

Religiosity of Violence through Pesantren (A Method to Prevent Carok in Madura Tribe of Indonesia)

Haris^{1*}

Muhammadiyah Malang University, Jl. Raya Tlogomas 246 Malang, Indonesia

Abstract

The term² of *carok* among Madurese means “fight with honor”. Madurese dialect described it with ‘*ecacca erok-orok*’ meaning “to slaughter and to mutilate”. Ancient Javanese (Kawi) defined *carok* as fighting. *Celurit* was actually symbolizing the weapon used by *blater* (chivalrous people). Dutch demolished this symbol by condemning Pak Sakera, the originator of someone who lived with *celurit*, as a rebel despite his status of *santri* and pious Moslem. However, *celurit* was then used by Madurese as a weapon in their struggle against Dutch colonizer. Problems of adultery, inherited land, and others conflicts, were often resolved through *carok*. Reason behind this was to recover self-dignity and self-esteem. Heroism and spirituality within *carok* was enforced through a phrase ‘*etembang pote matah lebbi bagus pote tolang*’ (rather than white eye [blind], better is white bone). It means “better die on the ground than bear a shame”. After hundreds years of occupation, Dutch colonizer left Madura Island but *carok* and *celurit* were preserved as the admissible way to eliminate adversaries. This culture still existed in Bangkalan, Sampang and Pamekasan. People thought that it was the legacy of their ancestors, but in reality, it was a product of cultural engineering by the Dutch. *Carok* was men’s way. They came from a family with authority, courage, muscle art skill, and power (either invulnerability or immunity). They may also emanate from the genealogy of hermits.

Keywords: carok, religiosity, violence

1. Essence of Carok

Carok was usually triggered by an occurrence that forced someone or his related family to suffer the lost of their dignity and esteem. They recovered this lost by challenging adversary into “one-to-one battle”. This challenge also manifested the act of “real chivalry”. If the challenge was accepted, each fighter did preparations. One may learn muscle art and *kedigdayaan* (invulnerability). Feeling adequate with preparations, the schedule of the fight was set.

One may too proud with his power and invulnerability, and disturbed intentionally other’s convenient life. Such person may flirt onto other’s wife or make a fun with someone considered as having equal competence. The aim was usually to raise the anger of the subjected who would challenge the doer (the subject) with *carok*.

There was a deal between these men to organize their fight in open place where other can see them. All doers were men because Madurese considered *carok* as a domain of men not women. There was adage: ‘*Oreng Lake’ Mate’ Acarok, Oreng Bini’ Mate’ Arembi*’ (men die through *carok*, but women die because of birthing).

Carok was held at open places, such as dry rice field, non irrigated field and wide open field. To ensure there will be sportsmanship, a referee was appointed. The existence of referee means there is “a rule of the game”. It is needed to retain sportsmanship and to avoid fraud moves such as spreading dusts to eyes or throwing *celurit* from distance/

Carok was done at daylight. The fight only begins when each fighter is ready. If one needs a rest, the adversary must allow. *Carok* may take very long rounds because each fighter had muscle art skill. Some may also be invulnerable from *celurit*. The fight ended when one died. Sometimes, one surrendered before he lost to death. Referee may stop the fight because a naked woman (*abangkang*) crossed the fight. It was believed that self-immunity of the fighter would diminish (*apes*) after seeing woman’s genitals.

Carok must be assumed sportively because when it ends and one fighter is lost, the dispute shall be over without revenge from the lost side.

2. The Shifted Meaning of Carok

Carok was a self-defense when self-esteem was stepped on by others. The esteem related with wealth, authority and woman. In essence, *carok* was a deed to kill other for a reason of honor. An ethnographic

¹ Senior Staff of Criminology, Faculty of Law, UMM.

² *Carok* was identified with ‘*celurit*’ and emerging amidst Madurese since Dutch colonialism in 18th century. *Carok* symbolized “a chivalrous way” to defend self-dignity (self-esteem). *Celurit* was the only weapon used in *carok*. In the days of Pangeran Cakraningrat, Joko Tole and Panembahan Semolo of Madura, people had not been or were not familiar with *carok* and *celurit*. The culture of honorary fight was killing adversary in chivalrous way using sword or *keris*. *Celurit* was new weapon used by a Madurese legend of Pak Sakera. He was a foreman of sugarcane plantation in Pasuruan. He never left his *celurit* during his journey to work, his work of monitoring sugarcane workers and farmers, and even his worship at prayer house.

expression, ”*etembang pote mata lebih bagus pote tolang*” (rather than white eye [blind], better is white bone), was a strong motivation behind *carok*.¹

All *carok* cases started from human conflict. This conflict may be caused from different reasons (women, stealing accusation, legacy dispute, or revenge). All these reasons centered on one similar root, which is the feeling of *malo* (shame) because self-dignity (self-esteem) has been humiliated. Recovering this dignity, *carok* was the preferred way because it received admission from the society.

Self-dignity (self-esteem) was lost because the person experienced *malo* after humiliation. It was the key factor why Madurese did *carok* although other factors were also important².

Carok may source from *malo* but it was not unilaterally assumed from one side, but two sides may announce their suffering of *malo*. An example case³ was *carok* that involved Kamaluddin and Mokkaram against Mat Tiken. Kamaluddin admitted himself *malo* because Mat Tiken had made a fun of Kamaluddin’s wife and it was considered as humiliating Kamaluddin’s self-dignity as the husband. Kamaluddin felt *malo* and challenged *carok* against Mat Tiken. Mokkaram helped Kamaluddin because he also felt *malo* for Kamaluddin was his cousin (*sepopoh*). Madurese kinship system assigns cousin into *taretan dalem* category. The way of Kamaluddin and Mokkaram to engage into *carok* has been condemned by Mat Tiken as not chivalrous way and only humiliating him into the sense of *malo*.

For Madurese, disrespecting or denying the social norms was also resulting in *malo*. Besides, *malo*, there is a word *todus*, which in Bahasa Indonesia, it is also defined as shame. However, the socio-cultural context of Madura recognizes the words *malo* and *todus* with different meaning. *Malo* was not other expression of *todus*⁴.

Basically, *todus* was an expression of hesitancy (unwillingness) to do something because it was prohibited by socio-cultural norms. For example, in Madura culture, a child-in-law was not allowed to speak with parent-in-law by looking at face. They felt *todus* to speak in such way. If they should defy this custom, they will feel *todus* with their social environment, because people condemned them as *ta’tao todus* (shameless) or *janggal* (ignorance of courtesy ethic).

Tempting on someone’s wife was not allowable. She manifested the dignity and honor of her husband. Wife was *bhantalla pate* (the base of the death)⁵. In other words, acting to tempt on other’s wife was *aghaja’ nyaba*, meaning putting the life into the bet or *arosak atoran* (playing around social order).

If someone felt his dignity humiliated, but he was not courageous enough to set a *carok*, Madurese would condemn him as not men (*lo’lake*). In more strict senses, daunted from *carok* means cannot be said as Madura. Among *blater*, there was a slogan, “*Mon lo’bangal acarok ajjha’ngako oreng Madhura*”, meaning “if you feel daunted from *carok*, do not say yourself Madura people”.

Madurese did *carok* not merely because they do not want to be coward, or scared to death, but also because they want to be admitted as genuinely Madurese. *Carok* was how Madurese to express their ethnical identity. It also strongly signified that *carok* was not a violent action, but it was only stringency with socio-cultural goals that must be understood on the context⁶.

If *carok* involved more than two fighters, the close relative (*taretan dalem*) of one fighter may help him. This relative must be competent enough for *carok*. If the lost side asked reprisal (*carok balasan*), the fighter to be sent into the fight to replace the lost was the parent. If due to the aging or certain reason, the replacement was sibling or close relative, such as cousin. Main target of the reprisal was the winner in previous *carok*. However, if the winner was set into jail, the target would be close relative of the winner⁷.

The winner in *carok* fight would be then given a status of *blater*. *Celurit* that successfully killed the adversary was kept as the proof of winning. It was maintained without removing the remaining bloods on the blade. These bloods may dry leaving behind black spots. These spots would prove that *celurit* was used once to kill the adversary. Therefore, *celurit* can symbolize the winning.

Law enforcing officers (Police, Prosecutor, and Judge) must use formal legal perspective in understanding *carok* or *atokar*. Term *atokar* means that although someone announces as dauntless for *carok* or willing to kill his adversary, but if there is no death body or badly injured adversary, this would not be called as *carok*. Indeed, *carok* was put in the category of criminal action pursuant to Articles 338 and 340 of Criminal Code, or in the category of severe oppression based on Articles 351, 353, 354, and 355 of Criminal Code. Meanwhile, *atokar* was assigned into mild oppression based on Article 352 of Criminal Code.

¹Mien Ahmad Rifai, ”Manusia Madura”, Pilar Media, Yogyakarta, 2007, Page 16

²A. Latief Wiyata, ”Carok: Konflik Kekerasan dan Harga Diri Orang Madura”, LKIS, Yogyakarta, 2002. Page 24

³Ibid

⁴Ibid

⁵Ibid Page 26

⁶Ibid

⁷Agustinus Suprpto, “Ketika Segalanya Harga Diri”, <http://Wikipedia Bahasa Indonesia, Ensiklopedia Bebas>, accessed on 10 Februari 2016.

Surprisingly, these articles were not sanctioned consistently. The enforcement was low, and thus, *carok* perpetrators only spent their detention for less than 10 years¹. Self-dignity may not exist anymore as the reason of *carok* possibly due to the pressure from certain social structure².

Carok in current days differed from *carok* in heyday. Gang-up fight was introduced in *carok* which caused an unbalanced fight. One fighter may face three or five adversaries. Worse, hit man was willing to go jail after killing the target for a low bounty of 100,000 IDR. The astonishing example was in 2015 at Galis Village. Mass killing occurred in this village when the candidate of village chief was lost during election³.

Carok has developed into the arena of violence reproduction and it produced a spiral of new violence (*carok descendants*). Perpetrators of *carok* were boiled into generations through socialization or even ritualism. *Carok* candidates were introduced to the blood spots on *celurit* that used once in previous *carok*. The bloods were licked by the owner of *celurit* after winning the fight. It manifested the expression “*Lokana daging bisa ejei*’, *Lokana ateh tadhe’ tambanah kajabbah ngero dhere*” , meaning that the injury of the body can be healed, but the spirituality won’t be”.

Rembugan or the deliberation among the families may decelerate the intention of *carok*. All members of relevant families were required to give opinions about benefits, risks and consequences of *carok*. Human capital, such as *tampeng sereng*, *kedigjayan* and *bende*, may be required before *carok*. *Tampeng sereng* associated with the consent of families, relatives and community and religious figures, or even the allowance from law enforcing officers such as police, prosecutor and judge. *Tampeng sereng* can be conditioned. *Kedigjayan* was a key prerequisite in *carok*. Minimally, the fighter may ask for blessing or charm (*sekep*) from religious elder or shaman. *Bende* was absolute requirement. It was a belonging that was prepared possibly to pay hit man, to fulfill the livelihood of perpetrator when he must be jailed, and to settle the conditioning of law enforcing officers (*nabeng*).

Husen (50), the elected village chief, at Ketapang Laok Village, Ketapang Subdistrict, Sampang Regency, must postpone his inauguration at the Great Hall of Sampang Regency Office on Thursday, 17 December 2015. He suffered from bad injury after being slashed on Wednesday night, and must be treated in hospital. The case of striking victim by cold steel was admitted by AKBP Budi Mulyanto as the Commander of Sampang Police Resort. He asserted that it was not *carok* but oppression. It occurred at 6.30 pm at the afternoon⁴.

3. Motives Behind *Carok*

Table 1
 The Number of Homicide Criminal Cases (due to *Carok*)
 In the Last 10 Years

NO	YEAR	NUMBER	REMARK
1.	2006	19	
2.	2007	20	
3.	2008	20	
4.	2009	19	
5.	2010	23	
6.	2011	10	
7.	2012	9	
8.	2013	4	
9.	2014	3	
10.	2015	3	

Source: Data from Sampang Public Court, 2015

Every year, *carok* crime was increasing, especially in the first 5 years from 2006 to 2010. However, in the last 5 years, from 2011 to 2014, the crime declined quite significantly. In the first 5 years (2006-2010), total of *carok* fight was 101 cases, but in the last 5 years (2011-2015), it reduced to 29 cases.

This declining was admitted by Sihabuddin⁵, a Public Relation Officer of Sampang Public Court. Since date of 27 December 2013, at least there were 244 cases submitted to Sampang Public Court. The growth of the case was only 1 percent. In general, the case quantity submitted to the Court was increasing than previous year. In 2012, there were 243 cases settled by the Court, but in 2013, it grew to 244 cases. As said by Sihabuddin, the most case sent to proceeding was about stealing. In 2012, there were 47 cases of stealing compared to 78 cases in 2013. Similar increase was also apparent in narcotic case, with 19 cases in 2012, and 38 cases in 2013. Obscene

¹ Latief Wiyata Op. Cit Page 46

² Agustinus Suprpto, loc cit

³ Radar Madura 8 December 2015

⁴ Interview with The Commander of Sampang Police Resort, Budi Mulyanto, 18 December 2015

⁵ Interview with Sihabuddin, Public Relation Officer, PN Sampang, 6 June 2014

cases also increased from 10 cases previously to 19 cases this year. Crime related to KDRT (domestic violence) was only 3 cases previously but it increased to 5 cases this year. The declining into 3 cases was found among gambling and homicide. In 2012, there were 29 cases of gambling but this year, it counted for 24 cases. Homicide decreased from 9 to only 4 cases. Mild case, such as traffic violation, stood for 9416 cases.

The reason behind *carok* was varying but all reasons sourced into one, which is the humiliated self-dignity. It related with the concept of *malo* or feeling shamed due to other deed, or someone experiencing a sense of *tadek ajinah*, not being valued. Latief Wiyata¹ studied about *carok* in Bangkalan Regency. From 1990 to 1994, 60.4 percents of *carok* in this region were held due to the tempting on wife by other, 16.9 percents were caused by misunderstanding, 6.7 percents were emanated from conflict of legacy, and 9.2 percents were derived from defaulted loan.

Table 2
 Factors Causing Homicide (Carok) in Sampang
 In Period 2006-2015

NO	YEAR	CASE QUANTITY	CAUSAL FACTORS
1.	2006	19	Dispute of Legacy; 6 cases Jealousy of Wife; 13 cases
2.	2007	20	Jealousy of Wife; 12 cases Seek for Revenge; 4 cases Land Boundary; 2 cases Betting on Bull Race; 2 cases
3.	2008	20	Jealousy of Wife; 15 cases Dispute of Legacy; 1 case Seek for Revenge; 4 cases
4.	2009	19	Jealousy of Wife; 10 cases Dispute of Legacy; 1 case Fight for Parking Lot; 1 case Seek for Revenge; 7 cases
5.	2010	23	Seek for Revenge; 11 case Jealousy of Wife; 10 cases Dispute of Legacy; 1 case Conflict of Villages; 1 case
6.	2011	10	Jealousy of Wife; 5 cases Seek for Revenge; 3 cases Dispute of Market Kiosk; 1 case Self-acting in vehicle stealing case; 1 case
7.	2012	9	Jealousy of Wife; 6 cases Accusation of Black Magic; 1 case Seek for Revenge; 2 cases
8.	2013	4	Jealousy of Wife; 1 case Seek for Revenge; 3 cases
9.	2014	3	Jealousy of Wife; 1 case Conflict during Local Election; 1 case Seek for Revenge; 1 case
10.	2015	3	Jealousy of Wife; 1 case Seek for Revenge; 2 cases

Source: Data from Sampang Public Court, 2015

The 2004 Data from Statistic Central Bureau of East Java stated that the people who aged from 10-44 yeras old were literacy, but 1.1 millions of 3 millions populaton were illiteracy.

Table 3
 Education Background of Carok Perpetrator ; n = 130

NO	EDUCATION BACKGROUND	QUANTITY	PERCENT
1.	Unschoolled (not graduated from Elementary School)	43	
2.	Elementary School	36	
3.	Junior High School	29	
4.	Senior High School	21	
5.	Higher Education	1	

Source: Data from Sampang Public Court, 2015

¹Latief Wiyata Op Cit, halaman 39

4. Mitigation of *Carok*

a. Non-Penal Mitigation

1. Law extensions.
2. Moral messages through banners or billboards, that said: “*Carok* Was not Solution”, “*Carok* sent your husband to jail, making your wife and children in suffer”, and “*Carok* was not Genuine Madura”.
3. Sumpah Pocong (Undeniable Vow)
4. Mediation by Religious Elder (Kyai)
5. Socialization about The Importance of Education
6. Reducing the culture of bringing *celurit* around.

b. Penal Mitigation

The following was mitigation measures taken in *carok* cases. Judicial Decree on *Carok* Case No.230/Pid.B/2011.PN.Spg had sentenced to imprisonment for 110 years against the defendant Bunawas (Primary to Article 340 Criminal Code; Subdiary to Article 338 Criminal Code). *Carok* Case No.75/Pid.B/2012.PN.Spg had imprisoned for 17 years against the defendant Mat Deri aka Mat Aril (Primary to Article 340 Jo Article 55 Verse 1 Sub-Verse 1 Criminal Code, Subsidiary to Article 338 Jo Article 55 Verse 1 Sub-Verse 1 Criminal Code). *Carok* Case No.111/Pid.B/2013.PN.Spg was settled by imprisoning the defendant Masikal aka P. Sumayah for 16 years (Primary to Article 340 Criminal Code; Subsidiary to Article 351 Verse 3 Criminal Code). *Carok* Case No.242/Pid.B/2014.PN.Spg was sending the defendant P. Sumari to imprisonment for 10 years (Primary to Article 340 Jo Article 55 Verse 1 Sub-Verse 1 Criminal Code; Subsidiary to Article 338 Jo Article 55 Verse 1 Sub-Verse 1 Criminal Code).

5. *Carok* Mitigation Formulation Through Abolitionist Approach

Two theories of crime mitigation were understood¹. In broad line, first was “*moralistic*”, meaning that crime mitigation system emphasized on the fostering of morality and sensibleness to keep people away from committing crime or being the victim of crime. Second was “*abolitionistic*”, meaning that crime mitigation system would suppress or eliminate factors causing the crime.

“*Moralistic*” was aimed to thicken mentality and morality of community because it enabled them to avoid negative situations that harmed the community. Religious elders, investigators and experts concentrated their focus on crime mitigation. Law-Sensed Family (*Keluarga Sadar Hukum*; Kadarkum) was a program created by Prosecutor and Department of Justice. Religious preach, dawn lecture, and social activity done by religious organization and other social group may internalize any noble goals into the community, such as:

- (1) to increase the consciousness toward the values of religious teaching;
- (2) to improve the education of ethic and morality in the community, by targeting on teenagers, students or youth organizations;
- (3) to provide explanations or extensions about consequences or impacts of the crime to other community; and
- (4) to increase good cooperation between institutions, societies and government officers.

Abolitionistic was done by conducting an initial inquiry onto negative cases (crime). The cases were formulated by selecting the best mitigation measure or at least by eliminating the possibility of the crime. These efforts were involving experts such as Psychologist, Sociologist, Anthropologist, Economist, Law Experts, Law Practitioners, and Criminologist.

Therefore, it can be formulated as the ideal effort toward crime mitigation based on crime-determining factors (causal factors) such as:

1. Jealousy of Wife
2. Seek for Revenge
3. Dispute of Legacy
4. Conflict of Villages
5. Betting on Bull Race
6. Conflict of Land Border
7. Accusation of Black Magic
8. Fighting for Parking Lot
9. Dispute of Market Stalls
10. Conflict in Local Election
11. Self-action against auto theft
12. Low education rate
13. Too light punishment
14. Barren geography

¹Soedjono Dirdjosisworo, Op Cit, Page 157

15. The conferring of social status to the *carok* perpetrator.

These fifteen causal factors were shortened into three general factors:

1. Economical Factor
This factor included conflict of legacy, fighting for parking lot, gambling, dispute of market kiosk, and others.
2. Educational Factor
This factor was caused primarily by the lacking of understanding and knowledge about the resolution of case as if every problem can be resolved through violence.
3. Law Enforcement Factor
There was a factor influential to *carok* crime. This factor was the less strict decision from the judge in sentencing homicide perpetrator. It may be the indirect cause behind higher homicide rate (*carok*).
4. Other factors
Relevant factors included revenge, conflict of local election, accusation of black magic, and self-action.

Based on these four factors above, the mitigation efforts against homicide crime (induced by *carok*) can be formulated as following:

- a. The improvement of economic life of Madurese community. The economic life of Madurese community can be improved by urbanization to Java Island (big cities including Jakarta and Surabaya), by having a transmigration to Sumatera and Kalimantan Islands, or by being Indonesia workers who went abroad to Middle East (Arab Saudi), or to various countries in Asia (Malaysia and Hong Kong). Therefore, economic improvement was a proper option to resolve *carok* crime.
- b. The improvement of educational rate of the community.
- c. Mandatory Learning Initiative must be organized by the government, especially local government (Sampang). Most people in Sampang Regency were illiteracy, especially those who lived at hinterland. They were layperson about law, especially positive law.
- d. Their knowledge and insight were still mostly obtained through formal education. If citizens were highly sophisticated, they were literal about law (law literacy).
- e. Education was directly or indirectly shaping the attitude and behavior of perpetrator. The educated person may act based on considerations and mature concepts. Low education influenced the capacity of someone in making decision.
- f. The sentence of heavy punishment
Severe sanction for homicide perpetrator (by *carok*) was effectively suppressing the crime rate. Therefore, legal enforcement through repressive path was the most proper measure to mitigate homicide crime (by *carok*).

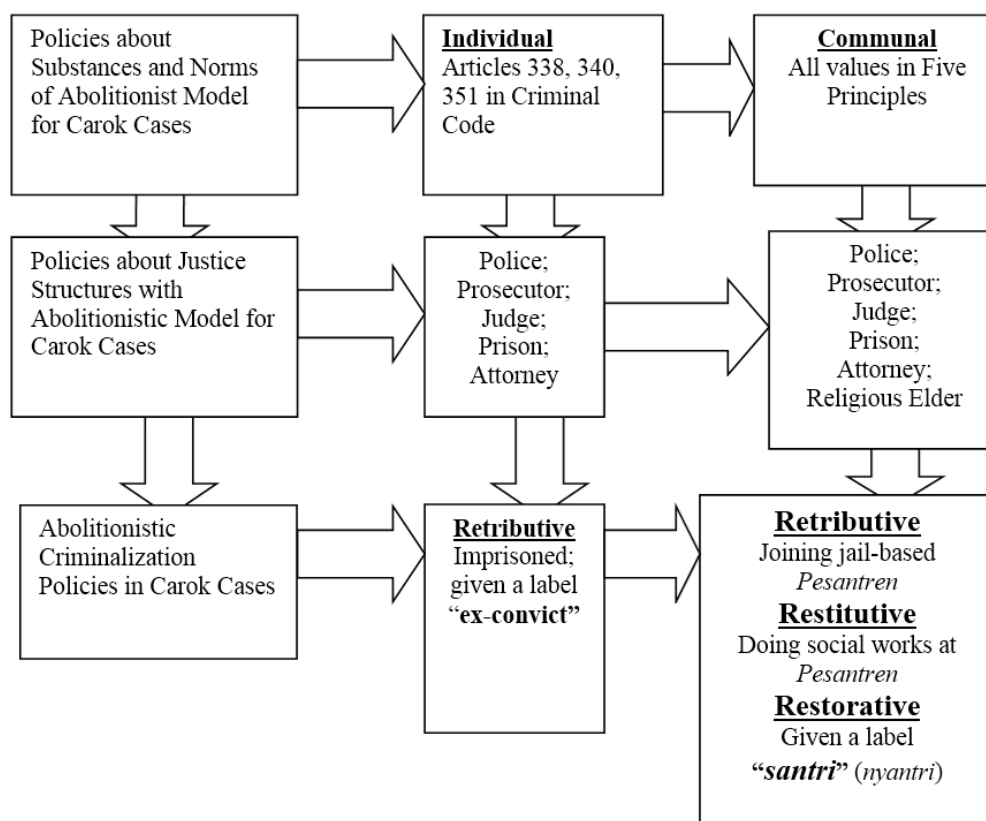
6. The Existing *Carok* in Madura Community

- a. Early motives of *carok* were to symbolize the courage of struggling against Dutch colonizer; and also to defend the dignity, esteem, and honor of the self, family, community and nation. The motives were then replaced by the passion to commit violent act against violence; to defend the dignity of the self and group; to maintain the pragmatic interests based on egocentric; and to preserve life feasibility with economical and political perspectives.
- b. The conduct of original *carok* in Sampang Madura community involved some arrangements, such as: the rule of game; the presence of challenge; a referee; organized in open field; daylight; interfacial (*blater-ksatria*); ready; decided after deliberation with relevant families and relatives; bringing consent from elders/shamans; and had *kedigdayaan*. But now, it was replaced by the odds such as the absence of game rule; the presence of fraud; tricky because it involved gang-up attack; without referee; sudden attack; night fight; attack from behind; attack from side (*nyelep*); waiting for idleness; attacking while sleep; representing individual or collective interests; supported by certain interests; comprehensive blessing; relying on physical power; and paying hit man.
- c. The factors enabling the existence of *carok* in Sampang Madura community were internal and external factors. Internal factor was related with the obligation of the individual of Sampang Madura community to maintain *carok* culture for defending their respect and self-dignity. External factor was induced by barren natural geography that also established what so called sturdy physical condition and hard temperament. There was a stigma that higher social status would be given to *carok* perpetrator. The winner would be respected by Sampang Madura community.
- d. The mitigation of the existing *carok* can be done through non-penal ways such as extension about law, sending moral messages of *carok* through banners and billboards that were visible to community, conducting undeniable vow (Sumpah Pocong), organizing a mediation through religious elders, socializing the importance of education as the base for rational thinking about the impact of *carok*, and reducing the culture of bringing around the *celurit*. Penal mitigation involved criminal proceeding and

- imprisonment to *carok* perpetrators.
- e. *Carok* can be mitigated through causality and positivistic perspectives, precisely by attributing the meaning of *carok* through written law and unwritten law perspectives.
 - f. *Carok* mitigation was made effectively through abolitionistic perspective. It included several activities such as the criminalization as mitigation effort, the mitigation based on underlying cause, the negation against value nihilism as the base of ideology, the diversity of social interaction as the base of *carok* mitigation, the social control as the base of harmonization of preventing *carok*, the consensus as the base to dissolve conflict to resolve *carok*, the culture as the source of irregularity and the source of regularity.
 - g. Some judicature models were formulated for *carok* mitigation. These models were involving law substance policies to avoid normative justification to *carok* and the urgency for law enforcing officers to apply provisions stated in Article 338, 340, and 351 Criminal Code as it should be. Justice structure policies for *carok* mitigation were still conventional because it relied on the power of police, prosecutor, judge, prison, and attorney. This conventional model gave a label or stigma “ex-convict” to *carok* perpetrator because perpetrator always went his life through prison.

7. The Construction of “Religiosity of Violence through *Pesantren*”

- a. Meaning of *carok*, motives behind it, and its modes of conduct, had changed. It must be understood by law enforcing officers. Nowadays, *carok* was misled into a practice away from defending self-dignity. Such practice should be subjected to the written criminal law. Modes and motives of *carok* must be oriented to defend self-dignity and self-esteem. Law enforcing officers must give new meaning to the written criminal law. New meaning may be that *carok* must be based on the effort to defend self-dignity and self-esteem and thus, it would be a requirement to call *carok* as *qualified killing or violence* (gequalificerde). Therefore, law enforcing officers should apply Article 357 Criminal Code to regulate the fight of *carok*.
- b. The mitigation of *carok* through abolitionistic approach would stress on the forgiveness and the elimination of factors causing *carok*. Therefore, Five Principles may be used by law enforcing officers as the base to apply provisions in the written criminal law for *carok* mitigation. Penal and non-penal measures of *carok* mitigation should be underlined by the principles of Divinity, Humanity, Unity, Wisdom and Deliberation, and Social Justice.
- c. Justice model with abolitionistic approach for *carok* mitigation involved some paradigms. Starting from retributive paradigm, *carok* perpetrator was subjected to imprisonment. It continued with restitutive-restorative paradigms when *carok* perpetrator learned religion in prison-based *pesantren* and did social work in *pesantren* under the monitoring of religious elder. Abolitionistic justice policy for *carok* mitigation may change a stigma or label “ex-convict” (*mantan*) into a status of “santri” (*nyantri*).



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