat, Kecamatan Wulahan. Semuanya terpaksa di-

tembak kakinya. Sedangkan Sdr ditangkap ketika hendak menonton pertandingan sepak bola di Rowatanta, dan Sdr ditangkap di rumahnya.

Menurut sumber Jawa Pos, tiga tersangka tersebut terlibat dalam pembunuhan terhadap Cholik dan Sudiqin, warga Jombang yang saat ini sedang mencari sualarnya di Kecamatan Balung. Saat itu massa telah beryak, sehingga sebelum bisa memberikan penjelasan, dua orang tersebut dihakisi massa dari desa lain meskipun sudah diamankan di

kantor desa Balung Lor.

Sdr ditangkap petugas di rumahnya di Desa Carable saat sedang berkempul dengan beberapa tetangganya. Petugas semua kesulitan karena saat itu tidak ada yang mengaku bernama Sdr. Namun berkat kejelian petugas, akhirnya Sdr berhasil diidentifikasi dan saat itu pula tersangka langsung dibawa ke Polres Jember. Saat itu sempat terjadi perlawanan, tapi petugas bisa mengantisipasi sehingga dia ditangkap tanpa ditembak.

Kapotes Jember Lelaki Pri Des

A. Majid Tawil ketika dihubungi mengatakan, Sdr akan diperiksa sejauh mata keterlibatannya dalam peristiwa tersebut. "Dia juga akan diminta keterangan sebagai saksi terhadap pelaku yang lain."

Selangkan dua tersangka lainnya, Sdr dan Sdr, disebutkan bahwa berdasarkan keterangan saksi terdahulu, dua orang itu diduga terlibat langsung dalam pembunuhan terhadap Sudiqin dan Cholik. "Saat itu dia menegakkan jaket dan di jaketnya ada berak darah korban," kata Kapres (kar)

source: Jawa Pos, November 2, 1998

Another assumption expressed by Hasnan Singodimayan, that the violence that occurred in Banyuwangi was an attempt to pit religious issues against the issue of witchcraft. So far, the Banyuwangi Islamic community is segmented on NU Islam, which is considered traditional, which often carries out witchcraft rites. On the one hand, Muhammadiyah, which is identical with the purification of its Islamic teachings, tries to be provoked to oppose the teachings at NU Banyuwangi. This means that the issue at hand is to divide NU with Muhammadiyah. This opinion is very weak, apparently the provocateurs do not know the small number of Muhammadiyah adherents in Banyuwangi and tend to be priyayi. Although there are many assumptions about religion, it cannot be denied that religion plays an important role in the psychology of society and is a provocateur to kill people who are suspected of being shamans. Even though at the Islamic level there are many cultural elements such as *slametan* and rituals with other cultural elements, the issue of black magic (magic) is very hated by religious people, so it deserves to be hostile (Herriman, 2013).

Seeing this condition, the resistance to witchcraft occurs because of the assumption and religious spirit based on the view of primordialism against communists. On the other hand, this primordialism cannot be suppressed by patrimonialism which should be played by religious leaders. Then what happened, the religious spirit in fighting witchcraft was not based on the role of the kiai or ulama, only based on the assumption of rumors that had been embedded in the minds of the people.

Witchcraft politicization as a shifting of negative stigmatization

The politicization after the collapse of Suharto, which was characterized as a military regime, caused the sovereign territory to experience turmoil. On the other hand, the demand for a strong military over the state during the New Order era caused the people to want to realize very large recivilization (civil government) accompanied by the role of the community in political activities. This demand is actually reasonable considering the state is experiencing political decay and the state's authority is collapsing (Asfar, 2003). Of course, this euphoria has an impact on the number of courts that present the community as judges, because the role of the state is not only very weak, but also excessive distrust of the old government. This is what causes violence to occur a lot in society, in addition to other factors such as the emergence of the status quo that wants to rise again.

It is undeniable that the presence of violence that led to the massacre in Banyuwangi was based on political events. The problem is, why are the victims accused of witchcraft being associated with politics? Whether the series only refers to the wrong victim, it is known by scholars, religious people, and community leaders. Compared to people who actually have witchcraft and are misunderstood to kill each other. Then why should we be faced with the issue of communism, isn't that a political motive? An explanation is needed to be able to reveal the reasons for the violence for the murder. While the explanation of the actual politicization can be seen from the chronology of events.

At first the violent incident in July 1998 was a form of sentiment against the rise of communism, but the discourse of communism was labeled as witchcraft. In this murder case, it can be seen that the provocateurs carried out their actions to blaspheme the residents. They infiltrated it no longer as an act of revenge against witchcraft shamans, but the politicization of the witchcraft issue with the political actions of that time.

On September 18, 1998, the East Java Regional Police Chief, Major General Mochamad Dayat, actually suspected a politically motivated murder in Banyuwangi. This is reinforced that the victims who were killed because of accusations of witchcraft were mostly community leaders. However, the statement from the regional police chief was only a guess at the time because there was no clear evidence. So that the killings continued, it was recorded that in the second week of October, the death toll had reached more than a hundred people. This victim indicates that the authorities are not serious in dealing with the killings. The allegation of the politicization of the witchcraft issue then brought two institutions, which are the MUI and the police, to hold a meeting. From that meeting, it was agreed that the murder committed by the mob and Hanging constituted a fairly serious crime. From the meeting, it was also agreed that the Banyuwangi MUI and the Banyuwangi Police would appeal to the public about the inclusion of provocateurs in the killings.

Another motive that shows the politicization of the killing of witchcraft shamans is the issue of communism. It is known that communism is the most powerful tool used by the New Order government to politicize and acts that are considered treason against the state, so that the memory of citizens when the issue is blown out will immediately be provoked to eradicate it. This shows the pattern of the New Order government which was very repressive to show violence, especially against communism.

...pihak ABRI sebagai penguasa teritorial akan lebih dulu mengatakan bahwa suatu kerusuhan didalangi oleh kelompok tertentu atau pihak ketiga. Yang paling sering dijadikan alasan adalah PKI, organisasi berkedok keagamaan dan organisasi tanpa bentuk(OTB), tak jarang kelompok yang mendapatkan label sebagai ekstrim kanan akan di cap juga (*ForumKeadilan*, 17 Agustus 1998).

By showing the existing issues, the politicization of witchcraft is very thick. There are two possibilities for the action to be carried out and the assumption is that it will bring violence in Banyuwangi. First, the question of whether witchcraft was tried to create a riot, the incident seemed as if it was pure criminality and then there were provocateurs who just ignited it. Second, the politicization that is labeled on the actor, only participates in the act of murder with the issue of witchcraft. When a murder is followed by a political provocation, what happens is that the issue of witchcraft turns political. The hope is that if the issue of communism is successful when the new state government is not yet strong, the people will vote and miss the old government. From there, the revival of the New Order came again.

Conclusion

The issue of witchcraft shamans in Banyuwangi is one of the accumulated injustices felt by the society. Banyuwangi as an area that has a tradition of witchcraft is actually not the behavior of violence or murder. Witchcraft is a supernatural science related to cultural processes since pre-Hindu times. The behavior that emerged in 1998 is not behavior that is always inherent in the Banyuwangi community. Feelings of disappointment, anger, feeling like a victim of witchcraft and individual revenge also affect social construction. The process then developed into a large group to commit violence against witchcraft shamans. The existence of terminology to exorcize witchcraft must kill the shaman, and the way to kill is the final option.

Reproduction of memories of past witchcraft cases is also used as a mirror by the public who dare to commit violence. This happens based on (1) the existence of witchcraft as a culture in Banyuwangi which is a prerequisite for the issues presented; (2) witchcraft has narrowed its meaning as a science to kill, also reproduced which makes Banyuwangi label and stigmatize as a city of witchcraft; (3) witchcraft as a reproduced culture is the causality

of violence under the pretext of eradicating witchcraft; (4) The production of violence also occurs when the psychology of the masses has already been formed, which is an economic crisis; (5) mass violence was then also present, because religion was involved as a result of past memories of communism being made an issue and labeled as witch doctors; (6) After the cultural element is opposed by the religious spirit, there is a politicization of provocateurs, so that the issue of witchcraft is increasingly biased, because the victims are no longer those who really have the knowledge of witchcraft, but many community leaders whose goal is to create chaos in society; (7) The politicization of the government also occurred, such as the confusing radiogram policy; (8) This confusion then led to bias events such as ninjas and the emergence of crazy people.

Meanwhile, cultural, religious and political struggles are present in the violence of witchcraft and discourse on violence in Banyuwangi is also present. So that in the settlement of witchcraft cases, *Sumpah Pocong* and the oath of the Koran are considered effective ways to resolve them.

References

- Anonymous. (1998, November 1). Santet, sebuah sumbu ledakan. *Kompas*.
- Asfar, M. (2003). *Wacana pengembalian koter: Pengembalian fungsi teritorial dari TNI ke Pemerintah Daerah*. PusDeHam.
- Epton, N. (2014, April 19). Magic and mystic of Java. *The Octagon Press*, 13-19.
- Frazer, S. J. G. (n.d.). *Magic and religion*. Bartleby. Retrieved May 29, 2022, from <http://www.bartleby.com/196/9.html>
- Gaffar, A. (1993). Politik akomodasi. In M. I. Aziz, M. J. Maula, & E. K. Dharwis (Eds.), *Agama, demokrasi & keadilan* (p. 100). Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Geertz, C. (1976). *The Religion of Java (Phoenix Books)*. University of Chicago Press.
- Harkwisnowo, H. (1998, Oktober 12). Secara Hukum Penyelesaian Santet Dilematis. *Kompas*, 8.
- Henley, D., C. M. J., & Ulaen, A. J. (2007). Memelihara perdamaian pasca orde baru. In H. S. Nordholt & G. v. Klinken (Eds.), *Politik lokal di Indonesia* (pp. 400-431). KITLV dan Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Herriman, N. (2013). *Negara vs Santet*. Pustaka Obor.
- Kompas. (1998, October 11). Dalang pembantaian dukun santet? *Ada motif lain di luar santet*.
- Lekerkerker, C., & Beatty, A. (1999). *Varieties of Javanese Religion*. Cambridge University Press.
- Santoso, E. B. (2013, Oktober 6). Klenik Banyuwangi: Santet, suwuk, lan sakpiturute. *Lontar Using*, 6.

- Saputra, H. S. (2007). *Memuja Mantra: Sabuk Mangir dan Jaran Goyang Masyarakat Suku Using Banyuwangi*. LKiS.
- Suhartono. (1991). *Apanage dan bekel: Perubahan sosial di pedesaan Surakarta 1830-1920*. Tiara Wacana.
- Zainudin, S. (1998). *Orientasi nilai-nilai budaya masyarakat Using*. Universitas Jember.