

# **BETWEEN TRADITION AND TRANSFORMATION IN INDONESIA: PILGRIMAGE CELEBRATION AMONG THE MADURESE**

**A Thesis**

**Submitted to Master's Study Program of Islamic Studies at the  
Faculty of Islamic Studies in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of**

**Master of Arts (M.A.)**



**Universitas  
Islam Internasional  
Indonesia**

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**UNIVERSITAS ISLAM INTERNASIONAL INDONESIA**

**DEPOK**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Name : Yutsrina Azimah  
Programme : Islamic Studies  
Title : Between Tradition and Transformation: Pilgrimage Celebration among the Madurese

This study explores the transformation of pilgrimage traditions in Madura, an Indonesian island with a distinct Javanese-Islamic mixed culture. Departing from the acculturation of local culture and educational level, this study examines the various factors that influence pilgrimage celebration negotiations in Madura. In addition, this study highlights the importance of pilgrimage as a lifelong aspiration for Madurese individuals and its celebration in enhancing their social credibility. The fieldwork research employs a qualitative approach, utilizing ethnographic methods to explore the cultural and social dynamics surrounding pilgrimage celebrations. It also draws upon Gennep's three stage rite of passage framework to examine the pilgrimage tradition in Madura. In addition, study highlights the tensions and negotiations occur in the Madurese using Weber's rationality to explore the transitions and complexities of the pilgrimage tradition. The result indicate that the pilgrimage celebration has undergone the change. This study found that pilgrims contributes to the transformation of pilgrimage celebration, it can be said that the pilgrims somehow have power legitimacy to influence the contemporary Madurese perception on pilgrimage celebration. This study is expects to providing insights of the complex interplay between tradition and transformation of pilgrimage celebration in Madurese society.

**Keywords:** Pilgrimage, Celebration, Transformation, Tradition, Muslim Festivities.

## المخلص

الاسم : يثرينا عزيمة

الكلية : الدراسات الإسلامية

العنوان : بين التقليد والتحويل: احتفالات الحج بين المادوريين

تستكشف هذه الدراسة حول تقاليد الحج في مادورا، وهي جزيرة إندونيسية ذات ثقافة ممتزجة بثقافة جاوية إسلامية مميزة. انطلاقاً من تأثير الثقافة المحلي والمستوى التعليمي، تفحص هذه الدراسة العوامل المتنوعة التي تؤثر في الأخذ والرد احتفالات زيارة الحجاج في مادورا. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، تسلط هذه الدراسة الضوء على أهمية زيارات الحج كتطلعات مدى الحياة لأفراد مادوريين واحتفالاته في تعزيز مصداقيتهم الاجتماعية. اعتمد البحث الميداني على منهجية البحث نوعي، باستخدام أساليب إثنوغرافية لاستكشاف الديناميات الثقافية والاجتماعية المحيطة بالاحتفالات بالحج. كما أن يستمد البحث من إطار مرحلة الانتقال الثلاثية ل Genep لفحص تقليد الحج في مادورا. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، تسلط الدراسة الضوء على التوترات والمفاوضات التي تحدث في المادوريين باستخدام Weber النظرية الرشيدية لاستكشاف التحولات والتعقيدات في تقاليد الحج. تشير النتائج إلى أن احتفالات الحج قد مرت بتغيير. وقد وجدت هذه الدراسة أن الحجاج يساهمون في تحول احتفالات الحج، ويمكن القول أن لدى الحجاج بعض الشرعية في التأثير على الإدراك المعاصر لمادوريين بشأن احتفالات الحج. من المتوقع أن تقدم هذه الدراسة رؤى حول التداخل المعقد بين التقاليد والتحولات في احتفالات الحج في المجتمع المادور.

الكلمات الرئيسية: الحج، الاحتفال، التحول، التقاليد، الاحتفالات المسلمة.

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

I would like to express my profound gratitude and appreciation to all the informants, scholars, colleagues and institutions who have contributed to the successful completion of this thesis. Their support, encouragement, and assistance have been invaluable in shaping this work. First and foremost, I am especially indebted to the key informants for helping me with my fieldwork research. I should mention several name, Ibnu Hajar, Masyhur Abadi, Hafidh, Walid Rasuly, Afif Musthafa, Agus Wedi, Fawziyah Kurniawati, special thanks to Drs. Arifin that allows me to participating in his pilgrimage celebration as well my heartfelt condolences by passing one of my value informant, Herman on 7 July 2023.

I extend my gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Yanwar Pribadi, for his continues guidance, patience, and encouragement throughout this thesis journey. His expertise and insightful feedback have been instrumental in refining the scope and direction of this research. I shall record the great thanks to Universitas Islam Internasional Indonesia for the scholarship and funding that enabled me to conduct this field research. I am deeply grateful to the dean of faculty of Islamic Studies, Prof. Noorhaidi Hassan and faculty members of the Islamic Studies Universitas Islam Internasional Indonesia for providing an enriching academic environment as well as the continuous support and encouragement to fostering intellectual curiosity has played a significant role in my personal and academic growth. My deepest thanks to administration staff of Islamic Studies for their assistance with administrative matters and technical support.

I am thankful to the librarians and the members of the staff of the National Library of Indonesia, KITLV-Jakarta, Erasmus Huis, and Library of Universitas Islam Internasional Indonesia (special thanks to Prof. M.C. Ricklefs' collection) for providing generous assistance and access in finding relevant sources that have been crucial in conducting this research. My heartfelt appreciation goes to all the researchers and authors whose work served as a foundation for this thesis. Their valuable contributions have been duly cited and acknowledged. I also want to acknowledge my classmates of Islamic Studies department for their camaraderie

during challenging times. Their enthusiasm and motivation have made this experience more enjoyable and memorable.

Special thanks go to my family for their unwavering love, encouragement, and belief in my abilities. My deepest appreciation is devoted to my father, Muhammad Bashri Asy'ari and my mother, Hikmayanti as well my beloved siblings, Labib Faruqi and Aisyah. Their constant support has been the driving force behind my determination to pursue this thesis. In conclusion, this thesis would not have been possible without the collective effort of all those mentioned above and many other people contributed greatly to this research even so I cannot mention each name. Their contribution who generously dedicated their time is adequately appreciated and acknowledged. Their unwavering support, encouragement, and guidance have been instrumental in shaping this work and my academic journey as a whole. Thank you all from the bottom of my heart.

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## ABBREVIATION DIRECTORY

NU Indonesia)	: <i>Nahdhatul Ulama</i> (The largest Islamic association in Indonesia)
Muhammadiyah	: Second largest Islamic Movement in Indonesia
PERSIS	: <i>Persatuan Islam</i> (Islamic organization in Indonesia founded on 12 September 1923 in Bandung)
<i>Arisan</i>	: A type of rotating savings and credit club in Indonesian culture

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background of Problem

Pilgrimage is important in many major world religions, including Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, Judaism, and Christianity which requires both spiritual and psychological preparation.<sup>1</sup> *Hajj* or the big pilgrimage for Muslims is one of the five pillars of Islam that can only be performed between the 8th and 21st of *Dzulhijjah*, the last month of the Islamic calendar.<sup>2</sup> Pilgrimage nowadays encompasses not only religious devotion, but also embraces political, social, economic, and cultural implications, effect on the global, showing identity and intellectual aspects. Aside from it, the pilgrimage also improves the positions of power, influence, and social prestige.<sup>3</sup> Given the fact that Indonesia is the largest Muslim-majority country in the world with Muslims making up the majority at 231,069,932 out of 266,534,836 total population, additionally it has contributing to the large number of Muslim pilgrims in the world.<sup>4</sup>

While the core rituals of pilgrimage remain the same, the way in which pilgrimage are being celebrated and the cultural traditions associated with it can

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<sup>1</sup> Bela Arvavolgyi and Judit Sagi, "Pilgrimage and Its Perception in a Local Religious Community," 2019, 38, <https://doi.org/10.21427/QRKK-Z014>; N. Collins-Kreiner, "Researching Pilgrimage," *Annals of Tourism Research* 37, no. 2 (April 2010): 440–56, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2009.10.016>.

<sup>2</sup> Kholoud Al-Ajarma, "After Hajj: Muslim Pilgrims Refashioning Themselves," *Religions* 12, no. 1 (January 7, 2021): 36, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12010036>; Viola Thimm, "Embodying and Consuming Modernity on Muslim Pilgrimage: Gendered Shopping and Clothing Practices by Malaysian Women on 'Umrah and Ziarah Dubai,'" *Asian Anthropology* 17, no. 3 (July 3, 2018): 185–203, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1683478X.2018.1483477>; See, S Snouck Hurgronje, "Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century: Daily Life, Customs and Learning. The Moslems of the East-Indian Archipelago," *Brill*, 2007.

<sup>3</sup> Al-Ajarma, "After Hajj," January 7, 2021; Vincent J. H. Houben, "Southeast Asia and Islam," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 588, no. 1 (July 2003): 149–70, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716203588001010>.

<sup>4</sup> Okaz Saudi Gazette, "Hajj Ministry Approves Quota of Pilgrims; Indonesia Tops While Angola the Lowest," n.d., <https://saudigazette.com.sa/article/619683>.

vary among different Muslim societies such as in Morocco,<sup>5</sup> Egypt, Pakistan, Nigeria, and Iran. The tradition of celebrating pilgrimage somehow being Islamized.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, it is deeply ingrained in Islamic culture and history. Yet, specific details about when and where this tradition first began might be difficult to pinpoint due to the vast historical spread of Islam across various regions and cultures. It is likely that this practice emerged organically over time as a way to honour and recognize the efforts and devotion of those who performed the pilgrimage in Mecca.

Islam and the Madurese are inseparable units due to their strong bond.<sup>7</sup> Islam as a religion dominates and is culturally embedded in every aspect of local life<sup>8</sup> and become a crucial orientation, the main source of knowledge, and social order.<sup>9</sup> They are presumed to be pure and traditional Muslims.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, performing pilgrimage is one of the priorities for the Madurese to complete the five pillars of Islam.<sup>11</sup> The long waiting period indicates the high enthusiasm for Madurese to register for pilgrimage.<sup>12</sup> Performing pilgrimage is prestige for Madurese. Most Madurese considers the pilgrimage as a part of their life aspiration,<sup>13</sup> a goal of life, a necessity, and a complement to life.<sup>14</sup> Almost all of Madurese have a big desire

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<sup>5</sup> See Kholoud Al-Ajarma, "Mecca in Morocco: Articulations of the Muslim Pilgrimage (Hajj) in Moroccan Everyday Life" (University of Groningen, 2020), <https://doi.org/10.33612/diss.132290623>.

<sup>6</sup> Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, *Some Religious Aspects of Islam: A Collection of Articles* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 38.

<sup>7</sup> Yanwar Pribadi, *Islam, State and Society in Indonesia: Local Politics in Madura*, Routledge Contemporary Southeast Asia Series (New York: Routledge, 2018).

<sup>8</sup> Choirul Mahfud, "Islam, State and Society in Indonesia; Local Politics in Madura," *Wacana* 20, no. 3 (October 25, 2019): 586, <https://doi.org/10.17510/wacana.v20i3.720>; Pribadi, *Islam, State and Society in Indonesia*.

<sup>9</sup> Mirjam Lucking, "'Arabness' as Social Capital in Madura'," *Islamika Indonesiana*, no. 2 (2014): 10.

<sup>10</sup> Torkil Saxebøl, "The Madurese Ulama as Patrons," 2002.

<sup>11</sup> Moch Akbar Firdaus, "Konstruksi Sosial Budaya Mengenai Haji Pada Masyarakat Madura di Kelurahan Sidotopo, Kecamatan Semampir, Kota Surabaya," 2017, 15.

<sup>12</sup> Lucking, "'Arabness' as Social Capital in Madura'," 10.

<sup>13</sup> M. Zainuddin, "Haji dan Status Sosial: Studi Tentang Simbol Agama di Kalangan Masyarakat Muslim," *El-Harakah* 15, no. 2 (December 30, 2013): 169, <https://doi.org/10.18860/el.v15i2.2764>.

<sup>14</sup> Lutfia, "Pengelolaan Keuangan Wanita Perantau Etnis Madura" (Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University of Malang, 2019), <http://etheses.uin-malang.ac.id/16747/>.

to perform pilgrimage.<sup>15</sup> The pilgrimage is no longer just a religious obligation and expresses their identity as Muslims, nevertheless, it has embedded in the culture. Thus, it can be said that the pilgrimage is a type of religious devotion that has special significance for the Madurese people. The Madurese believe that by performing the pilgrimage, they will get the legitimacy of authority in society<sup>16</sup> which will be repaid once the pilgrimage is completed. This remains the same for pilgrims who did not previously hold a status in society; after performing the pilgrimage and receiving the title of pilgrim (*hajj*), these pilgrims feel they are equally affluent and pious as those who had previously held a position in society.

Madurese is the fifth-largest ethnic group in Indonesia with a 7,179,356 total population at 2000 population census published by BPS.<sup>17</sup> The island is located in the North of East Java and covers an area of 5,250 km<sup>2</sup>. Madura has 4 regencies; Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep. Additionally, Madura is surrounded by almost 100 small islands located in the eastern parts (Sumenep regencies), for instance, Kangean, Gili Raja, Gili Genting, Poteran, Iyang, Sapudi, Raas, and others.<sup>18</sup> Six million Madurese out of an estimated ten million, live permanently on the neighboring islands, primarily Java.<sup>19</sup> The Madurese has been spread in the East Java region until today on account of rural exodus Madurese migration to East Java<sup>20</sup> Madurese migration to Java has been a feature of Madurese history since the early 1980s, both temporary and permanent with the majority of migration to regencies in eastern East Java which impacting the growth of populations.<sup>21</sup> *Jhebeh Madureh* or Madura Java located in the *Tapal kuda*

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<sup>15</sup> Nurul Fatma Hasan, "Religiusitas dan Perilaku Konsumsi Perspektif Islam (Studi pada Masyarakat Perantau Madura)," 2018, 17.

<sup>16</sup> Kuntowijoyo, *Perubahan Masyarakat Sosial Dalam Masyarakat Agraris Madura 1850-1940*, 1st ed. (Yogyakarta: Mata Bangsa, 2002).

<sup>17</sup> Aris Ananta et al., *Demography of Indonesia's Ethnicity* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2015), 7.

<sup>18</sup> Totok Rochana, "Orang Madura: Suatu Tinjauan Antropologis," *Humanus* 11, no. 1 (December 18, 2012): 46, <https://doi.org/10.24036/jh.v11i1.622>.

<sup>19</sup> Saxebøl, "The Madurese Ulama as Patrons."

<sup>20</sup> Laurence Husson, "Eight Centuries of Madurese Migration to East Java," *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 6, no. 1 (March 1997): 77–102, <https://doi.org/10.1177/011719689700600105>.

<sup>21</sup> Kuntowijoyo, *Perubahan Masyarakat Sosial Dalam Masyarakat Agraris Madura 1850-1940*.

(horseshoe) area, consisting of Pasuruan, Probolinggo, Banyuwangi, North Jember, Situbondo, Puger, Panarukan, Surabaya, Gresik, Sedayu,<sup>22</sup> Bondowoso, Lumajang, and some are in the Malang, Bawean, and others.

Despite rapid modernization and urbanization in last decade, Madurese society remain have a strong emphasis on preserving traditions and cultural values to maintain ethnicity unity and kinship. Traditions hold significant power and authority in shaping the Madurese way of life. Traditional value systems will probably continue to have an enduring impact because they are remarkably resilient and durable.<sup>23</sup> Pilgrimage traditions have long been a significant aspect of religious and cultural practices worldwide. In the case of Madura, an island in Indonesia with a strong Islamic heritage, the pilgrimage tradition holds particular importance and has undergone transformations over time.

In traditional societies, tradition has a normative nature, and its effectiveness is based on its continuity and stability. Modern society, on the other hand, is defined by the immense change in human experience rather than its continuity. This can be referred as a transformation.<sup>24</sup> This study focuses on the transformation of pilgrimage traditions in Madura and the factors contributing to its transformation. It investigates the essentialism in the pilgrimage celebration. Additionally, It examines the shift of Madurese preference towards umrah over the traditional pilgrimage, leading to the adaptation of pilgrimage celebrations for umrah festivities.

The incompatibility between new idea and action in the society create the negotiation among the Madurese pilgrim which resulting the sociocultural change in celebrating pilgrimage tradition. Therefore, the main actors of the study are the pilgrims who celebrate pilgrimage traditions and those who negotiate their

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<sup>22</sup> Abdur Rozaki, "Social Origin Dan Politik Kuasa Blater Di Madura," *Kyoto Review of Southeast Asia* December, no. 11 (2009), <https://kyotoreview.org/issue-11/social-origin-dan-politik-kuasa-blater-di-madura/>; Saxebøl, "The Madurese Ulama as Patrons."

<sup>23</sup> Ronald Inglehart and Wayne E. Baker, "Modernization, Cultural Change, and the Persistence of Traditional Values," *American Sociological Review* 65, no. 1 (February 2000): 31, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2657288>.

<sup>24</sup> Gottfried Wilhelm Locher, *Transformation and Tradition and Other Essays*, Translation Series - Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-Land- En Volkenkunde ; 18 (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1978), 169.

celebrations. Additionally, this study attempts to find out that the response to these transformations varies between urban and rural areas, with the former being more inclusive and open-minded, while the latter often perceives them as taboo. By testing the sociological assumptions derived from the fieldwork and deftly intertwining them with Weber's rationality theory, this study stresses the internal dynamic of Madurese society and its inherent dialectic of change. As a consequence, this interdisciplinary study addresses concerns from multiple disciplines, including political science, history, rural sociology, sociopsychology, socioeconomic studies, economic anthropology, and Islamic studies. By examining the Madurese perception of pilgrimage as an integral aspect of completing their Islamic faith and the contestations and surrounding pilgrimage celebrations, this research aims to provide insights into the social phenomena occurring within Madurese society.

## **1.2 Research Objectives**

I will utilize the following research objective in consideration of the topic:

1. To assess how Madurese current perception of celebrating pilgrimage tradition has been transformed.
2. To investigate the tension of Madurese between preserving and negotiating the pilgrimage tradition in the modernization era.
3. To identify the factors contributing to the changes in the celebration of the tradition.

## **1.3 Research Questions**

I will employ the following research questions:

1. What is the significance of pilgrimage and its celebrations in Madurese society?
2. How has the celebration of pilgrimage tradition has been transformed?
3. What factors are contributing to this transformation?

## 1.4 Literature Review

The discourse surrounding the Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca, known as Hajj, is a multifaceted conversation that encompasses diverse viewpoints from scholars and researchers across various fields. Al-Ajarma underlines Hajj as a cornerstone of Islamic practice, emphasizing its significance for physically and financially capable adults. The pilgrimage, Al-Ajarma contends, offers a transformative experience that elevates moral comfort within the complexity of everyday life.<sup>25</sup> Mcloughlin discusses the dimension of globalization, suggesting that the "authenticity" of being present at Hajj is increasingly influenced by globalized media and consumer culture.<sup>26</sup>

This resonates with the shifting imaginations of British-Pakistani Muslims, as discussed by Mcloughlin, who suggests that evolving historical, social, and cultural factors are shaping the pilgrimage experience and religiosity. Damari and Mansfeld present a nuanced typology of pilgrims, tracing the evolution from traditional to post-postmodern pilgrims, highlighting the intricate interplay between pilgrim identity and the pilgrimage environment.<sup>27</sup> The examination by Calendar et al of a tourist pilgrim continuum introduces an intriguing perspective, categorizing pilgrims based on their religiosity and touristic behavior. Thimm and Kenny contribute insights into how pilgrimage interacts with modernity and business endeavors, showing how religious practices are intertwined with economic and identity-building factors.

In terms of gender dynamics, Karic observes the shifting roles of Bosnian women in pilgrimage, reflecting broader changes in societal norms. Hasan delves into the economic sacrifices and social reverence associated with Hajj among Madurese Muslims. Ruski et al discuss shifts in consumption behaviors and celebrations, indicative of the complex interplay between tradition and modernity.

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<sup>25</sup> Al-Ajarma, "Mecca in Morocco."

<sup>26</sup> Seán Mcloughlin, "Contesting Muslim Pilgrimage: British-Pakistani Identities, Sacred Journeys to Makkah and Madinah, and the Global Postmodern," 2009, 40.

<sup>27</sup> Claudia Damari and Yoel Mansfeld, "Reflections on Pilgrims' Identity, Role and Interplay with the Pilgrimage Environment," *Current Issues in Tourism* 19, no. 3 (February 23, 2016): 199–222, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2014.957660>.

Buitelaar introduces the notion of honorific titles and their relation to age in the context of pilgrimage.<sup>28</sup>

Madura may not be the only one to have the unique pilgrimage in Indonesia. There are various kinds of traditions in various regions in Indonesia in organizing the pilgrimage celebration, with its own uniqueness. Such as the Sasak with the tradition of visiting the tombs of *sunan* before leaving for pilgrimage, and praying for the pilgrims every Friday evening.<sup>29</sup> The Javanese society has *Tilik Kaji* tradition; a tradition of picking up and dropping off pilgrims.<sup>30</sup> Bugis tradition, locals do not visit the pilgrim house; instead, pilgrims are invited to locals' houses.<sup>31</sup> Bugis pilgrims wear bright and shiny clothes with lavish make-up, while male pilgrims often adopt traditional Saudi Arabian dress, wearing turbans and white robes.<sup>32</sup> In South Sulawesi, rotating savings and credit group (*arisan*) is being practiced to assist those members to pay the cost of the pilgrimage.<sup>33</sup> Maluku held Bim Sorry or ritual held by members of family pilgrim to slaughter sacrificial animals such as goat.<sup>34</sup> In sum, these diverse traditions, despite their variations, all share a common objective, which is to prioritize the well-being, enthusiasm, and safety of the pilgrims throughout their pilgrimage journey. The rituals are carried out with the intention of seeking the pleasures and blessings of God, while at the same time expressing the hope that the pilgrims will maintain good health and experience a successful and secure return to their homeland.

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<sup>28</sup> Marjo Buitelaar, Manja Stephan-Emmrich, and Viola Thimm, *Muslim Women's Pilgrimage to Mecca and Beyond: Reconfiguring Gender, Religion, and Mobility*, 1st ed. (London: Routledge, 2020), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003110903>.

<sup>29</sup> Agus Mulyono, ed., *Tradisi haji dalam masyarakat beberapa daerah di Indonesia*, Cetakan pertama (Jakarta: Puslitbang Bimas Agama dan Layanan Keagamaan, Badan Litbang dan Diklat, Kementerian Agama RI, 2018).

<sup>30</sup> Althaf Husein Muzakky, "Tradisi Tilik pada Masyarakat Jawa dalam Sorotan Living Hadis," *Substantia: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 23, no. 1 (April 30, 2021), <https://doi.org/10.22373/substantia.v23i1.8499>.

<sup>31</sup> Suf Kasman, "Tradisi Jamaah Haji Orang Bugis Sepulang dari Tanah Suci Mekkah (Perspektif Kompas TV Makassar)," *Jurnalisa*, 2019.

<sup>32</sup> Kasman.

<sup>33</sup> Selo Soemardjan, Kennon Breazeale, and Godwin C. Chu, *Cultural Change in Rural Indonesia: Impact of Village Development* (Kentingang, Surakarta, Indonesia: Sebelas Maret University Press in cooperation with Yayasan Ilmu-Ilmu Social, Jakarta, [and] East-West Center, Honolulu, 1993), 161–62.

<sup>34</sup> Albahtar Borut, "Tradisi Proses Persiapan Pelaksanaan Ibadah Haji Di Desa Ohoi Banda Ely Kecamatan Kei Besar Utara Timur." (IAIN Ambon, 2021).

Contrary to the assertion that resistance to change in pilgrimage celebrations would be misleading, the existing literature demonstrates that cultural traditions and practices often exhibit a high degree of continuity. Society and customs are not inherently dynamic entities, and change in pilgrimage celebrations is not an inherent part of human existence. Rather, traditions tend to be upheld and maintained over time, with modifications occurring only in response to specific circumstances or external influences. In line with Locher statement that transformation as a part of tradition.<sup>35</sup> In reality, traditional pilgrimage celebrations tend to be exclusive with strict adherence to established rituals and practices. In addition, the notion of an inclusive approach that discusses the nowadays negotiation due to abilities of individuals while maintaining the essence and meaning of tradition is largely ignored in literature on pilgrimage celebration.

While cultural traditions and practices often exhibit continuity, society and customs are not static entities. Change is an inherent part of human existence, including in the realm of pilgrimage celebrations. Rudolph state that tradition and modernization are not mutually exclusive forces; rather, they are mutually constitutive, influencing and being influenced by one another. Societies evolve over time, influenced by factors such as globalization, increased connectivity, and exposure to multiple influences. As a consequence, pilgrimage celebrations may undergo modifications or adaptations to accommodate changing needs, preferences, or circumstances. Recently there has been an adjustment taking into account the capabilities of each individual in Madurese society which need to be explore. It has been proven that there has been a shift in rituals in another ethnicities such as the Sasak society, in terms of the duration of the activity. In the past, not following traditional practices would trigger community discussion and scrutiny.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Locher, *Transformation and Tradition and Other Essays*, 170–73.

<sup>36</sup> Siti Maryam, “Tradisi Selakaran Sebagai Ritual Haji di Desa Kembang Kerang Daya Nusa Tenggara Barat,” *QOF* 4, no. 2 (December 15, 2020): 139–54, <https://doi.org/10.30762/qof.v4i2.2148>.

The traditional society was conceived as being fundamentally opposed to what was considered to be a modern society.<sup>37</sup> According to Ruski, consumption behavior to celebrate traditions from the perspective of local cultural values in Bangkalan Madura is still quite strong with a traditional societal mindset.<sup>38</sup> Eventually, this demonstrates that Madurese is a traditional society. In addition, this statement is strengthened by Pribadi argument that Madurese society has history rejects industrialization, in this case, the Nipah dam and Suramadu bridge. This rejection of modernization was intended not only to protect Islamic principles, but also because the plans could have a direct impact on religious authority, as well as social, political, economic, and cultural authority.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, Sayono also argues that the rapid advancement of technology in the globalization era has not resulted in the traditional art of Ketoprak Rukun Karya losing its identity. As a result, it can be said that Madurese was initially an ethnic group that was resistant to modernization.<sup>40</sup>

The problem lies when Ruski also claims that as technology has advanced, some people experience a shift in consumer behavior based on local cultural values.<sup>41</sup> Subsequently, Susanto asserts that modernism eliminated Madurese local wisdom and traditions.<sup>42</sup> As evident, many Madurese were unable to communicate with fine lexical Madurese, and so on. This paradoxical statement shows that there is the possibility of the influence of modernization on Madurese. While Madurese

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<sup>37</sup> Lele, ed., "Bhakti Tradition and Modernization: The Case of Lingayatism," in *Tradition and Modernity in Bhakti Movements* (BRILL, 1981), 72–82, [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004477964\\_007](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004477964_007).

<sup>38</sup> Ruski Ruski, Octaviana Arisinta, and Aldila Septiana, "Tinjauan Perilaku Konsumsi dari Perspektif Nilai-nilai Budaya Lokal Kabupaten Bangkalan Madura," *Develop* 1, no. 2 (October 9, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.25139/dev.v1i2.383>.

<sup>39</sup> Pribadi, *Islam, State and Society in Indonesia*.

<sup>40</sup> Joko Sayono et al., "Staging Local Art: Transnational History of *Ketoprak Rukun Karya* in Outer Island Madura in The Age of Globalization:" (International Joint Conference on Arts and Humanities 2021 (IJCAH 2021), Surabaya, Indonesia, 2022), <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.211223.128>.

<sup>41</sup> Ruski Ruski, Octaviana Arisinta, and Aldila Septiana, "Tinjauan Perilaku Konsumsi dari Perspektif Nilai-nilai Budaya Lokal Kabupaten Bangkalan Madura," *Develop* 1, no. 2 (October 9, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.25139/dev.v1i2.383>.

<sup>42</sup> Edi Susanto, "Ekspresi Kreatif ala Orang Madura Perspektif Teori Konstruktivisme," no. 2 (2010).

are seems to be traditional-orthodox Islam,<sup>43</sup> Sumenep regencies are one of the Madura regencies with many traditions with a strong emphasis on the preservation of local traditions.<sup>44</sup> On the other hand, modern society is marked by profound changes in human existence, known as transformation.<sup>45</sup> New questions and reinterpretations of various aspects of modernity always emerged within all societies.<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, this research will this research intends to find out minorities impacted by modernization as well as Madurese who continue to celebrate the pilgrimage tradition in Madura. In consequence, additionally this study attempts to examine the factor some Madurese is currently challenged by influence of modernization which bring a shift to celebrating an alternative way to celebrate pilgrimage tradition.

Different types of pilgrimage traditions are observed in each region of Indonesia.<sup>47</sup> Every region's tradition is unique in its way. Madura, an island that has been Islamized since the sixteenth century, has developed a distinct Javanese-Islamic mixed culture influenced by various external forces, including Dutch and British colonization, Chinese trade, and Islamic religious values.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, Madura has its uniqueness in celebrating pilgrimage traditions. Some descriptive elaboration of the pilgrimage tradition in rural areas and specific areas of Madurese society has been discussed by a few research, for instance, Firdaus describes the pilgrimage celebration tradition among Madurese people living in Sidotopo, Semampir sub-district, Surabaya City, whereas Rosyid describes the hajj traditions in Mandala, Bujur Tengah Village, Batu Marmar District, Pamekasan Regency,

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<sup>43</sup> Pribadi, *Islam, State and Society in Indonesia*, 21.

<sup>44</sup> Sayono et al., "Staging Local Art."

<sup>45</sup> Locher, *Transformation and Tradition and Other Essays*, 169.

<sup>46</sup> S. N. Eisenstadt, ed., *Multiple Modernities* (New Brunswick, N.J: Transaction Publishers, 2002).

<sup>47</sup> Kasman, "Tradisi Jamaah Haji Orang Bugis Sepulang dari Tanah Suci Mekkah (Perspektif Kompas TV Makassar)"; Yayan Suryana, "TRADISI PAMITAN HAJI PADA MASYARAKAT MUSLIM PURWOMARTANI KALASAN YOGYAKARTA:" 8, no. 1 (2013); Muhammad Irfan Syuhudi, "Ritual Berangkat Haji Masyarakat Muslim Gorontalo," *Al-Qalam* 25, no. 1 (July 8, 2019): 1, <https://doi.org/10.31969/alq.v25i1.726>; Yudi Ultra, Ivan Sunata, and Ahmad Khairul Nuzuli, "Studi Deskriptif Pesan Dakwah Dalam Tradisi Tale Naik Haji Di Desa Penawar Kecamatan Sitingjau Laut Kabupaten Kerinci," 2022.

<sup>48</sup> Pribadi, *Islam, State and Society in Indonesia*, 10.

East Java.<sup>49</sup> However, the majority of the research on social construction and the social status gained in Madurese society occurred in pilgrims' post-pilgrimage symbolization. Meanwhile, Dani described the umrah in Madura as being nearly identical to the pilgrimage.<sup>50</sup> However, these studies are only discussed in an elaborative way in the preceding studies. Meanwhile, this study will be more in-depth and analytical rather than descriptive, with a broader scope that seeks to investigate the pilgrimage tradition of Madurese society on Madura Island as well as the explore impact of modernization in celebrating the tradition. I will show that pilgrimage celebration in Madura society is a complex, dynamic process involving interaction, negotiation, and transformation of traditional elements amidst modern influence. The relationship between tradition and modernity is dynamic, with traditional elements being reinterpreted, transformed, or rejected. However, this process has not completely abandoned tradition, as values and practices are revitalized or incorporated into the modern context.

What I have learned from works mentioned here is that there is a lack of scholarship dealing specifically with the development of pilgrimage celebration, pilgrim negotiation, current local perceptions of this tradition and the factor of its shift. Therefore, in order to respond to the above issues, this study attempts to answer question related to those specific features and contribute to the discussions on tradition and transformation in Indonesian society in Madura during the previous and present one.

## **1.5 Theoretical Framework**

Research paradigms offer a variety of linkages between ideas, social experiences or and social reality.<sup>51</sup> Theoretical frameworks are used to achieve the same objectives, including assisting the researcher to comprehend the important variables

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<sup>49</sup> Firdaus, "Konstruksi Sosial Budaya Mengenai Haji Pada Masyarakat Madura di Kelurahan Sidotopo, Kecamatan Semampir, Kota Surabaya."

<sup>50</sup> Akhmad Anwar Dani and Muhammad Munadi, "Makna Umrah bagi Muslim Madura," 2022.

<sup>51</sup> Norman Blaikie, *Approaches to Social Enquiry: Advancing Knowledge*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Polity, 2007).

and concepts in a specific study, providing a general approach, and assisting the researcher in data collection, interpretation, and explanation.<sup>52</sup>

The pilgrimage celebration in Madura in terms of its multiple stage has been analyzed using Arnold van Gennep's theoretical framework of rites, which includes three distinct stages: preliminal rites (rite of separation), liminal rites (rite of transition), and postliminal rites (rite of incorporation). Separation denotes the individual's departure from their prior role, while margin denotes the period during which they have not yet entered the new role, and incorporation denotes their reintegration into society.<sup>53</sup> This framework has been used to provides comprehension of the pilgrimage celebration's practices, traditions, and social processes, as well as its importance in Madurese society.

The preliminary rites, or the rite of separation, mark the beginning of the pilgrimage celebration in Madura. This stage involves the preparation and departure of the pilgrims from their local community. It includes various rituals and traditions aimed at spiritually and mentally preparing the pilgrims for their journey. These rituals often involve prayers, blessings, and symbolic acts of leaving behind their regular lives and entering a sacred and transformative space.

The liminal rites, or the rites of transition, represent the central phase of the pilgrimage celebration. This stage occurs during the pilgrimage itself, where the pilgrims enter a state of liminality, a threshold between their ordinary lives and the sacred realm of the pilgrimage. Here, the pilgrims engage in intense religious practices, such as prayers and visits to holy sites. This liminal stage is characterized by a sense of collective identity among the pilgrims, as they share a common purpose and undergo spiritual transformation.

Lastly, the post liminal rites, or the rites of incorporation, mark the concluding phase of the pilgrimage celebration. This stage occurs upon the pilgrims' return to their local community. It involves the pilgrims' reintegration into their regular lives,

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<sup>52</sup> Sitwala Imenda, "Is There a Conceptual Difference between Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks?," *Journal of Social Sciences* 38, no. 2 (February 2014): 185–95, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09718923.2014.11893249>.

<sup>53</sup> Arnold Van Gennep et al., *The Rites of Passage, Second Edition* (University of Chicago Press, 2019), xviii, <https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226629520.001.0001>.

incorporating the transformative experiences and spiritual growth gained from the pilgrimage.

Subsequently, the transformational experiences associated with each stage has been analyzed by employing Weber's theories of rationality. Weber's theory in Protestant ethics suggests the rise of capitalist values and beliefs may lead to the decline in traditional religious practices and beliefs as people become more focused on accumulating wealth and achieving success in the capitalist system. Weber defines capitalism as a rationalization process in which economic decisions are based on calculated and efficient means to achieve a specific end, such as profit maximization. Being that Weber's Substantive rationality, on the other hand, focuses on the role of values and norms in shaping human behavior. Therefore, I utilized Max Weber's theory of substantive rationality in this research. According to Weber, substantive rationality refers to actions that are guided by a person's values, beliefs, and emotions rather than solely by calculated means-ends reasoning.

Concerning pilgrimage celebration in Madurese society, some people may continue to celebrate the pilgrimage tradition as a form of showing identity as a Muslim, while others may negotiate to celebrate it, however, they just carry it out as an Islamic tradition that must be respected. Overall, I attempt to investigate the tension and negotiation of Madurese pilgrim.

## **1.6 Research Significance**

This fieldwork research is contributing to the study of social change in Muslim society in its socio-religious life which need to be explored as an ever-changing phenomenon. Understanding the transformation of pilgrimage celebrations in Madura has broader implications for understanding of social change, cultural dynamics, and the influence of authority on cultural practices within society.

During the nineteenth century, the Dutch government viewed Muslim preachers with suspicion, fearing their potential to incite rebellions in the Dutch East Indies. With the dissolution of institutional authority, *kiai* (religious leaders) and pilgrims emerged as trusted figures for the Muslim community. As the longing to visit Mecca intensified, colonial authorities closely monitored these new

religious authorities. Notably, Madurese pilgrims received positive appraisals, being perceived as peaceful individuals with less prominence in society at that time. In Madura, pilgrims are esteemed not only for their religious knowledge but also for their business arguments, highlighting their economic influence within the community.

While the colonial era focused primarily on political influences that could challenge their authority, it is essential to recognize that the influence of pilgrims extended beyond direct political power. This study aims to explore the economic power of pilgrims in Madura, acknowledging that the transformation of pilgrimage celebrations cannot be solely attributed to economic factors. Numerous studies have emphasized the role of pilgrimage in increasing social status, prompting the question of how individuals perceive and attain social status despite lacking significant societal power? By demonstrating the influential role of pilgrims as agents of change, particularly within the economic domain, this research seeks to shed light on their capacity to initiate social change and contribute to a deeper understanding of their influential role.

The pilgrimage tradition in Madura is closely related to economic activities, considering the high costs associated with the tradition. The Pilgrims engage in negotiations with the community, striving to minimize the financial burdens of the pilgrimage while ensuring its substantive essence. It is within this context that the study seeks to examine the validity of social status in relation to the transformation of pilgrimage celebrations. By investigating the tension in the negotiation process and the persistence of pilgrims who prefer not to be recognized for their social status after performing the pilgrimage, this research highlights the complex dynamics surrounding the celebration of pilgrimage practices. This study will contribute to existing scholarships by shedding light on the role and influence of pilgrims as agents of change, particularly within the economic domain. It will also explore the negotiation processes and tensions surrounding the celebration of pilgrimage practices in Madura. The findings of this study will enhance our understanding of the influential power of pilgrims, their social status, and their ability to shape and influence society.

## 1.7 Research Methodology

The internal observations and ‘insider’ or the researcher were involved in a close relationship with the respondents<sup>54</sup> of the Madurese society has been employed in this study. It was examined through utilizing the interpretive sociology approach which assumes that the explanation of empirical phenomena must be investigated first into the meanings that people understand and make sense of them.<sup>55</sup> I used this approach to gain deeper understanding of pilgrimage celebration and how this tradition is shaped by social context as well as to observe the transformation of Madurese pilgrimage celebration. In addition, in order to explore historical information, library research was conducted in a number of libraries such as National Library of Indonesia, KITLV-Jakarta, Erasmus Huis, and Library of Universitas Islam Internasional Indonesia (special thanks to Prof. M.C. Ricklefs’ collection).

Data collection, analysis, and generalization are the fundamental steps in an inductive research project.<sup>56</sup> Therefore, this inductive research will be used data triangulation method or involves different sources of data.<sup>57</sup> An in-depth interview requires determining the veracity of information.<sup>58</sup> Therefore, to intend extensive data, I was conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with snowball sampling of Madurese which consist of two informants who have completed the pilgrimage at different times: first, Madurese informants who still celebrate pilgrimage tradition, and second, Madurese informants who negotiate to do not celebrate pilgrimage tradition in common way. All of them located in Sumenep regency with different gender and age, socio-economic background, different education level, as well as different occupation and last, three cultural practitioners (*budayawan*) in

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<sup>54</sup> Blaikie, *Approaches to Social Enquiry*.

<sup>55</sup> Lee Ann Fujii, *Interviewing in Social Science Research: A Relational Approach*, 1 Edition, Routledge Series on Interpretive Methods (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2018).

<sup>56</sup> Blaikie, *Approaches to Social Enquiry*.

<sup>57</sup> Lisa A Guion, “Triangulation: Establishing the Validity of Qualitative Studies,” 2002.

<sup>58</sup> Lisa M. Given, ed., *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods* (Los Angeles, Calif: Sage Publications, 2008).

Madura. I utilized Bahasa Indonesia as a language to interact with the participant as well as *Madhureh* or natives of the Madura language to get more responses and flexibility to gain data.

This research based on my fieldwork from January 2022 until February 2022 as well as extra ethnographic fieldwork from February until July 2023. To collect data, I did participant observation by joining the pilgrimage celebration. Additionally, I conducted an in-depth interview with local Madurese as well the pilgrims to get valuable information and wider knowledge on their perception and experiences related to pilgrimage celebrations. I was able interviewed nine Madurese informants who still celebrate pilgrimage tradition, and second, nine Madurese informants who prefer not to celebrate pilgrimage tradition in common way, seven individuals from local that have attended the pilgrimage celebration as well two cultural practitioner of Madurese.

It should be noted that this research only focus on the Madurese living on Sumenep regency of Madura island due to my limited ability to reach informants conveniently. The questions has been asked to the participants: Why do you celebrate pilgrimage traditions? How do you see the influence of modernization on pilgrimage tradition? Can you describe specific changes you have observed in the way to celebrates pilgrimage tradition is being practiced in Madurese society? How do you think these changes influence the way people in Madurese society perceive the celebration of pilgrimage tradition? Are there any other specific traditions or practices that you feel have been lost or changed due to modernization? How do these changes influence Madurese? How do you think the Madurese society is adapting to these changes? Can you tell me about any personal experiences or observations you have about these changes in Madurese society? Do you think it is still relevant to celebrate the pilgrimage tradition lavishly? Why Madurese tends to celebrate the event lavishly? Is by celebrating the pilgrimage tradition have a great impact on your social standing in society? can elevate your social status in society?

## CHAPTER II

### PILGRIMAGE TRADITION IN MADURESE SOCIETY

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter delves an exploration into the phenomenon of pilgrimage celebration within the Madurese society. However, prior to embarking upon this study, it is imperative to engage in a comprehensive discussion regarding the significance of pilgrimage for Madurese. By focusing on the Madurese perception of pilgrimage, it will establish a conceptual framework upon which our subsequent analysis of pilgrimage celebrations among the Madurese.

Pilgrimages are life-changing events for active members of religious societies in most religion.<sup>59</sup> For the Madurese people, pilgrimage holds immense importance as a lifelong aspiration and a valued leisure activity within Madurese society. It is considered an essential and sacred obligation to complete their Islamic faith. The chapter explores how pilgrimage serves as a transformative and life-changing event for active members of religious societies, in this case, the Madurese society. During the colonial era, pilgrimage journeys to the Mecca were lengthy and costly due to limited transportation options available.<sup>60</sup> As a result, pilgrims hold celebrations to demonstrate their happiness. While on other hand, it is an expression of respect from locals for performing pilgrimage and pilgrims. Consequently, carrying out the pilgrimage tradition is important for the Madurese as carrying out the pilgrimage itself; even if the costs of carrying out the pilgrimage are sometimes greater than the pilgrimage itself.

The chapter examines how pilgrimage traditions and practices have become an essential part of Madurese cultural heritage, reflecting their unique fusion of Islam and local values. It delves into the role of pilgrimage in fostering a sense of

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<sup>59</sup> Arvavolgyi and Sagi, "Pilgrimage and Its Perception in a Local Religious Community."

<sup>60</sup> Akhmad Syaekhu Rakhman and Fahmi Hidayat, "Perjalanan Ibadah Haji Masyarakat Jawa Pada Masa Kolonial," *WIKSA:Prosiding Pendidikan Sejarah 1* (2022): 168–69.

belonging, pride, and shared identity among the Madurese society. The impact of pilgrimage on Madurese society goes beyond individual experiences. The collective participation in pilgrimage celebration cultivates a sense of community, solidarity, and spiritual connectedness among the Madurese. It investigates how pilgrimage celebrations contribute to social cohesion and strengthen the Madurese society. Madurese have positive ethics values embedded in Madurese society that make this society famous for their inter-ethnic social bonds. Positive values which receive less attention than the stereotypes of Madurese society which tend to be negative stereotype such as violence,<sup>61</sup> impolite<sup>62</sup> and others.

It is interesting to note that plenty of prior research claims that pilgrimage has a vital function in raising social standing in society.<sup>63</sup> In Madurese society, pilgrimage indirectly contributes to the improvement of an individual's credibility both materially and religiously successful person. As consequence, I argue that pilgrimage traditions contribute and have a substantial impact on the social status that pilgrims achieve, since the pilgrimage is a public form of prayer that includes members of society in its process by incorporating locals nearby.

The pilgrimage traditions are generally observed in Madura society in general subdivided into three stages: Pre-pilgrimage (*nganter ajjiyen*) or pilgrimage tradition carried out for the pilgrims before departure, the event held the night before departure, and on the day of departure. Additionally, the neighbor often taking initiative to escort the pilgrims using the best attire as well as renting a vehicle using their funds. Second, mid-pilgrimage (*selametan*) or the event during the pilgrimage for 40 days whilst the family of the pilgrim recites Quran for the safety of the pilgrim. And Last post-pilgrimage (*ngambe ajjiyen*) or tradition to welcome the pilgrim and parade the pilgrims from the airport into their houses also organizing the welcoming ceremony for the pilgrims. However, in this chapter pilgrimage tradition will be elaborated upon Genep's theory and divided into

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<sup>61</sup> Yanwar Pribadi, "Islam and Politics in Madura: Ulama and Other Local Leaders in Search of Influence (1990-2010)" (Leiden University, 2013), 83.

<sup>62</sup> Huub de Jonge, "Stereotypes of the Madurese," *KITLV Press*, 1995, 11.

<sup>63</sup> Al-Ajarma, "Mecca in Morocco," 103; Zainuddin, "HAJI DAN STATUS SOSIAL," December 30, 2013, 179; Moh Fathor Rosyid, "Habitus Haji Madura" (2017), 108.

three: preliminal rites (rite of separation), liminal rites (rite of transition) and postliminal rite (rite of incorporation).<sup>64</sup>

## 2.2 The Nature of Pilgrimage Among the Madurese

Pilgrimages are life-changing events for active members of religious societies in most religion. Pilgrimage celebration hold cultural and religious significance in diverse societies worldwide which rooted in religious belief as well as local customs. Pilgrimage celebration of Madurese explores the spiritual, social and communal dimension by highlighting their unique celebrations. The pilgrimage, moreover is identical with the pilgrimage season (Ied Adha), which begins in the month of Dzu al-Hijjah (*ré rajah*); the pilgrimage season. The event is extensively celebrated in most Muslim society including Madura society. Barriers and class disparities appear to dissolve during the celebration, and the rich-poor split in social strata does not emerge. The rich tends to apologize to the poor and vice versa.

The Madurese adorned in new attire, Muslim headwear (*kopiah*), sarongs, and sandals in *tellasan ajih* (Ied Adha) exudes an aura of positivity and vibrancy. Concurrently, a food feast is organized by the society, serving as a communal bond-forging endeavor. This spirit of togetherness extends to a *ter-ater*<sup>65</sup> custom, where the act of gifting items, predominantly food, to proximate family members and neighbors reinforces the interconnectedness within the Madurese society.

Islam and the Madurese are inseparable units due to their strong bond.<sup>66</sup> Islam as a religion dominates and is culturally embedded in every aspect of local life<sup>67</sup> and become a crucial orientation, the main source of knowledge, and social order.<sup>68</sup> They are presumed to be pure and traditional Muslims.<sup>69</sup> Therefore,

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<sup>64</sup> Arnold Van Gennep et al., *The Rites of Passage*, 17. pr (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 11.

<sup>65</sup> See More Moh Wardi, "Tradisi Ter-ater dan Dampak Ekonomi bagi Masyarakat Madura," 2013, 49.

<sup>66</sup> Pribadi, *Islam, State and Society in Indonesia*.

<sup>67</sup> Mahfud, "Islam, State and Society in Indonesia; Local Politics in Madura"; Pribadi, *Islam, State and Society in Indonesia*.

<sup>68</sup> Lucking, "'Arabness' as Social Capital in Madura," 10.

<sup>69</sup> Saxebøl, "The Madurese Ulama as Patrons."

performing pilgrimage is one of the priorities for the Madurese to complete the five pillars of Islam.<sup>70</sup> The long waiting period indicates the high enthusiasm for Madurese to register for pilgrimage.<sup>71</sup>

Performing pilgrimage is prestige for Madurese. Most Madurese considers the pilgrimage as a part of their life aspiration,<sup>72</sup> a goal of life, a necessity, and a complement to life.<sup>73</sup> Almost all of Madurese have a big desire to perform pilgrimage.<sup>74</sup> The pilgrimage is no longer just a religious obligation and expresses their identity as Muslims, but it also becomes a cultural identity. Thus, it can be said that the pilgrimage is a type of religious devotion that has special significance for the Madurese people.

The Madurese believe that by performing the pilgrimage, they will get the legitimacy of authority in society<sup>75</sup> which will be repaid once the pilgrimage is completed. This remains the same for pilgrims who did not previously hold a status in society; after performing the pilgrimage and receiving the title of Hajj, these pilgrims feel they are equally affluent and pious as those who had previously held a position in society.<sup>76</sup>

The power of sacralization and commercialization of religious travel contributes to the 'leisure' aspect of pilgrimage.<sup>77</sup> Consequently, pilgrimage also becomes a popular leisure activity among Madurese, particularly among the elites;

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<sup>70</sup> Firdaus, "Konstruksi Sosial Budaya Mengenai Haji Pada Masyarakat Madura di Kelurahan Sidotopo, Kecamatan Semampir, Kota Surabaya."

<sup>71</sup> Lucking, "'Arabness' as Social Capital in Madura," 10.

<sup>72</sup> Zainuddin, "H," December 30, 2013, 169.

<sup>73</sup> Lutfia, "Pengelolaan Keuangan Wanita Perantau Etnis Madura."

<sup>74</sup> Hasan, "Religiusitas dan Perilaku Konsumsi Perspektif Islam (Studi pada Masyarakat Perantau Madura)," 17.

<sup>75</sup> Firdaus, "Konstruksi Sosial Budaya Mengenai Haji Pada Masyarakat Madura di Kelurahan Sidotopo, Kecamatan Semampir, Kota Surabaya"; Kuntowijoyo, *Perubahan Masyarakat Sosial Dalam Masyarakat Agraris Madura 1850-1940*; Zainuddin, "HAJI DAN STATUS SOSIAL," December 30, 2013.

<sup>76</sup> Firdaus, "Konstruksi Sosial Budaya Mengenai Haji Pada Masyarakat Madura di Kelurahan Sidotopo, Kecamatan Semampir, Kota Surabaya"; M Imam Zamroni, "Kekuasaan Juragan dan Kiai di Madura," no. 2 (2007).

<sup>77</sup> Yunus Kalender and Berna Tari Kasnakoglu, "Understanding Hajj Travel: A Dynamic Identity Perspective," *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 20, no. 4 (July 4, 2022): 565–82, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14766825.2021.1953046>.

they perform the pilgrimage more than once.<sup>78</sup> The pilgrimage journey remains special value for the Madurese and is a life-changing experience for the Madurese people.

After returning from pilgrimage, some Madurese pilgrims keep the ihram cloth that has been cleansed with zam zam water in the expectation that it can be used for pilgrimage again or at least for Umrah. Likewise, Madurese with low wages will consistently save money to perform pilgrimage as they are known for their tenacity and frugality;<sup>79</sup> some even owe it.<sup>80</sup> Therefore, it is not astonishing that Madurese is forking out such a substantial sum of wealth for the cost of the pilgrimage<sup>81</sup> since the expenses for the pilgrimage cover both the costs of performing the actual journey (pilgrimage itself) and the costs of conducting the celebration of pilgrimage tradition.

Madurese firmly holds the pilgrimage celebration equally important as the pilgrimage itself. Madurese society places a high priority on preserving the tradition, to the point where pilgrims spend more cost on existing traditions than on the pilgrimage itself. This is because pilgrimage celebration is a part of their culture which also has a big impact on the social stratification and power legitimacy of Madurese pilgrims after performing pilgrimage, as well as Madurese, are proud to use this rite to demonstrate their ethnic identity. Identity itself aims to assert group distinctiveness and gain power and recognition.<sup>82</sup>

The high public interest to perform the pilgrimage is also related to local traditions and social status. Performing pilgrimage can elevate social status in Madurese society and how the elite Madurese, hajj becomes a social construction that can give them a higher status in the society, meanwhile for non-elite it becomes

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<sup>78</sup> Edi Susanto, "EKSPRESI REKREATIF ala ORANG MADURA PERSPEKTIF TEORI KONSTRUKTIVISME," no. 2 (2010).

<sup>79</sup> Rochana, "Orang Madura."

<sup>80</sup> Saifuddin, "Hutang Palean: Studi Terhadap Perilaku Masyarakat Desa Prancak Kecamatan Pasongsongan Kabupaten Sumenep Madura" 9 (2017), <https://ejournal.uin-suka.ac.id/syariah/azzarqa/article/view/1431/1238>.

<sup>81</sup> Zainuddin, "HAJI DAN STATUS SOSIAL," December 30, 2013.

<sup>82</sup> Yanwar Pribadi, "Sekolah Islam (Islamic Schools) as Symbols of Indonesia's Urban Muslim Identity," *TRaNS: Trans -Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia*, July 29, 2021, 1–16, <https://doi.org/10.1017/trn.2021.15>.

a prestige to perform pilgrimage. It is a source of pride to be a pilgrim. The term pilgrimage and all the symbols connected with this worship are one of society's advantages, especially in a culture with a distinct class, identity, and social position from others.<sup>83</sup>

Moreover, the significance of the pilgrimage in Madura transcends the mere historical and social spheres. Beyond the spiritual sojourn to Mecca, this pilgrimage becomes a catalyst for an intricate of associated traditions, customs, cultural expressions, and social-religious activities. Consequently, the pilgrimage celebration permeates not only the designated season but spreads across an extended temporal spectrum, leaving an indelible imprint on both the pilgrims and the broader society.

In general, the pilgrimage celebration emerges as a microcosm of the intricate interweaving of religious devotion, cultural expressions, and societal dynamics. The pilgrimage acts as a bridge that unites individuals from diverse backgrounds under the common umbrella of faith and shared experiences. It showcases how these profound spiritual journeys transcend the boundaries of Mecca, permeating the very essence of Madurese life and enriching its tapestry with layers of meaning, unity and communal celebration.

### **2.3 Separation Phase of Pilgrimage Tradition**

In the unique socio-cultural milieu of Madura, Indonesia, a captivating and distinctive ritual precedes the departure of hajj pilgrims, offering a fascinating lens into the local community's values, beliefs, and social dynamics. This pre-departure event, characterized by its spiritual significance and communal bonding, is a nuanced expression of Madurese identity. The ritual unfolds as a solemn yet celebratory affair, with its origins intertwined with the historical context of long and arduous pilgrimages undertaken by the Madurese faithful. In past times, the

journey to Hajj spanned months, posing considerable physical and emotional challenges.

Rites of separation, margin, and inclusion are the three rites of passage identified by Van Gennep. Separation denotes the individual's departure from their prior role, while margin denotes the period during which they have not yet entered the new role, and incorporation denotes their reintegration into society.<sup>84</sup> Separation phase involves the individual's detachment from previous role as the beginning of transition; in Madurese pilgrimage celebrations it involves *Slametan* and *Ngater Ajjiyen*. The Madurese prepared a *Slametan* celebration or the event generally conducted a few weeks before departure<sup>85</sup> which included a recital of the Qur'an and a prayer. This pilgrimage ritual performed to express gratitude and hope for the pilgrim's safety and health during the pilgrimage. In Addition, *Ngater Ajjiyen* is a or pilgrimage tradition carried out for the pilgrim on the day of departure. Additionally, the neighbor often taking initiative to escort the pilgrims using the best attire as well as renting a vehicle using their funds.

Some of Prospective pilgrims who adhere to the *Kejawen* tradition are compelled to stay outside their home on the night before departure if their birthday is considered bad luck; nevertheless, if their birthday is considered good luck, they are not obligated to do so.<sup>86</sup> On the day of departure, the locals gathering at the prospective pilgrim's house. The house of the prospective pilgrim has been filled with locals since morning who want to take them and see the delivery procession. The gathering of people at the pilgrim's house reflects the close social ties between their strong desire and respect for pilgrims as pilgrimage for them is life of aspiration. This custom contributes to Madurese society's sense of unity and solidarity.

Prospective pilgrims usually sit on the terrace of the house welcoming the guests. Neighbors, close relatives, work colleagues came to the procession of escorting the pilgrim. While waiting for the *kiai* or religious figure to come, the

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<sup>84</sup> Van Gennep et al., *The Rites of Passage, Second Edition*, xviii.

<sup>85</sup> Interview with Afif

<sup>86</sup> Interview with Malhum Alhumaidy and Bashri

guests are exchanging news, they sit on the front of the house on carpet that has been provided and snacks and heavy dishes are distributed to the guests. When the *kiai* or religious leader who will lead the procession arrives, the guests begin to get ready to stand up and gather in the yard for the release procession and *talqin* ritual. The *talqin* ritual (a sort of prayer and ritual performed by Muslims on the departed body in a cemetery) itself usually associated with a corpse rite. Seeing as the majority of pilgrims are elderly and the pilgrimage ritual requires extra energy and great physical ability, the *azan*, *iqamat*, and *talqin* are recited as a custom form of letting go of family members who are going on pilgrimage, considering that there is a possibility of pilgrims not returning or passing away during the pilgrimage. The guests immediately stood up and formed a circle around the departing congregation.

In this case, I had the opportunity to directly take part in the pilgrimage release event, the cohesiveness of the community was immensely visible when everyone immediately rushed to stand up and gather in the yard. The male community gathered in the south and east, while the female gathered separately in the west and north. Due to the procession that I attended was a couple of prospective pilgrims, they deliberately invited one *kiai* and one *nyai* (the wife of the *kiai*) for this release procession. Male pilgrim is accompanied by *kiai*, while female pilgrims is accompanied by *nyai*. In this case, the process is led by a *nyai*. The reason I emphasize this is that due the *nyai* is more familiar to the local and her origin was in the village of Prenduan, Sumenep; the place of this procession happened. Subsequently, the procession begins by facing north, then when it reaches certain prayer, it moves to another position. Moving into various direction, from facing east, south and west until facing to the north direction again. It followed by a process of reciting the *alfatihah* three times. The first is a prayer for the prospective pilgrims, with the intention of making their devotion to becomes *hajj mabrur*. Second, ensuring that all business during the pilgrimage run well with the goal that pilgrims can return home without lacking anything, given that ritual actions are performed to ensure the safety of the pilgrims both during the journey and when they return. The third is directed to those who take part in the releasing parade of pilgrims. Hoping for get the same chance to perform the pilgrimage.

In the next procession, the *kiai* greets the male pilgrims followed by a *nyai* greets the female pilgrims right in the ears of the pilgrims who are about to leave. During this procession, the people were solemn, and some of them sobbed. Following the finish of the procession led by the *kiai* and *nyai*, everyone forming a circle dispersed to approach the pilgrims to shake and kiss their hands. They were competed to shake hands and respectably surround the pilgrims.

The Madurese, especially those in rural areas, voluntarily accompany the pilgrims. They wore their best clothes and were even ready to combine their funds to rent a pick-up car for the procession. This united endeavor underscores the deep ethnic unity and loyalty prevalent within Madurese society. Pilgrim often escorted by a convoy of automobiles and motorbikes led by a neighbor or family member. Guided by motorcycle riders, the pilgrim processes create a remarkable spectacle, with customized exhaust pipes producing thunderous sounds. These resounding noises capture the attention of numerous bystanders, and in turn, this tradition becomes a source of pride and distinction for the pilgrims, their families and the nearby neighborhoods. Once the pilgrims are transported to a designated location; specific city point or limited to the square, and typically only the family that shuttles the pilgrims to the airport. The motorbike riders who lead the convoy will receive compensation known as "cigarette money" or financial aid to cover their fuel expenses which indicates the reciprocity inherent in Madurese communal dynamics. Following the procession, the accompanying group returns to the pilgrims' abode to partake in a meal provided by the family. This communal escorting pilgrim experience further strengthens the sense of unity and offers support for the pilgrims' journey. However, it should be noted that the convoys that are held before the pilgrimage are not as lively as the convoys that are held when picking up the pilgrims. The communal gathering at the pilgrim's residence described in your text seems to be a significant cultural and social event that holds deep meaning within the Madurese community. It reflects the interconnectedness of individuals, their shared spiritual beliefs, and the collective identity of the Madurese people.

## 2.4 Liminal Phase of Pilgrimage Tradition

During this phase, the pilgrims are in a state of spiritual and symbolic liminality, detached from their previous social roles and norms. They are immersed in the sacred atmosphere of Mecca and undergo a transformative experience that shapes their religious identity and worldview. While Mid- Pilgrimage or *Selametan* is a tradition held during the pilgrimage season in which the pilgrim's family routinely performs the recital of the Qur'an for the pilgrim's safety. Some of them held it every night until the pilgrims returned from their journey. Initially, the pilgrims' families lighted the *dhamar korong*, a lamp meant to symbolize that the pilgrims were still in good health and that nothing unpleasant had occurred during their journey. Meanwhile, if the lamp goes out, the Madurese assume that the pilgrims suffer.<sup>87</sup> Therefore, pilgrim's family held this tradition to recite Quran and *tahlilan* in order to send prayers for the pilgrim.<sup>88</sup> Typically, this event is held during the pilgrimage for 40 days or more, depending on the length of the pilgrim's journey. This tradition maintained to ensure the pilgrim safety in order to complete the pilgrimage without incident. The way this tradition is held varies; some recite the whole Qur'an and complete it on every night, while others merely read selected portions of the Qur'an such as Surah Yasin when inviting the neighbor, and yet others recite *tahlilan*. These gatherings likely serve as opportunities for individuals to connect with one another, share experiences, and strengthen their relationships. In this way, the communal gatherings contribute to the preservation and continuation of the Madurese cultural heritage, fostering a sense of identity and belonging among its members. social cohesion, passing down cultural values, and fostering a sense of unity among community members.

## 2.5 Incorporation Phase of Pilgrimage Tradition

Post- Pilgrimage or *Toron Ajjih* and *Ngambe Ajjiyen*. *Toron ajjih* refers to pilgrims who have recently returned from performing pilgrimage. Meanwhile, *Ngambe*

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<sup>87</sup> Interview with Hafidh

<sup>88</sup> Lucking, "Arabness' as Social Capital in Madura'," 39.

*Ajjiyen* is a tradition of welcoming the pilgrim and the parade of pilgrims on motorcycles and cars by picking up the pilgrims from a certain location to their residence. Residents of Sumenep usually pick them up in Talang Siring area (a place in Pamekasan regency) into their house. The euphoria is often more festive in rural area, the local usually take the initiative to escort the pilgrims and wear their best attires, even they are willing to collaborate to rent a car to escort and pick up the pilgrim with their own expense. In general, locals have heard about the pilgrims arrival schedule for a long time. In certain cases, the notification is delivered over the mosque's speaker. Therefore, It is understandable that the locals were excited to convoy the pilgrims. However, it should be noted that the convoys conducted prior to the pilgrimage are not as lively as the convoys that are held when picking up the pilgrims.

The convoy procession involved locals to pick them up using cars and motorbikes.<sup>89</sup> Indeed, in certain regions of Sumenep regency, pilgrims marched on horseback. However, the motorcycles usually placed in front of the convoy. As the gang of motorcyclists frequently conducts theatrical acts—some of which are dangerous—the convoy generates a rumbling sound.<sup>90</sup> Motorcycles are typically customized with exhaust that is designed to be loud. The exhaust pipes of the motorbikes used in convoys have been modified to generate a loud sound. As a result, it is common for all highways traversed by convoys to be filled with deafening noises, attracting people to observe and enjoy their performance. Throughout, the motorcycle riders are generally a group of young people who are paid "cigarette money" or an amount of money to replenish the petrol that has been spent to escort. After delivering the pilgrim convoys, those who escort return to the pilgrims' residence to enjoy some meal provided by the pilgrims' family. This shows that the exhilaration is felt not just by pilgrims, but also by the general population that enjoys the euphoria enthusiastic about this tradition.

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<sup>89</sup> Isyanto Isyanto and Liyanto Liyanto, "Persepsi Pelaku Ibadah Haji di Desa Tambaksari Rubaru Sumenep dalam Ritual Pemberangkatan dan Penjemputan Ibadah Haji.," *MAHARSI* 2, no. 1 (March 3, 2020): 19–30, <https://doi.org/10.33503/maharsi.v2i1.747>.

<sup>90</sup> Susanto, "Ekspresi Rekreatif ala Orang Madura Perspektif Teori Konstruktivisme."

On average, the family constructs and decorates the top of *gapura* (gate), along the national highway and in front of the pilgrimage pilgrim residence.<sup>91</sup> And within the pilgrim residence, a giant banner with the pilgrims' photos and names is being made and hung in front of the home and the particular room in the pilgrim residence for a few days; even some of the pilgrims do not take it off until it is damaged. Pilgrims were frequently greeted with a tambourine played by boarding school students and recited a *diba'* (a poem written by Dibai and repeated by Muslim Ansar to celebrate the Prophet's arrival at *Tsaniyatul Wada* ) while others were greeted immediately with a collective prayer session.

The pilgrim's family tends to asks a notable religious leader to deliver a special welcome speech and serves them with Zamzam water and dates, and other refreshments on a regular basis. Some locals arrive on purpose on the first day since they are considered the Zamzam water and dates presented has a lot of blessings since it is more likely to be carried directly from Mecca rather than coming the days following it, as it is thought that the coming days is often purchased at the Sunan Ampel shopping centre in Surabaya.<sup>92</sup> Pilgrims who have just returned from Mecca are not permitted to leave their houses in Madura, particularly in rural regions, for 40 days. This is done in anticipation of the arrival of visitors from families, relatives and locals who intend to ask for prayer, as Madurese believe that all pilgrim prayers are *mustajabah* (answered by god). Here, liminal phase is happened when they are no longer pilgrims but have not fully reintegrated into their everyday roles and identities as community members.

The rite of visiting pilgrims for blessing is known as *Sajereen* or *Asajere* which means *ziarah* or visit.<sup>93</sup> Locals generally seek a pilgrim prayer while *asajere*; they hope to be prayed to be able to follow the pilgrims; to be able to perform pilgrimage because basically pilgrimage to Mecca is the greatest desire in the life of the Madurese. Guests are usually served with foods such as rice, curry and so on and snacks during these two ceremonies. It is almost an obligation duty Madurese

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<sup>91</sup> Interview with Afif and Sulis

<sup>92</sup> Lucking, “‘Arabness’ as Social Capital in Madura”; Dani and Munadi, “Makna Umrah bagi Muslim Madura.”

<sup>93</sup> Lucking, “‘Arabness’ as Social Capital in Madura’.”

to carry souvenirs, particularly those obtained directly from the holy land; some purposely overfill their baggage in order to bring it. Some of them, on the other hand, buy the souvenirs from Sunan Ampel in Surabaya, East Java Indonesia. The type of souvenir provided depends on the status; for example, the *kiai* or religious leader will be given a turban, tasbih, veil, skullcap, or prayer mat, whilst ordinary or locals are frequently given incense and dates. However, some pilgrims do not distinguish the gifts that have been provided but instead generalize the same souvenirs to all visitors.

In addition, locals are visiting the pilgrim's residence by frequently bringing basic necessities such as rice and sugar and so on. Those gifts are treated as *tompangan*, which means that pilgrims must repay the gift they received, regardless of whether the guests are conducting a pilgrimage celebration or not. Because of the Madurese people's collective customs and high solidarity, as well as the nature of their ethnic idealism, they will participate completely in events that require cohesion, such as marriages, any kind of celebration of religious meal feasts (*slametan*) and so on. In terms of the pilgrimage celebration, the locals feel a bond with one another. It can be shown by their contributions to the Pre-Pilgrimage, Mid-Pilgrimage, and Post-Pilgrimage celebration. They frequently contribute and participate as well as make the initiative to help the pilgrims in carrying out the tradition.<sup>94</sup> Typically, the number of locals who attend this pilgrimage celebration is not limited; everyone who wishes to come is welcome as the people who intend to perform pilgrimage are sometimes announced over the mosque's speakers so that their neighbors are informed. Therefore, the host or pilgrim must be prepared for an influx of guests, which is why cows must be slaughtered in order to provide the greatest service to the guests.<sup>95</sup> As a result, Madurese pilgrims who want to perform the pilgrimage while carrying out the above-mentioned tradition must have sufficient funds, because funds spent while carrying out the tradition are nearly equivalent to costs incurred to perform the pilgrimage, and in some cases, funds

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<sup>94</sup> Lucking.

<sup>95</sup> Wawan Isab Rubiyanto, "Panitia Haji Waspadai 'Kenakalan' Jemaah Haji Madura," 2016, <https://www.liputan6.com/islami/read/2571674/panitia-haji-waspadai-kenakalan-jemaah-haji-madura>.

spent to carry out the tradition exceed funds spent on the pilgrimage itself. As a result, due to the high expenditures of the pilgrimage celebration, some pilgrims involved in debt to cover the expenses of it.

However, for the Madurese the expenses incurred by carrying out the traditions are not a matters. Because they believe the greater the number of visitors that arrive, the better indicator of local's perception of a pilgrim's prosperity and solidarity. Specifically, the number of visitors makes the benchmark factors that determines who has made the trip acknowledged, valued and appreciated in society. They believe that "*Mon tak estoh tak longguh*" (if it was not for love it would not come).<sup>96</sup> Among Madurese, *esto* implies love, commitment, unity, militancy, and dedication. Madurese believe that having genuine affections for one's birthplace, family, partner, organization, and other people would automatically give birth to a solidarity attitude with solidity, militancy, and commitment to face the same fate and struggle (*senasib dan seperjuangan*).<sup>97</sup>

Madura society is made up of various cultures, each with its own distinct characteristics. Furthermore, the Madurese believe in a variety of customs that have evolved into habits in the descent of friendship, such as the gifting tradition. Mutual relationship in Madura society in gifting tradition usually called as *tompangan*. *Tompangan* in this circumstance refers to a contribution for the occasion, which can be in numerous forms of gifts, such as money or basic necessities such as rice, eggs, sugar, and so on that are beneficial for those who carry out the event. Moreover, the amount of money donated depends on the relationship between person. However, this contribution to give a gift is made that must be repaid or compensated in the future at a nominal value equal to or greater than the previous nominal, and there is a right to obtain the earlier donation in the short or long term.<sup>98</sup> Therefore, it must have a proof material in the form of receipts or book being written by a person who maintains accountability records for the amount of the donation. The purpose of it

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<sup>96</sup> Interviewed with Sulis

<sup>97</sup> "Membaca "Esto" Masyarakat Madura," *Radarmadura.Id*, accessed May 19, 2023, <https://radarmadura.jawapos.com/nasional/21/01/2018/membaca-esto-masyarakat-madura/>.

<sup>98</sup> Dian Altika Sari, "Tradisi Tompangan dalam Perspektif Akuntansi," *RISTANSI: Riset Akuntansi* 1, no. 1 (January 17, 2021): 54–64, <https://doi.org/10.32815/ristansi.v1i1.348>.

to return or repay in the future. *Tompangan* tradition can be said as a debt practice, this is due to the reciprocal relationship during visiting pilgrims (*asajere*) in post-pilgrimage.

Although the Madurese are famous for the island of tradition and brutality, such as bull racing (*Kerapan sapi*), cock fighting (*sabung ayam*), blater communal feasts (*remo*), and Madurese forms of combat with sharp weapons, and the final resort in terms of preserving one's honor (*carok*),<sup>99</sup> This *tompangan* tradition, however, is not considered a kind of coercion. Although the *tompangan* custom can be considered a type of debt, the Madurese continue to practice it because it is tied to other traditions; *tengka* tradition, which relates to ethics in social relationships in order to preserve attitudes in interactions with others.<sup>100</sup> Madurese moral etiquette associated with greeting, including how to greet, shake hands, and politeness in certain ceremonies such as weddings, deaths, and this pilgrimage celebration event. This etiquette is still maintained today. The Madurese people consider the *tompangan* tradition to be part of the etiquette involved in carrying out the pilgrimage celebration in this situation. Because *tengka* may be viewed as both moral and material responsibility in this context. *Tengka* is recognized as a social norm and an expression of respect in socio-religious traditions, which are influenced by rare physical ecological factors and patterns of settlement that require maximum solidarity of Madurese. The Madura society believes that moral principles about social connections, which are practiced and passed down from generation to generation, eventually form the consensus and grasp of their life to this day. Like other traditional civilizations across the world that have moral ideas and are culturally-informally embodied with particular goals such as caring for social balance.<sup>101</sup>

In spite of that, community mutual help (*gotong royong*) practice still exists. *Gotong royong* is a system of voluntary mutual help without payment between

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<sup>99</sup> Pribadi, *Islam, State and Society in Indonesia*, 6.

<sup>100</sup> Hasani Utsman, "Tengka: Etika Sosial Dalam Masyarakat Tradisional Madura." (UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2018), 176–77.

<sup>101</sup> Khoirul Anwar, Herman Efendi, and Siti Mariyam, "Makna Tengka dalam Tradisi Masyarakat Madura" 1, no. 2 (2022): 73.

neighbors, friends and close relatives in the society which has been practiced by people for generations and still wide use in variety of social activities.<sup>102</sup> This can be seen in Madurese communal collaboration in creating dishes to be distributed during pilgrimage rituals.

Mansurnoor states that a variety of work around the household handled with the assistance of neighbors and relatives, locals continue to assist their neighbors and will spontaneously gather to help (*abanto*). They do not expect to earn their retribution quickly, yet, one day they can get the other's help one day. The idea that helping others should be done without any obvious worldly expectation (*ikhlas*) appears to be more prevalent among villagers than the idea of a rigid exchange of work.<sup>103</sup> Similarly to the sequence of pilgrimage ceremonies involving locals to recite religious text and prayers, this kind of attachment in socio-religious gatherings according Mansurnoor strongly affects communication within neighborhood.<sup>104</sup> The growth of brotherhood culture, it is due to similarity conformity with primordial element of religiosity. They hold on the religion while at the same time firmly attached to cultural traditions but prioritize religion as something significant.<sup>105</sup>

Pilgrims in Sumenep regency are considered to have greater social standing than others.<sup>106</sup> Special treatment occurs from the Madurese society to the pilgrims. For example, in the political realm, according to Zamrani, the pilgrims can serve as power brokers due to their supremacy in economic capital in the political system, as well as the religious symbols they possess, much as the *kiai* serve as cultural

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<sup>102</sup> Soemardjan, Breazeale, and Chu, *Cultural Change in Rural Indonesia*, 118.

<sup>103</sup> Iik Arifin Mansurnoor, *Islam in an Indonesian World: Ulama of Madura* (Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1990), 64.

<sup>104</sup> Mansurnoor, 183.

<sup>105</sup> Ismail Suardi Wekke, Suyatno Ladiqi, and Reevany Bustami, "Bugis and Madura Migration in Nusantara: Religiosity, Harmony, and Identity from Eastern Indonesia," *Ulul Albab* 20, no. 1 (2019): 12.

<sup>106</sup> Isyanto and Liyanto, "Persepsi Pelaku Ibadah Haji di Desa Tambaksari Rubaru Sumenep dalam Ritual Pemberangkatan dan Penjemputan Ibadah Haji."

brokers.<sup>107</sup> In line with Kuntowijoyo argument that *kiai* and haji often acted as cultural brokers between the outside world and local societies.<sup>108</sup>

The Pilgrims have distinguished access due to their outstanding dignity in society, particularly in a contestation of authority, such as village elections and so on.<sup>109</sup> Yet, in the relations to socio-cultural and religious hierarchies, most of *kiai* of *pesantren* or boarding school in Madura society have to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca in order to gain the respected title of '*Kiai Haji*' (K.H) to indicate the *kiai*'s pre-eminence in both religious and economic realms.<sup>110</sup> It adds to justification and benchmarking the *kiai*'s social standing in society.<sup>111</sup> Moreover, a number of young religious scholars who had studied in Mecca while or after performing the pilgrimage returned to Madura reorganized the instruction and the subject materials in their *pesantren* or Islamic boarding school.<sup>112</sup>

Conversely, if a *Blater* or local strongman has performed a pilgrimage, he will be known as *Blater Rajeh*, which is the epithet of a hero who is prominent among Blater and constitutes a commando capable of organizing *Blater* community.<sup>113</sup> On top of that, merchants performed the pilgrimage to Mecca to acquire the identical reputation as *kiai*.<sup>114</sup> Similarly, *oreng soghi*, *oreng andhi*, or entrepreneurs who possess immense wealth and economy power will strengthen their authority and social influence as well as being respected by surrounding society.

Pilgrimage predicate for entrepreneurs may benefit as a social bond for social capital to accumulate the power that exists between businessmen and

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<sup>107</sup> Zamroni, "Kekuasaan Juragan dan Kiai di Madura," 177.

<sup>108</sup> C. van Dijk, Huub de Jonge, and Elly Touwen-Bouwsma, eds., *Across Madura Strait: The Dynamics of an Insular Society*, Proceedings / Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land-En Volkenkunde 2 (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995), 28.

<sup>109</sup> Moh Fathor Rosyid, "Habitus Haji Madura."

<sup>110</sup> Pribadi, *Islam, State and Society in Indonesia*, 36.

<sup>111</sup> Zamroni, "Kekuasaan Juragan dan Kiai di Madura," 175.

<sup>112</sup> Mansurnoor, *Islam in an Indonesian World*, 43.

<sup>113</sup> Muh. Syamsuddin, "Elit Lokal Madura: Sisi Kehidupan Kaum Blater," *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 2015, 170.

<sup>114</sup> Muhammad Endy Saputro, *Kiai Langgar and Kalebun: A Contestation between Cultural Brokers in a Non-Pesantren Village in Madura, Indonesia* ([Yogyakarta: Graduate School, Gadjah Mada University, 2009), 5.

entrepreneurs.<sup>115</sup> Yet, their fame and prestige skyrocketed when they undertook the Islamic pilgrimage (hajj) and their business moral standards were unassailable.<sup>116</sup> Conversely, *Santri* or those who study in Islamic boarding school, which commonly are teenagers, performing pilgrimage to Mecca is regarded the ideal ending of schooling after finishing their religious studies and is seen to be the early stage toward maturity.<sup>117</sup>

In addition, travel agency commonly organizes a pilgrimage reunion group. The reunion is usually accompanied by a lavish party. This group is classified based on the year of pilgrimage departure through the same travel agent. And it evolves into a solid and powerful group; some even organize social events, host *arisan* (a type of rotating savings and credit club in Indonesian culture), design uniforms, and so on. And, because this community has such a strong bond, even if a member of the community sends out a wedding invitation, whether for her child's or her family's wedding, people of the community will generally come and help to make the occasion a success. Therefore, I argue that as long as a society considers the phenomenon of performing pilgrimage as something valuable and special, the society automatically positioned the pilgrims on a relatively higher level in social strata within society.

There are three types of symbols linked with the Islamic pilgrimage: The phenomenon of renaming pilgrim, white caps, and the title associated with pilgrimage (*hajj*). First, the practice of changing one's name is necessary in some Madurese rural societies, since it is a sort of transition to a new status.<sup>118</sup> Changing one's old name to a new Islamic name requested to a *sheikh* or religious figure in Mecca and Medina is a practice among the Madurese Muslim society in Madura, as well as the Madurese society in various regions across Java.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Zamroni, "Kekuasaan Juragan dan Kiai di Madura," 177.

<sup>116</sup> Ernst Spaan and Aard Hartveld, "Socio-Economic Change and Rural Entrepreneurs in Pre-Crisis East Java, Indonesia: Case Study of a Madurese Upland Community," *Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 17, no. 2 (October 2002): 294–95, <https://doi.org/10.1355/SJ17-2F>.

<sup>117</sup> Zainuddin, "haji dan status sosial," December 30, 2013, 180.

<sup>118</sup> Zainuddin, 180.

<sup>119</sup> Zainuddin, "Haji dan Status Sosial," December 30, 2013; A. Malik Madaniy, *Citra Status Sosial Para Haji Di Kalangan Masyarakat Pedesaan Madura*.

Those who change their names after pilgrimage predominantly had a non-Islamic name before the journey, and the name given after the pilgrimage notably Islamic name as a form of manifestation to represent their Muslim identity. For instance, Kailan's name was replaced with Abdus Syakur once he returned home from his vacation. The Madurese call it "*nyamah ajjinah*," which translates as "name (after) pilgrimage". After changed it the pilgrim receives a certificate for their new name. However, the official documentation, identity card, and certificate continue to use the pilgrim's prior name. Some attribute the incidence of name modification to the fact that in the past, the Sheikhs who looked after pilgrims in Mecca, notably the Madurese, had difficulty pronouncing the names. This surname becomes popular in society (it is usually abbreviated as Haji Syakur, and so on) as the name usually hang on the pilgrim residence in the post-pilgrimage.

On the other hand, it is uncommon and impolite after changing his name, someone still continue to refer to him by his old name and nickname (except for those who are unfamiliar with them). Since it is a source of pride to have increased social standing and the ability to protect themselves from disgraceful acts.<sup>120</sup>

Second, a white cap (*peci*) as symbol worn by the pilgrim to show their identity that they had already done the pilgrimage. Some identify themselves by using a white cap and turban attire. And last, in compliance with Madura cultural norm, pilgrims would be granted the titles '*ka towan*' for male and '*mbok towan*' for female (only for The Arab descendant tribe in Madura) This term has the meaning of lord, but culturally refers to the popular designation for the Indo-Arab community who live in Madura. This term indirectly strengthens the identity that binds to the land of birth, namely Madura and the land of their religious mecca, namely Mecca.<sup>121</sup>

*Pak Ajjih* for male and *Bu Ajjih* for female is title for completing pilgrimage when a person is a man of an age, yet if the age is significantly lower or equivalent to his son, he will be termed an *aba or ummi*. The predicate and supplementary titles such as *Pak Ajjih* or *Bu Ajjih* are exceedingly valued in the eyes of the

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<sup>120</sup> Abdul Mukti Thabrani, *Orang Madura naik haji* (Yogyakarta: Diva Press, 2017).

<sup>121</sup> Wawan Isab Rubiyanto, "Panitia Haji Waspadai 'Kenakalan' Jemaah Haji Madura."

Madurese. Some pilgrims may be unhappy just because their names are not attached with the title of *Pak Ajjih* or *Bu Ajjih*. Nevertheless, it is up to the pilgrims; some do not mind if they are not granted the title of hajj. Obtaining these titles gives Madurese the sense that they succeeded in achieving success and self-sufficiency. Thus, different attire and title substituted with pilgrim automatically provided an indirect explanation for social standing.<sup>122</sup>

Religion serves to present a favorable image, and the social aspect of Islamic pilgrimage is intricately interwoven. The pilgrimage is recognized as advantageous to one's social position and family in Indonesian cultures, and people who were previously neglected are now seen as prominent persons as a result of their participation in the journey. As a result, if someone has not yet finished pilgrimage, their social position is incomplete.<sup>123</sup> Although it is typically seen beneficial in social circles, the status of pilgrim and the sign of it serves as a controller for all activities taken in daily life.

Borrowing a metaphor from Michel Foucault, the Islamic pilgrimage (*hajj*) symbol eventually becomes a form of panopticon, enabling bodies feel obedient, monitored, controlled, and disciplined in public atmospheres. It is not meant to camouflage the "bad" nature of the pilgrims. However, this monitoring serves as a warning that if you have completed the journey and your conduct and deeds have not changed, that person's pilgrimage may be questioned.<sup>124</sup> Despite formerly having a poor reputation in society, the pilgrim will be seen as a better person after performing pilgrimage, due society's perspective that performing pilgrimage is a means of total change and as a form of repentance (*taubat nasuha*).

Therefore, society demands that after pilgrimage, pilgrims must be righteous and ought to manifest Islamic values in their everyday life to get the title of *hajj mabrur*, as well as positive values must appear socially. This in line with what Ajarma said that the pilgrims are highly respected in the community as the

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<sup>122</sup> Kuntowijoyo, *Perubahan Masyarakat Sosial Dalam Masyarakat Agraris Madura 1850-1940*, 334–35.

<sup>123</sup> Syuhudi, "Ritual Berangkat Haji Masyarakat Muslim Gorontalo"; Zainuddin, "HAJI DAN STATUS SOSIAL," December 30, 2013; A. Malik Madaniy, *Citra Status Sosial Para Haji Di Kalangan Masyarakat Pedesaan Madura*.

<sup>124</sup> Syuhudi, "Ritual Berangkat Haji Masyarakat Muslim Gorontalo," 5.

community shares the expectations of elevation of moral comportment in their daily lives after their return, while at the same time, admitting a realistic sense of human imperfection.<sup>125</sup> Pilgrims, for instance on occasions serve as leaders in numerous religious ceremonies, as prayer priests, as mediators in a variety of societal situations and some events such as *tahlilan* (praying together or sending prayers for the souls of the dead), *haul* (annual commemoration for someone who died), *tasmiyah* (giving the name of the child) and so on. In addition, *blater* or local strongmen after performing Hajj worship changed to obedience to performing religious orders although there are still those who live their lives as a *blater* such as drinking beer, gambling and so on due to considering the pilgrimage merely as ceremonial.<sup>126</sup>

In addition, the pilgrimage has a variety of societal connotations. Perhaps the pilgrimage tradition in Madura culture also adds to this unique treatment, from the start of departure to the pick-up and activities that follow, including all components of society; hence, there is a link between tradition and the social prestige gained after the journey. Where practically everyone may attend and participate, especially in rural regions, there are no restrictions for anybody, regardless of social status, those who want to attend the event are welcome to do so; from this, it can be observed that society contributes in the construction of social stratification for pilgrims.

Those who obtain the title of being a pilgrim will receive special attention and respect. Since, spiritually, the pilgrims have fulfilled the five pillars of Islam and the average age is elderly, therefore the pilgrims are given extra regard in Madurese society. In general, the rituals for welcoming pilgrims' departures and arrivals, the convoy of cars that drives them to the embarkation or departure point, add to the sacredness of the worship, and vice versa, when they return home, the same atmosphere occurs.

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<sup>125</sup> Kholoud Al-Ajarma, "After Hajj: Muslim Pilgrims Refashioning Themselves," *Religions* 12, no. 1 (January 7, 2021): 2, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12010036>.

<sup>126</sup> Muh. Syamsuddin, "Elit Lokal Madura: Sisi Kehidupan Kaum Blater," 173.

In sum, the incorporation phase signifies the pilgrims' reintegration into their communities and the incorporation of their identities transformed into their social roles. After completing the pilgrimage celebration, the pilgrims resume their everyday lives, but with a newfound status and prestige as *Hajj* or *Hajjah*. They are respected and revered in the community, and their pilgrimage experience becomes an integral part of their identity. The incorporation phase is also characterized by the pilgrims' active participation in community affairs. They may serve as leaders in religious ceremonies, act as mediators in social situations, and contribute to the social atmosphere of Madura. The pilgrimage experience enhances their social standing and authority, enabling them to play influential roles within society.

## **2.6 Conclusion**

The pilgrimage is viewed as a transformative and life-changing event that brings about personal growth and strengthens one's religious commitment. It is also seen as a symbol of material and religious success, enhancing the credibility and social standing of the pilgrims within the Madurese society. It goes beyond being a religious obligation and serves as a lifelong aspiration for the Madurese people.

In conclusion, the pilgrimage celebration in Madura holds immense significance in the Madurese Islamic faith and culture. Furthermore, the pilgrimage celebration in Madura is deeply rooted in the fusion of Islamic and local values. It reflects the acculturation of Islamic religious values into Madurese culture, which can be observed in various philosophies, idioms, and rooted traditions. These traditions are held as sacred and are believed to instill good values and morals in society. The celebration of pilgrimage not only fosters a sense of belonging and shared identity among the Madurese but also contributes to strengthening social cohesion.

Moreover, the Madurese pilgrimage celebration highlights the positive ethical values and social bonds within the community. Despite the negative stereotypes associated with Madurese society, such as violence or impoliteness, the celebration showcases the collaborative, caring, and socially sensitive nature of the

Madurese people, particularly in rural areas. The willingness of the Madurese to actively participate in organizing the celebration, accompanying pilgrims, and spreading information demonstrates their high level of concern and dedication.

## CHAPTER III

# NEGOTIATING THE CELEBRATION OF THE PILGRIMAGE TRADITION

### 3.1 Introduction

Somehow, the whole process of transformation from the traditional way of life to the modern one somehow considered as negative term for modernization.<sup>127</sup> *Suramadu* bridge is one of example on how Madurese rejection of it plans, they were seen a modernization as threat predicted to have direct impact to society. *Suramadu* bridge is bridge to connect the Island of Java (Surabaya) and Madura through government state in *Keppres* No. 55/1990, dated 14 December 1990 to accelerate the development of Madura.<sup>128</sup> The *Suramadu* Bridge Development Policy intends to reduce the economic gap between Madura Island and Java Island. It focuses on growth hubs, lowering logistics costs, and ensuring fair access. The bridge connects transportation vertices and infrastructure, concentrating on cluster type, typology, and role, while also providing coaching, enhancement, and added value for internal and external operations.<sup>129</sup>

Nonetheless, the *Suramadu* bridge project has results an inescapable wave of modernization. Therefore, in the given context, Madurese are coping with modernization challenge while preserving their cultural identity and traditional practices. They establish a balance by accepting beneficial modifications while rejecting those contrived or detrimental. This strategy shows their goal of striking a balance between adjusting to new conditions and conserving their own traditions and way of life. As consequence, in this chapter I will discuss several factors that

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<sup>127</sup> Sartono Kartodirjo, *Modern Indonesia Tradition and Transformation* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1984), 200.

<sup>128</sup> Pribadi, *Islam, State and Society in Indonesia*, 199–122.

<sup>129</sup> Firre An Suprpto and Agus Manshur, “A Review of Suramadu Regional Development Acceleration towards Sustainable Development Concept,” *The Journal of Indonesia Sustainable Development Planning* 1, no. 2 (August 29, 2020): 202, <https://doi.org/10.46456/jisdep.v1i2.72>.

contributed to the transformation of pilgrimage tradition. This chapter attempts to examine the internal and external factors that impact transformation and negotiation in organising a pilgrimage celebration in Madura. It investigates the circumstances that led to these negotiations. It can be social dynamics, cultural changes, and shifts in values in Madurese society. I argue that pilgrims perspectives and societal expectation influence the multifaceted factors contribute to the negotiation process surrounding the transformation of the pilgrimage celebration in Madura.

Nevertheless, I would limit my focus on three aspects. First, essentialism in pilgrimage celebration, second, the cultural acculturation, third, the level of education as well as Islamic modernism influence. It should be highlighted that those involved in discussions concerning the shift of pilgrimage celebrations are frequently from urban areas, whilst the traditional practice is mostly found in rural areas. It is crucial to note, however, that this distinction is not absolute, as pilgrims living in rural areas may participate in the negotiation and reevaluation of traditional practices. It will be described in further detail below.

### **3.2 Essentialism in Pilgrimage Celebration**

The pilgrimage is the core of Islam that unites the globe, society, and self in a common goal. Pilgrims perform pilgrimage to be reminded of and invited to their original, primordial condition of being, or *fitrah*. In addition, pilgrimage celebration's standing as a fundamental social activity has evolved, with what Weber mean by external motivations domination<sup>130</sup> of social prestige and recognition taking precedence over the pilgrimage's intrinsic spiritual value. Nevertheless, rationalization process of the “internal” sphere of religion and ethics as Weber said influence the perception of Madurese celebrating the pilgrimage tradition as essential social realm of the society begun to rise for some Madurese

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<sup>130</sup> Stephen Kalberg, “Max Weber’s Types of Rationality: Cornerstones for the Analysis of Rationalization Processes in History,” *The American Journal of Sociology* 85, no. 5 (1980): 1149–50.

pilgrims. In agreement with Gennep statement that ceremonies are designed to assist people in shifting from one assigned place to another using ways that are at least comparable or identical. Semi-civilized societies regulate acts by adding sacred aspects and balancing profane and sacred actions for satisfaction.<sup>131</sup> Nowadays communal awareness has begun to emerge. Awareness to maintain the connection between the heart and God (spiritual awareness). In conformity with Aydin arguing that existing happiness theories in capitalism often overlook the misunderstanding of human nature which leads to ignore the needs of certain elements of human nature “inner universe” for the sake of self-centric ego. He suggests that genuine, pure, and long-term happiness can only be attained by identifying and utilizing the elements within human nature's inner universe itself.<sup>132</sup>

Some of Madurese pilgrims are conscious to set a religious value as intrinsic motivation of value rationality. Weber argues that value rationality is type of social action driven by a conscious belief within the significance of some ethical, religious, or other activity for its own purpose, regardless of its chance of success.<sup>133</sup> Those Madurese pilgrims prioritize a spiritual or religious aspect of pilgrimage experience rather than external manifestations such as pilgrimage celebration. They may view celebration as complementary of the actual journey. Instead, they seek a simpler and more introspective approach that aligns with value and their interpretation of the pilgrimage's purpose. The pilgrim's initial stage is separation from regular life and societal roles. It can be seen from the separation represents their preparedness to embark on a spiritual journey and prepares the groundwork for the pilgrimage experience. Based on research conducted by Aryavolgyi et al, result of survey respondents prioritizing a simpler, less pleasant lifestyle over other travel-related difficulties in order to compensate for a lack of luxury as the

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<sup>131</sup> Van Gennep et al., *The Rites of Passage, Second Edition*, 3.

<sup>132</sup> Necati Aydin, “A Grand Theory of Human Nature and Happiness,” *Humanomics* 28, no. 1 (February 17, 2012): 43–61, <https://doi.org/10.1108/08288661211200988>.

<sup>133</sup> Max Weber, Guenther Roth, and Claus Wittich, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 25.

pilgrimage journey requires individuals to leave their comfort zone for extended periods of time, therefore physical preparation is essential.<sup>134</sup>

In general, as mentioned in the previous chapter, pilgrimage celebrations are a form of solidarity for the Madurese to celebrate happiness by visiting and escorting pilgrims. The problem arise when the pilgrimage celebration has evolved from genuine expression of happiness and solidarity to a social recognition event and competition among the pilgrims. The shift has potential leading into pressure and strain and fostering rivalry and superiority. This is in line with Baudrillard's idea, that a proliferation of sign-value or the expression and mark of style, prestige, luxury, power, and so on become significant in the structural system through which objects were organized into a new modern society. The elites may engage in new forms of inconspicuous consumption while the middle classes remain engaged in visible consumption to establish new and more subtle distinctions between themselves and the rest of society.<sup>135</sup> Commercialization of celebration may additionally lead the excessive spending and financial burdens, which further deepening inequalities. This may reveals what Iwasaki indicates that leisure activities may be beneficial people strengthen their abilities and resilience while also addressing social and cultural disparities. On other hand, power imbalances must be identified and remedied on a social, cultural, and political level. Discovering the facts that to achieve empowerment and meaningful social progress, it is critical to respect meaningful leisure opportunities for marginalized groups.<sup>136</sup> The issue, though, is when the marginalized pilgrims feel compelled to uphold tradition to the point of incurring massive financial debt.<sup>137</sup> Therefore, it is crucial to understand the dynamic happened in this tradition.

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<sup>134</sup> Arvavolgyi and Sagi, "Pilgrimage and Its Perception in a Local Religious Community," 38.

<sup>135</sup> Jean Baudrillard and Jean Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures*, Reprinted, Theory, Culture & Society (Los Angeles, Calif.: SAGE, 2012), 6.

<sup>136</sup> Yoshitaka Iwasaki, "Leisure and Quality of Life in an International and Multicultural Context: What Are Major Pathways Linking Leisure to Quality of Life?," *Social Indicators Research* 82, no. 2 (June 2007): 258–59, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-006-9032-z>.

<sup>137</sup> Isyanto and Liyanto, "Persepsi Pelaku Ibadah Haji di Desa Tambaksari Rubaru Sumenep dalam Ritual Pemberangkatan dan Penjemputan Ibadah Haji," 22.

According to Weber the form of pure exchange connection, as it existed in sacrifice and prayer, was analogous to a modern businessman's analysis of the most effective ways of generating profits. He contends that premodern society values differ from modern values, although traditional and affective activities have not been influenced by modernization movements.<sup>138</sup> Therefore, it can be assumed that reciprocity is associated with social norms and relationships with locals in pilgrimage celebration which developed in various forms especially in the urban regions of Madura can be seen as a form of solidarity of Madurese society, yet in addition Madurese orientation of reciprocity action on the basis of value has undergone some changes in modern days. It can be seen that reciprocity creates inconvenience for some Madurese pilgrims to implement it in pilgrimage celebration. This is what Blau may attempt to argue that reciprocity causes imbalances in the lives of others.<sup>139</sup> Most of the Madurese who do not undertake the pilgrimage tradition automatically do not practice the reciprocity. Several reasons, due to the moral pressure and responsibility that will be imposed to repay the favour both materially and morally.

### **3.3 Inter-ethnic and Cultural Acculturation**

Madura has experienced the acculturation of local culture with Islamic religious values, resulting in a unique fusion that is deeply embedded in the daily lives of the Madurese people. This fusion can be observed in various philosophies, idioms, and rooted traditions that incorporate Islamic elements. Tradition is seen as sacred, and it is thought to instill good values and morals in a society.<sup>140</sup> The acculturation of local culture with Islamic religious values in Madura can be seen in various philosophies and idioms that contain Islamic elements and are applied through

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<sup>138</sup> Kalberg, "Max Weber's Types of Rationality: Cornerstones for the Analysis of Rationalization Processes in History," 1148.

<sup>139</sup> Peter M. Blau, *Exchange and Power in Social Life*, 1st ed. (Routledge, 2017), 786–87, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203792643>.

<sup>140</sup> Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life: A Study in Religious Sociology* (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2005).

rooted traditions, as well as the way the Madurese people implement the philosophy of the Madurese noble values in their daily lives.

Before delving further into Madurese shift towards a multicultural society, it is essential to understand the nature of Madurese ethnic. Madura island is not only an island of piety, but also an island of tradition and violence in different forms. The efforts of the Madurese to maintain and preserve their identity have resulted in the fact that Islam is well embedded in the cultural, social, political, and economic terrain of Madura.<sup>141</sup> Madurese grandeur are influenced by Javanese manners and traditions, which emphasise their etiquette and cultural history including the symbol seen at the pilgrimage rite.<sup>142</sup> Madura started to become Islamized in the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, it would be incorrect to consider the island a leftover from traditional Java. The island has become known to have developed a distinctive feature of mixed culture of predominantly local elements, Java, and Islam, despite various penetrations of European cultures brought by the Dutch and the British, as well as various influences of the Chinese. Nonetheless, it is true that Madura has since colonial times become highly dependent on economic developments on Java.

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Madurese interaction is driven by strong ethnic conviction, which is frequently used to establish an ethnic group with distinctive inter-ethnic solidarity, especially in terms of mutual assistance. The term '*taretan dhibik*' refers to a strong sense of brotherhood embedded in the mindset of society.<sup>144</sup> Madurese immigrants may create their ethnic identity as a last line of defense in order to defend their minority identity elsewhere. The problem emerges when Madurese locals on the island may experience tradition transformation process while Madurese immigrants attempt to proclaim their ethnic identity by preserving tradition. In line with Sarmini

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<sup>141</sup> Pribadi, *Islam, State and Society in Indonesia*, 6.

<sup>142</sup> Yanwar Pribadi, "Islam and Politics in Madura : Ulama and Other Local Leaders in Search of Influence (1990-2010)," 1.

<sup>143</sup> Pribadi, *Islam, State and Society in Indonesia*, 10.

<sup>144</sup> Ms Sarmini, Ulin Nadiroh, and Syarifah Hasanah, "The Identity of Madurese Women: Between Tradition and the Development of Modernization," in *Proceedings of Social Sciences, Humanities and Economics Conference (SoSHEC 2017)* (Social Sciences, Humanities and Economics Conference (SoSHEC 2017), Surabaya, Indonesia: Atlantis Press, 2018), 210, <https://doi.org/10.2991/soshec-17.2018.41>.

et al that Madurese have a total obligation to preserve their traditions and cultural value in order to maintain unity and kinship.<sup>145</sup> Local customs, traditions, and religious values are deeply ingrained in the Madurese ethnic community's daily existence. These elements have a significant impact on their identity and shape their communal attitudes and actions.

Hence, the tension of doing tradition may denotes interest of altruism in Madurese society. These altruism still have a significant part in understanding contemporary Madurese behaviour for having a strong sense of ethnic pride as well as the bound to protect ethnocentrism and resist cultural imperialism. However, there is a trend towards individualism, particularly among city dwellers. This trend reflects a shifting socioeconomic dynamic as well as a shift towards more urban-oriented viewpoints, indicating a greater desire for personal independence and self-expression. The reciprocal dynamic of preserving traditions and embracing individualism adds complexity to Madurese culture as individuals navigate their ethnic identity and modernization influences.

During my interview, I found that intercultural marriages (*connubium*)<sup>146</sup> of participants from diverse ethnic backgrounds, have contributed greatly to their understanding of cultural differences. Individuals have gained direct exposure to varied ideas, values, and practices. I discovered that intercultural marriages encourage cultural negotiation to the pilgrimage celebration. Intercultural marriage influences the negotiating processes around cultural variety and marital unions, reflecting the complexities and adaptations that occur in these circumstances. Cultural acculturation is a transformation process involving negotiations and factors. The following factors are classified: Internal factors such as personal values and beliefs influence choices and external factors such as societal expectations, social pressures, and resource availability.

In Indonesian cultural business ethics in general, wealth expecting to be distributed generously, in particular to keep the informal system of interpersonal

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<sup>145</sup> Sarmini, Nadiroh, and Hasanah, 210.

<sup>146</sup> See Weber, Roth, and Wittich, *Economy and Society*, 385–86.

social insurance functioning.<sup>147</sup> Therefore, Madurese pilgrims; who are considered to be financially stable are obliged to celebrate the tradition lavishly. Acculturation and deculturation of tradition can be cultivated through communication between spouse with different ethnicity. In the case of interethnic, a spouse of a different ethnicity may question the Madurese partner's substantive rationality justification such as prioritizing a spiritual significance for pilgrimage rather than external manifestations such as pilgrimage celebration.

However, visible differences in ethnic group are leading to antipathy<sup>148</sup> and prejudice which can result in discriminatory behavior and negative stereotypes. In this scenario, it can be said that Madurese locals in rural regions prefer not to accept modifications in the pilgrimage celebration implementation and solely critique the pilgrims behind their backs, probably due to the fact that people in rural areas have a more traditional personality, as described by Parekh that traditional culture reveals a constrained personality with a primordial state of individuality, fragile dignity, insensitivity to rights, and unwillingness to criticize authority.<sup>149</sup> Madurese spouse are concerned about public gossip and condemnation. They attempt assimilating to social standards and avoiding criticism in order to avoid social exclusion. In contrast with their spouse suggestion based on substantive rationality, Madurese pilgrim spouse have a tendency to employ the instrumental rationality which focuses on practicality and efficiency of action in achieving desired outcomes. Consequently, they both negotiate on the practical repercussions of action and the deeper values linked with them in order to respond to social limitations. They attempt to balancing act by limiting costs and focusing on crucial components of the tradition's fundamental aspects.

Through this situation, it can be seen the dynamic interplay between instrumental and substantive reasoning tension of Madurese pilgrim. Cultural acculturation dynamics are influenced by power dynamics and inequalities.

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<sup>147</sup> Anthony Milner and Mary Quilty, *Comparing Cultures*, 1997th ed. (Australia: Oxford University Press, n.d.), 28.

<sup>148</sup> Weber, Roth, and Wittich, *Economy and Society*, 385.

<sup>149</sup> Bhikhu C. Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*, Nachdr. (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2002), 152–53.

However, other factors may contribute to negotiating the tension of mediating pilgrimage tradition among the locals of Madurese society such as religious sensitivity, illiteracy, and widespread poverty as being said by Parekh that religious sensitivity rejects individualism and strong attachment to sacred entities, while illiteracy leads to unthinking acceptance of elders' beliefs. Poverty reduces originality and ability but increases susceptibility to revolutionary beliefs.<sup>150</sup>

### **3.4 Level of Education and Influence of Islamic modernism as a Bridge for Social Change**

Interestingly, Madurese pilgrims with better intellectual backgrounds play an important role in revitalizing the culture through cultural reform. They critically examine historical practices and adapt to new social dynamics, preserving cultural legacy while aligning with changing community values and objectives. These well-educated Madurese pilgrims propose and contribute new ways and approaches to pilgrimage celebration, advocating for reforms that reflect a more inclusive and progressive attitude. They attempt to find a balance between honoring tradition and accommodating the Madurese people's changing demands and preferences. Their ability to give reasoned arguments and engage in meaningful debates aided their significant effect on the local community, particularly in the center of regency.

On the contrary previous statement that locals in the rural resist changes to pilgrimage festivities, resulting in antipathy, prejudice, and bad stereotypes centred on criticising the pilgrims. Madurese locals living in the centre of regencies especially in the residential complex, are more likely to accept the transformation.<sup>151</sup> As the characteristics of modern elite was more active, independent, rational, and emphatic than earlier generations. This disparity arises from their same social background, which was homogeneous due to shared language, education, urban lifestyle, and broader worldview. Secular interaction arose when traditional attachments eroded.

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<sup>150</sup> Parekh, 152–53.

<sup>151</sup> Interviewed with Arifin

They desired new viewpoints and techniques to assist communities transition into the modern era. As a result, a distinct urban, literate, and modern personality emerged.<sup>152</sup> The enthusiasm of elite locals to learn new things and openness to debate generates a sense of inclusiveness. In addition, the pilgrims educational background prepares them for efficiently conveying their points of view, organize support for suggested changes, and promote inclusivity and inspires local residents to agreed-upon initiatives. In general, the Madurese pilgrims with educational background increases their position as change agents in revitalizing culture and enhancing local community acceptance of agreements.

Looking back to the past, educational degrees became a sign of distinction of high status and prestige and with the arrival of Western education. It must be admitted that education better prepared Javanese people to go through modern society, and it became an important means of social mobility.<sup>153</sup> Similarly, for Madurese, educational degrees have become a symbol of high position and prestige, particularly with the influx of Western education. It is evident that education has fostered a significant influence in equipping Madurese to navigate modern society more effectively. On the contrary according to Mansurnoor, in the rural part of Madura, Illiteracy in Madura is caused by a lack of motivation of Madurese to attend public school as well as Madurese often overlook the benefits of attending public schools. However, during the Sukarno era, the literacy campaign was aggressively promoted throughout the country, including the island of Madura.<sup>154</sup>

The massive increase in elementary public school during the last of nineteenth century has resulted in an increase of the enrolment. In some locations, public schools were created following consultation and approval from ulama or religious leader.<sup>155</sup> Indeed, religious leaders have a significant contribution to the education of the Madurese. Madura, like many other provinces in Indonesia, has a rich religious history, with Islam being the dominant religion. Religious figures, such as clerics and clerics, play an important role in creating the educational landscape and

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<sup>152</sup> Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism*, 152–53.

<sup>153</sup> Sartono Kartodirjo, *Modern Indonesia Tradition and Transformation*, 126.

<sup>154</sup> Mansurnoor, *Islam in an Indonesian World*, 128.

<sup>155</sup> Mansurnoor, 128–29.

promoting education within community. Thus, in addition education for the Madurese is precisely the individual duty to improve the understanding of religion.<sup>156</sup>

*Santri* culture is a socio-religious characteristics as results of a long-term Islamization process on the island, it is represented in three main elements: Islamic Education institutions, Islamic groups and Islamic Leaders.<sup>157</sup> Madurese are Sunni Muslim communities linked with *Nahdlatul Ulama* and the *kiai*, which serve as religious reference centres.<sup>158</sup> Most of Madurese are followers of *Nahdhatul Ulama* (NU) as their religious organization rather than a political association and become popular over *Sarekat Islam* in the beginning of nineteenth due to the *kiai*'s influence. Become member of NU was interpreted as protecting Islam from potential threats of reformists and modernists, therefore, the orthodox thoughts of the NU in Madura have been well preserved by *kiai* in order to ensure their position among *nahdliyin* (the follower of NU). It is common that many of Madurese are blindly obey *kiai*'s word without further questioning the meaning behind the speech.<sup>159</sup>

Yet, Madurese individuals in center of regency nowadays have diverse religious and social affiliations, reflecting the heterogeneity the pluralistic nature of contemporary modern society and the freedom of individuals in determining their religious and social expression. Hence, it should be note that not all Madurese are members of *Nahdatul Ulama* (NU), some may adhere to Islamic modernist ideology such as Muhammadiyah, Persis etc; even though they are minority. An interesting observation is that the individuals involved in negotiating the transformation of the pilgrimage tradition in Madura mostly influenced by Islamic

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<sup>156</sup> Ismail Suardi Wekke, Suyatno Ladiqi, and Reevany Bustami, "Bugis and Madura Migration in Nusantara: Religiosity, Harmony, and Identity from Eastern Indonesia," 15.

<sup>157</sup> Yanwar Pribadi, "Religious Networks in Madura: Pesantren, Nahdlatul Ulama, and Kiai as the Core of Santri Culture," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 51, no. 1 (June 15, 2013): 2–3, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2013.511.1-32>.

<sup>158</sup> Muhammad Itsbatul Haq, "Tasawwuf (Sufism) as The Basis for Internalizing Humanist Character of Indonesian Muslims (Case Study of Pesantren in Yogyakarta and Madura)," *Sunan Kalijaga: International Journal of Islamic Civilization* 2, no. 2 (September 30, 2019): 251, <https://doi.org/10.14421/skijic.v2i2.1514>.

<sup>159</sup> Pribadi, "Religious Networks in Madura," 12–19.

modernist influence. It is do not necessarily have to become members of modernist Islamic organizations. Instead, their influence is often seen through educational background and affiliation, such as having children attend schools associated with Muhammadiyah or having sons-in-law or sons-in-law affiliated with Persis, and others.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

The process of transformation from traditional to modern ways of life in Madurese society is often viewed as a negative aspect of modernization. However, the Madurese strive to strike a balance by accepting beneficial modifications while rejecting contrived or detrimental changes. This strategy reflects their goal of preserving their traditions and way of life while adapting to new conditions. The transformation of the pilgrimage tradition in Madura is influenced by various factors, however this chapter focuses on three particular aspects. Madurese ethnic identity is marked by a strong sense of brotherhood and a desire to preserve traditions and cultural values. However, interactions with individuals from different ethnic backgrounds, especially through intercultural marriages, have contributed to cultural negotiations and adaptation in the pilgrimage celebration. This dynamic is influenced by internal factors such as personal values and beliefs, as well as external factors such as societal expectations, social pressures, and resource availability.

The level of education plays a significant role in the transformation of the pilgrimage celebration, with well-educated Madurese pilgrims revitalizing the culture through critical examination of historical practices and adaptation to changing community values. Their ability to present reasoned arguments and engage in meaningful debates has a profound impact on the local community, particularly in urban areas. However, there is a distinction between rural areas, where resistance to changes in pilgrimage festivities is more prevalent, and urban centers, where acceptance of transformation is more likely. The influence of Islamic modernism, often observed through educational backgrounds and affiliations, further shapes the negotiation and adaptation processes.

## CHAPTER IV

### PILGRIMAGE CELEBRATION: BETWEEN TRADITION AND TRANSFORMATION

#### 4.1 Introduction

This section will go over regarding the complexity exists on how the pilgrimage celebration is implemented. As I have elaborated the pilgrimage tradition in previous chapter, in this chapter I focus on the transformation of pilgrimage celebration in Madurese society and how the pilgrimage tradition is viewed as an evolving culture with no rigid regulations. By looking to its transformation, I attempt to emphasize that how the dynamic changes in Madurese society are intertwined with modernization, negotiation, the society social sanctions as well as the influence of political power.

This chapter will go into detail on eradicating numerous traditions that are no longer relevant to the current situation. Among the questions posed in this chapter are: How the pilgrimage celebration in Madurese society has changed? To what extent the tension of Madurese between preserve and negotiate toward the pilgrimage celebration in the present-day? What is the role of political power in these transformations?

Drawing upon Patsiaouras and Fitchett examination of Veblen's work on conspicuous consumerism, they state that the evolution of conspicuous consumerism in the twentieth century marginalize impulsive forces like as emulation and social comparison.<sup>160</sup> Within this context, I contend that pilgrimage celebration is conspicuous consumerism which involve emulation or replicating others and social comparison between pilgrim. Consequently, some pilgrims cultivate critical consciousness through introspection and self-reflection when they encounter different cultures, communities, and points of view. By contesting the

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<sup>160</sup> Georgios Patsiaouras and James A. Fitchett, "The Evolution of Conspicuous Consumption," ed. Ben Wooliscroft, *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing* 4, no. 1 (January 27, 2012): 22, <https://doi.org/10.1108/17557501211195109>.

tradition, pilgrims contribute to cultural reform by cultivating critical consciousness, raising awareness, and transmitting a transformation. As a result, in this chapter, I assert that pilgrims consider as agent of change that play an important role in societal transformation since they have contributed the most to modifying the way pilgrimage traditions are practiced in Madura, considering pilgrims' efforts to cultivate communal consciousness in order to simplify the celebration.

Likewise, I discuss that the religious leaders have contributed to the revolutionary transformations that have occurred. The power of religious leaders has been critical in supporting revolutionary trends, such as the growing preference for umrah over pilgrimage. According to Munadi et al umrah is practically equivalent to pilgrimage as it has similar traditions such as departing along with arriving celebration. Umrah travel firms frequently engage the assistance of well-known *kiai*. *Kiai* appears to be an extrinsic motivation as it is generally known, the Madurese regard *kiai* as one of the most respected by locals and his statements are taken into account. Whereas, internal motivation stems from a desire for peace of mind and a desire to pray in Mecca as soon as possible.<sup>161</sup>

In traditional societies, tradition has a normative nature, and its effectiveness is based on its continuity and stability. Modern society, on the other hand, is defined by the immense change in human experience rather than its continuity. This can be referred as a transformation.<sup>162</sup> As Mansurnoor asserts that the Madurese are not passive recipients of ideas, habits, concepts, and tradition, but rather active formulators for what comes to them and suits them, which is absorbed and reconstructed in their own way, and then it is domesticated.<sup>163</sup> Therefore, Madurese character emphasizes adaptability leading to integration into new ideas, habits, concepts, and tradition. In this chapter, I argue that the Madurese people are especially receptive to social change as a result of their adaptability and embrace of multiculturalism. On the other hand, they are an ethnic group a strong brotherhood bond that can be seen in both Madura and the migratory location. The Madurese are

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<sup>161</sup> Dani and Munadi, "Makna Umrah bagi Muslim Madura," 169.

<sup>162</sup> Locher, *Transformation and Tradition and Other Essays*, 169.

<sup>163</sup> Mansurnoor, *Islam in an Indonesian World*, 4.

acknowledged by society for their habit of migrating and traveling. As stated by Lucking that migration, Madurese piety, and entrepreneurship all contribute to the Madurese reputation as determined explorers.<sup>164</sup>

Building on the arguments presented, this chapter emphasizes that the transformation of the occurrence of pilgrimage celebrations is an inevitable part. Customs and traditions are not rigid or stagnant but are subject to shifts over time. Reflecting Van Gennep's argument, the existence of the sacred is diverse, and the attribute of sacredness is not absolute.<sup>165</sup> The chapter also examines societal transitions amid the constantly evolving times, exploring how the Madurese strive to balance the preservation of pilgrimage traditions in various forms. It delves into the shifts observed in Madurese society, particularly in the Sumenep district, over the past decades. Notably, there has been a clear shift in public perception, with a series of pilgrimage celebrations during the umrah festivities now considered mandatory traditions. These shifts add to the complexity of the phenomenon, which will be further explored in the following sections.

#### **4.2 Transformation in Pilgrimage Celebration**

Since the second half of nineteenth century, The Dutch government has been suspicious to Muslim clerics, believing them to be the promoters of several rebellions in various regions of the Dutch East Indies. Once traditional authorities are no longer present, *kiai* or religious leader and pilgrims emerge as new trustworthy leaders for most of Muslim society in Dutch East Indies. The colonial government felt forced to keep an eye on those new religious authorities conduct as the Muslim society desire to visit Mecca or Islam's holiest site increases per annum.<sup>166</sup> Similarly, the number of Madurese pilgrims began to increase in the early nineteenth century. In this scenario, the Madurese society is one of the ethnic groups featured in the positive report, in the sense that the Madurese pilgrims were peaceful

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<sup>164</sup> Mirjam Lücking, "Working in Mecca," *European Journal of East Asian Studies* 16, no. 2 (2017): 255, <https://doi.org/10.1163/15700615-01602007>.

<sup>165</sup> Van Gennep et al., *The Rites of Passage*, 12.

<sup>166</sup> Iswahyudi Iswahyudi, *Humanities and Social Science Research* 4, no. 1 (January 6, 2021): p1, <https://doi.org/10.30560/hssr.v4n1p1>.

and less prominent in society at that time. Yet, the pilgrims in Madura are highly esteemed not for their religious understanding, rather for their financial ability to afford the expensive journey.<sup>167</sup> This is in line with Kuntowijoyo's statement that pilgrims are frequently employed as an object of appreciation in Madurese culture alongside with the formation of an entrepreneurial mentality, which is considered as more persistent in everything compared to society in general.<sup>168</sup>

Despite the fact that the number of Madurese pilgrims began to increase in the early nineteenth century, pilgrimages are not accessible to all members of Madurese; in fact, it can be said that only privilege individuals with education and material access has opportunity to perform pilgrimage. In comparison to secretaries, Madurese farmers have fewer possibilities to perform the pilgrimage. In the late eighteenth century, the pilgrimage cost of f. 283 per person was expensive.<sup>169</sup> The expense of pilgrimage at the period was overpriced for most of the Madurese, it is like a lifetime savings due the Madurese population relies solely on rice and tobacco crops planted on agricultural fields classified as less productive lands.<sup>170</sup> Madura is an island with a dry, barren, non-green, and less fruitful location in Indonesia due to its unsuitable soil composition for agriculture. The relatively small island additionally results in short rivers and the mountains are simply limestone hills rising around 470 meters above sea level. In general, the hills in the eastern part of Madura, such as Mount Gadu (341m), Mount Marengan (389m), and Mount Tembuku (471m), are higher above sea level than in the western part, where it seldom surpasses 200m. This situation also contributes to Madura's hot climate, which averages 28 degrees Celsius during the rainy season and 35 degrees Celsius during the dry season. As a result, it is natural that only around 9% of land is used for farming, with the remainder being used for fisheries, salting, and other

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<sup>167</sup> Kuntowijoyo, *Perubahan Masyarakat Sosial Dalam Masyarakat Agraris Madura 1850-1940*.

<sup>168</sup> Kuntowijoyo.

<sup>169</sup> Iswahyudi Iswahyudi, "Islamic Policy of the Dutch East Indies Colonial Government in Madura in the First Quarter of the 20th Century," *Humanities and Social Science Research* 4, no. 1 (January 6, 2021): 7, <https://doi.org/10.30560/hssr.v4n1p1>.

<sup>170</sup> Iswahyudi; Kuntowijoyo, *Perubahan Masyarakat Sosial Dalam Masyarakat Agraris Madura 1850-1940*.

purposes.<sup>171</sup> Therefore, from the socio-economic aspect, it can be underlined that only few have an opportunity to perform pilgrimage in the eighteenth century. Pilgrims at that time consider as individual which financially independent, consequently the pilgrimage celebrations were conducted in a vibrant way. As a result, The pilgrimage's celebration is consider as a memorable occasion for the locals.<sup>172</sup> Considering the pilgrimage was still rare at the time, the Madurese began convoying pilgrims arriving from Mecca in the early eighteenth, which was one of the factors that drove them to have special attention among the Madurese. As a result, the convoy of the pilgrimage is frequently lavishly celebrated.<sup>173</sup>

Dutch reports on Madura in 1946 that insecurity in food situation on the island leads to starving population.<sup>174</sup> In addition, The Dutch had little interest in Madura because the island had nothing to offer economically. As a result, practically until the end of the nineteenth century, the territory was granted self-government regulations.<sup>175</sup> In addition, Madura has been primarily reliant on economic development on Java.<sup>176</sup> Given this geographical situation, It seems reasonable that the Madurese have a push and pull component for moving to work in another areas apart from Madura. Various Madurese proverbs having crucial role in shaping their profound work ethic.

The work ethic of the Madurese pilgrim is widely respected in Madura society.<sup>177</sup> Various Madurese proverbs having crucial role in shaping their profound work ethic. Among its proverbs are: *ethembheng noro 'oreng, ango 'an alako dhibi' make lane' kene* (Instead of joining others, it's better to work alone even if it is only a small business). Meanwhile, the indolent have stigmatized with sarcastic terms

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<sup>171</sup> Muhammad Djakfar, "ETOS BISNIS ETNIS MADURA PERANTAUAN DI KOTA MALANG: MEMAHAMI DIALEKTIKA AGAMA DENGAN KEARIFAN LOKAL," *IQTISHODUNA*, April 9, 2012, <https://doi.org/10.18860/iq.v0i0.1739>; Kuntowijoyo, *Perubahan Masyarakat Sosial Dalam Masyarakat Agraris Madura 1850-1940*.

<sup>172</sup> Interviewed with Ibnu Hajar

<sup>173</sup> Interviewed with Ibnu Hajar and Herman

<sup>174</sup> Dijk, Jonge, and Touwen-Bouwsma, *Across Madura Strait*, 74.

<sup>175</sup> Dijk, Jonge, and Touwen-Bouwsma, 21.

<sup>176</sup> Pribadi, *Islam, State and Society in Indonesia*, 10.

<sup>177</sup> Kuntowijoyo, *Perubahan Masyarakat Sosial Dalam Masyarakat Agraris Madura 1850-1940*, 333.

*atonggul to'ot* (hugging the knees) and *nampa cangkem* (propping up the chin)<sup>178</sup> which obviously demonstrate a negative mindset for those indolent. Additionally, it is related with another proverbs "*Oreng Madhura ta' tako' mate, tape tako' kalaparan*" (Madurese are not frightened of death, but of starving) highlights that Madurese are terrified of losing employment since they argues that if they do not work, they will not be able to feed. Thus, working hard is one of their characteristics.<sup>179</sup> The spirit of the Madurese work ethic follows the Madurese main proverb, namely "*abantal omba' aso angin*" (wave pillow and covered with wind) which is a metaphor that pillows are in the form of waves and blankets are in the form of wind in the sea. This demonstrates that the workplace where they work is also a bed for them, that filled with challenges. Similarly, it demonstrates the mindset of the Madurese who are ready to work twenty-four hours a day despite the barriers<sup>180</sup>.

Interestingly, one of the most powerful aspects that generates a very high Madurese work ethos is "self-esteem". Self-esteem is the most important part of Madurese social life since they are having self-esteem sensitivity and it is reflected in proverbs "*ango'an pote tolang etembang pote matah*", which means "it is better to have white bone than white eyes" it is a metaphor for "life is meaningless without self-esteem," and it is preferable to die (white bones) than to endure humiliation (white eyes), on that account the Madurese can engage in violence if their self-esteem is insulted. Aside from the Madurese are known for having a strong work ethic, which adds to their financial success, the Madurese are recognized as a pious people, with one of the main reasons being that they work hard to acquire financial capabilities in order to complete their Islam through the pilgrimage to Mecca owing to performing the pilgrimage is a measure of success for the Madurese. In addition, Madurese tends to holds sharia in attempting economic affairs which become an integral part when dealing with others; they treat others like the way they treat

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<sup>178</sup> Windari, "Etos Kerja Madura Dalam Perspektif Budaya Dan Agama Islam" (2020), <http://etheses.iainmadura.ac.id/826/#:~:text=Sifat%20etos%20kerja%20Madura%20diantaranya,ta%27%20abingker%3A%20lisensi%20merantau.>

<sup>179</sup> Siti Maisaroh, "Networking Etnisitas Sebagai Modal Sosial Etnis Madura di Perantauan," 2016.

<sup>180</sup> Djakfar, "ETOS BISNIS ETNIS MADURA PERANTAUAN DI KOTA MALANG."

themselves.<sup>181</sup> In the opinion of the Madurese, a person is not successful if the pilgrimage is not accomplished. As a result, completing the journey indirectly indicates the financial ability and stability.<sup>182</sup> Furthermore, the Madurese regard the pilgrimage as an important source of inspiration to become a complete Muslim by performing the pilgrimage. The Madurese have proven to be tough, tenacious, and productive people thus far because they are known for their resilience and hard work.

Kuntowijoyo assume that in the early nineteenth century, the number of Madurese went to perform pilgrimage increased due to the low cost of travel;<sup>183</sup> however, in this case, I would argue that it was not because of it, instead it is due to the financial capacity of the Madurese people began to rise due to socio-economic factors. Given the fact that, from the early nineteenth century, the Madurese have frequently travelled to Java island to work as labourers in plantations and informal fields.<sup>184</sup> Another evidence is Madurese enterprise demonstrates the strength of the business-oriented community as the indigenous traders when compared to foreign-origin Arab and Chinese traders in the nineteenth century.<sup>185</sup> Local enterprises traders have broadened the economic frontier and set the pace for the economic transformation, created commercial ties with the rest of the globe due to the Indonesian government since its independence appeared unconcerned for socioeconomic changes. They gradually increased their power by establishing non-corporate organisations that today control the great majority of the island's export trade in the 1970s.<sup>186</sup> Furthermore, Mansurnoor states that in the 1980s, despite successful prosperous traders, land was regarded as a solid source of income for wealth. Government employees with steady income salary which is sufficient,

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<sup>181</sup> A. Latief Wiyata, *Carok ; Konflik Kekerasan & Harga Diri Orang Madura* (LKIS Yogyakarta, 2002).

<sup>182</sup> Nurul Anam, "Mengenal 15 Prinsip Hidup Orang Madura," 2023, <https://suaraindonesia-news.com/mengenal-15-prinsip-hidup-orang-madura/>.

<sup>183</sup> Kuntowijoyo, *Perubahan Masyarakat Sosial Dalam Masyarakat Agraris Madura 1850-1940*, 334.

<sup>184</sup> Iswahyudi, "Islamic Policy of the Dutch East Indies Colonial Government in Madura in the First Quarter of the 20th Century," 7.

<sup>185</sup> Dijk, Jonge, and Touwen-Bouwsma, *Across Madura Strait*, 203–4.

<sup>186</sup> Huub de Jonge, "Traders, Entrepreneurs and Economic Change on the Island of Madura," *Free University Press Amsterdam*, 1987, 26.

usually purchasing the land as a form of investment of cultivation as well as to achieve prestige acquired by possession of agricultural land. They are seen as *oring se nyaman odika* (individuals who live comfortably).<sup>187</sup>

Based on above statement, it can be said that in the nineteenth century Madurese government employees considered to have reputable occupations. One of the reason is since their earnings considered adequate in comparison to the early eighteenth century with modest salaries resulting fewer of them to perform pilgrimage. Consequently, since the nineteenth century they regarded capable of performing the pilgrimage.<sup>188</sup> However, in this situation, the position of Madurese employee has an impact on the execution of the pilgrimage celebration, particularly with the regulation that workers' holidays are only for defined days, which, of course, has an impact on the pilgrimage celebration. Due to circumstances that required them to leave their homes and continue working, the pilgrims would not have been able to stay for 40 days due to strict rules that prevent them to do it. Consequently, the pilgrims employee carry out the celebration for a week.<sup>189</sup> However, guests are likely to come along, and they will be welcomed regardless of who keen on visit without restrictions.

Subsequently, in the twentieth century, farmers, traders and any other occupations have had the same opportunities as a result of societal advancements that have made it easier for them to gain financial advantages that enable them to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca.<sup>190</sup> This transformation can be ascribed to the community's enhanced financial capacities and self-sufficiency. However, fundamental changes occur that have an impact on a society's economic, social, and political systems; these changes are difficult to prevent since the globalization process and the reality of disruption, people are begin to build a set of shared values to direct choices. Many factors frame the cultural paradigm of pilgrimage celebration from diverse perspectives which will be discuss in next chapter.

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<sup>187</sup> Mansurnoor, *Islam in an Indonesian World*, 66–67.

<sup>188</sup> Interviewed with Ibnu Hajar

<sup>189</sup> Interviewed with Hafidh

<sup>190</sup> Kuntowijoyo, *Perubahan Masyarakat Sosial Dalam Masyarakat Agraris Madura 1850-1940*, 335.

Considering the regular pilgrimage was still rare in the early eighteenth century, the Madurese began convoying pilgrims arriving from Mecca, which became one of the factors that drove them to have special attention among the Madurese. As a result, the convoy of the pilgrimage is frequently lavishly celebrated.<sup>191</sup> As a form of expression in celebrating and sharing happiness with other communities. Pilgrims believe that the cost of pilgrimage celebration capital will be retrieved when it is carried out as a *syiar*.<sup>192</sup> On the other hand, marginalized pilgrims have the desire to improve themselves, in addition, a convoy is one way to show self-existence to the public in general.<sup>193</sup> In some cases, convoys were also escorted by police cars. Convoys evolved from a form of celebration to a competition for social prestige and acceptance. The more convoys, the greater the chance of getting *estoh* as explained in the previous chapter. Participation in such different activities fosters not only loyalty to one's fellow members of society, yet additionally a sense of religious affiliation. Furthermore, the simple repetition of ritualistic rituals offers participants with spiritual fulfillment, meaning, and hope.<sup>194</sup> Despite the fact that religious activities obviously stimulate collaboration, integration, and communication, they also serve as a medium for local factionalism.<sup>195</sup> Convoys that were originally created to transport *barokah* now become obligations as a sort of middleman in this circumstance; regard mutualism and mutually beneficial alliances.

With the development and advancement of the community's economy in this decade, has resulted in the use of cars for convoys in this decade, which were formerly considered a luxury for Madurese people since it was one of the determinants of someone's success in Madurese society. Moreover, when I interviewed those who incidentally live in urban areas, they revealed that they had no desire to carry out the convoy tradition. Evidently, convoys, for instance, although originally had a positive connotation as a form of vibrant expression, have

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<sup>191</sup> Interviewed with Ibnu Hajar and Herman

<sup>192</sup> Interviewed with Sulis

<sup>193</sup> Interview with Ibnu Hajar

<sup>194</sup> Mansurnoor, *Islam in an Indonesian World*, 190.

<sup>195</sup> Mansurnoor, 191.

evolved into a societal disturbance, for instance, creating a traffic jam, it is considered as disrupt civil right by limiting access of roadways and causing inconvenience to others as well as the possibility of unwanted incidents remain high.<sup>196</sup> In addition, convoys viewed as causing disruption for local residents as the sound deafening of rumbling sound by the gang of motorcyclists.<sup>197</sup> Interestingly, convoys of motorcyclist, entering into competition among pilgrims, when one pilgrim provides cigarettes then other strives to give the same.<sup>198</sup>

Since traditions do not have specific rules and regulations, it is always possible to change certain components of custom; most traditions over time are variations of an initial tradition in which certain aspects of a tradition have been added and eliminated. For instance, the *dhamar korong* tradition is also called the *dhamar kambang*, it is a lantern turn on for forty days using the coconut oil as a sign of health; if the lantern is dim, it represents that the pilgrim is neither is harmed nor die.<sup>199</sup> It can be assume may be due to the difficulty of travelling to Mecca at the time which requires several month, as well as the difficulties in communicating with family members; however, with the ease of transportation and communication access, the tradition has become less common. Likewise, the tradition of the *Kendi* or a clay water storage container in the shape of a teapot being replaced in front of the house as a symbol of reflection for pilgrim to get water easily, However, as time passed, this practice began to diminish and now considered to be an element of animism.

Another shift is that tradition of changing names and acquiring a new Islamic name from the sheikh has been substituted by asking the kiai or scholars from the same pilgrimage group. Some pilgrims even requested that their names be changed by the pilgrimage group leader (*ketua kloter*). Moreover, the pattern of deviation to celebrate pilgrimage tradition through understanding the perspective that the essence of performing the pilgrimage is considered only the spiritual dimension (a matter between the individual and religion) as well as do not carry out *tompangan*

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<sup>196</sup> Interviewed with two prospective pilgrims 2023

<sup>197</sup> Interviewed with Masyhur

<sup>198</sup> Interviewed with Malhum

<sup>199</sup> Interviewed with Hafid

reciprocity somehow convey a negative impression from the locals those living in the rural area. Before in Madurese society, the locals will head to the pilgrim house and demand the present that they were previously given through force and intimidation (*Eparani*). However, shift that can be seen in today's society, locals are more having different social sanction, is closed pilgrimage will be exposed to *San rasanan* (rumors) or gossip from the community by distributing unreliable news, however, this sanction is closed (those who did not carry out the tradition did not know and hear directly). This humiliation (gossip) will offend the Madurese since it refers to their pride as Madurese are known to have great self-esteem.<sup>200</sup>

### 4.3 From Big Pilgrimage into Small Pilgrimage

Hajj is one of the largest gatherings of Muslims around the world head to the city of Mecca which can be conducted once a year. Umrah called as minor pilgrimage can be done at any time of year.<sup>201</sup> The Pilgrimage to Mecca for Madurese is known as the *Ajjih Rajeh* or the Great pilgrimage whereas the umrah is known as the *Ajjih keni* or the Minor pilgrimage.

Soeharto issued Presidential Decree No. 57/96 on July 15, 1996, modifying the 1983 Decree to govern private agency 'umrah travel. The legislation was intended to prohibit cheap 'umrah from being paired with expensive pilgrimage, as well as to prevent abuse and mismanagement. However, because there is no quota and it can commence at any time, there has been no significant shift in government policy about 'umrah. Despite its remote policy, the government maintained control over pilgrimage and 'umrah and its services.<sup>202</sup>

The opportunity to conduct the pilgrimage is the conclusion of a lengthy and laborious endeavor for the Madurese. Aside from the lengthy waiting period, the pilgrimage also necessitates a substantial financial investment. Some people save

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<sup>200</sup> Wardi, "Tradisi *Ter-ater* dan Dampak Ekonomi bagi Masyarakat Madura," 51.

<sup>201</sup> Eric Tagliacozzo and Shawkat M. Toorawa, eds., *The Hajj: Pilgrimage in Islam* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 3.

<sup>202</sup> Moch Nur Ichwan, "Governing Hajj: Politics of Islamic Pilgrimage Services in Indonesia Prior to Reformasi Era," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 46, no. 1 (June 27, 2008): 145, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2008.461.125-151>.

their entire lives to pay for the pilgrimage, but others prioritize Hajj over buying a car. This pattern can still be found in rural Madura, where there is a strong need for recognition. Given the tremendous expenditures involved, the effort to save money while achieving a specific social status takes primacy. It should be noted that pilgrimage celebration charges, add to the total high cost of pilgrimage.

The problem lies when Madurese shift to opt for the Umrah over the pilgrimage inclined to have a strong desire to complete the pilgrimage has led some people in Madura, notably in Sumenep, and more likely to perform umrah and pilgrimage. Due to high enthusiasm for the journey, many Madurese people withdraw their savings for the hajj to carry out the umrah, and there is even a desire to carry out the umrah as soon as the pilgrims who have just arrived. Unfortunately, it was recorded that 498 applicants for pilgrimage canceled their registration by withdrawing their savings (*Biaya Penyelenggaraan Ibadah Haji* or BPIH) to perform the umrah. The cancellation was not due to the Indonesian government increased the cost of pilgrimage, but rather to health and age concerns.<sup>203</sup>

In *Shari'a* terms, Umrah differs from pilgrimage. Nonetheless, for the Madurese, umrah is nearly interchangeable with pilgrimage. As a result, individuals who have conducted Umrah are called the same as those who have performed Hajj.<sup>204</sup> A shift in understanding happened when people grew to assume that the two worship events are basically the same thing, particularly as a form of visiting Mecca and Medina. Because of the lengthy waiting period for the journey, travel agents have a considerable opportunity to fulfil the public's desire to visit Mecca and Medina via Umrah. The spread of Umrah travel agents has brought a fresh air because it can facilitate people's desire to perform Umrah, nevertheless it has also facilitated Umrah travel agents who are interested in prioritising business motives by using spiritual aspects to make as much profit as possible, even if it means physically and mentally threatening the congregation.

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<sup>203</sup> Mohammad Ghazi, "Waktu Tunggu Lama, 498 Pendaftar Haji Di Sumenep Tarik Uang Pendaftaran," *Media Indonesia*, 2023, <https://mediaindonesia.com/nusantara/558789/waktu-tunggu-lama-498-pendaftar-haji-di-sumenep-tarik-uang-pendaftaran>.

<sup>204</sup> Dani and Munadi, "Makna Umrah bagi Muslim Madura," 143–44.

Due to its strong bond with Islam, the island has been labelled by Indonesians and the Madurese themselves as *pulau santri* (the santri island).<sup>205</sup> Madurese to fulfil their fifth and last religious obligation the pilgrimage to Mecca has become a perennial source of land sales. Pilgrimage affairs bring villagers to depend on kiais for making travel arrangements. Therefore, prior to the pilgrimage season, some villagers will submit sufficient funds to a kiai and others. Umrah in this case, has become a secondary need for Madurese people, not only for the upper middle class but also for the lower middle class which is a program initiated by the umrah travel agency using the umrah *arisan* model and umrah credit.<sup>206</sup> This *arisan* model is often referred to as *Kompolan*. *Kompolan* is part of a religious tradition led by religious leaders (*kyai or nyai*) who have an important role in transforming religious values in Madura as well as political contestation.<sup>207</sup>

In addition, the motivation for Umrah is intrinsic motivation, namely the motivation to obtain peace of mind and desire and to immediately be able to worship in the holy land of Mecca; however, this is also influenced by extrinsic motivation, in particular the influence of *kiai* who have great influence and become role models for the Madurese community, so that most bureaucrats organizing umrah work together with one or more *kiai*. Respect of Madurese toward their religious teacher in the place of origin does not necessarily cut off even they migrated to new place. They would maintain contact, and even regularly they would visit their teacher on Madura Island.<sup>208</sup> In line with statement of Wekke et al, Madurese constantly keep an emotional bond with their religious teacher on the island of Madura, paying them frequent visits. For them blessings are an important aspect of their spirituality, and they seek their advice and gratitude.<sup>209</sup> The power of sacralization and commercialization of religious travel contributes to the 'leisure' aspect of

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<sup>205</sup> Pribadi, *Islam, State and Society in Indonesia*, 11.

<sup>206</sup> Akhmad Anwar Dani and Muhammad Munadi, "MAKNA UMRAH BAGI MUSLIM MADURA," 2022, 151.

<sup>207</sup> Tatik Hidayati, "Kompolan: Kontestasi Tradisi Perempuan Madura," n.d., 147-149.

<sup>208</sup> Ismail Suardi Wekke, Suyatno Ladiqi, and Reevany Bustami, "Bugis and Madura Migration in Nusantara: Religiosity, Harmony, and Identity from Eastern Indonesia," 12.

<sup>209</sup> Ismail Suardi Wekke, Suyatno Ladiqi, and Reevany Bustami, 12.

pilgrimage,<sup>210</sup> *Kiai* or religious authority as the core component of Madura's religious circles<sup>211</sup> which plays an important role in disseminating spiritual motivation to perform a novel experience, which this may be what Holmberg wants to say when elaborating hyperreal motivation or to have profound expectations, embrace novel and intense experience to feel inspired, revitalized, charged, or transformed when return from the journey.<sup>212</sup>

In the history of Majapahit kingdom, *Rato* (king) represents the royal elite, whereas *kiai* represents the community's local elite. The Islamization process in Madura is linked to people-empowering efforts. *Rato* (king) represents the royal elite, whereas *kiai* represents the community's local elite. On the one hand, the arrival of Islam made the *rato* understand his function as a social guardian. As a result, the *rato* should be thankful to the *kiai*. The distinction between the secular *rato* and the sacred *kiai*, on the other hand, has vanished. Furthermore, the *kiai* descendants currently taking over the role of the *rato*.<sup>213</sup> *Kiai* are quick to adapt new approaches in business operations due to their supralocal interactions and intelligence.<sup>214</sup> The Madurese are known for their devotion to their *kiai*.<sup>215</sup> *Kiai* created their own networks independent from the aristocracy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Contact was fostered by the many *kiai* who wandered Madura, probably enhancing their alms with some trading.<sup>216</sup> In fact, several umrah bureaus are established and owned by the *kiai* personally or by *pesantren* as an institution.<sup>217</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> Yunus Kalender and Berna Tari Kasnakoglu, "Understanding Hajj Travel: A Dynamic Identity Perspective," *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 20, no. 4 (July 4, 2022): 565–82, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14766825.2021.1953046>.

<sup>211</sup> Pribadi, *Islam, State and Society in Indonesia*.

<sup>212</sup> Carl Bryan Holmberg, "Spiritual Pilgrimages: Traditional and Hyperreal Motivations for Travel and Tourism" 12 (1993).

<sup>213</sup> Muhammad Endy Saputro, *Kiai Langgar and Kalebun: A Contestation between Cultural Brokers in a Non-Pesantren Village in Madura, Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Graduate School, Gadjah Mada University, 2009), 302–304.

<sup>214</sup> Mansurnoor, *Islam in an Indonesian World*, 258.

<sup>215</sup> Dijk, Jonge, and Touwen-Bouwsma, *Across Madura Strait*, 113.

<sup>216</sup> Dijk, Jonge, and Touwen-Bouwsma, 65.

<sup>217</sup> Several studies have been conducted on *Buppa'*, *Babbu*, *Guru ban Rato* (Fathers, Mothers, Teachers, and government leaders)

Furthermore, the ceremonies surrounding umrah implementation are comparable to pilgrimage implementation, both before and after Umrah.<sup>218</sup> Recently, the Madurese, specifically in Sumenep regencies have adopted pilgrimage celebrations the same as umrah celebrations. Whether it is pilgrimage or umrah, both of them attract the attention of the Madurese. Another shift is, the Madurese, in this case the Sumenep, are used to ask people who have received the title of hajj, whether they have performed a major pilgrimage (Hajj) or only performed a minor pilgrimage (umrah). As the title given was the same.

#### **4.4 Conclusion**

In this chapter, the complexity surrounding the implementation of pilgrimage celebrations in Madurese society has been thoroughly examined. The transformative nature of the pilgrimage tradition has been emphasized, highlighting its status as an evolving culture with no rigid regulations. The dynamic changes observed in Madurese society are closely intertwined with factors such as modernization, negotiations, social sanctions, and political influence.

Two significant aspects of the transformation have been explored: the elimination of traditions that have lost relevance and the shift of pilgrimage traditions towards resembling umrah celebrations. These changes have given rise to important questions regarding the evolving nature of pilgrimage celebrations in Madurese society, the tension between preserving and negotiating traditions, and the role of political power in driving these transformations.

Critical consciousness among some pilgrims through introspection and self-reflection, resulting in cultural reform, increased awareness and transformative experiences. Pilgrims are viewed as agents of change, playing a crucial role in modifying the way pilgrimage traditions are practiced in Madura, with a focus on cultivating communal consciousness and simplifying the celebration.

Furthermore, the influential role of religious leaders in the revolutionary transformations taking place has been discussed. Religious leaders, particularly

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<sup>218</sup> Dani and Munadi, "Makna Umrah bagi Muslim Madura," 143–44.

respected *kiai*, have played a significant part in supporting trends such as the growing preference for umrah over pilgrimage. External motivation stemming from the influence of these religious leaders and internal motivation driven by the desire for peace of mind and prompt prayer in Mecca have contributed to this shift.

Lastly, this chapter has highlighted the inevitability of transformation in pilgrimage celebrations as part of tradition. Customs and traditions are not rigid or stagnant but are subject to shifts over time. The Madurese people's adaptability, embrace of multiculturalism, and strong brotherhood bonds have made them receptive to social change.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION AND TRAJECTORY

#### 5.1 Conclusion

I have sought to provide the first anthropological study of pilgrimage celebrations. Offering a distinctive characteristic of Madurese pilgrimage celebration within the transformation context while at the same time providing the critical perspective on its function as a bridge of pilgrim's social status in Madurese society. It has been argued that the pilgrimage celebration has been held to become an expression of the happiness and demonstrate pilgrim's power of legitimacy to gain social prestige and affirm the economic power among the society not through the pilgrimage itself. As it is mentioned in several previous studies that completing the pilgrimage grants the pilgrim's authority and enhances social prestige in society.

Indonesia, being the largest Muslim-majority country in the world, contributes significantly to the number of Muslim pilgrims globally. The Madurese as a dominant ethnic group have a strong bond with Islam in Indonesia, performing the pilgrimage is a priority as well as celebrating pilgrimage tradition. Interestingly, pilgrimage celebration is firmly embedded in Muslim culture; Indonesian culture specifically, demonstrating loyalty to practice leisure time through practising tradition. In accordance with Iwasaki assessment that leisure-time meaning-making can improve life quality in a number of cultural contexts by promoting positive emotions, well-being, self-esteem, social interactions, and human advancement.<sup>219</sup> However, the implementation of the pilgrimage celebration nowadays faces complexities related to the transformation of traditions and the negotiation of cultural practices.

The pilgrimage celebration's focus has shifted from expressing happiness to becoming a competitive event for social recognition, resulting in increased

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<sup>219</sup> Iwasaki, "Leisure and Quality of Life in an International and Multicultural Context," 258.

pressure, tension, and rivalry among pilgrims. As a result of this shift, tension arises during the pilgrimage celebration among the pilgrim, enhanced society's awareness of the need to prioritise key components of the event. Some individuals view the celebration as secondary to the actual pilgrimage journey, seeking a simpler, more introspective approach that aligns with their values and the essence of the pilgrimage. The pilgrimage celebration shift is also influenced by external factors such as politics, social dynamics, cultural changes, and shifts in values. The negotiation process surrounding the transformation of the celebration involves the perspectives of pilgrims and societal expectations. Cultural acculturation, levels of education, and Islamic modernist also contribute to the complexity of the transformation.

This shift in perspective calls for minimizing excessive traditions and emphasizing the importance of awareness, thus restoring the authentic expression of joy and fostering community unity during the celebration. If some studies have highlighted the function of pilgrimage in increasing social status, this study finds out that pilgrimage traditions play an important role in determining the social status attained by pilgrims. In addition, pilgrim in Madura contribute to the cultivation of communal awareness and the transmission of cultural transformation. Pilgrims, as agents of change, challenge and reform traditions by cultivating critical awareness, raising awareness and simplifying celebrations using their new authority. Yet, the power of religious leaders also influenced revolutionary transformations, such as the increased preference for umrah over the pilgrimage.

Tradition and cultural values are seen as sacred and integral to maintaining unity and kinship among Madurese society. The nature of the pilgrimage celebration involves the participation of the local, therefore, it is essential to acknowledge the the response to these changes. This fieldwork study reveals that the response was varies between urban and rural areas. Drawing upon Robert H. Lauer argument that social-psychological factors are important for modernization is the willingness of people to being modernize.<sup>220</sup> Thus, it can be seen that most

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<sup>220</sup> Robert H. Lauer, *Perspectives on Social Change* (Boston, United States of America: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1973), 214.

Madurese located in central regencies are more adaptable to the shift of this tradition. While on contrary, Madurese in rural most likely seeing it as challenges to traditional practices.

## **5.2 Trajectory**

The significance of pilgrimage traditions in religious and cultural practices is widely recognized worldwide. In the context of Madura, an Indonesian island with a deep-rooted Islamic heritage, the pilgrimage tradition holds particular importance and has undergone transformations over the years. As Indonesia is home to a vast Muslim population, making it the world's most popular Muslim-majority country, Islam has permeated various aspects of Indonesian society, including social, political, economic, and cultural realms. This research is an attempt to contribute the further research about the transformation of pilgrimage celebration within Madurese society.

Some transformation and negotiation of pilgrimage celebration in Madura can be reflections of experiences that may be contribute to the broader discussions of other Muslim societies across the globe, such as Tunisia, Malaysia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Senegal and Turkey. Furthermore, comparative research on it can be extended to other societies in general facing similar challenges in multicultural and multi-religious as well. For majority religion which embedded with culture, transformation experiences in pilgrimage celebration in Madura in terms of its tradition held by society and its complexity are worth greater scrutiny by academicians, cultural practitioners, policy makers who wish to investigates a deeper understanding of the pilgrimage celebration, its cultural significance, and its implications for the broader socio-political landscape of Indonesia and Muslim-majority countries worldwide as well as to investigates the tensions and negotiations in the framework of the relationship between actors of society and locals in general.

However, it is acknowledged that the transformation of pilgrimage celebrations involves multifaceted dimensions extending beyond them economic factors. By examining the interplay of tradition, religion, and socio-politic

authority, this research can contribute to ongoing debates on transformation in diverse cultural contexts to capture the nuanced and implicit meanings associated with the pilgrimage celebration and the specific influential power of pilgrims on the economic aspects of society, providing deeper insights and interpretations attached into its significance beyond its explicit cultural connotations. We also have to remember that the celebration of the pilgrimage in Madura can be deepened by exploring the differences in celebration practices among specific regions and regencies within the island. This examination can shed light on how local customs, traditions, and cultural values influence the way the pilgrimage celebrations are being held in different areas. In terms of uncovering the meaning behind each tradition can offer valuable insights into the cultural and religious significance attributed to these practices. Analyzing these specific regions and regencies will provide a more nuanced understanding of the variations in rituals, festivities, and the overall significance of the pilgrimage celebration within the Madurese context.

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## ATTACHMENT

Afif Musthafa, interviewed on 29 January 2022, Sumenep, Madura, Indonesia.

Agus Wedi, interviewed on 14 December 2022, Depok, Indonesia.

Aminatul Hasanah, interviewed on 01 February 2022, Sumenep, Madura, Indonesia

Fatih (pseudonym), interviewed on 16 January 2022, Sumenep, Madura, Indonesia.

Fauziah Kurniawati, interviewed on 29 January 2022, Sumenep, Madura, Indonesia.

Hafidh, interviewed on 14 March 2023, Pamekasan, Madura, Indonesia.

Herman, interviewed on 27 February 2023, Sumenep, Madura, Indonesia.

Ibnu Hajar, interviewed on 15 April 2023, Sumenep, Madura, Indonesia.

Ida, interviewed on 23 April 2023, Sumenep, Madura, Indonesia.

Ifoed, interviewed on 09 April 2023, Sumenep, Madura, Indonesia.

Malhum, interviewed on 05 April 2023, Sumenep, Madura, Indonesia.

Masyhur Abadi, interviewed on 15 March 2023, Pamekasan, Madura, Indonesia.

Naryo, interviewed on 23 April 2023, Sumenep, Madura, Indonesia.

Sulis, interviewed on 18 May 2023, Sumenep, Madura, Indonesia.

Tarwiyah, interviewed on 28 April 2023, Sumenep, Madura, Indonesia.

Titin, interviewed on 21 May 2023, Sumenep, Madura, Indonesia.

Tum, interviewed on 04 April 2023, Sumenep, Madura, Indonesia.

Walid Rasuly, interviewed on 03 February 2022, Sumenep, Madura, Indonesia.

Walid, interviewed on 17 July 2023, Depok, Indonesia

Yusrah (pseudonym), interviewed on 17 January 2022, Sumenep, Madura, Indonesia.



Figure 1 &2 : 2023 Sumenep Regency Manasik Hajj



Figure 3 : Locals shake hands with pilgrims after pra-pilgrimage tradition.



Figure 4 : Pilgrimage Tradition in Preduan Village, Sumenep, Madura