

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/21539> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

**Author:** Pribadi, Yanwar

**Title:** Islam and politics in Madura : ulama and other local leaders in search of influence (1990-2010)

**Issue Date:** 2013-08-28

# Bibliography

## Documents and Government Publications:

*Bangkalan dalam Angka 2000*  
*Bangkalan dalam Angka 2007*  
*Draft Pokok-pokok Pikiran Reorganisasi Bassra*  
*Jawa Timur dalam Angka tahun 1971*  
*Jawa Timur dalam Angka 1983*  
*Jawa Timur dalam Angka 1993*  
*Jawa Timur dalam Angka 1997*  
*Lima Tahun Perjuangan DPD RI Jawa Timur 2004-2009*  
*Pemilu 1971 di Jawa Timur*  
*Sampang dalam Angka 2000*  
*Sampang dalam Angka 2010*

## Books and Articles:

Abdullah, Taufik. "The Pesantren in Historical Perspective". In *Islam and Society in Southeast Asia*, edited by Taufik Abdullah and Sharon Siddique. Singapore, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1988.

Adioetomo, Sri Moertiningsih. "The Role of Religion in the Construction of the Small Family Norm in Java, Indonesia". *Journal of Population* 1. No. 2 (1995): 107-129.

Affandi, Bisri. *Syaikh Ahmad Syurkati (1874-1943): Pembaharu dan Pemurni Islam di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pustaka Al-Kautsar, 1999.

Alfian. "Islamic Modernism in Indonesian Politics: The Muhammadiyah Movement during the Dutch Colonial Period (1912-1942)". Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1969.

Anam, Choirul. *Pertumbuhan dan Perkembangan Nahdlatul Ulama*. Sala: Jatayu, 1985.

Antlöv, Hans. "Village Leaders and the New Order", in *Leadership on Java: Gentle Hints, Authoritarian Rule*, edited by Hans Antlöv and Sven Cederroth. Richmond: Curzon Press, 1994.

- Antlöv, Hans. *Exemplary Centre, Administrative Periphery: Rural Leadership and the New Order in Java*. Richmond: Curzon Press, 1995.
- Antlöv, Hans. "Not enough Politics! Power, Participation and the New Democratic Polity in Indonesia". In *Local Power and Politics in Indonesia: Decentralisation and Democratisation*, edited by Edward Aspinall and Greg Fealy. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2003.
- Antlöv, Hans. "National Elections, Local Issues: the 1997 and 1999 National Elections in a Village on Java". In *Elections in Indonesia: the New Order and Beyond*, edited by Hans Antlöv and Sven Cederroth. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004.
- Ar-Rifa'i, Ibnu Assayuthi. *Korelasi Syaikhona Muhammad Kholil Bangkalan & NU: Mengenang dan Menghayati Perjuangan Sang Inspirator*. Kediri, Al-Haula Press, 2010.
- Aspinall, Edward and Greg Fealy. "Introduction: Decentralisation, Democratisation and the Rise of the Local". In *Local Power and Politics in Indonesia: Decentralisation and Democratisation*, edited by Edward Aspinall and Greg Fealy. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2003.
- Atsushi, Ota. *Changes of Regime and Social Dynamics in West Java: Society, State and the Outer World of Banten 1750-1830*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006.
- Azra, Azyumardi and Dina Afrianty. "Pesantren and Madrasa: Modernization of Indonesian Muslim Society". Paper presented in Workshop on Madrasa, Modernity and Islamic Education, Boston University, CURA, May 6-7, 2005.
- Bakhri, Mokh. Syaiful. *Syaikhona Kholil Bangkalan: kiai legendaris dari Madura*. Pasuruan: Cipta Pustaka Utama, 2006.
- Barker, Joshua and Gerry van Klinken. "Reflections on the State in Indonesia". In *State of Authority: the State in Society in Indonesia*, edited by Gerry van Klinken and Joshua Barker. Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications, 2009.
- Barton, Greg. "The Prospects for Islam". In *Indonesia Today: Challenges of History*, edited by Grayson Lloyd and Shannon Smith. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2001.
- Barton, Greg and Greg Fealy. "Introduction". In *Nahdlatul Ulama, Traditional Islam and Modernity in Indonesia*, edited by Greg Barton and Greg Fealy. Clayton: Monash Asia Institute, Monash University, 1996.
- Beatty, Andrew. *Varieties of Javanese Religion: An Anthropological Account*. Cambridge, New York, and Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

- Benda, Harry J. *The Crescent and the Rising Sun: Indonesian Islam under the Japanese Occupation 1942-1945*. The Hague: Van Hoeve, 1958.
- Blok, Anton. "The Peasant and the Brigand: Social Banditry Reconsidered". *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 14, No. 4 (1972): 494-503.
- Blok, Anton. *The Mafia of a Sicilian Village 1860-1960: A Study of Violent Peasant Entrepreneurs*. Oxford: Polity Press, 1988.
- Blok, Anton (a). "Social Banditry Reconsidered". In *Honour and Violence*, edited by Anton Blok. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001.
- Blok, Anton (b). "The Meaning of 'Senseless' Violence". In *Honour and Violence*, edited by Anton Blok. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001.
- Boland, Bernard Johan. *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia*. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1982.
- Booth, Anne. *The Indonesian Economy in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: a History of Missed Opportunities*. Canberra: The Australian National University, 1998.
- Braadbaart, Okke. "Privatizing Water: the Jakarta Concession and the Limits of Contract". In *A World of Water: Rain, Rivers and Seas in Southeast Asian Histories*, edited by Peter Boomgaard. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007.
- Brakel-Papenhuyzen, Clara. "Javanese Taledhek and Chinese Tayuban". *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde* 151, No. 4 (1995): 545-569.
- Bruinessen, Martin van. "Pesantren and Kitab Kuning: Continuity and Change in a Tradition of Religious Learning". In *Texts from the Islands: Oral and Written Traditions of Indonesia and the Malay World*, edited by Wolfgang Marschall. Bern, Institute of Ethnology, University of Bern, 1994.
- Bruinessen, Martin van. *NU, Tradisi, Relasi-relasi Kuasa, Pencarian Wacana Baru*. Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1994.
- Bruinessen, Martin van. "Shari'a Court, Tarekat and Pesantren: Religious Institutions in the Banten Sultanate". *Archipel* 50: *Banten Histoire d'une Region* (1995): 165-199.
- Bruinessen, Martin van. "Tarekat and Tarekat Teachers in Madurese Society". In *Across Madura Strait: the Dynamics of an Insular Society*, edited by Kees van Dijk, Huub de Jonge, and Elly Touwen-Bouwsma. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995.
- Bruinessen, Martin van. "Global and Local in Indonesian Islam". *Tonan Aja Kenkyu* 37, No. 2 (1999): 158-175.
- Bruinessen, Martin van. "Traditionalist and Islamist Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia". In *The Madrasa in Asia: Political Activism and Transnational Linkages*, edited by Farish A. Noor, Yoginder

- Sikand, and Martin van Bruinessen. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008.
- Buehler, Michael and Paige Tan. "Party-Candidate Relationships in Indonesian Local Politics: A Case Study of the 2005 Regional Elections in Gowa, South Sulawesi Province." *Indonesia*, No. 84 (2007): 41-69.
- Buehler, Michael (a). "The Rising Importance of Personal Networks in Indonesian Local Politics: An Analysis of District Government Head Elections in South Sulawesi in 2005". In *Deepening Democracy in Indonesia? Direct Elections for Local Leaders (Pilkada)*, edited by Maribeth Erb and Priyambudi Sulistiyani. Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, 2009.
- Buehler, Michael (b). "Islam and Democracy in Indonesia". *Insight Turkey* 11, No. 4 (2009): 51-63.
- Burhanudin, Jajat. "Islamic Knowledge, Authority and Political Power: the Ulama in Colonial Indonesia". Ph.D. dissertation, Leiden University, 2007.
- Cederroth, Sven. "From PNI to Golkar: Indonesian Village Politics, 1955-87". In *The Transformation of Rural Society in the Third World*, edited by Magnus Mörner and Thommy Svensson. Routledge: London and New York, 1991.
- Cederroth, Sven. "New Order Modernization and Islam: Village Officials and Religious Teachers". In *Leadership on Java: Gentle Hints, Authoritarian Rule*, edited by Hans Antlöv and Sven Cederroth. Richmond: Curzon Press, 1994.
- Chalik, Abdul. "Religion and Local Politics: Exploring the Study on Subcultures and the Political Participation of East Java NU Elites in the Post-New Order Indonesia". *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 4, No. 1 (2010): 109-150.
- Colbran, Nicola(2010). "Realities and Challenges in Realising Freedom of Religion or Belief in Indonesia". *The International Journal of Human Rights*, Vol. 14, No. 5 (2010): 678-704.
- Colombijn, Freek. "A Cultural Practice of Violence in Indonesia: Lessons from History". In *Violent Internal Conflicts in Asia Pacific: Histories, Political Economies and Policies*, edited by Dewi Fortuna Anwar et al. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2005.
- Cribb, Robert. *Gangsters and Revolutionaries: The Jakarta People's Militia and the Indonesian Revolution 1945-1949*. North Sydney: Asian Studies Association of Australia, 1991.
- Cribb, Robert. "Legal Pluralism, Decentralisation and the Roots of Violence in Indonesia". In *Violent Internal Conflicts in Asia Pacific: Histories, Political Economies and Policies*, edited by Dewi Fortuna

- Anwar *et al.* Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2005.
- Cribb, Robert. "The Historical Roots of Indonesia's New Order: Beyond the Colonial Comparison". In *Soeharto's New Order and its Legacy*, edited by Edward Aspinall and Greg Fealy. Canberra, ANU E Press, 2010.
- Crouch, Harold. "Introduction". In *State and Civil Society in Indonesia*, edited by Arief Budiman. Clayton: Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1990.
- Dewo, Mohammad Noer and Ch Maduratna, *Kerapan Sapi: Permainan dan Kegemaran Rakyat di Kepulauan Madura*. Jakarta: Kinta, 1983.
- Dhofier, Zamakhsyari. "Kinship and Marriage among the Javanese Kyai". *Indonesia*, No. 29 (1980): 47-58.
- Dhofier, Zamakhsyari. *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi tentang Pandangan Hidup Kiai*. Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982.
- Dhofier, Zamakhsyari. *The Pesantren Tradition: the Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of Traditional Islam in Java*. Tempe: Program for Southeast Asian Studies, Arizona State University, 1999.
- Dijk, Kees van. "Kiai and Politics". *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde* 152, No. 1 (1996): 109-143.
- Dijk, Kees van. "Dakwah and Indigenous Culture: the Dissemination of Islam". *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde* 154, *Globalization, Localization and Indonesia*, No. 2 (1998): 218-235.
- Dijk, Kees van. "Different Settings, Different Definitions, and Different Agendas: Islamic and Secular Political Parties in Indonesia and Malaysia". In *Interpreting Islamic Political Parties*, edited by M.A. Mohamed Salih. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Effendi, Ahmad and Hermawan Aksan. *Prof. Dr. Ir. Sedyatmo: Intuisi Mencetus Daya Cipta*. Jakarta: Teraju, 2009.
- Eklöf, Stephan. "The 1965-1966 Killings in Bali: Historical and Cultural Approaches". In *Violence and Vengeance: Discontent and Conflict in New Order Indonesia*, edited by Frans Hüsken and Huub de Jonge. Saarbrücken: Verlag für Entwicklungspolitik Saarbrücken, 2002.
- Elson, R. *Javanese Peasants and the Colonial Sugar Industry: Impact and Change in an East Java Residency, 1830-1940*. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Faishal, Ahmad. "Remo dan Sandhor Madura di Surabaya (1970-1980)". B.A. thesis. Department of History, Airlangga University, Indonesia, 2007.
- Fauzi, Noer and Dianto Bachriadi. "The Resurgence of Agrarian Movements in Indonesia: Scholar-Activists, Popular Education and Peasant Mobilization—Some Sketches for Discussion". Paper

- presented at the International Conference on “Land, Poverty, Social Justice and Development: Social Movements Perspectives”, 9-10 January 2006 at Institute of Social Studies (ISS), The Hague, The Netherlands.
- Fealy, Greg and Katharine E. MacGregor. “Nahdlatul Ulama and the Killings of 1965-1966: Religion, Politics, and Remembrance”. *Indonesia*, No. 89 (2010): 37-60.
- Feillard, Andrée. *NU vis-à-vis Negara : Pencarian Isi, Bentuk dan Makna*. Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1999.
- Galtung, Johan. “Cultural Violence”. *Journal of Peace Research* 27, No. 3 (1990): 291-305.
- Gambetta, Diego. *The Sicilian Mafia: The Business of Private Protection*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- Geertz, Clifford. *The Religion of Java*. Glencoe: the Free Press of Glencoe, 1960.
- Goor, J. van. “Salt and Soldiers: Madura and the Dutch in the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century”. In *Papers of the Dutch-Indonesian Historical Conference held at Noordwijkerhout, the Netherlands 19 to 22 May 1976*. Leiden/Jakarta: The Bureau of Indonesian Studies under the auspices of the Dutch and Indonesian Steering Committees of the Indonesian Studies Program, 1978.
- Hardiyanto, Andik. *Insiden Nipah: Sengkok Cinta Tang Disa Ma’e Tembak*. Surabaya and Jakarta: Lembaga Bantuan Hukum and Direktorat Operasional YLBHI, 1995.
- Haris, Syamsuddin. “General Elections under the New Order”. In *Elections in Indonesia: the New Order and Beyond*, edited by Hans Antlöv and Sven Cederroth. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004.
- Hasan, Noorhaidi. “The Salafi Movement in Indonesia: Transnational Dynamics and Local Development”. *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 27, No. 1 (2007): 83-94.
- Hasan, Noorhaidi. “Islamizing Formal Education: Integrated Islamic Schools and a New Trend in Formal Education Institution in Indonesia”. Working Paper No. 172, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore, 11 February 2009.
- Hefner, Robert W. “Islamizing Java? Religion and Politics in Rural East Java”. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 46, No. 3 (1987): 533-554.
- Herriman, Nicholas. “Balai Desa: Challenged Sovereignty, Contested Significance”. In *RIMA* 42, No. 2 (2008): 93-106.
- Hill, Hal and Dionisius Narjoko. “Managing Industrialisation in a Globalising Economy: Lessons from the Soeharto Era”. In *Soeharto’s New Order and Its Legacy: Essays in Honour of Harold Crouch*, edited by Edward Aspinall and Greg Fealy. Canberra,

- ANU E Press, 2010.
- Hisyam, Muhammad. "Potret Penghulu dalam Naskah: Sebuah Pengalaman Penelitian." *Wacana* 7, No. 2 (2005): 125-133.
- Hobsbawm, E. J. *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries*. New York: Norton, 1965.
- Honna, Jun. "The Legacy of the New Order Military in Local Politics: West, Central and East Java". In *Soeharto's New Order and its Legacy*, edited by Edward Aspinall and Greg Fealy. Canberra, ANU E Press, 2010.
- Horikoshi, Hiroko. *Kiai dan Perubahan Sosial*. Jakarta: P3M, 1987
- Hughes-Freeland, Felicia. "Tayuban: Culture on the Edge". *Indonesia Circle*, No. 52 (1990): 36-44.
- Hüsken, Frans. "Village Elections in Central Java: State Control or Local Democracy?". In *Leadership on Java: Gentle Hints, Authoritarian Rule*, edited by Hans Antlöv and Sven Cederroth. Richmond: Curzon Press, 1994.
- Imron, Fuad Amin. *Kabupaten Bangkalan Membangun Diri Meningkatkan Daya Saing*. Jakarta: Pustaka Patria, 2003.
- James, Pierre. "State Theories and New Order Indonesia". In *State and Civil Society in Indonesia*, edited by Arief Budiman. Clayton: Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1990.
- Jonge, Huub de. *Madura dalam Empat Zaman: Pedagang, Perkembangan Ekonomi, dan Islam: Suatu Studi Antropologi Ekonomi*. Jakarta: Gramedia, 1989.
- Jonge, Huub de. "Of Bulls and Men: The Madurese Aduan Sapi". *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde* 146, No. 4 (1990): 423-447.
- Jonge, Huub de. "Stereotypes of the Madurese". In *Across Madura Strait: the Dynamics of an Insular Society*, edited by Kees van Dijk, Huub de Jonge, and Elly Touwen-Bouwsma. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995.
- Jonge, Huub de. "Rather White Bones than White Eyes: Violent Self-Help among the Madurese". In *Violence and Vengeance: Discontent and Conflict in New Order Indonesia*, edited by Frans Hüsken and Huub de Jonge. Saarbrücken: Verlag für Entwicklungspolitik Saarbrücken, 2002.
- Karim, Abdul Gaffar Karim. "Pesantren in Power: Religious Institutions and Political Recruitment in Sumenep, Madura". *RIMA* 42, No. 1 (2008): 157-184.
- Kartodirdjo, Sartono. *The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888, Its Conditions, Course, and Sequel: A Case Study of Social Movements in Indonesia*. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1966.
- Keeler, Ward. "Villagers and the Exemplary Center in Java". *Indonesia*.



- No. 39 (1985): 111-140.
- Keeler, Ward. "Style and Authority in Javanese Muslim Sermons". *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 9, No. 2 (1998): 163-178.
- Khusyairi, A. "Agama, Orientasi Politik dan Kepemimpinan Lokal di antara Orang Madura di Lumajang". In *Agama, Kebudayaan dan Ekonomi: Studi-studi Interdisipliner tentang Masyarakat Madura*, edited by Huub de Jonge. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 1989.
- Kiliaan, H.N. *Nederlandsch-Madoereesch Woordenboek*. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1898.
- Kiliaan, H.N. *Madoereesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, Eerste Deel*. Leiden: Brill, 1904.
- Kiliaan, H.N. *Madoereesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, Tweede Deel*. Leiden: Brill, 1905.
- Klinken, Gerry van and Joshua Barker. "Introduction: State in Society in Indonesia". In *State of Authority: the State in Society in Indonesia*, edited by Gerry van Klinken and Joshua Barker. Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications, 2009.
- Koentjaraningrat. "Madurese". In *Ethnic Groups of Insular Southeast Asia Vol. 1: Indonesia, Andaman Islands and Madagascar*, edited by Frank M. LeBar. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press, 1972.
- Korver, A.P.E. *Sarekat Islam: Gerakan Ratu Adil?* Jakarta: Grafiti Pers, 1985.
- Kroef, Justus M. van der. "The Role of Islam in Indonesian Nationalism and Politics", *Political Research Quarterly* 11, No. 1 (1958): 33-54.
- Kroef, Justus M. van der. "'Petrus': Patterns of Prophylactic Murder in Indonesia". *Asian Survey* 25, No. 7 (1985): 745-759.
- Kuntowijoyo. Islam and Politics: the Local Sarekat Islam Movements in Madura, 1913- 20". In *Islam and Society in Southeast Asia*, edited by Taufik Abdullah and Sharon Siddique. Singapore, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1988.
- Kuntowijoyo. "Agama Islam dan Politik: Gerakan-gerakan Sarekat Islam Lokal di Madura, 1913-1920". In *Agama, Kebudayaan, dan Ekonomi: Studi-studi Interdisipliner tentang Masyarakat Madura*, edited by Huub de Jonge. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 1989.
- Kuntowijoyo, *Perubahan Sosial dalam Masyarakat Agraris Madura, 1850-1940*. Yogyakarta: Matabangsa, 2002.
- Langenberg, Michael van. "The New Order State: Language, Ideology, Hegemony". In *State and Civil Society in Indonesia*, edited by Arief Budiman. Clayton: Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1990.
- Lembaga Studi dan Advokasi Masyarakat/Elsam. *Peradilan Setengah Hati: Laporan Proses Persidangan Kasus Nipah di Mahkamah Militer III-*

- 12 Surabaya, Jakarta: Lembaga Studi dan Advokasi Masyarakat/ ELSAM, 1996.
- Lev, Daniel S. "The Criminal Regime: Criminal Process in Indonesia". In *Figures of Criminality in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Colonial Vietnam*, edited by Vicente L. Rafael. Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program Publications, Cornell University, 1999.
- Liddle, R. William. "Ethnicity and Political Organization: Three East Sumatran Cases". In *Culture and Politics in Indonesia*, edited by Claire Holt, Benedict Anderson and James Siegel. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972.
- Lombard, Denys. *Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya: Kajian Sejarah Terpadu, Bagian 3 Warisan Kerajaan-kerajaan Konsentris*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Forum Jakarta-Paris, École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO), 1996.
- Lucas, Anton. "Land Disputes in Indonesia: Some Current Perspectives". *Indonesia*, No. 53 (1992): 79-92.
- Lucas, Anton. "Land Disputes, the Bureaucracy, and Local Resistance in Indonesia". In *Imagining Indonesia: Cultural Politics and Political Culture*, edited by Jim Schiller and Barbara Martin-Schiller. Athens: The Center for International Studies, Ohio University, 1997.
- Lukens-Bull, Ronald. "Teaching Morality: Javanese Islamic Education in a Globalizing Era". *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 3. (2000): 26-48.
- Macintyre, Andrew. *Business and Politics in Indonesia*. North Sydney, NSW: Allen and Unwin, 1991.
- Mackie, Jamie. "Patrimonialism: The New Order and Beyond". In *Soeharto's New Order and Its Legacy: Essays in Honour of Harold Crouch*, edited by Edward Aspinall and Greg Fealy. Canberra, ANU E Press, 2010.
- Madjid, Nurcholish. *Islam Kemoderenan dan Keindonesiaan*. Bandung: Mizan, 1998.
- Mansurnoor, Iik. *Islam in an Indonesian World: Ulama of Madura*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1990.
- Mansurnoor, Iik. "Rato and Kiai in Madura: Are They Twins?". In *Across Madura Strait: the Dynamics of an Insular Society*, edited by Kees van Dijk, Huub de Jonge, and Elly Touwen-Bouwsma. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995.
- Mietzner, Marcus. "Business as Usual? The Indonesian Armed Forces and Local Politics in the Post Suharto Era". In *Local Power and Politics in Indonesia: Decentralisation and Democratisation*, edited by Edward Aspinall and Greg Fealy. Singapore: Institute of Southeast

- Asian Studies, 2003.
- Mietzner, Marcus. "Party Financing in Post-Soeharto Indonesia: Between State Subsidies and Political Corruption". *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs* 29, No. 2 (2006): 238-263.
- Mietzner, Marcus. "Indonesia's Direct Elections: Empowering the Electorate or Entrenching the New Order Oligarchy". In *Soeharto's New Order and its Legacy*, edited by Edward Aspinall and Greg Fealy. Canberra, ANU E Press, 2010.
- Moertono, Soemarsaid. *State and Statecraft in Old Java: a Study of the Later Mataram Period, 16<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> Century*. Ithaca: Cornell University, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1981.
- Moesa, Ali Maschan. *Kiai & Politik dalam Wacana Civil Society*. Surabaya: Lepkiss, 1999.
- Morris, Eric Eugene. *Islam and Politics in Aceh: a study of Center-Periphery Relations in Indonesia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983.
- Mujani, Saiful and R. William Liddle. "Indonesia's Approaching Elections: Politics, Islam, and Public Opinion". *Journal of Democracy* 15, No. 1 (2004): 109- 123.
- Muthmainnah. *Jembatan Suramadu: Respon Ulama terhadap Industrialisasi*. Yogyakarta: Lajnah Kajian dan Pengembangan Sumber Daya Manusia (LKPSM), 1998.
- Nakamura, Mitsuo. *The Crescent Arises over the Banyan Tree: a Study of the Muhammadiyah Movement in a Central Javanese Town*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1983.
- Niehof, Anke. "The Family Planning Fieldworker and Local Leaders in Rural Madura". In *Local Leadership and Programme Implementation in Indonesia*, edited by Philip Quarles van Ufford. Amsterdam: Free University Press, 1987.
- Noer, Deliar. *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia, 1900-1942*. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Nurhajarini, Dwi Ratna et al. *Kerusuhan Sosial di Madura: Kasus Waduk Nipah dan Ladang Garam*. Yogyakarta: Balai Kajian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional, 2005.
- Ongkhokham. "The Jago in Colonial Java, Ambivalent Champion of the People". In *History and Peasant Consciousness in South East Asia*, edited by Andrew Turton and Shigeharu Tanabe. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 1984.
- Pawitra, Adrian. *Kamus Lengkap Bahasa Madura Indonesia: Dengan Ejaan Bahasa Madura Tepat Ucap*. Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 2009.
- Pemberton, John. "Notes on the 1982 General Election in Solo". *Indonesia*. No. 41 (1986): 1-22

- Pemberton, John. *On the Subject of "Java"*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989.
- Penninga, P. & H. Hendriks. *Practisch Madurees-Nederlands Woordenboek, 2<sup>e</sup> Vermeerderde Druk*. 's-Gravenhage: G.C.T. van Dorp, 1936.
- Power, Emma. "Furry Families: Making a Human-Dog Family through Home". *Social and Cultural Geography* 9, No. 5 (2008): 535-555.
- Pribadi, Yanwar. "Jawara in Banten: Their Socio-Political Roles in the New Order Era 1966-1998", M.A. thesis, Leiden University, 2008.
- Pribadi, Yanwar. "Strongmen and Religious Leaders in Java: Their Dynamic Relationship in Search of Power". *AlJamiah Journal of Islamic Studies* 49, No. 1 (2011): 159- 190.
- Rachbini, Didik J. "Conditions and Consequences of Industrialization in Madura". In *Across Madura Strait: the Dynamics of an Insular Society*, edited by Kees van Dijk, Huub de Jonge, and Elly Touwen-Bouwsma. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995.
- Rachman, Saifur. *Biografi dan Karomah Kiai Kholil Bangkalan: Surat kepada Anjing Hitam*. Jakarta: Pustaka Ciganjur, 2001.
- Raillon, Francois. "The New Order and Islam, or Imbroglia of Faith and Politics". *Indonesia*, No. 57 (1993): 197-217.
- Rasi, Fathor, Herdi Sahrasad, and Mohamad Asrori Mulky. *Tragedi Pilkada Provinsi Jawa Timur dan Implikasinya atas Pemilu dan Pilres 2009: Pelajaran dari Kaji vs Kar-sa*. Jakarta: Freedom Foundation etc. 2009.
- Reeve, David. "The Corporatist State: The Case of Golkar". In *State and Civil Society in Indonesia*, edited by Arief Budiman. Clayton: Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1990.
- Retsikas, Konstantinos. "The Semiotics of Violence: Ninja, Sorcerers, and State Terror in Post-Soeharto Indonesia". *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde* 162, No. 1 (2006): 56-94.
- Ricklefs, Merle Calvin. *Polarising Javanese Society: Islamic and Other Visions, c. 1830-1930*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007.
- Robison, Richard. "Culture, Politics, and Economy in the Political History of the New Order". In *Interpreting Indonesian Politics: Thirteen Contributions to the Debate*, edited by Benedict Anderson and Audrey Kahin. Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project Cornell University, 1982.
- Robison, Richard. *Indonesia: The Rise of Capital*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1986.
- Rozaki, Abdur. *Menabur Kharisma Menuai Kuasa: Kiprah Kiai dan Blater sebagai Rezim Kembar di Madura*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Marwa, 2004.
- Saby, Yusny. "Islam and Social Change: the Role of the Ulama in Acehese Society", Ph.D. dissertation, Temple University, 1995.

- Safioedin, Asis. *Kamus Sederhana bahasa Madura–bahasa Indonesia*. Surabaya: [s.n.], 1975.
- Safioedin, Asis. *Kamus bahasa Madura–Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1977.
- Samson, Allan A. “Conceptions of Politics, Power, and Ideology in Contemporary Indonesian Islam”. In *Political Power and Communications in Indonesia*, edited by Karl D. Jackson and Lucian W. Pye. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.
- Saputro, Muhammad Endy. *Kiai Langgar and Kalebun: A Study on Contestation between Cultural Brokers in a non-Pesantren Village in Madura, Indonesia*. Yogyakarta, Graduate School Gadjah Mada University, 2009.
- Schulte Nordholt, Henk. “The Jago in the Shadow: Crime and ‘Order’ in the Colonial State in Java” *RIMA* 25, No. 1 (1991): 74-91.
- Schulte Nordholt, Henk. “A Genealogy of Violence”. In *Roots of Violence in Indonesia: Contemporary Violence in Historical Perspective*, edited by Freek Colombijn and J. Thomas Lindblad. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002.
- Schulte Nordholt, Henk. “Renegotiating Boundaries: Access, Agency and Identity in Post-Soeharto Indonesia”. *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde* 159. No. 4 (2003): 550-589.
- Schulte Nordholt, Henk. “Decentralisation in Indonesia: Less State, More Democracy?” In *Politicising Democracy: The New Local Politics of Democratisation*, edited by John Harriss, Kristian Stokke, and Olle Törnquist. Basingstoke [etc.]: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- Schulte Nordholt, Henk. “Decentralization and Democracy in Indonesia: Strengthening Citizenship or Regional Elites?”. In *Routledge Handbook of Southeast Asian Politics*, edited by Richard Robison. Oxon: Routledge, 2012.
- Schulte Nordholt, Henk and Gerry van Klinken. “Introduction”. In *Renegotiating Boundaries: Local Politics in Post-Suharto Indonesia*, edited by Henk Schulte Nordholt and Gerry van Klinken. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007.
- Siahaan, Hotman M and Tjahjo Purnomo W. *Pamong Mengabdi Desa: Biografi Mohammad Noer*. Surabaya: Yayasan Keluarga Bhakti dan Surabaya Post, 1997.
- Sidel, John T. “Bossism and Democracy in the Philippines, Thailand, and Indonesia: Towards an Alternative Framework for the Study of ‘Local Strongmen’”. In *Politicising Democracy: The New Local Politics of Democratisation*, edited by John Harriss, Kristian Stokke, and Olle Törnquist. Basingstoke [etc.]: Palgrave Macmillan,

- 2004.
- Sidel, John T. *Pogroms, Jihad: Religious Violence in Indonesia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006.
- Siegel, James T. *The Rope of God*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.
- Siegel, James T. "A New Criminal Type in Jakarta: the Nationalization of "Death"". In *Figures of Criminality in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Colonial Vietnam*, edited by Vicente L. Rafael. Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program Publications, Cornell University, 1999.
- Smith, Glenn. "Pentingnya Sapi dalam Masyarakat Madura". In *Agama, Kebudayaan, dan Ekonomi: Studi-studi Interdisipliner tentang Masyarakat Madura*, edited by Huub de Jonge. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 1989.
- Smith, Glenn. "Madurese Maize and Bovines Seen through an Ecological-Materialist Lens", in *Across Madura Strait: the Dynamics of an Insular Society*, edited by Kees van Dijk, Huub de Jonge, and Elly Touwen-Bouwsma. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995.
- Smith, Glenn. "Carok Violence in Madura: from Historical Conditions to Contemporary Manifestations". *Folk: Journal of the Danish Ethnographic Society* 39, (1997): 57-75.
- Steenbrink, Karel Adriaan. *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad ke-19*. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984.
- Subahianto, Andang et al. *Tantangan Industrialisasi Madura: Membentur Kultur, Menjunjung Leluhur*. Malang: Bayumedia, 2004.
- Suryadinata, Leo. *Military Ascendancy and Political Culture: a Study of Indonesia's Golkar*. Ohio: Ohio University, Monograph in International Studies Southeast Asia Series No. 85, 1989.
- Sutjitro. *Gengsi, Magik, dan Judi: Kerapan Sapi di Madura*, Seri Kertas Kerja Bidang Kajian Madura No. 22. Jember: Universitas Jember, 1992.
- Tihami, M.A. "Kiyai dan Jawara di Banten: Studi tentang Agama, Magi, dan Kepemimpinan di Desa Pasanggrahan Serang, Banten". M.A. thesis, Universitas Indonesia, 1992.
- Till, Margreet van. *Banditry in West Java, 1869-1942*. Singapore: National University of Singapore, 2011.
- Timmer, Peter. "Food Security in Indonesia: Current Challenges and the Long-Run Outlook". *Working Paper Number 48*, November 2004, Center for Global Development, Washington DC.
- Tomsa, Dirk. "Electoral Democracy in a Divided Society: the 2008 Gubernatorial Election in Maluku, Indonesia". *South East Asia Research* 17, No. 2 (2009): 229-259.
- Touwen-Bouwsma, Elly. "Madurese Village Heads: from Puppets to

- Entrepreneurs". In *Local Leadership and Programme Implementation in Indonesia*, edited by Philip Quarles van Ufford. Amsterdam: Free University Press, 1987.
- Touwen-Bouwsma, Elly. "Kekerasan di Masyarakat Madura". In *Agama, Kebudayaan, dan Ekonomi: Studi-studi Interdisipliner tentang Masyarakat Madura*, edited by Huub de Jonge. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 1989.
- Touwen-Bouwsma, Elly. "The Ulama of Madura: Rise and Expansion of a Religious Regime". In *Faith and Polity on Religion and Politics*, edited by Mart Bax, Peter Kloos and Adrianus Koster. Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1992.
- Tsakiris G. and M. Spiliotis. 2006. "Cropping Pattern Planning under Water Supply from Multiple Sources", *Irrigation and Drainage Systems*. No. 20 (2006): 57-68.
- Vatikiotis, Michael R.J. *Indonesian Politics under Suharto: Order, Development and Pressure for Change*. London and New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Volkov, Vadim. "Between Economy and the State: Private Security and Rule Enforcement in Russia". *Politics and Society* 20, No. 4 (2000): 483-501.
- Widjojo, Muridan S. and Diana Fawzia. "Resistensi Oreng Kenek di Sampang, Madura". In *Kecurangan dan Perlawanan Rakyat dalam Pemilu 1997*, edited by Syamsuddin Haris. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia and PPW-LIPI, 1999.
- Ward, Ken. "Soeharto's Javanese Pancasila". In *Soeharto's New Order and its Legacy*, edited by Edward Aspinall and Greg Fealy. Canberra, ANU E Press, 2010.
- Wie, Thee Kian. "The Soeharto Era and After: Stability, Development and Crisis, 1966-2000". In *The Emergence of a National Economy: an Economic History of Indonesia, 1800-2000*, edited by Howard Dick et.al. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002.
- Wilson, Ian Douglas, "The Politics of Inner Power: The Practice of Pencak Silat in West Java". Ph.D Thesis, Murdoch University, 2003.
- Wilson, Ian Douglas. "Reconfiguring Rackets: Racket Regimes, Protection and the State in Post-New Order Jakarta". In *The State and Illegality in Indonesia*, edited by Edward Aspinall and Gerry van Klinken. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2011.
- Wiyata, Latief. *Carok: Konflik Kekerasan dan Harga Diri Orang Madura*. Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2006.
- Wolf, Eric R. "Aspects of Group Relations in a Complex Society: Mexico". *American Anthropologist* 58, No. 6 (1956): 1065-1078.
- Wood, Michael. *Official History in Modern Indonesia: New Order Perceptions and Counterviews*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005.

- Woodward, Mark R. *Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1989.
- Zainalfattah. *Sedjarah Tjaranya Pemerintahan di Daerah-daerah di Kepulauan Madura dengan Hubungannya*. Pamekasan: The Paragon Press, 1951.
- Zamroni, Imam. "Agama, Etnis dan Politik dalam Panggung Kekuasaan (Sebuah Dinamika Politik Tauke dan Kiai di Madura)", unpublished article presented at "Seminar Internasional ke-9 'Politik Identitas: Agama, Etnisitas dan Ruang/Space dalam Dinamika Politik Lokal di Indonesia dan Asia Tenggara'" hosted by Yayasan Percik, Salatiga, on 15-17 July 2008.
- Zulkifli. *Sufism in Java: the Role of the Pesantren in the Maintenance of Sufism in Java*. Jakarta: INIS, 2002.

## Newspapers and Magazines:

*Antara News*  
*Bisnis Indonesia*  
*Gatra*  
*Jawa Pos*  
*Jayakarta*  
*Karya Darma*  
*Kompas*  
*Media Indonesia*  
*Memorandum*  
*Merdeka*  
*Radar Madura*  
*Suara Karya*  
*Suara Merdeka*  
*Surabaya Post*  
*Surya*  
*Tempo*  
*The Jakarta Post*

## Websites:

<http://cmars.synthasite.com/syahadah>  
<http://jatim.bps.go.id>  
[http://www.ctv.ca/generic/WebSpecials/pdf/Paws\\_and\\_Claws.pdf](http://www.ctv.ca/generic/WebSpecials/pdf/Paws_and_Claws.pdf)  
[www.beritaindonesia.co.id](http://www.beritaindonesia.co.id)  
[www.berita.liputan6.com](http://www.berita.liputan6.com)



[www.harianbhirawa.co.id](http://www.harianbhirawa.co.id)  
[www.indosiar.com](http://www.indosiar.com)  
[www.kabarmadura.com](http://www.kabarmadura.com)  
[www.majalah.tempointeraktif.com](http://www.majalah.tempointeraktif.com)  
[www.mojokerto.go.id](http://www.mojokerto.go.id)  
[www.nu.or.id](http://www.nu.or.id)  
[www.regional.kompas.com](http://www.regional.kompas.com)  
[www.swarapendidikan.com](http://www.swarapendidikan.com)  
[www.unisosdem.org](http://www.unisosdem.org)  
[www.us.nasional.vivanews.com](http://www.us.nasional.vivanews.com)  
[www.tempo.co](http://www.tempo.co)

# Glossary

***Abangan:***

The minority of Madurese Muslims and the proponents of a less orthodox Islam that is primarily based on local perspectives. In Java, they are usually identified as nominal Muslims.

***Ahl as-Sunnah or Sunni Islam:***

The largest denomination of Islam.

***Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyah or Al-Irsyad:***

An Arabic-influenced socio-religious organization.

***Anak mas:***

Literally means favourite children, privileged clients.

***Aparat:***

Security forces.

***Bajingan or Badjingan:***

A common term for thug and a more derogatory term sometimes used for *blater*.

***Barakah:***

Divine blessings.

***Bersih desa:***

Javanese spirit shrine ritual.

***Blater:***

Local strongmen in Madura.

***Bromocorah:***

Local term for criminals in East Java.

***Bupati:***

Regent, head of regency.

***Calo tanah:***

Land brokers.

***Camat:***

Head of sub-district.

***Carok* or *Tjarok:***

Distinctive Madurese fighting using sharp weapons; it is a last resort in defending one's honour.

***Dakwah:***

Religious dissemination.

***Desa perdikan:***

Villages under dominion of the Javanese kingdom and later under Dutch colonial rule, which were given special status for religious functions and were exempted from tax.

***Dukun:***

Shamans, healers, or fortune-tellers.

***Fatwa:***

Non-binding opinions concerning Islamic law.

***Guru ngaji:***

Teachers of Islamic knowledge and Quran recitation.

***Hadith:***

Sayings and acts of the Prophet Muhammad as recorded and transmitted by his contemporaries.

***Haji:***

A title addressed to a person who has completed pilgrimage to Mecca.

***Industrialisasi:***

To introduce industrialisation and to create industrial estates.

***Istighosah:***

Communal prayer.

***Jago* or *Jagoan*:**

Local strongmen in nineteenth-century Java.

***Jatah preman*:**

Illegal rents.

***Jawara*:**

Local strongmen in Banten.

***Jimat*:**

Amulet.

***Juru kunci*:**

Custodians of graveyards.

**Kantor Sosial Politik:**

The Social Politics Office.

***Karamah*:**

Dignity.

***Kerapan Sapi*:**

Madurese bull racing.

***Kesaktian*:**

Magical abilities.

***Khaul*:**

Annual celebrations on the death anniversaries of religious leaders.

***Khittah*:**

Fundamental guideline of, in particular, an Islamic organization.

***Kiai*:**

Religious leaders, the term is commonly used in Java and Madura.

***Kitab kuning*:**

Literally means 'yellow religious book', used to denote the yellow tinted papers of the religious books on Islamic knowledge used in *pesantren*.

***Klebung*:**

Madurese village heads.

**Langgar:**

Small mosques; they often serve as the lowest level of religious education institutions.

**Madhhab:**

Islamic school of law.

**Madrasah:**

Islamic school; used to denote modern Islamic school that offers both Islamic and secular knowledge.

**Modin:**

People who take care and are entrusted by the villagers to arrange socio-religious affairs, such as marriage, and affairs of birth and death – in some villages, the position is called Kepala Urusan Kesejahteraan Rakyat/ Head of the Public Welfare Affairs and is placed within the organization of village officials.

**Muhammadiyah:**

A reformist Muslim organization, established in 1912.

**Muktamar:**

Congress.

**Muslimat:**

Women's organization of the NU.

**Nahdliyin:**

NU's followers.

**Nazar:**

*Nadhr*, a religious vow.

**Pancasila:**

The official five pillars philosophical foundation of the Indonesian state: belief in One God; a just and civilized humanity; the unity of Indonesia; popular rule through policies formed after representative consensus, and social justice for the whole Indonesian people.

**Pasarean:**

Sacred burial grounds.

**Pejabat:**

State officials.

**Pembangunan:**

Development, modernity.

**Pengajian:**

Religious congregations.

**Perangkat desa:**

Village officials.

**Peraturan desa:**

Village regulations.

**Pesantren:**

Islamic boarding schools.

**Preman:**

Hoodlum, the term is commonly used in Jakarta.

**Priyayi:**

Local aristocracy in Java; the term is sometimes also used in Madura.

**Reformasi:**

The post-Suharto period in Indonesia (1998 until now).

**Remo:**

Feasts characteristic to the *blater* community.

**Rokat Festivities:**

Madurese rituals to ask protection from the spirits of their ancestors, to avoid calamities as well as to get blessings.

**Sabung ayam:**

Cock fighting.

**Sandur or Sandhor:**

Madurese dancing performed in *remo*; in Java it is usually called *tayub*.

**Santri:**

The majority of Madurese Muslims and the proponents of a more

orthodox Islam that is based on the global influences of Sunni Islam. In *pesantren* tradition, *santri* are pupils of *pesantren*.

**Sesepuh desa:**

Village elders.

**Shari'ah:**

Islamic law.

**Silaturahmi:**

Good relationship.

**Slametan:**

Religious meal feasts.

**Sunna or Sunnah:**

The practice of the Prophet; it is often equated with the *hadith*.

**Syuriah or Syura:**

Religious advisory board in the field of religion. Many Islamic organizations and Islamic political parties, such as the Nahdlatul Ulama, the PPP, and the PKB have this kind of institution.

**Tabligh:**

Islamic propagation.

**Tahlilan:**

A prayer performed on six consecutive nights to facilitate a deceased person entering paradise.

**Taksi:**

Local public transport in Madura; in Java it is usually called *angkot*.

**Tanah bengkok:**

Salary land.

**Tandhak:**

Dancers in *remo*.

**Tapal Kuda:**

The East Java Eastern Salient.

***Tarekat:***

Muslim mystical brotherhood.

***Tayub:***

A traditional Central and East Java performing art that is not only a recognized form of entertainment, but also an integral part of spirit shrine ritual associated with annual *bersih desa* festivity.

***Tokoh desa:***

Important figures of the village.

***Tokoh masyarakat:***

Village notables.

***Ulama:***

Religious leaders or Muslim scholars of Islamic discipline; this word may be used arbitrarily to refer to *kiai*.

***Umat, umma, or ummah:***

Religious Islamic community.

***Ziarah:***

Pilgrimages to graves.





# List of abbreviations

**Bakorstanas:**

Badan Koordinasi Keamanan dan Stabilitas Nasional (Body for the Coordination of National Security and Stability)

**Banser :**

Barisan Anzor Serbaguna (NU's paramilitary unit that consists mostly of young *nahdliyin*)

**Bassra:**

Badan Silaturahmi Ulama Pesantren Madura (The Association of Friendship of Madurese *Pesantren Ulama*)

**BPD:**

Badan Permusyawaratan Desa (Village parliament)

**BPN:**

Badan Pertanahan Nasional (National Land Body)

**BPPT:**

Badan Pengkajian dan Penerapan Teknologi (Body of the Application and Assessment of Technology)

**BUMN:**

Badan Usaha Milik Negara (State-owned enterprises)

**DMP:**

Dhipa Madura Pradana (A private company that would be part of the consortium that built the Suramadu Bridge)

**DPC:**

Dewan Pimpinan Cabang (Sub-district leadership council)

**DPD (a):**

Dewan Pimpinan Daerah (District leadership council)

**DPD (b):**

Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (The Regional Representative Council)

**DPR:**

Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (The People's Representative Council, The national parliament)

**DPRD:**

Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (The Regional People's Representative Council)

**DPW:**

Dewan Pimpinan Wilayah (Provincial leadership council)

**Gali:**

Gabungan anak-anak liar (Groups of wild boys)

**Golkar :**

Golongan Karya (The ruling government party during the New Order)

**Golput:**

*Golongan putih*, non-voters who have the right to vote but do not vote.

**GP Ansor:**

Gerakan Pemuda Ansor (The Youth Movement of Ansor)

**HMI:**

Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (Association of Muslim University Students)

**IAIN:**

Institut Agama Islam Negeri (State Institute for Islamic Studies)

**ICMI:**

Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim se-Indonesia (Association of Indonesian Muslim Intelligensia)

**Kodam :**

Komando Daerah Militer (Military provincial command)

**Kodim:**

Komando Distrik Militer (Military district command)

**Koramil:**

Komando Rayon Militer (Military rayon command)

**Korem:**

Komand Resor Militer (Military resort command)

**KPPS:**

Kelompok Penyelenggara Pemungutan Suara (General elections organizing committee for polling stations)

**LBH:**

Lembaga Bantuan Hukum (The legal aid organization)

**Masjumi or Masyumi:**

Madjelis/Majelis Sjuro/Syuro Muslimin Indonesia (Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslims)

**MPR:**

Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (People's Consultative Assembly)

**MUI:**

Majelis Ulama Indonesia (Council of Indonesian Muslim Scholars)

**MWCNU:**

Majelis Wilayah Cabang Nahdlatul Ulama (The Branch District Assembly of Nahdlatul Ulama)

**NU:**

Nahdlatul Ulama (The largest Islamic association in Indonesia)

**OECF:**

The Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund (An implementing agency for loan aid furnished by the Japanese government)

**P4:**

Pendidikan, Penghayatan, dan Pengamalan Pancasila (The Education, Internalization, and Implementation of Pancasila)

**PAN:**

Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)

**PDI:**

Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (The Indonesian Democratic Party)

**PDIP:**

Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle)

***Pemilu:***

Pemilihan Umum (General elections)

***Petrus:***

Penembak(an) Misterius (The mysterious rifleman/shooting or the mysterious killer/killing in 1982-1985 against mostly tattooed people who were considered criminals)

***PII:***

Pelajar Islam Indonesia (The Indonesian Muslim Students)

***Pilkada:***

Pemilihan Kepala Daerah (Elections to vote for provincial or municipal/regency head)

***Pilkades:***

Pemilihan Kepala Desa (Village head elections)

***PKB:***

Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (The National Awakening Party)

***PKI:***

Partai Komunis Indonesia (The Indonesian Communist Party)

***Polsek:***

Polisi Sektor (Sub-district police command)

***Polres:***

Polisi Resor (District police command)

***Polda:***

Polisi Daerah (Provincial police command)

***PPP:***

Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (The United Development Party)

***PSII:***

Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia (Formerly known as Sarekat Islam)

***Repelita:***

Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun (The Five Years Development Plan)

**SDSB:**

Sumbangan Dana Sosial Berhadiah (State-sponsored lottery)

**SKKB:**

Surat Keterangan Kelakuan Baik (Character and Penal Clearance Requirements)

**TPS:**

Tempat Pemungutan Suara (Polling stations)

