

MADURANISATION NATIVE GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY ELITE IN BESUKI RESIDENCY 1818-1942

Retno Winarni

History Department, Faculty of Literature, Universitas Jember

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to discuss how the realization of maduranisation bureaucracy elite in Besuki Residency in 1818-1942. Maduranisation is a policy from the colonial government implicated by the elected candidate of regent. They are Madurese, although geographically, Besuki Residence is located in East Java. This policy is implicated by argumentation and good political calculation. Besides, the elite communities in Madura are loyal to the Dutch government. They hope that they will have a good relation because the local governments execute the daily governance. On the other hand, the majority of government comes from Javanese. Consequently, the accumulation of power is failed because it is able to destroy the Dutch colonial government.

Keywords: Maduranisation, bureaucracy elite, regent, and Besuki

ABSTRAK

Artikel ini ditulis dengan tujuan untuk membahas tentang bagaimana pelaksanaan maduranisasi elite birokrasi di Karesidenan Besuki dari 1818-1942. Maduranisasi adalah sebuah kebijakan dari pemerintah kolonial yang dilaksanakan melalui pemilihan bupati dari etnis Madura walaupun secara geografis Karesidenan Besuki terletak di Jawa Timur. Kebijakan ini dilakukan berdasarkan argumentasi dan perhitungan politik yang baik bahwa elite Madura sangat loyal terhadap pemerintah Belanda. Pemerintah Belanda berharap di satu pihak bupati dari etnis Madura akan menjadi partner yang baik, sebaliknya di pihak lain Pemerintah Hindia Belanda bisa memotong alur/keturunan dari penguasa lama (Blambangan). Hasil dari kebijakan ini adalah, empat kabupaten di Karesidenan Besuki secara perlahan didominasi oleh elite Madura, terutama keturunan dari Pamekasan dan Sumenep, sementara keturunan dari penguasa Blambangan hanya memerintah sampai tahun 1889.

Kata kunci Maduranisasi, elite birokrasi, bupati, dan Besuki

INTRODUCTION

This article aims to discuss how the execution of Maduranisation toward the elite officials of bureaucracy in Besuki Residence occurred from 1818 to 1942. Discussion about the elite bureaucracy is always fascinating, either the traditional or modern bureaucracy. The discussion of both traditional and modern bureaucracy will always talk about the origin of the elite officials, about how and why they become as it was. Until this research was being executed, there were many similar research, for instance the Heather Sutherland (1983) studies about elite bureaucracy officials. The study found that from period to period, the elite officials faced the efforts of modernization done by the colonial government. It happened at the beginning of 19th century until the beginning of 20th century. The modernization of the local government was executed by changing the recruitment system of the local officials and decreasing their traditional rights. On the other hand, it went along with the increasing ability of elite officials. The ways to increase the officials' ability are: giving examination, building school, creating internship. These ways were continuously done, hence in 1930's, there had been a new elite group. They came from various social groups and they had been armed by the competency based on their expertise. Despite coming from the old elite group, they still dominated.

Sartono Kartodirdjo, A. Sudewo & Suhardjo Hatmosuprobo (1987) in their book *Perkembangan Peradaban Priyayi* focused the research on the life of the noblemen in Java. It related either their roles in government or their private life within the hard revolution at that time. The result of the research shows that modernization in bureaucracy triggered the new elite group in bureaucracy. They were scholars who involved in governance. However, it seemed that there was refeudalization because the new elite called priyayi developed the feudal tradition toward their life.

Besuki residency geographically is the area in the eastern part of Java island.

Towards the north is the Madura Strait, the Strait of Bali to the east, to the south of the Indian Ocean, while the western border with residency Pasuruan. Before creating Besuki residency which consists of five districts, namely Besuki District, District Panarukan, Bondowoso, Banyuwangi and Jember, region of the eastern end of Java is under the control of kingdom of Blambangan.

From time to time, this region becomes a good conquest of the rulers who came from the west, namely Demak and Mataram as well as from the east, it is from the kingdoms in Bali, however, the struggle for hegemony was finally ended when the VOC managed to beat Blambangan in 1768. Since that, the reorganization in the administration continued, both by the VOC, the Dutch, the British, and the Dutch East Indies government again.

The government reorganization covers both regarding territory, manners in government, rules, recruitment (appointments) and others. Because geographically Karesidenan Besuki located in Java, then the rules applied to the bureaucracy and bureaucracy elite applied equally to Java and Madura, for example on clothing (*Staatsblad No 22, 1820*). The elite clothing model of Java, and the language used in the government communications is Javanese, but in selecting elite bureaucracy, the Dutch East Indies government bureaucracy prioritizes the Madura ethnic elites both in areas populated or not Madura (for example, Java). This raised question is why is the elite Madura preferred? How is maduranisation process running? And what is the impact of this policy?. This is the focus of writing this article. In this context, the resident is limited to the elite bureaucracy. This article is written to discuss about the process of Maduranisasi for the elite bureaucracy in Besuki residency starting from the beginning of 19th century to the middle of 20th century.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research used historical methods, these are selecting topic, searching the

source (heuristic), criticizing, interpreting, and historiography. Heuristics is the process of searching and finding the source which is relevant to the topic. The main source needed is the primary source. The primary source is the source coming from person or tool (recorder) that witness the occurrences of the research. This source is called as eyewitness source because it comes both from the eyewitness and the recorder when the historical event happens (Wasino, 2007). This research used the source both primary and secondary. The primary sources consist of *staatsblad* and *regering* calendar. The secondary sources have a function as the primary sources. They come from books and journals discussing elite bureaucracy in Besuki Residence. The data analysis is through historical methods by selecting the found sources, external and internal criticizing, defining the authenticity and credibility of the sources. After criticizing, there will be a statement about the event, which is called as historical fact in history science. The historical fact was used as the half-done source for being the basics in the next steps. The third step is interpreting, that is the process of correlating the separated historical facts for getting the more meaningful history understanding (Wasino, 2007; Gottschalk, 1975).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The standard definition about Maduranisation is not clear, but Maduranisation is the important keyword when we talk about Besuki Residency. Maduranisation in the context of restructurization of bureaucracy in Besuki Residency can be said as the effort to make the elite local government here as Madurese. Although there is no believable sources whether Maduranisation was deliberate effort or not, however if we see the systematic action in inaugurating the residents, Maduranisasi might be said as a political issue which had been researched and considered well. Therefore, the Maduranisation of the bureaucracy elite dominated the important positions in local governmental bureaucracy.

Bottomore defines the term elite as the word to draw anything excellent. It was broadened to point the superior social groups, for example the first class of military or the high nobility (Bottomore, 2006: iii). The word elite itself comes from the term *eligere* meaning to choose. However, this word is used to say the part of choice or the flower of nation, culture, age and also the people in high social position (Keller, 1995:4).

Indigenous government bureaucratization elite in Besuki residency was not an elite who came from one blood and one area that has the same culture and tradition. There were three cultural influences in Besuki residency, namely Madurese culture, Javanese Culture and Using Culture. That is the reason why the designation of the civil service elite is also varied, according to the dominant cultural influences in each region. For example, Puger when it was still district, the influencing culture was the Javanese culture, while in other districts, namely Besuki, Panarukan and Bondowoso cultures that influenced were the Madurese culture, whereas in Banyuwangi, Using culture has grown, so that differences in cultural influences in each region raises different terms in each district.

Bureaucracy elite within the Madurese can be found in the social stratification of the Madurese. In everyday life, the bureaucratic elite contrasted with the little people. Aristocrats and bureaucrats formed the ruling classes, or classes which ruled (Kuntowijoyo, 2002). According to the experts of Madura, Madurese is not different from those of Java who called elite bureaucracy as *parjaji*, *pangraja* (read : *pangraje'*), which was tantamount to *bendoro* in Javanese (Personal Correspondence with Prof. Hari Yuswadi, dated October 2, 2009).

In the former Besuki District, especially around the main square of Besuki, there was special mention to the former residence of the regents Besuki, that is Kanjengan complex. The occupants of the house are called with the terms *Kanjeng* (Interview with Elizabeth, residents of

Chinatown Besuki, Situbondo date 15 November 2009).

According to I Made Sudjana, Banyuwangi community calls the bureaucratic elite group as the great *wadwa* (princes) and contrasted with *wadwa alit* or commoners (Sudjana, 2001: 65). Observing these terms, it can be said that there was no significant difference between the conception of an elite within the community of Java, Madura and Using. Even if there are differences, it is only in the language problem, namely the difference of greeting.

Government bureaucracy was often interpreted as official dom or royal officials. A kingdom whose kings are officials of an organization classified as a modern form. In it, there are signs that a person has a clear and definite jurisdiction. They are in areas that are 'yurisdiktif' or officials. Within such jurisdiction, a person has duties and responsibilities (official duties) that clarify the boundaries of authority work. They earn a salary based on the expertise and competence. Also, in the works, the official communication process is based on written documents (Hendrata, 1983: 31).

Government comes from the government, or at least the command word, who has four elements. They are: containing two parties, having a mutual relationship between both of them, having the authority for the ruling party and having ruled obedience for the second party. A country is generally divided into two powers. They are the power of government administration in a broad sense and the government in the narrow sense. Government in the narrow sense only includes institutions that take care of the implementation of the wheels of government (called the executive), while the government in a broad sense is as well as institutions that create legislation (called the legislature) and the carry out of justice (so-called judicial) (Syafiie, 1994: 11). This article is limited to the government in the narrow sense. The indigenous elite bureaucracy administration means the chosen ones who execute tasks in the organi-

zation. They are classified as modern but only for institution which takes care of the execution of the government (executive). As a matter of fact, *maduranisasi* in elite indigenous government bureaucracy is a process for ones who served stints in running the organization and taking care of the government.

The Experiment of VOC which Brought Disaster

Besuki residency was an area of Blambangan kingdom in the middle of 18th century. The separation of this kingdom happened when Blambangan had been defeated and commanded by VOC at 1767. VOC had the policies to divide this area into three areas. There were the eastern part of Blambangan, which is well-known as Banyuwangi now; the western part, which is well-known as Bondowoso and Jember now; and the northern part, which is well-known as Besuki and Panarukan (Margana, 2007: 160).

Blambangan Kingdom had been defeated, but VOC indirectly handled this area. For this reason, VOC needed a group of mediator consistence of the aristocracy connecting between the local people and VOC. From this moment, there were the elite traditional bureaucracy groups in Javanese society. The fall down of Blambangan and the social economy change within local society did not erase the remnants of the power. It was caused by the presence of the Javanese upper classes who lead the society.

These interests motivated VOC to reorganize Blambangan divided it into smaller governmental units. The formation of the new units meant to break the power of Blambangan which was able to threat the authority of VOC because the family of Blambangan often opposed VOC. The fall down of Blambangan in 1767 did not mean that Blambangan was a safe area for VOC because there was a fight against VOC by Prince Wilis, the younger brother of Prince Danuningrat. This war ended in 1768. Nevertheless, there was a resistance by Prince Jagapati or Mas Rempeg at about 1771-1772. This incident took many victims from VOC

(Tjiptoatmodjo, 1983: 217).

Based on this condition, VOC designed the strategy of how to manage the area of the eastern part of Java Island. VOC finally applied the politics of breaking the power of Blambangan family. The efforts were done either by forming the new governmental units or by giving reward to the persons who had merit and loyalty to VOC. Panarukan was the example of it. This area was placed directly under the authority of the king of Sumenep, Panembahan Sumolo Notokusumo. Another area was Besuki commanded by the regent of Banger (Probolinggo), Tumenggung Joyolelono. Actually, there was a vice regent, but VOC appointed the Chinese people as the leader of the area. The chinesisization in bureaucratie elite seemed to happen. Han Sam Kong, the son of Suropernolo was appointed to be the Ronggo Besuki (Pusat Bahasa Depdiknas, 2002: 11). Han Tjien Kong (Suropernolo) was appointed to be the district leader of Panarukan and was awarded with the Ngabehi title in 1768. It was done since he became an informan when the war between VOC and Blambangan happened. When Han Sam Kong passed away, his position was replaced by his younger brother named Han Mie Jon or Babah Midun or Suro Adiwikromo (Sutherland, 1975: 75). At that time, his occupied areas were Besuki, Bondowoso and Jember.

The regent of Puger, Tumenggung Prawirodiningrat passed away in 1795. VOC then appointed Ronggo Besuki Kyai Ronggo Suro Adiwikromo as the regent of Puger (Mashoed, 2004: 60). This time, it united Bondowoso District and Puger Regency in 1798 (Boomgard, 2004: 38-39). Kyai Ronggo Suro Adiwikromo only held the power for six years. He passed away in 1801. He was replaced by his son-in-law, Prawiro Adiwijoyo, who was also a Chinese Peranakan and held the position as Rangka Besuki (Wijayati, 2001: 118-119).

The figures appointed by VOC as the commanders of the former area of Blambangan based in their merit and loyalty. Nevertheless, they were still tied by

some agreements. Geertz (in Ali, 1986) says that the process of occupation by VOC produced colonial economy. It was an economy system mixed from economics and politics. The characteristics of this system were marked by the combination of free trade, quota and monopoly under the shadow of laser beam.

The Oktroy Right was taken off in 1795 and VOC was ended in 1799. At that time, Dutch was under the authority of Napoleon Empire. Daendels received the mandate to order Java with the position as Governoor General (Burger, 1962: 125). Daendels was well-known as the renewer of government. The new steps he did included the problem of tax, feudalism and government. He was well-known as the liberal figure. He was ordered to maintain Java from British invasion, but there was a lack of money when he governed Java. Hence, he sold the wide lands on Besuki and Panarukan districts which were hired by Han Tjan Pit (Lombard, 1996: 107). The lands sold by Daendels to the Chinese people were not only on Besuki and Panarukan, but also on Probolinggo. Han Kit Ko, the land buyer, managed the lands in feudal system. It meant that he acted as the owner and held the authority as the Java nobleman who had degree and special rights. People in Probolinggo called Han Kit Ko as Tumenggung or Cina Tumenggung (Ong Hok Ham, 1983: 35-38).

Han Kit Ko found himself as the owner of land and its people, thus he acted arrogantly. He not only fired or moved the local leaders, but also oppressed the people by drawing out the taxes easily (Wijayati, 201: 90). The people showed their dissatisfaction due to his action. Some local leaders make this situation as the chance for inciting the people. They gathered power and did the rebellion. The rebellion was led by Kyai Mas, well-known as Demang Wonosari or Demang Tengger Mas. Han Kit Ko was killed in this incident (Sutherland, 1983: 18). Rafless took the policies to avoid the more serious chaos by buying again the lands sold by Daendels. However, he still gave the administration to the Chinese people until

1818.

Maduranisasi as the Peacemaker Politics

The new episode of Besuki Residency government happened in 1818. It was marked by the inactivity of Chinese regents and Chinese employers coming from East Java. The action was taken due to the effect of the incidents Chinese regents at Probolinggo in 1813. From the incident, the colonial government did not appoint Chinese figure as the regents or other important positions in East Java including Besuki Residency. The colonial government then appointed the high class local leaders. They were not the Blambangan's people who had held the high positions before. They were taken from Madurese noblemen (Soerjadi, 1974: 47). The regent of Besuki resident was Raden Ario Bambang Sutiknyo or Raden Adipati Ario Prawiro Adiningrat.

Raden Ario Bambang Sutiknyo (1818-1844) was the son of Prince Tirtokusumo. Prince Tirtokusumo was the son of Panembahan Sumolo Notokusumo Sultan of Sumenep and Bok Ayu Pijer who was the younger sister of Sumenep Resident (Soerjadi, 1974: 77). The appointment of Raden Ario Bambang Sutiknyo as the regent of Besuki was not due to his nobility. He became regent because of the merits of his family and himself. His family was loyal to VOC. His grandfather, Panembahan Sumolo Notokusumo, helped VOC to fight against Blambangan, so he was given Panarukan as the award. His father, Prince Tirtokusumo or well-known as Prince Kornel, often helped VOC in the wars in Java (Kuntowijoyo, 2002). The war against Blambangan was ended by occupation of Blambangan by VOC in 1767. Before Raden Ario Bambang Sutiknyo was appointed as the regent of Besuki, he had been a commandant placed in Semarang (Hageman, 1864: 87). For that reasons, the loyalty of Raden Bambang Sutiknyo's family was undoubtful.

The aim of appointing the leaders of Besuki from the outside might be inspired by VOC's scenario toward Blambangan which had been occupied since 1767.

VOC did not want the local elite leaders rebelled again, therefore VOC preferred the Chinese frusted figure who had more financial ability to manage their areas (Ong Hok Ham, 2002: 6). Nederland Indies did too. Besides seeing the merits and loyalties, the placement of Madurese elite was the effort to prevent from the arousal of Blambangan generation's power.

The generation of the first regent of Besuki, Raden Adipati Ario Prawiro Adiningrat then dominated the position of regent in Besuki Residency. It could be seen that the families of Besuki's regents were also appointed as the regents of the new regencies which were established at 1850, Bondowoso and Panarukan (*Staatsblad, No 7, 1850*). The regent of Bondowoso was the son-in-law of the first regent of Besuki, Raden Abdurrachman who was the vice regent (*patih*) of Probolinggo.

Panarukan regency was originally placed under the control of the Bondowoso regency, but in 1859, it had its own regent (*Staatsblad No191, 1850*). He was Raden Pandu, the first son of Besuki regent who reigned from 1859 to 1872. Banyuwangi district was still led by the descendant of the previous kings. It can be seen in 1850's when there were two regencies: Panarukan and Bondowoso. The family of Besuki's regents was appointed to be the first regent. The Dutch government appointed Raden Tumenggung Ario Surioamijoyo as the first regent of Panarukan. He was the first son of Besuki's regent, R.A.A Prawiro Adiningrat I. He was called Kanjeng Pandu when he was child. The generation of R.A.A Prawiro Adiningrat then dominated the regent's position of Panarukan. All of them were Madurese.

Meanwhile, the first regent of Bondowoso was Raden Abdoerachman who was the son in law of the first regent of Besuki. Raden Abdoerachman came from the generation of Raden Wirodipuro I, the vice regent (*patih*) of Besuki. He was the son of Sugoto or Mertodipuro, while Sugoto was the son of Raden Sahidurin or Raden Wirodipuro I who was well-known

Table 1. Regents of Panarukan regency from mid 19th Century to Mid 20th Century

Names of regent	Rules	Ethnicity	Family
R.T.A Soerioamidjojo	1859-1872	Madura	Besuki regent
R.T.A Soeriodiputro	1872-1885	Madura	Besuki regent
R. M.T.A. Koesoemodipoetro	1885-1908	Madura	Panarukan regent
R.M.T.A. Poestokopranowo	1908-1925	Madura	Panarukan regent
R.A.A. Soedibiokoesoemo	1925-1943	Madura	Panarukan regent

Source: Heather Sutherland, 1974

Table 2. Regents of Bondowoso regency from mid 19th Century to Mid 20th Century

Names of regent	Rules	Ethnicity	Family
R.T Wirodipoero III	1858-1879	Madura	Patih Besuki
R.T. Wondokoesoemo	1879-1891	Madura	Ronggo bondowoso
R.A.A Kertosoebroto	1891-1911	Madura	Bupati Bondowoso
R.T.A Senthot Sastroprawiro	1911-1925	Madura	Bupati Bondowoso
R.T. Tirtoadhisewojo	1925-1929	Madura	Bupati Bondowoso
R.T. Notodiningrat	1929-1935	Madura	Bupati Bondowoso
R.T Herman Hidajat	1935-1939	Madura	Bupati bondowoso
R.T. Safioedin.o.g. Atmosoedirdjo	1939-1945	Madura	Bupati Bondowoso

Source: Mashoed, 2004

as Kyai Patih Alus. Raden Abdoerachman married Raden Ayu Sripah, who was the daughter of the first regent of Besuki (Guntur SR, 2007).

Tumenggung Wirodipuro governed from 1850 to 1879. In 1879, the Dutch government appointed Raden Suwondogeni to replace Raden Tumenggung Wirodipuro. Raden Suwondogeni governed from 1879 to 1891, titled as Raden Tumenggung Wondokoesoemo. To be clearer, see the table 2.

The table 2 showed that in Bondowoso from the first establishment in 1850, its regents came from Madurese ethnic. Taine said that the elite group consisted of religion leaders, kings and noblemen. They could be known from the symbols of status, inheritance and the clothes that differed them from the lower class society. It fits with Kuntowijoyo statement that sentana or the officials in local government were known by the society by looking at their titles, the symbols of for-

mal clothes, umbrellas and other special rights. (Kuntowijoyo, 2002)

The local bureaucracy elite in Besuki Residency did not come from the same place and inheritance. There were three cultures affecting them, namely Madura, Jawa and Using. Therefore, people called it in different ways according to the most dominant culture. For example, in Puger, when it was a regency, it was influenced by Javanese culture. The other regencies, Besuki, Panarukan and Bondowoso were influenced by Madurese. The Using culture influenced Banyuwangi. The bureaucratic elite in Madurese culture could be found in the social stratification of Madurese people. In daily life, they were contrasted with the lower class people. The aristocrat people made the powerful class. (Kuntowijoyo, 2002)

The Madurese people, was just like Javanese people, called the bureaucratic elite as parjaji, pangraja' (read pangraje' means bendoro in Java term). In the area

of the-ex Besuki residence, especially at Besuki town square, there were the places where the regent lived, *kanjengan*. (interview with Elizabeth, 15-11-2009).

The society of Bondowoso called the governments as *ronggo* and they called the places as *Keranggan* Bondowoso. The first regent of Bondowoso, Ki Bagus Assra, was the founding father of *Keranggan* Bondowoso. The society ignored the status of Bondowoso which changed into regency and the leader was called *bupati* in 1850. (The society ignored the status of Bondowoso which was changed into regency. Besides, its leader had been called as *bupati*/ regent in 1850 (*Staatsblad*, no 7, 1850)

Made Sudjana said that the Banyuwangi society called the governments elite as *wadwa agung* (the elite/ great) and contrasted with *wadwa alit* or the lower class (Sudjana: 2001, 65). The terms actually were not different significantly.

Maduranisasi Inauguration of Elite Bureaucracy

Maduranisasi of indigenous government conducted at the beginning of the 19th century was closely related to the loyalty, security and stability factors in the region under the Dutch, meanwhile *maduranisasi* conducted in the 20th century was closely related to demographic developments and favoritism of incumbent election in Besuki regency. Then, this *maduranisasi* program was confirmed by the government's regulations.

Population growth in Residency of Besuki in the 18th century could be said to be very low. The first factor of the low number of residents was the high mortality due to war. Babad Blambangan stated clearly that many people had been victims during the war (Partaningrat, 1995: 238, 285, 286, 319). Massacre was occurred in many places in Besuki in 1709 (Ricklefs, 1993: 160-161). In 1767, mass suicide had feeured in Blambangan. This was done to avoid deportation and forced labor to establish the fort. Food shortages that occurred around Blambangan, Puger, Panarukan and Besuki 1768 and 1771 was

used by the VOC to beat the local authorities (Ricklefs, 1993: 320, Epp, F. "Banjoewangi", *TNI*, 11e Jaargang, ii 1849.)

The second factor, political instability forced residents to flee to safer places, such as forests and mountains, and other surrounding areas which provided protection during the political turmoil. During the war, most of the Besuki people ran to small island, Nusa Barong and Bali to avoid capturing and disposal (Veth, 1912: 390). However around the 1800s, in Besuki, political conditions were stable. A massive migration occurred in this period and it was caused by stimulus of Dutch government. Besuki had been inhabited by a large population when it was compared to other regions in Java. Until 1870, population growth was still relatively low in the Residency of Besuki (Nawiyanto, 2001; *Onderzoek naar de mindere welvaart der inlandsche bevolking op Java en Madoera IX C*).

Table 3. The Number of Besuki Residency Population 1820-1930

Source: Peter Boomgaard and A.J.Gooszen, 2004: 105,110, 117, 121,127, 130,133.

No	Year	People (in thousand)
1	1820	133
2	1870	425
3	1900	838
4	1930	2.083

The table above shows that between 1820 to 1870, the population of Besuki had been multiplied. The absence of birth and death statistics makes it difficult to know the natural population growth in an area and the data migration seems more complete than the data of birth and death.

Besuki Residency had been inhabited by multi-ethnic of society, which consisted of three main ethnic groups, namely Madura, Java and Using. Nevertheless, when it is compared according to population, Madura was the first rank population. It means that they had dominated most areas of Besuki district. In the begin-

Table 4. People Distribution in Besuki Residency Based on Ethnic (percent)

Region	District	Javanese	Maduranese	Using	Other
Jember	Tanggul	34.5	63.1	-	2.4
	Puger	75.1	24.3	-	0.6
	Wuluhan	73.5	22.8	2.8	0.9
	Rambipuji	36.6	61.1	1.6	0.7
	Jember	11.4	80.3	8.1	0.2
	Mayang	4.7	93.2	1.7	0.4
	Kalisat	2.4	95.7	1.6	0.3
Banyuwangi	Genteng	70.0	18.2	11.3	0.5
	Rogojampi	11.7	10.3	76.8	1.2
	Banyuwangi	14.0	25.1	48.5	12.4
Bondowoso	Tamanan	0.5	99.3	-	0.2
	Bondowoso	0.4	99.3	-	0.3
	Wonosari	0.6	99.2	-	0.2
	Prajekan	0.7	99.1	-	0.2
Pancarukan	Besuki	1.0	97.6	-	1.4
	Pancarukan	1.3	98.3	-	0.4
	Situbondo	0.7	99.2	-	0.1
	Sumberwaru	2.1	97.4	-	0.5

Source: *Volkstelling 1930, Vol. III: Inheemse Bevolking van Oost Java*, 1934: 22

ning, they lived around on the coastal, especially Besuki and Pancarukan, they migrated to this region which was expected around the first half of the 18th century (the Ministry of Education, 2002: 11). They not only lived in Besuki and Pancarukan, but also in Bondowoso regency, (Mashoed, 2004: 62-67), and the northern part of Jember (Nawiyanto, 2001: 65).

Actually, Besuki had been long as a destination of migration. Besuki area could be said is one of the residencies in Java with the highest number of migrants (Boomgaard, 1989: 177). Elson estimated that in the 19th century, there were 800-900 Maduranese migrants who settled in Besuki Residency every year (Elson, 1994: 5). In the 20th century, there was a similar trend. Resident AH Neys, in 1929, reported that there was a continuous flow of migration from Madura to Besuki (Kartodirdjo, 1978: 12). It made Madurese becoming the majority people in Besuki Residency.

Table 4 shows that the Madurese population was dominant in Pancarukan,

Bondowoso, and the northern part of Jember. Southern part of Jember was inhabited mainly by Javanese ethnic which was also dominant in Genteng district, Banyuwangi Regency. Meanwhile, Using people dominated most of areas of Banyuwangi region. Composition of the population is likely to be taken into consideration by the Dutch government in the appointment of the regent in regency of Besuki. Bondowoso and Pancarukan regency, for example, residents of Madura from the beginning until the end of the rule of East Indies-Dutch government was the majority. Then, in those districts, someone who would be elected as a leader was Madurese ethnic. As mentioned before, the regents in Bondowoso regency were the descendants of Pamekasan regent and regents of Pancarukan regency were descent of Besuki regent, whereas the Besuki regent was the descent of Sumenep ruler (regent lineage –Besuki regent). Thus case, *Maduranisasi* was validated in the regent candidate election of this residency. Even *Maduranisasi* was confirmed by the government regulation. The regulation con-

Table 5. Regents of Banyuwangi Regency From Last 18th Century to Mid 20th Century

Name of Regents	Rules	Ethnicity	Family
Raden Tumenggung Wiroguno I	1774-1782	Jawa	King of Blambangan
Raden Tumenggung Wiroguno II	1782-1832	Jawa	King of Blambangan
R.A. Wiryoedaningrat	1832-1867	Jawa	King of Blambangan
R.T. Pringgokoesoemo	1867-1881	Jawa	King of Blambangan
R.M.T.A. Soegondo	1881-1888	Jawa	Mangkunegaran
Tumenggung Astra Kesuma	1888-1889	Jawa	Blambangan
R.T.A Soeringrono	1889-1895	Madura	Bupati Besuki
R.T.A. Koesoemonegoro	1895-1913	Madura	Bupati Bondowoso
R.T. Notodiningrat IV	1913-1919	Madura	Bondowoso
R.A. T Achmad Notohadisoerjo	1919-1934	Jawa	-
R.T. Moertajab Sosroadiningrat R.T.	1934-1939	Jawa	-
Ahmad Rastiko	1939-1945	Jawa	-

Source: Heather Sutherland, 1974

firmed that the regent candidate appointed in Panarukan, Probolinggo, Kraksaan, Jember and Lumajang regency, must have knowledge about Maduresse and could speak Madura (Sutherland, 1974: 75).

Government regulation is fully implemented. It can be proved that in Bondowoso and Panarukan which has Madura ethnic as a majority, the regent in the 20th century had been appointed of Madura ethnic. Banyuwangi was the majority of Using which spread in the districts between 11-70 percent, while the Maduresse only reached 10-25 percent of the total population of Banyuwangi, after 1888, it would be appointed from Madura ethnic which was elected from family of Besuki and Bondowoso regent, and Tumenggung Sastrokusumo (1888-1889) was the descendant of the last king as a regent. Because in 1889, the one who had been appointed as regent in Banyuwangi was Raden Tumenggung Suringrono (1889-1895). He had been a regent server of Probolinggo. He was a descendant of Besuki regent. His father was the second regent of Besuki (Soerjadi, 1974: 65).

When Tumenggung Suringrono was moved to Pasuruan (1895), he was replaced by Raden Panji Kusumonegoro (1895-1913), who was a vice regent of Jember at the time. Raden Panji Kusumonegoro was a brother-in-law of

Bondowoso regent, Kanjeng Raden Tumenggung Ario Adipati Kertosubroto, which at time, he was leading in Bondowoso regency. Substitute of Raden Tumenggung Ario Kusumonegoro was R.T.A. Notodiningrat IV (1913-1919). He was the son of Ronggo II Bondowoso. Kyai Ronggo Kertokusumo with R.A. Sukarni, the daughter of R.A.A. Nitidiningrat I, the fifth regent of Pasuruan (Regent Lineage -Regent of Besuki and Bondowoso). From the process of regent appointment on the explanation above, we can say that the *maduranisation* bureaucracy elite of indigenous government was still done in Besuki regency. Motivation of the colonial government to prioritize candidates of Madura ethnic was also based on service, loyalty, demography, and favoritism. Favoritism was due to the fact that a regent who came from elite descendants of Madura was a good partner for the colonial government in managing the colony. This was related to the implementation of good policies of the colonial government in this area, both forced planting liberal policy and ethical policy. To be clearer, see the table 5.

From Table 5, it can be seen that Blambangan royal family ruled only until 1881. His successor RMTA Soegondo (1881-1888) was a Javanese coming from the Mangkunegaran Principality . During

the reign of this regent, chaos often happened due to dissatisfaction of the Banyuwangi inhabitants related to the imported regent from outside Banyuwangi. Dissatisfaction as taken by the Dutch government to revive the local elite Banyuwangi, he is Tumenggung Astra Kesuma. However, he only reigned for one year because the Dutch government raised Soeringrono, the regent of Probolinggo who was the son of Regent II Besuki. This shows that the Government of the Dutch East Indies still doubted the loyalty of regent of Banyuwangi. It is not separated from the fact that the disturbances often occurred in the district during the Dutch colonialism.

CONCLUSION

From the description above it can be said that the indigenous government bureaucracy of elite *maduranisasi* was an unofficial policy. It means that the selection of the Madurese blood district candidate was based on services, loyalty and stability, but by looking at the reality that the election of candidate who is Madura blood had a positive effect for the implementation of government policies, a tendency to elect candidates who were Madurese blood. Actually, this created political development cannot be detached as economics and demography sectors. The reason of economic opportunities in Besuki motivated Madurese to migrate to Besuki Residency. After 1870s, the large-scale of migration made Madurese group becoming dominant in number in this region. This was a consideration for colonial government to confirm *maduranisasi* as government regulations. History has been repeated although it is not exactly similar to, but the patterns of case in the past are also happening in the present. The issue of indigenous people for a regent candidate, except Banyuwangi could create a chance for the rise of elite descendants of the Madura blood. Since early 2000s, in Situbondo, Bondowoso and Jember, the elected regent has Madurese origins. Therefore, *Maduranisasi* then reoccurs.

REFERENCES

- Ali, Fachry. 1986. *Refleksi Faham Kekuasaan Jawa dalam Indonesia Modern*. Jakarta: Penerbit PT Gramedia.
- Boomgaard, Peter and Gooszen, A.J. 1989. *Changing Economy in Indonesia Vol. II: Population Trends 1795-1942*. Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute.
- Bottomore, T.B. 2006. *Elite dan Masyarakat*. Jakarta: Akbar Tanjung Institute.
- Burger D.H.1962. *Sedjarah Ekonomis Sosiologis Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pradnya Paramita.
- Elson, RE. 1994. *Village Java Under The Cultivation System 1830-1870*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.
- Epp, F. 1849. "Banjoewangi", *TNI*, 11e Jaargang, ii.
- Gottschalk. 1975. *Mengerti Sejarah: Pengantar Metode Sejarah*. Jakarta: Yayasan Penerbit Universitas Indonesia.
- Guntur SR, E.M. 2007. *Duplikat Silsilah Asal-Usul Raden Bagoes Assrah dengan Mas Nabehi Kertonegoro Ki Ronggo Bondowoso*. Bondowoso: Tp.
- Hageman, J.Cz. 1864. "De Adipati van Bezoeki op Java,1811-1818 Historisch Onderzoek." *TNI*.
- Hendratta, Lukas. 1983. "Bureaucracy, Participation and Distribution in Indonesian Development". *Prisma*, 12(2): 21-32.
- Kartodirdjo, Sartono, A. Sudewo & Suhardjo Hatmosuprobo. 1987. *Perkembangan Peradaban Priyayi*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah mada University Press.
- Keller, Suzanne. *Penguasa dan Kelompok Elite: Peranan Elite dalam Masyarakat Modern* (terj. Zahara D.Noer). Jakarta: Rajawali Press.
- Kuntowijoyo. 2002. *Perubahan Sosial dalam Masyarakat Agraris: Madura 1850-1940*. Yogyakarta: Mata Bangsa.
- Lombard, Denys.1996. *Nusa Jawa Silang Budaya: Jaringan Asia (jilid 2)*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Margana, Sri. 2007. "Java's Last Frontier: The Struggle for Hegemony of Blambangan c.1763-1813," *Ph.D Thesis*. Leiden: Leiden University.
- Mashoed, H. 2004. *Sejarah dan Budaya Bondowoso*. Surabaya: Papyrus.
- Nawiyanto. 2001. "Perkembangan Transportasi di Daerah Pinggiran Jawa." in Edy Sedyawati & Susanto Zuhdi (eds). *Arung Samudra: Persembahan Memperingati Sembilan Windu A.B. Lopian*. Depok: PPKB-Lembaga Penelitian Universitas Indonesia.
- Onderzoek naar de mindere welvaart der inlandsche*

- bevolking op Java en Madoera IX C: overzicht van de uitkomsten der gewestekijke onderzoekingen naar de economie van de desa en daaruit gemaakte gevolgtrekkingen (Batavia: Kolff, 1911), Bijlage 2.
- Ong Hok Ham. 2002. *Dari Soal Priyayi Sampai Nyi Blorong: Refleksi Historis Nusantara*. Jakarta: Kompas.
- Partaningrat, Winarsih Arifin. 1995. *Babad Blambangan*. Yogyakarta: Bentang and Ecole Francraise d'Extreme-Orient.
- Pusat Bahasa Depdiknas. 2002. *Babad Basuki: Suntingan Teks dan Terjemahan*, Jakarta: Pusat Bahasa Depdiknas.
- Rickefs.M.C.1993. *War, Culture and Economi in Java 1677-1776*. Sidney: Allen and Unwin.
- Soerjadi. 1974."Sejarah Besuki" Bondowoso: tidak diterbitkan.
- Staatsblad van Nederlansch Indie No 22, 1820*
- Staatsblad van Nederlansch Indie No 7 Tahun 1850.*
- Staatsblad 1883. "Resolutie van den Gouverneur Genderal in Rade van den 9den Mei 1820 no.6 waarbij gearresteerd wordt een reglement op de verpligtingen, rangen en titels der regenten."*
- Sudjana, I Made. 2001. *Nagari tawon madu: sejarah politik Blambangan abad XVIII*. Denpasar: Pustaka Larasan
- Sutherland, Heather. 1974. "Notes On Java's Regent Families Part II." *Indonesia*, No 17 (April) 1974.
- Sutherland, Heather. 1975. "Priyayi." *Indonesia*, No. 19 April 1975.
- Sutherland, Heather 1983. *Terbentuknya Sebuah Elite Birokrasi*. Jakarta: Sinar Harapan.
- Syafiie, Inu Kencana. 1994. *Government System Indonesia* ,Jakarta: PT Rineka Copy-right.
- Tjiptoatmodjo, F.A Sutjipto.1983."Kota Kota Pantai di Sekitar Selat Madura (Abad XVII Sampai Medio Abad XIX)", *Ph.D. Thesis UGM*. Yogyakarta.
- Veth, P.J. 1903. *Java: Geographisch, Etnologisch, Historisch. Vol. III*. Bon: Harlem.
- Volkstelling. 1930. Vol III: Inhemse Bevolking van Oost Java*. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij. 1934. Tabel I.
- Wasino. 2007. *Dari Riset hingga Tulisan Sejarah*. Semarang: UNNES Press.
- Wijayati, Putri Agus. 2001. *Tanah dan Sistem Perpajakan Masa Kolonial Inggris*. Jakarta: Tarawang.
- Informan
Elizabeth, residents of Chinatown Besuki, 15 November 2009
Hari Yuswadi, 2 October 2009