

## Using: Study of Multiculturalism and Identity Politics on Local Islam

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### Abstract

This research reviews multiculturalism and identity politics with the object of Using Islam. Using ethnic is a native of Banyuwangi which is predominantly Muslim. The existence of the Using community in addition to describing the spirit of multiculturalism also reflects the spirit of identity politics. Using people live in Java and speak Old Javanese, but they tend to identify themselves as Using ethnicity rather than Javanese. They also refer to the language as Using language, not Javanese. Becoming its own ethnicity makes the Using community have a number of distinctive cultural traditions and systems, including Islamic practices. Islamic values are acculturated with Using's local values and form a unique religious culture system. Socio-anthropologically, the persistence of Using's ethnic attitude is a reflection of identity politics that arises because of past historical experiences that were colonized by other powers, including the Islamic Mataram kingdom.

*Keywords:* Islam, Using, Banyuwangi, Multiculturalism, Politics, Identity

### Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengulas tentang multikulturalisme dan politik identitas dengan obyek Islam Using. Etnis Using merupakan masyarakat asli Banyuwangi yang mayoritas beragama Islam. Keberadaan masyarakat Using selain menggambarkan semangat multikulturalisme juga mencerminkan semangat politik identitas. Masyarakat Using hidup di Jawa dan berbahasa Jawa Kuno, namun mereka cenderung mengidentifikasi diri sebagai etnis Using daripada etnis Jawa. Mereka juga menyebut bahasanya sebagai bahasa Using, bukan bahasa Jawa. Menjadi etnis tersendiri membuat masyarakat Using mempunyai sejumlah tradisi dan sistem budaya yang khas, termasuk praktek keberislaman. Nilai-nilai Islam berakulturasi dengan nilai-nilai lokal Using dan membentuk sistem kultur keagamaan yang unik. Secara sosio-antropologis, keteguhan sikap etnis Using adalah cerminan politik identitas yang muncul karena pengalaman sejarah masa lalu yang pernah dijajah oleh kekuatan-kekuatan lain, termasuk oleh kerajaan Mataram Islam.

*Keywords:* Islam, Using, Banyuwangi, Multikulturalisme, Politik, Identitas

## INTRODUCTION

The discourse of multiculturalism and identity politics in the Indonesian context should always consider Java.<sup>1</sup> The most densely populated island of Java in Indonesia has become

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<sup>1</sup> Indonesia's population based on the 2010 census (in May) was 237,641,300. Based on the projection of the Indonesian population in 2010-2035, the total population of Indonesia in 2016 was

a granary for the diversity of cultures and an arena for identity politics. Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) data reports that there are around 1,300 ethnic groups in Indonesia and the Javanese as the largest tribe with a population of 95.2 million or around 40% of the total population of Indonesia.<sup>2</sup> This large number makes Java a fertile place for various types of religions, tribes, beliefs, local traditions, and even political streams. One of the tribes that lived in Java was the Using tribe. Although they live on the island of Java, they do not want to be called Javanese.

Talking about Using cannot be separated from two things, multiculturalism, and identity politics. The first is the question of multiculturalism. Using or Osing is one of the tribes that settled on the eastern tip of Java Island, precisely Banyuwangi Regency. For the community, Using is not Java, and Java is not Using. From this Using ethnic group, the term "Using Islam" emerged. The main style of Using Islam relies more on the local culture of Using, not Javanese culture, let alone Arabic. Even so, Using Islam is not a purely independent belief, but the result of the accumulation and absorption of other cultures. Using absorbs many traditions and cultures from outside themselves, including from the culture of Javanese society itself.

The absorption of various other cultures and traditions creates a system of religious culture that is unique to the Using community. Heru S.P. Saputra said, the distinctive feature of the Using community is syncretism, namely the ability to absorb other cultures to be reproduced into Using culture. Using tribe is not closed or exclusive.<sup>3</sup> The Using community is open to the presence of other communities and consistently maintains the peculiarities of its ancestral traditions and culture.<sup>4</sup>

Banyuwangi Regency, as the area where Using is located, is a multi-cultural region. At least there are three types of ethnicities living in the Banyuwangi region, namely Java, Madura, and Using.<sup>5</sup> In its development, Balinese ethnic also part of the Banyuwangi community. As an inclusive community and tribe, Using culture touches and intersects with other cultures. The intersection of Using culture with other cultures as a consequence of their social interaction does not change the peculiarities of the traditions of the Using community.

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258,704,900 people. In this composition West Java Province is the province with the largest population in Indonesia, which is 47,379,400 people, followed by East Java Province which is 39,075,300. The population growth rate from the projection of the Indonesian population in 2010-2015 (June) is 1.36%. Of the large number of population in Indonesia, the distribution is still concentrated in Java, which is 56.82% of the total population of Indonesia, with a population of 145,143,600 people making Java the most populous island in Indonesia. See all reports in the 2017 Statistics Information Book, Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing, Secretariat General of the Data and Information Technology Center (Pusdatin), 2017, pp. 08 and 12

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p.8

<sup>3</sup> Heru S.P..Saputra, *Memuja Mantra: Sabu Mangir dan Jaran Goyang Masyarakat Suku Using Banyuwangi*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2007), p.66

<sup>4</sup> Muhammad Nur Kharis Sugiyanto, Tradisi Perang Bangkat pada Masyarakat Suku Osing Banyuwangi; Perspektif Hukum Islam, on Journal of Comparative Islamic Law Al-Madzahib, Volume 5, no. 1, of 2017. p.99

<sup>5</sup> Intan Pratiwi, *Kebudayaan Suku Osing, Jawa Timur: Suku Using di Banyuwangi*, (Paper) accessed on 27/03/2019

The Using community in addressing other cultures put forward accommodative techniques, so that the characteristics of their customs, traditions, and values persist without having to reject a different presence. The custom of the Using community which continues to be maintained and preserved until this moment automatically also concerns the system of trust, culture, and law.<sup>6</sup>

Using village is about 7 km west of Banyuwangi City. The Banyuwangi Regency Government has since 1995 established the village of Using as an Indigenous Tourism Village. There are many traditions of Using that are still sustainable and are maintained by residents who live mostly in farming. Among the customs and traditions that are still preserved are houses that still have *Gebyung* architecture, namely Using traditional houses that contain distinctive features and have a philosophy of life in the household. In farming, people still use wooden propellers to repel pests, as a form of cultural preservation. Including the ceremony and tradition of *Tumpeng Sewu* or is commonly called as “*Selamatan Bersih Desa*”/ ceremony of village cleaning.

Using also reflects identity politics. Although territorially settle in Javanese land, socially and culturally the Using people build their own identities that are not willing to be categorized as Javanese. Using language is the most dominant symbol in affirming their cultural-political identity.<sup>7</sup> Linguistic experts often refer to Using as the Javanese language with a Banyuwangi dialect. However, the Using community itself insists the language they use is Using, not Javanese.<sup>8</sup>

The assertion of a different cultural identity is striking through the affirmation of the style of social life of the Using community. The Using community structure is more egalitarian. In the Using community, there are also *kiai* and *priyayi*, but these two classes do not have the strongest influence of Javanese society, for instance.<sup>9</sup> In fact, for the East Java context itself, the influence of clerics is still very dominant, especially among the *santri* (students) community. The absence of a dominant class, the egalitarianism of the Using community is much stronger than that of Java. With this style and characteristic Using people are proud of their cultural identity and not willing to be included as a Javanese ethnic sub-culture.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> When referring to Koentjoringrat, what is called custom is nothing but a system of values and social rules that grow and develop along with the development of a community's life experience, and also a cultural entity that is deeply rooted in the system and order of life of society. Essentially, custom is one thing that concerns the habits in society that are related to the system of belief and legal systems that exist in society, see Koentjoringrat, *Kebudayaan, Mentalis dan Pembangunan* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2002), pp. 10-11

<sup>7</sup> Hasan Ali, “Bahasa dan Sastra Using di Banyuwangi”, *Gema Blambangan*, No.032, (Banyuwangi: Regional government level II Banyuwangi, 1994), p.225

<sup>8</sup> See Heru S.P..Saputra, *Memuja Mantra: Sabu Mangir dan Jaran Goyang Masyarakat Suku Using Banyuwangi*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2007), p.2. See also Suparman Heru Santosa, “Bahasa Using di Kabupaten Banyuwangi”, *Dissertation* (Jakarta: UI, 1987).

<sup>9</sup> Heru S.P. Saputra, *Memuja Mantra: Sabu Mangir dan Jaran Goyang Masyarakat Suku Using Banyuwangi*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2007),p.63

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

## METHOD

This is sociological research by looking at the issue of the ethnic social and political identity of Using. Multiculturalism and identity politics in the religious practices of the Using community were the main topics of this study. So far, studies that specifically raise the question of Using Islam as a symbol of multiculturalism and symbolic capital of identity politics are not many. Some studies of Using that I found, including Sugiyanto<sup>11</sup>, Iwan Supijanto<sup>12</sup>, Syamsul Anam<sup>13</sup>, Cristian<sup>14</sup>.

All of these previous studies saw Using as a collection of cultural traditions and customs, without seeing it as a capital of identity politics, symbolic politics, which in turn manifest itself into practical politics. The Using community who from the beginning respect their ancestral heritage, locality, while maintaining the maintenance of multiculturalism itself, kept other problems more acute, namely, political preferences in various fields of life.

This research differs from other published studies, both in the form of books such as those of Heru S.P. Saputra, entitled *Memuja Mantra*; Suparman Heru Santosa, *Bahasa Using di Kabupaten Banyuwangi*. Fiction books that speak Using culture include, among others, the work of Moh. Syaiful entitled *Agul Belambangan*<sup>15</sup>. The Using ethnic characteristics which uphold multiculturalism and play very neatly in identity politics becomes the main marker for this research novelty.

The theoretical framework used to distinguish social phenomena is the theory of multiculturalism and identity politics. Multiculturalism means a variety of cultures (multi-culture). Culture itself in an anthropological context, as said by Joel S. Khan, is a concept to show the system of signs, meanings, and views of certain groups of people.<sup>16</sup>

Multiculturalism means the understanding that supports the existence of each system of signs, meanings, and views of people's lives. Multiculturalism encourages the strengthening of locality phenomena that flow with the tide of globalization. Contemporary

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<sup>11</sup> Muhammad Nur Kharis Sugiyanto, Tradisi Perang Bangkat pada Masyarakat Suku Osing Banyuwangi; Perspektif Hukum Islam, *Journal of Comparative Islamic Law Al-Madzahib*, Volume 5, no. 1, of 2017.

<sup>12</sup> Iwan Supijanto, "Rumah Tradisional Osing ; Konsep Ruang dan Bentuk", *Architectural Engineering Dimension*, volume 30, no. 1, July 2002, Housing Research Center, Department of Settlements and Regional Infrastructure.

<sup>13</sup> Syamsul Anam, Geby Ovalioshanta, Fahriza Ardiansyah, Danang Ari Santoso, "Studi Analisis Budaya Permainan Tradisional Suku Osing Banyuwangi", *Pembelajaran Olah Raga*, Volume 3, no. 2 of 2012.

<sup>14</sup> Christian Mario Tonga, Aryo Bayu Wibisono, "Buku Visual Informasi Elemen Suku Osing", *Creativity journal*, Volume 4, no. 2, of July 2015, Faculty of Civil Engineering and Planning at the National Development University (UPN), East java.

<sup>15</sup> Moh. Syaiful, *Agul Belambangan*, (Banyuwangi:Sengker Kuwung Belambangan, 2016).

<sup>16</sup> Joel S.Kahn, *Culture, Multiculture and Post-Culture*, (London: Sage Publications, 1995),p.xi

political theorists call the phenomenon of cultural diversity which can both exist and coexist with one another in the same geographical space with the term multiculturalism.<sup>17</sup>

Multiculturalism can be seen or defined as a situation where all different cultural or racial groups in a society have equal rights and opportunities, and no one is discriminated against or seen as unimportant. In short, multiculturalism is a different coexistence of culture. Multiculturalism is actually not just a plurality of cultures or concepts used to describe culturally diverse societies.<sup>18</sup> However, this concept is to refer to a kind of policy that aims to protect cultural diversity.<sup>19</sup>

This multiculturalism continues to surface in various worlds, including in contemporary Europe, especially when a wave of immigrants begins to invade the countries on the Blue Continent. In 2011 for example, the then Prime Minister of England, David Cameron, applied multiculturalism as a strategy to deal with the flood of immigrants. In a political speech at a security conference in Germany, Cameron stressed that Britain needed a stronger national identity to prevent extremism. In his speech which sparked the polemic of many circles, Cameron offered "the doctrine of state multiculturalism - a concept that contradicts the concept of equality promoted by Trevor Phillips, a leader of the Equality and Human Rights Commission ---- as a strategy that has encouraged different cultures to live a life in which each other is separated from each other, and separated from the main cultural currents (British culture).<sup>20</sup>

Multiculturalism has been officially accommodated and implemented by English-speaking countries, which began in Africa in 1999. This policy was then adopted by the majority of European Union countries, as official policy and the basis for making consensus among political elites. Therefore, this multiculturalism, as Kahn said, is a discourse that emerged in the 19th century regarding human differences.<sup>21</sup> This discourse by Kahn was referred to as a very expressive flow in the arena of modern European thought where the discourse about cultural differences began to echo.<sup>22</sup>

The concept and discourse of multiculturalism are very close to identity politics. In its conventional sense, identity politics is a concept used to show a tendency of people or groups of individuals who share certain racial, religious, ethnic, social, or cultural backgrounds to form exclusive political alliances. Political identity becomes prominent and

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<sup>17</sup> Luís Cordeiro Rodrigues, "Multiculturalism", on *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, (United Kingdom: University of York, 2002).

<sup>18</sup> Ibid

<sup>19</sup> Ibid

<sup>20</sup> In his speech, which has provoked a political storm, Mr. Cameron defines "the doctrine of state multiculturalism" as a strategy which has "encouraged different cultures to live separate lives, apart from each other and apart from the mainstream". This characterisation is not new. In 2004 Trevor Phillips, chairman of the the Commission for Racial Equality - now the Equality and Human Rights Commission - told the Times that multiculturalism was out of date because it "suggests separateness" and should be replaced with policies which promote integration and "assert a core of Britishness" see the report at [https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-\(07/02/2011\)](https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-(07/02/2011))

<sup>21</sup> Joel S.Kahn, *Culture, Multiculture and Post-Culture*, (London: Sage Publications, 1995),p.36

<sup>22</sup> Ibid

is involved in wider political movements, along with the opening of democratic practices. Therefore, identity politics is also indirectly interpreted as an effort to promote certain interests without regard to the interests of political groups more broadly.

Identity politics is used to refer to various political activities and theoretical analyzes rooted in experiences of injustices that afflict certain social groups. This identity politics is generally used with the aim of regaining "authority" and independence in self-determination and greater political freedom for marginalized groups based on trying to understand their distinctive character and resisting attempts to forcibly embed cultural elements or outside interests.<sup>23</sup>

Political identity is understood as a pattern and system for creating categorization, based more on the assumption that some oppressed social groups, such as women, ethnic minorities and the like, based on their identities, are in conditions that are vulnerable to various forms of oppression such as violence, exploitation, marginalization, discrimination, restrictions on rights and so on (Heyes, 2016). By affirming that identity, an oppressed group strives to gain attention, empowerment, defense, and strength to achieve emancipation and equality as other groups.<sup>24</sup>

### Spirit of Multiculturalism and Acculturation

The Using tribe is seen as a native of Banyuwangi.<sup>25</sup> The long history of Using society cannot be separated from political upheaval and contestation since the last days of the Majapahit kingdom to the era of modern colonialism. The Using tribe is also called Laros (*Lare Osing, Anak Osing*) or *Wong Blambangan*. In daily life, Using people use the Using language, a derivative of the Old Javanese language. Etymologically, Using or Osing comes from the word "*sing*" which means "no". They were a community that did not take refuge when a major war broke out called *Puputan Bayu*.<sup>26</sup> Those who did not take refuge were called Using or *Wong Belambangan* or *Wong Banyuwangen*.<sup>27</sup>

*Puputan Bayu* is the cause of the emergence of Using ethnicity as well as the dynamics of the history of Banyuwangi. Heru S.P.Saputra tells us that Blambangan or Banyuwangi became one of Majapahit's domains. The Banyuwangi area was handed over by the founder of Majapahit, Raden Wijaya, to Arya Wiraraja as fulfilling the promise of his services.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Cressida Heyes, (1 January 2016). "Identity Politics", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University (accessed: 3/05/2017). Interview with Mr. Hendra (38 th), alamat: Toko Souvenir "Nagud", Jl. K.H. Wahid Hasyim 33 Timur Perliman Arah Tukang Kayu, Banyuwangi, Jum'at, 21 Desember 2018.

<sup>24</sup> Kimberle Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity, Politics, and Violence against Women of Color". *Stanford Law Review*. 43 (6): (1 January 1991), pp. 1241–99

<sup>25</sup> Darusuprpto, "Babad Blambangan" *disertasi*, (Yogyakarta: UGM, 1984), p.11

<sup>26</sup> Heru S.P.Saputra, *Memuja Mantra: Sabu Mangir dan Jaran Goyang Masyarakat Suku Using Banyuwangi*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2007), p.58

<sup>27</sup> Ibid

<sup>28</sup> The promise meant was the promise of Raden Wijaya to Arya Wiraraja for his services in helping Raden Wijaya realize the Majapahit kingdom. As is known that when Singasari collapsed because of the onslaught by Jayakatwang in the 13th century, Raden Wijaya, as one of the Singasari royal families managed to escape towards Madura. At that time Madura was under the authority of Duke Arya Wiraraja. In Madura,

After Arya Wiraraja died, Blambangan was handed down to his son named Arya Nambi. During Nambi's leadership, Blambangan rebelled against Majapahit in 1316. The Nambi rebellion was successfully crushed by Mahapatih Gadjah Mada which caused Nambi to die. Dyah Hyang The testimony was appointed as the new ruler in Blambangan. Blambangan became a venue for various power struggles when Majapahit collapsed. Among the forces that participated in fighting over Blambangan were the kingdoms of Bali, Pasuruan and Mataram Islam.<sup>29</sup>

Bali's influence increasingly thickened in Blambangan when the Great God of Bali came to power. However, Mataram Islam continued to expand to Bali and automatically Blambangan returned under the influence of Islamic Mataram. Sultan Agung of Mataram managed to conquer Blambangan in 1636 while marking the emergence of Islam. Under this Islamic rule, Blambangan was led by Prince Kedhawung whose real name was Mas Tampauna.

Blambangan breaks for a moment to become a venue for contestation between when Sultan Agung of Mataram and the Great God of Bali both died. Blambangan reached its heyday after being led by Tawang Alun (1655) and trying to escape the influence of Mataram. Tawang Alun died in 1691 and Blambangan returned under the rule of the kingdom of Buleleng, Bali. In the 1700s, colonialism came to power caUsing Blambangan to be captured by the Dutch. One of Blambangan's leaders, Prince Agung Wilis, mobilized people's power to fight the cruelty of foreign invaders.<sup>30</sup>

Agung Wilis was captured by the Dutch and banished to Pasuruan.<sup>31</sup> The rebellion was replaced by Mas Rampeg, Prince Jagapati Duke of Bayu.<sup>32</sup> Puputan Bayu happened during Mas Rampeg's leadership. In the Using language, "*puputan*" means "exhausted", so "*Puputan Bayu*" means an all-out war in the Bayu area.<sup>33</sup> Mas Rampeg's charisma in the eyes

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besides being protected, Raden Wijaya was also honored by Wiraraja. Although Singasari has collapsed, Madura, which is under Wiraraja's leadership, remains loyal to Raden Wijaya. Because of this honor and assistance from Wiraraja, Raden Wiaya then promised that someday if he had succeeded in realizing his ideals of mastering the entire Java region, then the kingdom would be divided in half, partly for Raden Wijaya himself, and partly for Wiraraja. This promise was made by Raden Wijaya as an expression of his gratitude to Wiraraja who remained loyal and respectful to him. Upon Raden Wijaya's promise, Wiraraja agreed. So the Duke of Madura immediately helped to realize the ideals of Raden Wijaya. The ideal was really successful. Raden Wijaya succeeded in establishing the Majapahit kingdom after quelling Jayakatwang by utilizing Chinese soldiers who came to Java. When this Majapahit was established, so much power, including covering a large part of Java, then Raden Wijaya fulfilled his promise, where the Majapahit region in the east, including Blambangan (Bayuwangi) was given to Arya Wiraraja. See, Muhammad Muhibbuddin, *Sejarah Kelam Jawa-Sunda: Cinta, Perang dan Rekonsiliasi* (Yogyakarta: Araska, 2018), p. 12-13

<sup>29</sup> Soegianto, dkk., "Profil Seni Budaya di Daerah Tingkat II Kabupaten Banyuwangi", research report (Jember: Lembaga Penelitian UNEJ, 1997), p.31

<sup>30</sup> Heru S.P..Saputra, *Memuja Mantra: Sabu Mangir dan Jaran Goyang Masyarakat Suku Using Banyuwangi*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2007),p.56

<sup>31</sup> Sri Adi Oetomo, *Kisah Perjuangan Menegakkan Kerajaan Blambangan.....*p.33

<sup>32</sup> Heru S.P..Saputra, *Memuja Mantra: Sabu Mangir dan Jaran Goyang Masyarakat Suku Using Banyuwangi*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2007),p.56

<sup>33</sup> Ibid

of the people of Bayu is very strong. Mas Rampeg is seen as the incarnation of Prince Agung Wilis.<sup>34</sup>

*Puputan Bayu* war caused Dutch fortresses to burn. As a result of this Great War made Blambangan devastated. Most residents choose to flee to Bali or run to the mountains to the south. However, some groups remained in Banyuwangi. This community group was not affected by their displaced brothers, later known as the Using community. In this Using community, Blambangan customs were held firm and preserved today. Blambangan or Banyuwangi experienced a shortage of people due to the massive exodus. Instead, the Netherlands brought in outsiders, including Madurese, to live in Banyuwangi.<sup>35</sup> Within a period of 50 years, the population of Banyuwangi has increased almost five-fold, which is around 39,470 people.<sup>36</sup>

This ethnic Using maintains its cultural identity so that it remains different from immigrant tribes, including Javanese. The Using community is inclusive, open, and welcomes the arrival of various other ethnic groups in Banyuwangi, including ethnic Javanese. The existence of Using ethnic groups that exist side by side with other ethnicities is a mirror of strong multiculturalism. Using's ethnic multiculturalism spirit is also reflected in their outlook on life. Living side by side with other people does not require someone to lose their identity. The practice of such a view of life can be seen from the growing steadfastness of local customs and values, as well as sustainable Using culture.

Osing Tribe Many inhabit Glagah, Licin, Songgon, Kabat, Rogojampi, Giri, Kalipuro, districts and a small number in other sub-districts. The majority of Using tribes live in 9 sub-districts from 24 sub-districts in Banyuwangi such as Banyuwangi, Rogojampi, Kabat, Giri, Singojuruh, Cluring, Genteng, and Songgon. The village which became the center of Using's life and culture began to shrink along with the increase of outside communities entering Banyuwangi. In addition to the Using tribe, Banyuwangi is also occupied by Javanese, Madurese, Balinese, and Mandar ethnic groups. So far there are 14 Using indigenous communities in various parts of the area in Banyuwangi, namely; 1) *Adat Cungsking*, 2) *Adat Grogol*, 3) *Adat Mangir*, 4) *Adat Dukuh*, 5) *Adat Olehsari*, 6) *Adat Glagah*, 7) *Adat Mandaluka*, 8) *Adat Andong*, 9) *Adat Putih Macan*, 10) *Adat Bakungan*, 11) *Adat Alasmalang*, 12) *Adat Tambong*, 13) *Adat Aliyan*, 14) *Adat Kemiren*.<sup>37</sup>

Indigenous Using communities have several common characteristics. Among them are 1) Using language, 2) having great-grandparents (and village ones), 3) uniform patterns, because they generally tend to do their same-sex marriage, 3) having clean village rituals, 4) holding fast to the beliefs inherited from their ancestors, and 5) the majority of the

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<sup>34</sup> Sri Adi Oetomo, *Kisah Perjuangan Menegakkan Kerajaan Blambangan.....*p.82

<sup>35</sup> Interview with Mr. Hendra (38 years old), address: Nagud Sounenir Shop, K.H. Wahid Hasyim street no. 33, Banyuwangi, Friday, 21 December 2018.

<sup>36</sup> Soegianto, dkk., "*Profil Seni Budaya di Daerah Tingkat II Kabupaten Banyuwangi*",..... p.33

<sup>37</sup> AE Wisudana, "Eksistensi Desa Kemiren Sebagai Desa Adat Suku Osing", *Graduation paper*, (Malang: UMM, 2016), p.3

population work as farmers or carpenters.<sup>38</sup> Among the 14 Using indigenous communities, the Kemiren Indigenous Community in Glagah Subdistrict is seen as one of the most resolute communities in carrying out the traditions and customs of Using.<sup>39</sup>

At the beginning of its formation, the entire Using ethnic community was Hindu-Buddhist. In its development, the Islamic kingdom was increasingly influential in the northern coastal region. Islam quickly spread among the Using community. Islam became the majority religion of the Using tribe. In fact, religious practices in the midst of Using's life are dominated by Islam, reaching up to 95%, followed by Catholicism and Christianity as much as 2.68%, and Hindu-Buddhist religion as much as 1.49%.<sup>40</sup>

Even though Islam is a majority of people, the religious practices of the Using people are still thick with forms of culture that are Hindu-Buddhist nuances. It is a cultural form that contains Islamic values. Acculturation of Islam and local culture becomes apparent. For example, the pattern of settlement arrangements and places of worship are very typical of their culture. The central area of the Kemiren village, which has quite flat topography, is used as a residential area, while the position of the place of worship (mosque) is in the middle of the settlement and occupies the highest position in Kemiren Village.<sup>41</sup> The mosque is placed at the highest place as a form of respect for the Muslim Using community to place of worship.<sup>42</sup>

Another phenomenon still related to the beliefs of the Using community, which combines Islamic values and local culture, is *Dhanyang*. Public belief about *Dhanyang* gives birth to a number of rituals such as *seblang*, *barong* and *kuntul-kuntul*.<sup>43</sup> That is, a religious ritual in the form of a ceremonial ceremony which aims as an expression of gratitude towards God the Almighty, who has bestowed blessings peace on them.<sup>44</sup> *Seblang* rituals are practiced by Using people who live in the villages of Olehsari and Bakungan. The *barong* ritual is practiced by the Using community in Kemiren village. The rituals of the herons are carried out by the Using community in Alasmalang village.<sup>45</sup>

In the field of art, the combination of Islamic values and local culture of the Using community is seen in *praburoro* and *hadbroh kuntulan*. Both are dance and drama which are

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid, pp.3-4

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, p.4. see also Moh. Syaiful at all (ed.), *JAGAT OSING: seni, tradisi & kearifan lokal Osing*, (Banyuwangi:Rumah Budaya Osing-Lembaga Masyarakat Adat Osing, 2015); see also Christian Mario Tonga, *Buku Visual Informasi Elemen Suku Using*, on *Creativitas* Volume.4, No. 2 of July 2015, p.241

<sup>40</sup> Heru S.P..Saputra, *Memuja Mantra: Sabu Mangir dan Jaran Goyang Masyarakat Suku Using Banyuwangi*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2007),p.60

<sup>41</sup> M. Rizqon Al Musafiri , Sugeng Utaya, I Komang Astina, *Potensi Kearifan Lokal Suku Using Sebagai Sumber Belajar Geografi SMA di Kabupten Bayuwangi*, on *Jurnal Pendidikan*, Volume. 1, No. 10 of October 2016, p. 04.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid

<sup>43</sup> Heru S.P..Saputra, *Memuja Mantra: Sabu Mangir dan Jaran Goyang Masyarakat Suku Using Banyuwangi*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2007),p.67

<sup>44</sup> Mr Sutikno (65 years old), address: Kedunen Village, Bomo District, Banyuwangi, Thursday-Saturday, December 20-23 2018.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid

closely related to the issue of the spread of Islam in Banyuwangi.<sup>46</sup> *Praburoro's* art adopted the local cultural values of Using. For non-Using Islamic groups, the art is referred to as something taboo even though it reflects religious values.<sup>47</sup>

Using's spirituality and mysticism also reflect Islamic values that accommodate locality. Banyuwangi is famous as a warehouse for mystical behavior, especially witchcraft or sorcery. Other groups, including Islamic groups of *santri*, called witchcraft as black magic, which was taboo and even haram. For Muslim communities Using, *santet* or *tenung* is an integral part of their cultural heritage and not lost even though Islamic boarding schools are growing throughout Banyuwangi.<sup>48</sup>

The Using community uses the Alquran as a source of magical power. Many shamans or sorcerers in the Using community are fluent in reading and memorizing the Alquran.<sup>49</sup> For groups of Muslim *santri*, using Alquran as a medium for witchcraft or divination is part of the type of abuse of scripture which is clearly prohibited by religion.

For the Using Muslim community, the use of the Alquran as a magical source is not a problem. In the view of the Using community, *santet* is not black magic. The Using community distinguishes between witchcraft and magic. Conversely, witchcraft is part of "white magic" (white magic), because it is the practice of granting or the knowledge of attracting the love of others.<sup>50</sup> It's different from magic, which according to Using ethnicity, is a means to harm others. The tragedy in Banyuwangi in 1998 was not a massacre of witch doctors but a murder of sorcerers.<sup>51</sup>

Devoting themselves to black magic such as witchcraft or magic, for devout Muslim *santri*, is classified as a religious prohibition and part of polytheism. Black magic such as witchcraft and magic rests more on the power of demons or jinn. Using black magic is tantamount to devotion to Satan. The Using community has a different view of this Muslim *santri* group. As long as it is not magic that is characterized by harmfulness not the principle of benefit, the Using community will continue to persevere. However, a small portion of the Using Muslim community has recently begun to follow the views of Muslim *santri*, including in terms of mysticism.

Muhammad Nur Kharis Sugiyanto said, the Muslim community of Using which runs a tradition of Islam is divided into two groups. First, Muslim Usings who continue to practice Islam based on ancestral heritage. Secondly, Muslim Using who no longer practice Islam based on ancestral traditions and consider their ancestral traditions as *shirk*.<sup>52</sup> There

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid

<sup>47</sup> Ibid

<sup>48</sup> Ibid. p.68

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. p.105

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. p. 103

<sup>51</sup> (Saputra, 2007:103).

<sup>52</sup> Muhammad Nur Kharis Sugiyanto, *Tradisi Perang Bangkat Pada Masyarakat Suku Osing Banyuwangi.....*p.99

are changes in the views of a small number of Using Muslims in matters of religious practice, especially the problem of mysticism.<sup>53</sup>

In the tradition of Using spells, they also show Islamic values. The mantras created by the Using community are adapted to their life activities, such as spells before bed, spells to enter other people's homes, performing arts spells, spells for bathing, spells entering a cemetery or grave, even spells for fishing.<sup>54</sup>

Mantra is a cultural phenomenon that shapes the personality and life of Using's people. Mantra for the Using community also functions as a medium of treatment. Treatment through spells in the Using tribe rests more on Islamic values. The sentences uttered by the healer are prayers and spellings in Islam, such as *basmalah*, prayer and healing prayers in Using language.<sup>55</sup> Many spells are based on Islamic teachings, such as beginning with *basmalah* and ending with creed.<sup>56</sup>

The community's ability to maintain its tradition strongly without rejecting the spirit of inclusiveness makes the power of the multiculturalism of the Using community increasingly visible in the public eye.<sup>57</sup> At its peak, Using's ability to maintain local values and integrate them with Islam, as well as their ability to live side-by-side in harmony with other ethnic groups, encouraged the government since 1995 to designate Kemiren Village as a cultural heritage area. The government is interested in developing it as a Using Tourism Village.<sup>58</sup>

### **Cultural Identity vs. Identity Politics**

Using multiculturalism tends to lead to identity politics. This identity politics in Using ethnic emerged in connection with the history of those who had once been oppressed, exploited and nominated by other forces, including the Islamic Mataram which became a representation of Javanese power. The spirit of identity politics that appears in Using ethnicity is non-availability identified as Javanese culture even though it resides in parts of Java. Ethnic Using refuses to be referred to as Javanese ethnic and prefers to be a different ethnic Using than Javanese.

Heru Saputra said, the social phenomenon that emerged in the midst of the life of Using people was the strong covert resistance to Javanese society, especially Central Java,

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid

<sup>54</sup> See these kinds of mantra on Heru S.P..Saputra, *Memuja Mantra: Sabu Mangir dan Jaran Goyang Masyarakat Suku Using Banyuwangi*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2007), pp.97-99

<sup>55</sup> Novia Luthvatin, *Mantra untuk Penyembuhan dalam Tradisi Suku Osing Banyuwangi*, on IKESMA Journal Volume 11 No. 1 of March 2015, p.41

<sup>56</sup> Heru S.P..Saputra, *Memuja Mantra: Sabu Mangir dan Jaran Goyang Masyarakat Suku Using Banyuwangi*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2007), p.99

<sup>57</sup> Among the traditional tribes of Using this can be read in Syamsul Anam, Geby Ovaleoshanta, Fahriza Ardiansyah and Danah Ari Santoso *Studi Analisis Budaya Permainan Tradisional Suku Using Kabupaten Banyuwangi*, in Sports Learning Journal Volume 3 No. 2 of 2017

<sup>58</sup> AE Wisudana, "Eksistensi Desa Kemiren Sebagai Desa Adat Suku Osing", *Graduation Paper*, (Malang: UMM, 2016), p.4

which they called *wong kulonan*. The embedding of the term *wong kulonan* (a person from the western region) is inseparable from the historical experience of *wong blambangan* which was once ruled by the Mataram Islamic sultanate, which was seen as a representation of Javanese power.<sup>59</sup> In the eyes of the Using ethnic community, being a Javanese is a mockery, especially often carried out by members of the Using community who act negatively aka naughty. Verbal sentence to make fun of, such as "*Dasar endboge wong kulonan!*" (That has been the habit of descendants of Javanese!).<sup>60</sup>

Political identity encourages Using ethnic groups to develop their uniqueness and warmth, including in Islamic practice. Saputra said that Islam that entered Banyuwangi was among the last wave. Therefore, the position of *kiai* (clerics) as representatives of the elite class does not have a strong influence on Using ethnic groups. The same thing happened to the *priyayi* (aristocratic) class, where the noble class or nobility was not so fortunate in the presence of the Using group.<sup>61</sup>

The style of the Using culture, which shows the weak influence of the Islamic elite, is clearly different from the life and culture of the Javanese people. In Java, the *kiai* is greatly influenced, especially for Muslim *santri*, while the *priyayi* class is very influential in the Palace community. With cultural differences like this, the spirit of Using ethnic egalitarianism succeeded in establishing its own identity, and became the main capital of cultural politics, especially in the presence of Javanese society.

Another factor that has contributed to the formation of Using ethnic identity politics is the use of language. Language factors are the strongest reason for Using ethnic identity politics. Language is not only a means of communication but as a line of demarcation or differentiation with ethnic Using and ethnic Javanese.<sup>62</sup>

With the spirit of identity politics, the Using community argued to treat and preserve ancestral culture. Using ethnic was known to have strong loyalty to their ancestors. Their loyalty to their ancestors, not infrequently beat loyalty and family ties, when found one of their family members who came from outside their ethnicity, mainly from ethnic Javanese.

Loyalty to the ancestors that is so entrenched in Using's ethnic heart is reflected in an event that happened to one of the Using tribal youth. There was a young Using tribe, named Purwanto (not his real name), who had contradicted his father. As told in a book called *Blambangan 1771*, Purwanto's father had a spear eye called Buyut Sarangandul. This is a legacy from Using's ethnic ancestors. This spear is said to be a powerful weapon to beat Dutch and Japanese soldiers. Purwanto's grandfather, when the war used the spear, he could be immune from various Dutch bombs and bullets. Therefore as an effort to care for

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<sup>59</sup> Heru S.P..Saputra, *Memuja Mantra: Sabu Mangir dan Jaran Goyang Masyarakat Suku Using Banyuwangi*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2007),p.71

<sup>60</sup> Ibid

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, p.63

<sup>62</sup> Hasan Ali, "Bahasa dan Sastra Using di Banyuwangi", see also Suparman Herusantosa," *Bahasa Using di Kabupaten Banyuwangi*", *Thesis* (Jakarta: UI, 1987).

the heirloom, every Monday and Thursday, Purwanto's mother put a glass of water and a seven-color flower near the cupboard where the spear eye was placed.

Long story short, the spearhead was offered by a Balinese one day for a motorcycle. And after a long conversation, Purwanto's father also sold a spear eye to the Balinese. As a consequence, Purwanto's father received the agreed amount of money. Hearing his ancestors' spears were sold, Purwanto was immediately angry with his father. Purwanto's father is a person from Yogyakarta and his mother is an Using. Purwanto is more loyal to his mother's ancestors as Using people. He identified himself more as an Using, and not as a Mataram person even though his blood was still flowing inside Mataram.

For Purwanto, his father, who is a native of Yogyakarta, also known as Java, does not have any rights, let alone sell his spear from Using's ancestors. In front of his father, Purwanto said that his father's ancestors (namely Mataram people / Yogyakarta) had destroyed and defaced Blambangan, *Wong Using*.<sup>63</sup> "*And you (I deliberately disrespectfully call my father) have sold one of the family symbols, Buyut Sarangandul. Cunning Mataram!*"<sup>64</sup> Upon seeing Purwanto's rebuke, Purwanto's father inevitably immediately slapped a slap.

From Purwanto story, it is clear that identity politics is so firmly embedded in the minds of ethnic Using. What is questioned by Purwanto is not a spear, but the historical value that is in the spear as an ethnic ancestor of Using. If the spear sold came from his father's ancestor, who was a Javanese Mataram, Purwanto would not be angry. In this case, Purwanto is more emotionally bound to his ancestors as Using people from the path of his mother, not his father's ancestor from Java.<sup>65</sup>

Another factor that made Purwanto angry over the sale of his spearhead above was because the soldier was his father, who was actually a Mataram person. As a Mataram person, Purwanto's father was not entitled to sell the heirloom to the Using youth. The sale of spears carried out by his father, for Purwanto, was a form of abuse and humiliation of the ancestors of the Using tribe, Purwanto's ancestors. This kind of interpretation is more likely to hold the burden of history in the past, between Mataram and Blambangan.<sup>66</sup>

The memories of the past are a burden of history that continues to endure to this day. On the other hand, the burden of history strengthens the formation of identity politics, which requires great sacrifice, even a child must slap his own parents. These historical memories and burdens also make ethnic sentiments and identity politics grow stronger. Purwanto is only a representation of other Using tribes, but his enthusiasm is a

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<sup>63</sup> Dwi Pranoto, "Buyut Sarangandul" dalam *Blambangan 1771* (Banyuwangi: Sengker Kuwung Belambangan, 2015), p.28

<sup>64</sup> Ibid

<sup>65</sup> Mr Sutikno (65 years old), address: Kedunen Village, Bomo District, Banyuwangi, Thursday-Saturday, December 20-23 2018.

<sup>66</sup> Interview with Mr. Hendra (38 years old), address: Nagud Sounenir Shop, K.H. Wahid Hasyim street no. 33, Banyuwangi, Friday, 21 December 2018.

representation of the collective ideals born of a prolonged feud, from generation to generation, between Javanese versus Using ethnics.<sup>67</sup>

### **Practical-Political Implications**

This ethical phenomenon of Using, theoretically, is a sign system. The meaning and views of Using people are the spirit of their social, cultural and political life. Various forms of Using tradition, especially religious practices, represent the views of life and value systems of the Using community. Traditional forms are symbolic signs, which express the meaning, thoughts, and beliefs of the Using community. These cultural symbols show the beliefs and thoughts of ethnic Using different from other ethnic groups or groups in the same problem. The differences in views of Using ethnicities in the midst of the views of other ethnic groups later helped shape the climate of multiculturalism as well as the main capital of socio-cultural identity politics in Banyuwangi.

The uniqueness and distinctiveness of Using ethnic culture in the midst of other ethnic cultures is a manifestation of cultural diversity. This multiculturalism is getting stronger when the policies of the local government position Using ethnic groups on par with other ethnic groups. Even government policies that tend to protect Using customs with the aim of this local tradition can still exist and be sustainable. Viewed from the aspect of this government policy, multiculturalism reflected through Using ethnicity is in line with Rodriguis view in which a system of multiculturalism is not merely a portrait of the life of a multicultural society, but also the creation of fair and non-discriminatory government policies towards each ethnic group differences.

The government policy of Banyuwangi Regency which defines the Using tribe as an indigenous community as well as a cultural preserve that has local characteristics is a political necessity. In the era of decentralization with regional freedom governing its autonomous region, this stipulation is intended as the responsibility of the government in protecting the rights of its citizens. In addition to basic identity rights based on culture, there are also political and economic rights. Thus, each party receives benefits. This is where the policy of the Banyuwangi government is positioned.

The portrait of Using ethnic multiculturalism, theoretically, this phenomenon is different from the multiculturalism system applied by the government in several contemporary European countries, such as England. Recent multiculturalism tends to make different ethnic groups separate from each other. In fact, these ethnic groups do not seem to greet each other and interact well, enter the mainstream cultural system, under the pretext of maintaining the purity of national culture. Such conditions are different from multiculturalism in Indonesia, including the Using tribe. Each ethnic group interacts intensely even though it has diverse characteristics and identities. Although different from other ethnicities, Using ethnic are not made mutually separate but instead engage in

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<sup>67</sup> Mr Sutikno (65 years old), address: Kedunen Village, Bomo District, Banyuwangi, Thursday-Saturday, December 20-23 2018.

dialogue with one another. From the beginning, Using ethnicity is always open and absorbed the treasures of other cultures, without being dissolved into other ethnicities.

Multiculturalism and identity politics in Using society also influence political preferences. The politics of identity that appear in Using's socio-cultural life has major implications for the choice of political parties in this contemporary era. Data from the Election commissioner (KPU) of Banyuwangi shows that in the 2014 Election the Using people's political aspirations were channeled to the National Awakening Party (PKB) and the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP). This political preference is not connected with ethnicity cases, such as Using versus Java, or Using versus non-Using. On the contrary, this political preference is concerned with ideological characters such as inclusiveness versus exclusivity; puritan versus pluralist.

The more inclusive ethnic religious traditions of Using will tend to have the National Awakening Party, which is ideologically very accommodating to local culture. An inclusive religious system encourages Using people to choose political parties that are not resistant to their cultural system. The parties that have gained a lot of votes in the Using community are PDIP and PKB.<sup>68</sup> PDIP is classified as a secular nationalist party, while PKB is an inclusive and pluralist party, and has a mass base of NU citizens. They are Muslims who are also known to be very appreciative of local wisdom.

Banyuwangi Election Commission reported, in the 2014 Election, nationalist and religious political parties gained the most seats. PDIP and PKB each get 10 seats. Golkar gets 7 seats, then Gerindra and Democrats each have 5 seats. After that, PPP and Hanura followed 4 seats each, then PKS and Nasdem 2 seats each and finally PAN got 1 seat. The acquisition of this political party seat strengthens the argument that the political identity of the Using community is in line with the ideological colors of the political parties he chooses, namely nationalist and religious.

Based on these data it can be seen that parties that have a religious spirit, but are seen as inclined to puritans, anti-pluralism and resistant to local culture, such as the United Development Party (PPP), for example, are not attractive to Using residents. In contrast, parties that accommodate religious enthusiasm but are inclusive and pluralist, such as PKB, for example, are mainly accommodating to local traditions, attracting more votes from Using ethnic groups.

If viewed from an ideological aspect, namely between nationalist parties and parties with Islamic backgrounds, both inclusive and puritanical, the Using people are more interested in nationalist parties than those with Islamic backgrounds. Muslim communities were still more interested in nationalist parties than Islamic parties. This can be seen from the results of the accumulation of seats. The total number of seats from nationalist parties is PDIP (10), Golkar (7), Gerindra (5), Democrats (5), Hanura (4) and Nasdem (2). The

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<sup>68</sup> Interview with Mr. Hendra (38 years old), address: Nagud Sounenir Shop, K.H. Wahid Hasyim street no. 33, Banyuwangi, Friday, 21 December 2018.

acquisition of nationalist parties is far greater than the seats of parties with Islamic backgrounds PKB (10), PPP (4), PKS (2) and PAN (1).

## CONCLUSION

With this explanation, it can be concluded that the ethnic Using Islam, at least reflects two things, namely multiculturalism based on locality and identity politics. This finding confirms that Indonesia, which is rich in various ethnicities and religions, has made an important contribution to typical multiculturalism. Likewise, the Using ethnic group, although geographically located on the island of Java, has different characteristics from the Javanese in general. Ethnicity and the religiosity of the egalitarian Using ethnicity make it exist side by side with other ethnic groups. The uniqueness of the Using tribe lies in the combination of the local ethnic traditions of the ancestral heritage with universal Islamic values, at least Islamic values commonly found among Javanese people in general. This finding does not intend to obscure the Islamic values originating from revelation with localities originating from the local culture, but rather from the description, that the Islam of the Using community is unique. In this context the diversity of Using tribes is built.

At the same time, the existence of a unique and unique Using tribe also reflects identity politics. The identity which was initially built from resistance to oppressive outsiders, gradually transformed into the character of ethnic identity. Thus, this finding strengthens the theory, which identity politics emerges and grows strong along with the history of the past where the ethnic group grew and developed. Ethnic modality appears to be more dominant than regional and geographic modalities. On this basis, the existence of ethnic Using is recognized. In fact, its existence is taken into account in the local political arena. The combination of the strength of culture and religion (Islam) that he adheres to, makes this Using name and ethnic resonance discussed. Indonesia is very rich in a variety of ethnicities and cultures. Indonesian society, which is predominantly Muslim, cannot be separated from its ethnic and cultural roots. It is in this context that Islamic Using is positioned. Using Islam, therefore, is one of the interesting treasures in the study of Islamic Nusantara.

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