

## 1. Description

1.1 Name(s) of society, language, and language family: Madurese language; spoken in eastern Java, Sapudi Islands, Madura Island, Bali, Singapore, & scattered through Indonesia; Language family: Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Malayo-Sumbawan, Madurese [1]

1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): 639-3 [1]

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): 7°16'S 112°45'E [2]

1.4 Brief history: In 1624, Sultan Agung of Mataram conquered Madura and the island's government was brought under the Cakraningrats, a single princely line. The Cakraningrat family opposed Central Javanese rule and often conquered large parts of Mataram. Following the First Javanese War of Succession between Amangkurat III and his uncle, Pangeran Puger, the Dutch gained control of the eastern half of Madura in 1705. Dutch recognition of Puger was influenced by the lord of West Madura, Cakraningrat II who is thought to have supported Puger's claims in the hope that a new war in central Java would provide the Madurese with a chance to interfere. However, while Amangkurat was arrested and exiled to Ceylon, Puger took the title of Pakubuwono I and signed a treaty with the Dutch that granted them East Madura. The Cakraningrats agreed to help the Dutch quash the 1740 rebellion in Central Java after the Chinese massacre in 1740. In a 1743 treaty with the Dutch, Pakubuwono I ceded full sovereignty of Madura to the Dutch, which was contested by Cakraningrat IV. Cakraningrat fled to Banjarmasin, took refuge with the English, was robbed and betrayed by the sultan, and captured by the Dutch and exiled to the Cape of Good Hope. The Dutch continued Madura's administrative divisions of four states each with their own regent. The island was initially important as a source of colonial troops and in the second half of the nineteenth century it became the main source of salt for Dutch-controlled territories in the archipelago. [5]. Madurese history has often been linked to that of Java. Fourteenth-century Madurese belonged to the Javanese Majapahit Empire before gaining independence. The arrival of Islam in the sixteenth century led the Madurese to develop a state organization, before they became a part of the Javanese empire of Mataram. They rebelled against the Javanese in the seventeenth century but later came under the rule of the Dutch. Presently they are governed by Indonesia. [3].

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: After a century of intermittent missionary work and outreaches in Indonesia, the Madurese remain unreached. There are actually several Christian churches located in the city of Surabaya (eastern Java), but they have not been able to reach the Madurese. Some of these churches have been burned to the ground and many of the believers have been persecuted by the Madurese Muslims. There are some missions agencies currently working among the Madurese; however, work permits are becoming harder and harder for Christian personnel to obtain. [4]

1.6 Ecology (natural environment): Madura is an Indonesian island off the northeastern coast of Java and belongs to the archipelago of the Greater Sunda Islands. It comprises an area of approximately 4250 km<sup>2</sup>. The island's topography varies from sea level around the edges and rising higher inwardly up to 300 m towards the central part of the island. On the whole, Madura is one of the poorest regions of the East Java province. Madura's environment is troubled by low rainfall, poor soils, and an arid climate. [5]

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density: Total population of Madurese in all countries: c. 13, 600, 900 [1]. Population density is 852/km<sup>2</sup> [5].

## 2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): Subsistence agriculture is a mainstay of Madurese economy. Maize, rice, salt, tobacco, peanuts, and cassava are the key subsistence crops. On Madura Island the soil is not fertile enough and the climate is too arid to be a major agricultural producer [5].

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: Because of the infertile, arid environment, Madurese emphasize livestock production; they raise sheep, goats, and especially cattle. Small-scale fisheries are also important for the subsistence economy of Madura Island and East Java. [3].

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?: The main weapon used by the Madurese is the sickle. In subsistence it is a farming tool in the form of a curved blade resembling a crescent moon. The Madurese are famous for using the sickle in the tradition of carok. Carok is a tradition of murder due to any reason related to self-esteem followed by inter-group or inter-clan. There are no formal rules in this fight because carok an act that is considered negative and the criminal and unlawful. This is how the Madurese maintain self-esteem and get "out" of a complicated problem. Carok comes from the Madurese language meaning 'fighting with honor' [6].

2.4 Food storage: Information could not be found.

2.5 Sexual division of production: Traditionally, men work in agricultural and livestock production, as traders and fishermen, and as artisans; women work as traders and as laborers for wealthy farmers. [3].

2.6 Land tenure: Land is owned individually, but most villages also set aside communal land and land used to support village headmen. Population pressure results in small landholdings. The vast majority of Madurese living in Madura reside in hamlets created as administrative units, rather than being organized by kinship or indigenous political units. Each hamlet may consist of between five and fifteen compounds, which are dispersed over farmland. The Madurese people have grouped themselves together in farming settlements. [3]. Chronic unemployment and poverty on the island of Madura have led to long term emigration from the island, such that most ethnically Madurese people do not now live on Madura. People from Madura were some of the most numerous participants in government transmigration programs, moving to other parts of Indonesia. [5].

2.7 Ceramics: Ceramics on the island of Java reflect early trade with China and India, as evidenced by the Chinese ceramics found on the island dated to that period [7]. However, information could not be found specifically on the prevalence of ceramics by Madurese society.

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns: Information could not be found.

2.9 Food taboos: As the majority of Madurese people are Muslim, they share the dietary taboos that are found in Islam. This includes strict taboos against pork, alcohol and any foods prepared with alcohol. To some extent there is also a food taboo placed against eating predatory birds, insects, donkeys, mules, dogs, cats, monkeys, mice, rats, elephants, and fanged predators. However, the taboos placed on these foods are not as strong as those placed on pork and alcohol. [8].

2.10 Canoes/watercraft? : The Madurese are a maritime people. Due to the prevalence of subsistence fishing in Madurese society, there is use of outrigger canoes in Madurese society [3]. In these areas, the single outrigger canoe is very small and specialized for inshore fishing by one man with the throw-net. The Madurese fast canoes for transporting fresh fish have the tilting rig with double outriggers and a strong rudder support. The Madurese jangollan, a heavy cargo boat up to 100 tons, is a modern example with the rig modified by addition of a short stubby mast. The Madurese leti-leti rig, with a large single sail is used because it gives a better performance when sailing upwind, and also with the advantage that the rig looks after itself when the single man crew is otherwise engaged with the fishing [9].

### 3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f): average height 150 cm [10]

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f): average weight 42 kg [10]

### 4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f): The average age at menarche for the Madurese is around 10-15 years [11].

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f): The average age at first birth for Madurese was traditionally around the ages of 15-18 for women and 21-22 for men. In modern times, this age has risen to about 18-22 for women and around 23-27 for men [11].

4.3 Completed family size (m and f): The completed family size among the Madurese is about 5-6 people, with an average of approximately 3-4 children per family [12].

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f): Half of births occur 54 months after the previous birth, up from a birth interval of 45 months in 1997 [12].

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f): According to a study published in the Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, the Madurese are determined to be the Indonesian group with the youngest age at marriage. In traditional Madurese society, the average age of marriage for a female was around 12-15, with the average age for a male about five years later, circa 17-20. The Madurese show the slowest rise among other early-marrying Indonesian groups in age at marriage. However, because of increasing rates of education among girls and the 1974 Marriage Law (which aimed to prevent excessively young marriages by setting the legal minimum age at marriage at 16), in more modern times the average age at marriage for females has risen to about 18-19, with the difference between spouses around 4-5 years [11].

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: Because of the high rates of early marriages among the Madurese, not surprisingly divorce was common, though most people did not formally divorce. Divorce frequently occurred at short intervals after the marriage took place (sometimes just a week, or a few weeks). A divorce could be rationalized by indicating that the couple was not well matched by fate, but there was still a certain amount of embarrassment that accompanied a subsequent divorce after a recent marriage. Divorce was cheap and straightforward; often it was not officially recorded. If three months passed after the spouse announced the *talak* (divorce declaration), and *rujuk* (reconciliation) did not occur, it was accepted that divorce had taken place, even if it had not been registered. Remarriage is also easy [11]. After a divorce, the property of the couple is divided by agreement [3].

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: In 1978, only about 5% of marriages were polygynous. Polygyny is allowed by Islamic law, but it is a rare man (usually a village official) who can afford to practice it [3]. In line with Muslim doctrine, polygyny is regulated by religious courts; a request for polygynous marriage may be granted to a man when his wife is "unable to fulfill her duties as a wife" or is disabled, terminally ill, or unable to have children. A man must have consent of his first wife/wives and prove able to provide equal support for all wives and children. [13].

4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry? : Marriage proposals are made by the groom's parents and include gifts. If the proposal is accepted, a bride-price including cattle is given, and the groom's parents set the date of the wedding. [3].

4.9 Inheritance patterns: Prior to their deaths, parents convey some of their property, including land and cattle, to their children. After death, children receive equal shares of the remaining property, in violation of Islamic law (Muslim inheritance favors males over females). [3]. Inheritance disputes may be settled in Muslim or civil courts, or by customary village ways. [15].

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict: Children are treated indulgently until the age of two to four when inculcation and discipline begin. The most common methods of discipline are snarling, corporal punishment, comparison to siblings and others, and threat of external disapproval and sanctions. The latter type of discipline encourages children to be fearful and shy around strangers [20].

4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals: Homosexuality and bisexuality are considered abnormal acts forbidden by morality and religion. Despite this taboo, thousands of adults engage in homosexual and bisexual relationships. Most gays and lesbians, however, hide their orientation and activities, because they know that most people oppose homosexual behavior. Only very few male homosexuals want to be open and frank about their sexual behavior. Some homosexual males hide their sexual orientation by marrying a woman for social status and conformity. Their wives only learn that their husbands are homosexual after the marriage occurs. Some of these marriages end in divorce, but some others remain intact for social or religious reasons [25].

4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy): Local endogamy (preferably village but especially ethnic) is strongly favored, affording a depth of genealogical and a dense pattern of overlapping kin ties [17].

4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these "other fathers" recognized? Information could not be found. However, there does not seem to be any indication of partible paternity or recognition of "other fathers".

4.14 What is the belief of the mother's role in procreation exactly? (e.g., "receptacle in which fetus grows"): Following the beliefs of Islam, procreation is considered to be the necessary goal of life for all women. Most village women do not consider their menstrual cycle as consisting of fertile/infertile days. These ideas are based on the association of dry with sterile and moist or wet with fertile. During menstruation, sexual intercourse is prohibited, and violating this taboo is believed to cause the birth of a child born with leprosy [31].

- 4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)? : Pregnancy as a physiological event is viewed by the Madurese as a process, not as a state; they associate ‘coolness’ with fecundity and growth, and ‘hotness’ with infecundity, abortion, and check of growth. The Madurese say that cool drinks and jamu induce conception to coagulate the woman’s blood and the man’s sperm, increase viscosity of the mixture, and stimulate fetal growth. Hot foods and medicines have opposite qualities; they liquefy the mixture to prevent its adhesion to the womb, hamper or slow down fetal growth, and are abortive. The fetus is considered to be a clot of blood [31].
- 4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape: There is no significant data on the occurrence of sexual coercion or rape within the island of Madura. Rapes that are perpetuated by acquaintances, friends, or strangers are only sometimes reported, and most that are reported are not tried in a court trial in order to protect the victim from public embarrassment in the mass media. Also, it is not widely reported because the punishment for rape is considered to be very light. Marital rape is rarely reported, largely because most women do not recognize it as rape if it is done by a man to his own wife. Many other ethnic groups in the area such as the Dayaks, Malays, and Chinese often accuse Madurese men of raping their women [18].
- 4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin): Marriage with one’s first or second cousin is preferred among the Madurese [3].
- 4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms? : The Madurese maintain a conservative Muslim society, and thus women do not enjoy sexual freedoms for the most part. Although many neighboring ethnic groups in the area such as the Dayaks, Malays, and Chinese often accuse Madurese women of sleeping around, conducting extramarital affairs, and being sexually promiscuous [18].
- 4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring: Information could not be found; however, if gifts are to be offered, alcohol and other haram foods/drinks, gifts are offered with the right hand only, and gifts are generally not opened when received [19].
- 4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?: Information could not be found; however, it is probably not the father who takes over childcare after the mother dies – as Madurese men only spend about 1.54% of their time on average on childcare to begin with [24]. Therefore, it may be speculated that in general, childcare is taken over by extended family or older siblings after the death of a mother.
- 4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females: Adult Sex Ratio for population aged 15-64: 1.01 male(s) per female [25].
- 4.22 Evidence for couvades: Information could not be found.
- 4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older): Information could not be found.
- 4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?: There is a high level of respect towards the village kiyai (Islamic clergy) within each village compound, as well as respect towards the elderly population [26].
- 4.24 Joking relationships? : Joking relationships among Madurese men and women are not traditionally considered polite or appropriate – especially in public. Sex is seen as something private and even secret, and appropriate only between husbands and wives [25].
- 4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations: Madurese reckon kinship bilaterally [3]. Children are considered to belong equally to the kin groups of the mother and father [23].
- 4.26 Incest avoidance rules: Parent-offspring and direct sibling relationships are viewed as incest and treated as a criminal offense among the Madurese. Neighbors and family normally become very angry and physically abuse the perpetrators when they learn of such incest [25].
- 4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?: Wedding is by Madurese custom, but includes a Muslim religious teacher ( kiyai ). The kiyai plays an important part in the marriage ceremony. He says the prayers and solemnizes the marriage. He conducts the wedding procession from the compound of the bridegroom to that of the bride and back again. A marriage is rarely solemnized by officials of the government office [26]. Quite simply, a marriage in Islam is solemnized by a nikah (marriage contract) and a walemah (marriage feast) that follows once the marriage has been consummated. The nikah constitutes of a proposal from one party (eejab) and acceptance from another (qubool) in the presence of witnesses. The walimah is simply a dinner to celebrate the marriage, since marriage is, after all, a joyous occasion. The nikah can be held at the local masjid or at home, while the walimah can be anywhere: one’s apartment, backyard, or basement, the local masjid, a park, a restaurant, a community center, or anywhere else [27].
- 4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name? : Some Madurese do not have surnames; each person has his or her own names. Furthermore, a wife does not have to take her husband’s name. Sometimes a woman or a man takes his/her first child’s name as their surname (to mean the mother/father of child) [28].
- 4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?): Marriage is usually preferred to be within a Madurese community, or at the very least within neighboring communities for both males and females [26].
- 4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)? : Usually a marriage is arranged by the respective parents with the parents of a boy proposing for a girl. The proposal is accompanied by the mutual exchange of presents and sweets. The date of the wedding is fixed by the parents of the groom-to-be [26].
- 4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who: Information could not be found.

## **Warfare/homicide**

- 4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare: Information could not be found.
- 4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death: Ingroup leading cause of violent death: Blood revenge is a feature of Madurese life, especially when adultery, cattle theft, and public loss of face are involved. This is done through the practice of carok , in which the victim is attacked from behind with a sickle-shaped knife. The carok attack is usually fatal, and one common result of a successful attack is a blood feud between the families of the parties involved. To avoid or put an end to a carok attack, one may consult a kiyai, who tries to settle the matter on both secular and supernatural levels [23]. Outgroup cause of violent death: in general most likely due to carok as well. However, in Sampit conflict with Dayaks the leading cause of violent death was decapitation [29].
- 4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing: Blood revenge (carok) killings, ethnic conflicts/massacres.

- 4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations): For the most part, the Madurese have relatively neutral relationships with neighboring societies; often they are subjected to negative prejudice by neighboring societies. However, an incidence which occurred in 2001 left hostile relations among the Madurese and the Dayaks. The Sampit conflict was an outbreak of inter-ethnic violence in Indonesia, beginning in February 2001 and lasting throughout the year. The conflict started in the town of Sampit, Central Kalimantan Province, and spread throughout the province, including the capital, Palangkaraya. It broke out on February 18, 2001 when two Madurese were attacked by a number of Dayaks. The conflict resulted in more than 500 deaths, with over 100,000 Madurese displaced from their homes. Many Madurese were also found decapitated by the Dayaks. This was not an isolated incident, and there had been a previous history of violence between these two groups. The Dayaks are said to be dissatisfied with the increased economic competition coming from the more aggressive Madurese. New laws had allowed the Madurese to assume control of many commercial industries in the province, such as logging, mining, and plantations. The scale of the massacre made it difficult for the military and the police to control the situation in Central Kalimantan. Reinforcements were sent in to help existing personnel in the province. By February 18, the Dayaks assumed control over Sampit. Police arrested a local official believed to have been one of the masterminds behind the attacks. The masterminds are suspected of paying six men to provoke the riot in Sampit. The police also arrested a number of rioters following the initial murder spree. Later, on February 21, thousands of Dayaks surrounded a police station in Palangkaraya demanding the release of detainees. The police succumbed to this demand. By, February 28, the military had managed to clear the Dayaks off the streets, but sporadic violence continued throughout the year [29].
- 4.18 Cannibalism? : There are persistent reports of ritualized cannibalism during the Kalimantan ‘ethnic-cleansing’; the Dayaks are said to have eaten the Madurese. However, these claims seem to be more taken as popular myth than reality [30].

## **5. Socio-Political organization and interaction**

- 5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size: On Madura, rural Madurese traditionally live in groups of up to 20 nuclear families (parents and their offspring) [14]. Beyond the family or household, villages are made up of 10-20 households, often people who are unrelated through blood or marriage, but are connected through ownership of a small plot of land [23]. The vast majority of Madurese living in Madura reside in hamlets created as administrative units, rather than being organized by kinship or indigenous political units. Each hamlet may consist of between five and fifteen compounds, which are dispersed over farmland [3].
- 5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality): While the Madurese have roots on Madura, off the northeastern coast of Java, the majority of Madurese do not now live on that island. The Madurese people have migrated out of Madura over several hundred years, mostly driven by poor agricultural resources in their home island. The majority have settled on Java, where an estimated six million Madurese live, especially in East Java where they form about half the population. The Madurese were also major clients of the government transmigration programs of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, through which they settled in relatively sparsely populated areas of Indonesia's other islands, especially Kalimantan. As a result of this program, many regions of Indonesia have communities of former transmigrants and their descendants that maintain their Madurese identity. Some of these migrant groups have been the subject of conflict with Dayak communities. The best-publicized conflict has been on Kalimantan, where thousands were killed in fighting between the Madurese and the Dayak people during the late 1990s [22].
- 5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): Presently there are formal leaders, members of the village councils, as well as informal leaders, including Islamic clergy like the kiyai. The kiyai educates the children and advises adults. The authority of both types of leader depends on their ability to gain the respect of the people. Formal leaders tend to have less authority than the informal Islamic leaders; this was reflected in the 1971 elections, in which 67 percent of the Madura vote went to Nahdatul Ulama, the orthodox Islamic political party [3].
- 5.4 Post marital residence: Both nuclear and extended families constitute the basic units of society. The ideal of post marital residence is neolocal, but few newlywed couples can afford to live independently and so usually live with the bride's family [3]. This predominantly matrilocal practice endures until the newlywed couple is able to provide for themselves and set up a compound of their own. One of the married children, usually a daughter, stays permanently on the parental compound. She is responsible for taking care of her parents in their old age and after their death she conducts their selamatan cycle, and then inherits her parent's house and takes over the compound [26].
- 5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense): The Madurese originate from the island of Madura; however there is no evidence for territoriality or an active defense of their boundaries. This is most likely due to the fact that many Madurese themselves are transmigrants and have dispersed throughout Indonesia because of the poor ecology of Madura Island.
- 5.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex): Madurese children are allowed to interact socially regardless of sex. Once puberty hits, there tends to be separation between the sexes in all aspects of social life [25].
- 5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships: Special friendships/joking relationships between Madurese men and women are not typically considered polite or appropriate [25].
- 5.8 Village and house organization: Beyond the family or household, villages are made up of 10-20 households, often people who are unrelated through blood or marriage, but are connected through ownership of a small plot of land [23]. The vast majority of Madurese living in Madura reside in hamlets created as administrative units, rather than being organized by kinship or indigenous political units. Each hamlet may consist of between five and fifteen compounds, which are dispersed over farmland [3].
- 5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses): The langgar, built on the western side of each family's compound, is the center for religious and social activities. Here the men perform their daily prayers, pass the night, and see their male guests. The selamatan, a communal meal held on Islamic holidays and in celebration of major changes of life stages of family members, takes place in the langgar as well. The house is the domain of the women, in which they say their daily prayers and sleep together with the small children. Their female guests are welcomed on the front verandah of the house [26].
- 5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere? : Information could not be found.

- 5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc: Madurese households are built around extended families, allowing for the pooling of resources and a more flexible adaptation to their surroundings in eastern Java. The Madurese organized these communities around ties to Muslim religious teachers (kiyai) [23].
- 5.12 Trade: Fishing, salt production, and maritime trade are important aspects of Madurese economy. Fruit and tobacco cultivation are important sources of income, and the breeding of cattle and animal husbandry are widespread. Small-scale production of bricks, tiles, and limestone is found only where the raw materials are [26].
- 5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?: The Madurese nobility has disappeared after centuries of foreign domination [3].

## **6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)**

- 6.0 Time allocation to RCR: The Madurese are devout Muslims. They pray five times daily, pay their zakat (tithe), fast during the month of Ramadan, and celebrate the Islamic holidays of Maulud and Id al-fitr (during the latter of which they visit the graves of their dead relatives). Making the pilgrimage to Mecca brings an increase in social status [3].
- 6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): Various forms of spiritual healing are done by shamans, mediums, and other curers in urban and rural areas. Many people believe that ritual or social missteps may lead to misfortune, which includes illness. Traditional healers diagnose the source and deal with the problems, some using black arts. Accusations of sorcery and attacks on alleged sorcerers are not uncommon in many areas and are most liable to arise in times of social, economic, and political unrest. Modern health care and medicine is also found, although less common and if found typically used in conjunction with traditional forms of healing [3].
- 6.2 Stimulants: Jamu is a traditional Madurese medicine. It is predominantly herbal medicine made from natural materials, such as parts of plants such as roots, leaves and bark, and fruit. There is also material from the bodies of animals, such as bile of goat or alligator used. Jamu is used as a cure for illnesses; however it also serves as an aphrodisiac to enhance sexual pleasures, with different varieties used for different purposes [32].
- 6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): Death ritual – Selamatan cycle conducted by the daughter who took care of her parents on the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, 40<sup>th</sup>, and 100<sup>th</sup> days and the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> years after their deaths, and finally on the 1000<sup>th</sup> day [26]. Birth/puberty ritual – The Madurese consider the fetus to be a mere clot of blood, and therefore a transition process occurs to transform it into a member or society. This is achieved gradually, when after about 40 days after birth, the baby is taken out of the house and shown to the neighbors for the first time. For the mother, pregnancy and childbirth imply gradual social isolation before birth and social re-integration afterwards, especially for women who are pregnant for the first time. Interwoven in rite of passage symbolisms are symbols which are thought to avert danger and which point to well-being and fertility [31].
- 6.4 Other rituals: The Madurese are practitioners of both male and female circumcision, or genital mutilation as it is sometimes referred to by Western critics. This practice is believed by many to be linked to their Islamic faith but may have predated their conversion to the religion in the 15<sup>th</sup> or 16<sup>th</sup> century [23]. Despite the fact that the Madurese are strict Muslims, many of their traditions and practices are syncretic with non-Islamic elements. Any change in the life of an individual has to be attended by selamatan to make things go well. To avert bad influences, a selamatan is organized for all sorts of occasions, with the prayers from the selamatan addressed to Allah as well as to the ancestors [26].
- 6.5 Myths (Creation): The Muslim creation story is one which tells that God made the world and the heavens and all creatures that walk, crawl, swim and fly on it. In Islam God also made angels, the heavens, the sun, the moon and the stars to live in the universe. The Qur'an tells how God then made the rains to pour down on the earth and break up the soil to bring forth fruits and vegetation. It then tells of how God ordered the angels to go to the earth and return with seven handfuls of different colour soils from which he could model man. Once He had moulded man from the soils He breathed life and power into it and it sprang into life as Adam the first man. God then took Adam to live Paradise; He then created Eve from one of Adam's side. God taught Adam all of the creature's names and ordered the angel Iblis to bow down before Adam. Iblis refused to do this and began to disobey God's will. In Islam God placed Adam and Eve in a garden in Paradise, telling them they could eat anything except the fruits of the forbidden tree. However, the evil one tempted them to eat the fruits from the forbidden tree. When God knew that Adam and Eve had disobeyed him, he cast them both out of paradise and sent them to earth to live. The story says that as God is merciful and he created the earth to give food, drink and shelter to humans, the sun, and moon and stars to give light and that the world is good. The Qur'an teaches that if people serve God and obey His will they will be saved and taken to live in Paradise forever. Although God made man superior to the rest of creation the earth is not theirs to do what they want with and Muslims believe that humans have been given everything on earth to care for and look after. The Qur'an teaches that Muslims should be grateful for all living things as God is the creator of life [32].
- 6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games): Madura is famous for its bull-racing competitions, where a jockey, usually a young boy, rides a simple wooden sled pulled by a pair of bulls over a course of about 100 meters in ten to fifteen seconds. Several towns on the island hold races in August and September of each year, with a large final for the Presidential Trophy held in Pamekasan in late September or October. During these bull-races, the Madurese contestants are known for using sorcery and magic to gain an advantage over their rivals. Several forms of music and theater are popular on Madura, particularly among poorer people for whom they provide an inexpensive form of entertainment and community-building. The topeng theater, which involves masked performances of classical stories such as the Ramayana and Mahabharata, is the Madurese performance art best known outside the island, due to its role as a representative Madurese art form at exhibitions of regional cultures from all over Indonesia. However, performances of it are rare on Madura, and are generally restricted to entertainment at large official functions. The less formal loddrok theater, where performers do not wear masks and perform a wider range of themes, is more popular on the island. The gamelan orchestra, best known as a classical Javanese instrument, is also played on Madura, where several of the former royal courts, such as at Bangkalan and Sumenep, possess elaborate gamelans. Tongtong music, more exclusive to Madura, is played on several wooden or bamboo drums, and often accompanies bull-racing competitions [5].
- 6.7 Sex differences in RCR: As in Islam, Madurese men and women observe separation from each other in prayer and other rituals and ceremonies. Men perform their daily prayers in the langgar, and women do so within the house [26].

- 6.8 Missionary effect: After a century of intermittent missionary work and outreaches in Indonesia, the Madurese remain unreached. There are actually several Christian churches located in the city of Surabaya (eastern Java), but they have not been able to reach the Madurese. Some of these churches have been burned to the ground and many of the believers have been persecuted by the Madurese Muslims. There are some missions agencies currently working among the Madurese; however, work permits are becoming harder and harder for Christian personnel to obtain. [4]
- 6.9 RCR revival: Information could not be found.
- 6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs: It is widely believed that the deceased may influence the living in various ways, and funerals serve to ensure the proper passage of the spirit to the afterworld, though cemeteries are still considered potentially dangerous dwellings for ghosts. Among Muslims, burial must occur within twenty-four hours and be attended by Muslim officials.
- 6.11 Taboo of naming dead people? : There does not seem to be any evidence indicating a taboo against naming dead people; however exact information could not be found.
- 6.12 Is there teknonymy? : Yes - Sometimes a woman or a man takes his/her first child's name as their surname (to mean the mother/father of child) [28].
- 6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.): Most Madurese are at least nominally Sunni Muslims of the Shafi school (though a small number have converted to Christianity). They pray five times daily, pay their zakat (tithe), fast during the month of Ramadan, and celebrate the Islamic holidays of Maulud and Id al-fitr (during the latter of which they visit the graves of their dead relatives). Making the pilgrimage to Mecca brings an increase in social status and economic position. The modern reform movement, Muhammadiyah, which strives for adherence to the Quran and the cessation of ancestor worship, has few, if any, supporters outside the capital cities. Madurese religion, however, is also highly syncretistic. Communal sacred meals ( kenduri ) are used when changes in life occur, for good luck. Madurese people are also known for their bullfights and bull races, during which contestants use sorcery and magic to gain an advantage over their rivals [3].

## 7. Adornment

- 7.1 Body paint: Madurese wear unique makeup; The face is decorated with a *jimpit* on the *leng pelengan* part of the forehead. Eyes are lined with eye liner and teeth are decorated with *egan* – a layer for teeth made of platinum or gold [34].
- 7.2 Piercings: Information could not be found.
- 7.3 Haircut: Madurese tend to have thick, dark black curly hair. Hair jewelry for women include *cucuk sisir* (strands of gold coins, amount of gold coins dependent on wearer's class) and *cucuk dinar* (dollar coins). Women usually comb their hair backwards and shape it into high buns, and they often cover their hair [34].
- 7.4 Scarification: There is no indication of scarification in Madurese society.
- 7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.): The Madurese *Odheng* (headband) has a complex symbolical meaning depending on its size, motive, or how it's worn. The more straight the *odheng* is worn, the higher the nobleness of the wearer. Older people twist the wings of the *odheng*, and younger people do not. There are different ways to tie the *odheng*; if it is tied *Odheng Peredan*, where the end of the *odheng* is twisted straight at the back, it symbolizes the *alif* letter of the Arabic alphabet as a symbol of confession of a oneness with God [34].
- 7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: Generally, Madurese recognize costume based on age, sex, social status, and occasion for daily or for ceremonial use [34].
- 7.7 Sex differences in adornment: Information could not be found.
- 7.8 Missionary effect: Information could not be found.
- 7.9 Cultural revival in adornment: Information could not be found.

## 8. Kinship systems

- 8.1 Sibling classification system: Information could not be found.
- 8.2 Sororate, levirate: Among the Madurese, levirate is socially acceptable in situations when a woman is widowed; a widow is encouraged to marry a brother or cousin of her deceased spouse [15].
- 8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.): Information could not be found.

## 9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

Education: Pesantren has a pivotal role in Madurese life. Pesantren are Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia. Pesantren aim to deepen knowledge of the Koran, particularly through the study of Arabic, traditions of exegesis, the Sayings of the Prophet, and study of law and logic. As social institutions, pesantren have played a major role over the centuries. They emphasise cores values of sincerity, simplicity, individual autonomy, solidarity and self-control. Young men and women are separated from their families, which contributes to a sense of individual commitment to the faith and close bonding to a teacher [21].

A common nickname for the Madurese is "cowboys" of Indonesia; like the cowboys in the old "wild west," the Madurese also have a reputation for being rough, hot-headed and easily offended. They are feared and disliked by other Indonesians. People are afraid of their tough character and use of black magic. [22].

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