

## **The Relevance of *Carok* and *Settong Dara* from a Historical Perspective to Reduce Madura's Negative Stigma**

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### **ABSTRACT**

Madura is an area in East Java that has a negative stigma from the wider community. This is inseparable from the existence of *Carok* as a last resort to solve problems for the Madurese people. It is necessary to reconstruct through historiography to reduce the negative stigma. In some previous studies, it examined *Carok* which was reviewed from the law in Indonesia and the history of the Madurese people to the character of the Madurese people. However, the research has not explained the history of the conflict, especially *Carok* in Madura. Therefore, researchers use historical methods to explore *Carok*'s history in detail to know the development of *Carok* and its relevance to *Settong Dara*, the values of *Carok*, and *Carok*'s understanding of efforts with *Settong Dara* to reduce negative stigma in Madurese society. The research results obtained are that *Carok* was known during the Dutch colonial period. At that time, dutch people were moved to challenge the Dutch after the death of *Sakera*. However, the Dutch fought to make the image of *celurit* and Madura ugly. Before committing *Carok*, the two sides in the dispute must first meet the requirements. In the present time, this requirement has been ignored by some people, causing a shift in the meaning of *Carok* which causes a negative stigma. If examined further, various values in *Carok* will be known.

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### **INTRODUCTION**

Madura Island is included in the East Java region which has its own culture. Madurese people have a distinctive, unique culture, and their cultural identity is considered their identity in behaving and living. One of the famous things about Madura is about *Carok* (Handayani & Misbah, 2019, p. 23). *Carok* is the last way to solve a problem that occurs in the Madurese community. For Madurese people, *Carok* has a relationship with culture and self-esteem. *Carok* is done to defend self-esteem known as "malo" or feelings of shame. There is also a phrase known

to them, *lebi sae apote tolang ketembeng apote matah, mun lokanah baden bise ejei' tapeh mun lokanah ateh tade' tambeneh*, which means that it is better to be bone white than eye white, skin wounds can be sutured but resentful has no cure. This has to do with the basics of self-esteem. We've to keep in mind that Madurese people highly uphold their self-esteem and that self-esteem is a fundamental value for them so as not to be underestimated by others (Budimansyah, 2018, p. 207).

However, the context of *Carok* is misinterpreted in the present, which gives rise to a shift in meaning in understanding *Carok*. This has led to many criminal cases in Madura on behalf of *Carok*. Madura is one of the contributors to the high number of violent crime cases. The case caused a negative stigma in Madura as evidenced by the many news portals that showed that understanding criminality in Madura has always been associated with *Carok*. Based on data from the Central Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Indonesia (Badan Pusat Statistik Republik Indonesia) (2020) which categorizes forms of crime by using sharp weapons is still high. East Java was ranked in the top 3 with 9.107 cases counted in 2018. In this case, Madura also contributes to a high number of cases of violent crimes. This causes a negative stigma in Madura which can cause ongoing conflicts.

Based on research from Budimansyah (2018, p. 202) examining *Carok* from a legal perspective in Indonesia regulated in Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana (KUHP). In this study, it has not been explained about the historical or historical side of *Carok* so the wider community still views Madura negatively. The history related to the Madurese people has been researched by Siddiq et al. (2018, p. 57), however, in the discussion related to *Carok*, it has not been explained in detail. Related to the Madurese people, Fatoni (2020, p. 115) argues about the character of the Madurese community in overseas areas, especially in Semampir, which is famous for various forms of violence by the Madurese people. There is also an example of the *Carok* case, but it has not been explained about the events behind the *Carok* case, causing an improper perspective from the community. Research from Mustikajati et al. (2021, p. 95) and Djatmiko (2019, p. 40) regarding *Carok* implementing the principle of restorative justice has also not completely lowered the negative stigma that exists.

Based on the exposure from the research above, efforts to provide an understanding of *Carok* have not been maximized so there is still a negative stigma in the wider community towards Madura. Aligned with new research from Antara Kantor Berita Indonesia (2022) which mentioned that there were 200 opinions on Twitter and 102 news portals from 2019 to 2022 that reported negative things about Madura, specifically news about *Carok*. In addition, Madurese people are also always portrayed as abusive people because of this *Carok* stigma. This is in line with the opinion of D. Zawawi Imron who explained that the wider community's image of Madurese society is always very negative. The wider community describes Madurese society as abusive, vindictive, irritable, murderous, and intolerant (Junaidy, 1999 in Fatoni, 2020, p. 116). They are also known to be temperamental, outspoken, emotional, and unwilling to give in. This is due to their personality formed in a barren and arid climate (Budimansyah, 2018, p. 206). Therefore, to reduce the negative stigma, it is necessary to understand *Carok* appropriately and the principle of *Settong Dara* in Madurese people in maintaining culture to reduce negative stigma in the middle of the community

The implementation of *Carok* as an effort to solve the final problem is not carried out carelessly, but certain requirements must be met by both parties involved in the conflict. These requirements include requesting an immunity spell (*tamping sereng*), having martial arts (*kadigdajan*), and preparing capital adequacy (*banda*). The requirement is complicated enough that it should make criminal acts no longer committed. Reducing crimes has been done by reconstructing the legal culture based on Pancasila, implementing education, and forming regional regulations. These efforts have not been able to reduce the negative stigma in the large-scale community. Therefore, efforts are needed to reconstruct society's comprehension to reduce and reduce the number of crimes that occur. One of the efforts to reduce negative stigma can be done by revitalizing traditions. This is in line with the research of Sinaga (2014, p. 109) who takes advantage of the potential of social media to reduce cultural stigma by changing the views of those who have negative stigma regarding Dayak culture. The study was able to reduce the existing negative stigma. Based on the theory of Erving Goffman, negative labels can be vanishing through the active efforts of the people in them (Dayanti & Legowo, 2021, p. 287). In these studies, it is explained about efforts to reconstruct legal culture to reduce negative stigma. Various studies, it has not been confirmed efforts to reduce the negative stigma related to *Carok* using *Settong Dara*. Therefore, this study seeks to reconstruct the understanding of society through historical studies on the meaning of *Carok* and the principle of *Settong Dara* contained in Madurese society.

The focus of this research is to examine *Carok* and the principle of *Settong Dara* as a family principle in Madura from a historical view. This was done to find out the real *Carok*, then efforts were made to understand *Carok* to reduce the negative stigma of the Madurese people through *Settong Dara*. The purpose of this study is to find out the development of *Carok* and *Settong Dara* in the past and present, examine the values in *Carok*, and compile *Carok*'s understanding efforts.

From the description above, Madura has a unique culture. One of the famous things about Madura is *Carok*. *Carok* is an effort to solve certain problems by applying strict conditions and is not easy to implement. Then, *Carok* was mistaken for all crimes in Madura. Many media say that Madurese people easily do *Carok* so the Madura gets a negative stigma. Therefore, researchers are trying to reduce negative stigma using historical studies to find information about how the real *Carok* is. Researchers also conducted a study on the expression *Settong Dara* which is a local wisdom of Madura to maintain unity between families. This can be an opportunity to reduce the presence of negative stigma.

## METHODS

This study uses historical research (Herlina, 2020, p. 31 – 82). In this study, there are four interrelated stages (heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography). The first stage is heuristics by collecting primary and secondary sources regarding the development of *Carok*, *Settong Dara*, and their values in Madura. Meanwhile, to find out the negative stigma regarding Madura is carried out by searching for opinions through public tweets on Twitter and through news portals with the keywords Madura, *Carok*, Madura community, and *Settong Dara*. Primary data on *Carok* through interview techniques to 10 informants with the following criteria: (1) Staying in Madura for at least 50 years, (2) Knowing the history of *Carok* and participating in *Carok*, (3) Participating in instilling the principles of *Settong Dara*. The informants included one key informant, namely the former perpetrator *Carok*, the main informant, namely community

leaders, culturalists, elders, and four supporting informants, namely the community in Madura. In addition, researchers also use written sources for secondary data derived from books and journals. Next is the second stage, which is external and internal criticism or verification. At the stage of external criticism, the researcher conducts a test on the source used. This test is carried out to determine the validity of the data to provide valid information. Internal criticism is carried out to test the credibility and reliability of data sources. The third stage is to carry out an interpretation to interpret from the various meanings that have been acquired. The last stage is historiography or writing of all the information obtained from these historical sources. The data analysis technique used is a historical data analysis technique. This technique is used at the stage of criticism of historical sources. This aims to determine the authenticity and credibility of the source obtained.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### The Development of *Carok*

If translated in Old Kawi, *Carok* means to fight. *Carok* is performed by individuals, groups, or families (Mustikajati et al., p. 2021: 98). Judging from the cultural value system, *Carok* serves as a characteristic of the Madurese people. *Carok* is also a tradition to defend the self-esteem and dignity of the family and *Carok*'s actions are considered things that can lift his morals or identity and even his family. On that basis, the Madurese people have always defended their self-esteem and dignity with all their strength (Wiyata, 2002 in Supriyadi et al., 2017, p. 92). *Carok* is carried out using madurese's original weapon, namely the *celurit* (are') by dealing one-on-one who are generally fellow men (Purwadarminta, 1976 in Supriyadi et al., 2017, p. 93). *Carok*'s dynamics are illustrated in the following arc:

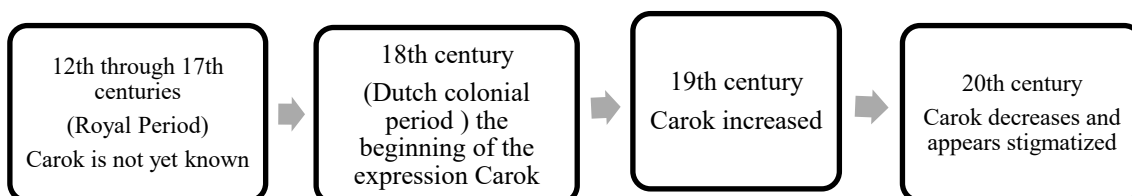


Chart 1: *Carok* Dynamics Flow.  
Author [source]

The term *Carok* was not yet known during the royal period in Madura, which was in the 12 century at that time Madura was led by Prabu Cakraningrat. Up to the 17 century, Madura was led by Panembahan Semolo (Mustikajati et al., 2021, p. 98). *Carok* became known during the Dutch colonial period around the 17th century. At that time, the Dutch controlled the archipelago. They committed a lot of violence against the indigenous people of the archipelago, this also happened to the Madurese people (Wiyata, 2002 in Mustikajati et al., 2021, p. 98). Various violent events that occurred in Madura began upon the arrival of VOC (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie) or the East Indies trade union, which was after a rebellion from the Madurese people against the Mataram Kingdom in Java. At that time, the rebels destroyed a large part of Java so that they could almost conquer the central government of Mataram. However, these efforts were

unsuccessful due to the help of the VOC to the Mataram Kingdom to quell the rebellion (Arifin, 2017, p. 19).



Picture 1: VOC army in Madura.

<https://www.lontarmadura.com/pengawasan-voc-tidak-seketat-madura-barat/2/> [source]

In this section of the research article, the results should be interpreted in light of the findings of past studies and/or the theoretical accounts relevant to the study being reported on in the article. Any discrepancy detected between the current finding and that of the previous one(s) and/or theorizing should be explained. The author should also explain his or her findings. This section should be between 20% and 35% of the entire research article.

The history of *Carok* has always been associated with a figure from Madura named *Sakera* who was a foreman of sugarcane belonging to the Netherlands in the 18th century. *Sakera* was an honest and devout foreman in religion, therefore he was respected by the workers. A distinctive feature of *Sakera* is to supervise the workers by always carrying a *celurit*. Therefore, *Sakera* is also known for its *celurit*. Then, the Dutch-owned sugar factory needed a lot of new lands which made the Dutch do a cunning way by buying plantation land at low prices. So, the Dutch told Carik Rembang to realize this wish. Carik Rembang committed violence against his people to be willing to sell land cheaply. The existence of this injustice made *Sakera* move to defend the small people. However, *Sakera's* efforts were later discovered by the Dutch who in the end the Dutch told a hero named Markasan to kill *Sakera*. However, the plan was unsuccessful.

The Dutch are still trying to catch *Sakera* by finding *Sakera's* first friend, Aziz. The Dutch meet Aziz to find the weakness of *Sakera* and tell Aziz to trap *Sakera* with the weakness. Because Aziz was promised wealth, Aziz agreed to the offer from the Dutch. Later, Aziz framed *Sakera* by inviting *Sakera* to a *tayuban* event because *Sakera* likes *tayuban*. This made *Sakera* paralyzed with wormwood bamboo and captured by the Dutch side. Until finally *Sakera* was hanged by the Dutch. Before being hanged, *Sakera* shouted “*Guperman korang ajar, ja’ nga-bunga, bendar sengko’ mate, settong Sakera epate’e, saebu Sakera tombu pol*” which means guperman is brazen, don't have fun, I am indeed dead, one *Sakera* is killed, a thousand *Sakera* will appear. This then ignited the enthusiasm of the Madurese people to fight the Dutch by using *celurit* as a symbolization of *Sakera* (Arifin, 2017, p. 16 – 17).

However, the fact is that the Madurese people are even pitted against the blater family (*jagoans*) who are accomplices of the Dutch. Due to provocations from the Netherlands, the blater family often carried out *Carok* at that time (Arifin, 2017: 17). The blater family was deliberately given a *celurit* by the Dutch to damage the image of *Sakera*. *Celurit* is a traditional weapon that has a

blade made of curved iron as its trademark. The *celurit* is a symbol of the resistance of the common people to the Dutch. The Dutch had a different view that the *culprit* was a symbol of a weapon for heroes and rebels. Therefore, the Dutch always incited the people to use *celurit* in every quarrel. This makes the image of the *celurit* bad like a symbol of infighting. The Dutch effort succeeded in becoming a philosophy for some Madurese people. Therefore, every problem in Madurese society is solved with *Carok*. After the Dutch left Madura, *Carok* was also still there. Many people think that this is a creation of their ancestors, even though the original was a fabrication from the Dutch colonial (Wiyata, 2002 in Asiyah & Muttaqin, 2021, p. 393 – 394).

After *Sakera's* death, the Madurese people tried to oppose Dutch rule. In fact, according to research from Arifin (2017, p. 18), after *Sakera* died, the Dutch did not feel free to expand their power because they were opposed by many Madurese people. The Madurese people united against the Dutch which made Madura Island successfully not be controlled by the Dutch anymore. The event signifies that there is a spirit to defend the motherland.

Over time, *Carok* was used as the last way to solve certain problems. These problems include infidelity with someone else's wife, defamation, and murder. It has to do with self-esteem. So, if something interferes with this self-esteem, it can cause *Carok*. Please note that *Carok* is the last way to solve the problem, so before doing *Carok* the two sides in dispute will have deliberations first. If in the end, the two parties agree to do *Carok*, then the two parties will have to make some preparations in advance. The preparation is martial arts training (*kadigdajan*), capital adequacy (*banda*), and asking for an immunity spell (*tamping sereng*). Jufri (2017, p. 15) argues that there are also requirements that must be met by the perpetrator before committing *Carok*, namely getting the blessing of the family (*bala*), carried out in a quiet place and far from the reach of the community, wearing Madurese traditional clothes, using a *celurit* that before doing *Carok* is exchanged first, and asking some messages that need to be conveyed to the family if they lose in *Carok*.

At present, many of the outside community and Madurese people are wrong in representing *Carok*. They argued that the murders and crimes in Madura had been confirmed as *Carok*. This is in line with the existence of 492,000 digital news portals reporting about the murder case in Madura which is interpreted as *Carok*. However, if you look further, the case is not *Carok*. There is also an opinion from a Twitter social media user who states that the Madurese people always do *Carok*. Researchers also conducted interviews with 15 informants based on 3 Indonesian time zones, namely West, Central, and East. From the results of the interview, it was found that the informant understood *Carok* as an effort in Madura to solve all problems and the Madurese people did not hesitate to do *Carok* to anyone.

Based on the theory of symbolic interactionism, *Carok* has a depiction of meaning as a form of patriotism to defend the colonizers, justice that reflects local laws (customs), and decency that seeks to limit various community behaviours so that conflicts do not occur, *Carok* is a last resort to solve problems related to male problems that have become norms and social values for rational national actions, as well as the value of trust that believes that *Carok* has become a lowered rule.

**Carok's Understanding Efforts to Reduce Negative Stigma on Madurese Society with the Principle of *Settong Dara***

In this study, the values contained in *Settong Dara* were also found which are listed in the following table:

No.	Values	Information
1	Kinship	Family attachment becomes one with the principle of <i>Settong Dara</i> to form a strong inner bond
2	Solidarity	<i>Settong Dara</i> is valuable and valuable as a guide to give direction to the life of the Madurese people
3	Union	The sense of unity becomes strong with <i>Settong Dara</i> as one soul and nation
4	Social	Madurese people live side by side so that their family is closer
5	Justice	The existence of unity in <i>Settong Dara</i> makes the Madurese people also try to solve problems first using deliberation

Table 1: Values in *Settong Dara* .  
 Author [source]

Based on the excavation of *Settong Dara* values, a preservation strategy is needed to maintain unity to avoid sustainable conflicts. Here is the flow for the preservation process of *Settong Dara* :

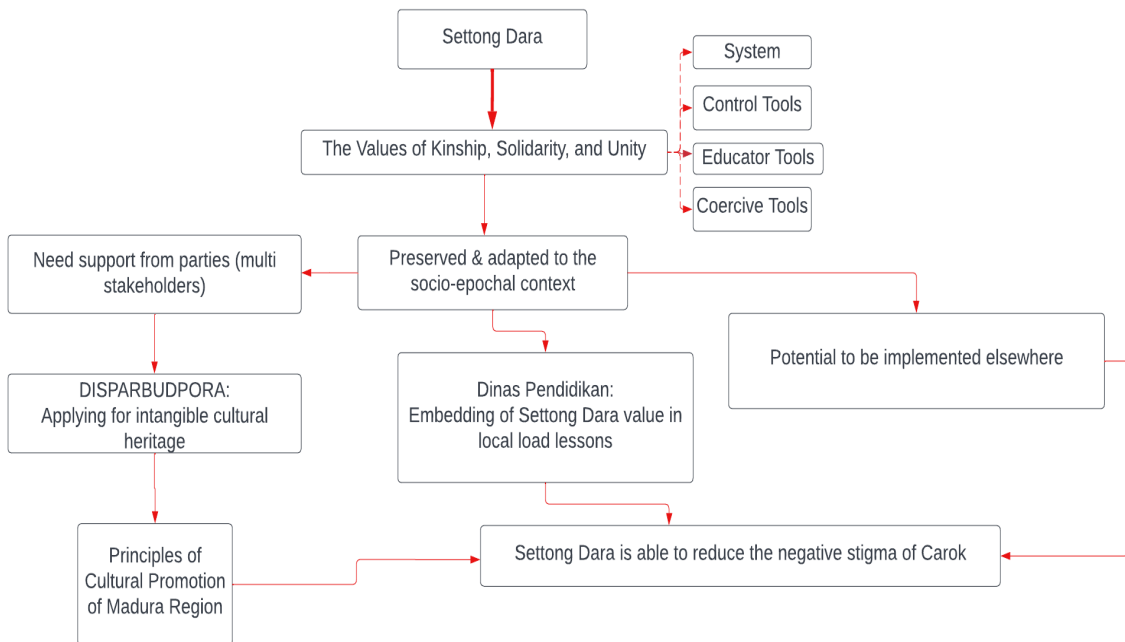


Chart 2: The Flow of Strategies to Reduce Negative Stigma.  
 Author [source]

Stigma is a phenomenon that occurs in society and is related to values placed in diverse social identities. Stigma is also understood as the placement of some distinctive feature that conveys a social identity to degrade a particular social context. Goffman defines stigma as a process of other people's reactions that undermine normal identities. There are three forms of stigma, namely the

diagnosis of a mental illness, the physical form, and related to race, religion, and so on (Noya, 2021, p. 28). The stigma attached to Madurese society is included in the stigma related to race.

Madurese people are known for their rude and murderous disposition because of this *Carok*. Aligned with the opinions of Budimansyah (2018, p. 213), Madurese people have a temperamental and rude nature. Jufri (2017, p. 14) revealed that the negative stigma was exacerbated by the characterization of Kadir on television shows or other mass media depicted with characters who were irritable and wanted to kill a little bit. Regarding the influence of mass media on people's lives, Khatimah (2018, p. 119) explains that mass media is a means of communication that has a role as a communicator and also an agent of change or a pioneer of change in the public environment. This can influence the audience through existing information.

Efforts to reduce the stigma of *Carok* involving the community are actively carried out by replanting about *Settong Dara*. The incident is expected to reduce the number of criminal cases which is currently still high. The value of these principles can be instilled in the school environment. Amri et al. (2021; 2028) argue that local wisdom can be taught to learners to equip them with attitudes, knowledge, and skills. Therefore, the cultivation of the value of *Settong Dara* can be done by integrating material on local content in Madura, namely the Madurese language. In addition, the cultivation of values can also be done by taking tactical steps by including *Settong Dara* in the Principles of Cultural Promotion of the Madura Region which can be known to the wider community through the Department of Youth, Sports, Culture And Tourism Madura. In that way, *Settong Dara* will be able to become an icon of unity for the Madurese people.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the above presentation, it can be concluded that *Carok* is the last resort to solve the problem in Madura. During the royal period in Madura, the term *Carok* was not yet known. The term *Carok* became known during the Dutch colonial period precisely after *Sakera's* death. At that time, the Madurese people united to resist colonialism so the Dutch made a strategy of fighting with the blaters. The spirit of unity became known as *Settong Dara*. The Dutch deliberately gave the *celurit* blaters to damage *Sakera's* image. So, the *celurit* is famous as the weapon of the bad guys and rebels. Since then, many Madurese people have solved the problem using *celurit* which is now known as *Carok*. Then, various requirements must be met before doing *Carok*. However, there is a shift in meaning that causes a negative stigma in Madura. Reduce this stigma, it can be done by preserving the principle of *Settong Dara* by collaborating with the Department of Youth, Sports, Culture and Tourism and Education Office to realize it.

This *Settong Dara* principle can be collaborated by submitting an intangible heritage to the Department of Youth, Sports, Culture, and Tourism in Madura. If *Settong Dara* can be used as an intangible heritage, then the principle of *Settong Dara* can be a learning material in local content in Madura. This of course requires cooperation with the Education Office in Madura. The impact of this learning will give birth to the next generation of the nation who uphold the value of their nation's local wisdom and strengthen unity to create a harmonious life.



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