

Carok And The Cultural Hegemony Of Masculinity On Ethnic Madura, East Java-Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

This paper describes the practice of carok which is still continuously practiced by ethnic Madurese in East Java, Indonesia. Carok and masculinity are double-edged swords because they are constructed by Madurese ethnic culture. How culture produces values that must be upheld, maintained, and become sacred and even practiced in everyday life. The construction of masculinity inherent in the male gender influences the practice of carok. So that carok is legal and even legitimized by culture. The visibility of male-dominated cultural and criminal violence on ethnic Madurese is very important to study, explore, and explain using the lens of political sociology gender. The values of masculinity, self-respect, shame and honor are values that are championed by men and are justified by the prevailing culture as social norms. This study uses a qualitative method. Relying on individual in-depth interview data on the perpetrator's family, the man, and the victim's family, police officers, community leaders and using data from the results of focused group discussions (Focus Group Discussion) to collect carok perspectives according to the understanding and experience of the perpetrators and the views of community leaders and the police. as well as observations on the area where carok is located in four districts on Madura Island. All data were analyzed using interpretive methods by prioritizing carok thematic analysis. The conclusion of this study: there are internal (cultural) forces that encourage the values of hegemonic masculinity to justify acts of violence called carok. This carok hegemony is reproduced by ethnic Madurese and has been transformed into hybrid violence. That is, cultural violence that is in the range of the private (social-cultural) and public/political realms. In this case, carok is not merely cultural violence, but is part of the gender construction of the Madurese ethnicity that places the value of masculinity in everyday life. Therefore, to reduce carok, what needs to be done is to deconstruct the concept and value of masculinity that can be realized in a culture that can function to promote a culture of tolerance and peace.

Keywords: carok hegemony, gender order, masculinity, cultural violence, Madura ethnicity.

INTRODUCTION

Carok is not the usual cultural violence practiced by some ethnic groups on the island of Madura, East Java. Carok is also not a crime to kill each other's enemies which is considered to reduce one's self-esteem socially, economically, politically. Carok is a gender construction that places men to dare to practice violence using sharp weapons (celurit) to kill or simply injure the body. Therefore, carok can be called cultural violence because the culture tolerates and justifies men killing each other face to face directly or secretly without the knowledge of the person who is the target. The history of carok can be referred to back, to be precise during the Dutch colonial period, which carried out a politics of fighting each other to find indigenous people who

were anti-colonial. Carok still exists and is reproduced culturally by ethnic Madurese. The justification for killing in the name of culture needs an in-depth study.

This paper describes the sociological dimension of this hidden value. This value is the result of the gender construction of the Madurese ethnicity. Many researchers have analyzed carok. However, there are still few who study and reveal the other side of carok sociologically. How the act of murder or physical abuse is accepted as right by the prevailing culture and value system as a result of verbal insults and non-verbal acts. Verbal and non-verbal insults that interfere with honor and self-esteem exist and are inherent in men. Ethnic Madurese construct gender roles for men as strong and powerful people

socially, economically, and politically. The roles and power of these men become a gender order that is maintained from generation to generation. No one is allowed to insult another man. This has become a system of values and socio-cultural norms and is practiced in the daily life of ethnic Madurese. Not all men can hold fast and carry out these social norms. There are some who do not comply with the norms as a reference in behaving and acting. As a result, carok is still practiced by some men to this day.

The courage of men to do carok is also part of the construction of ethnic Madurese gender. Rozaki (2004) categorizes two types of gender roles for ethnic Madurese men: the first is men who dare to do carok. The second is a man who does not dare to do carok. For men who dare to do carok because they have a blater spirit, while those who don't dare to do carok because they don't have a blater spirit—socio-economic problems are solved by deliberation, not by means of violence/murder. This category is not sufficient enough to explain the reproduction of carok and new cases of carok that have entered the political realm.

This article uses a gender lens to understand the reproduction of carok and all forms of derivatives of violence that exist in carok, such as nyelep. This article complements the explanation and understanding of carok, which is mostly explained using the theory of violence, and does not use a gender sociological perspective. By incorporating a gender perspective, it can dismantle the construction and masculinity in carok. Joan Wallach Scott (1988) defines gender as consisting of two interdependent components: (1) gender is a constitutive element of social relations based on perceived differences between the sexes, and (2) gender is the primary way of signifying power relations between the sexes. Gender, intended as a socially constructed dichotomy, is built on biological sex differences, so feminists call gender a power relationship. Consequently, it is gender that shapes, regulates, rationalizes and justifies other social relations, namely power relations which in turn, all of the sexes. From this perspective, gender is systemic and transformative because the world is broadly shaped by meaning of gender (Galtung, 1996). Being a strong man is the focal point of the gender message. The notion of gender as a constitutive element of social relationships is based on the perception

(socially constructed and culturally variable) of differences between women and men, and as a primary way of signifying (and naturalizing) relationships power and hierarchy. All social interactions and social institutions in which these relationships occur are gendered in some way. To say that a social institution is gender means that the construction of masculinity and femininity is interwoven in the everyday life of political, economic and legal institutions.

Until now, carok incidents still exist. Carok is produced and reproduced by the community with a specific purpose, such as to gain socio-cultural recognition as a man with strong, very strong power and also carok as a tool to prove oneself as a blater or to achieve status as a blater (a term for men possessing magical and physical powers). The history of carok also cannot be separated from the narrative of a person named Pak Sakerah (an ethnic Madurese who works as a laborer in Pasuruan Regency, East Java). It was his courage to oppose the invaders that caused Pak Sakerah to be hunted down to be killed. In the end, Pak Sakerah was killed by the Dutch East Indies colonial government.

Carok: Construction of Gender Order and Hegemonic Masculinity

Carok is a socio-cultural practice in the ethnic life that inhabits the island of Madura, East Java. Doing carok for men is natural and legal in the order of social norms. Self-respect, the dignity of men cannot be contested by anyone. Men as guards of honor in the nuclear family and extended family. What's interesting is that in carok there are sacred values / hidden values that are wrapped into social norms, socialized from childhood and from generation to generation. The values in social norms are the justification for men to practice carok so that it becomes a cultural social order that is protected and preserved. This setting places the value 'bone white is better than eye white'. It means that it is better to die than to live without self-respect, it is better to die than to suffer shame. This sense of shame is identical with the treatment of men towards other men who are belittled, humiliated, subordinated, defeated in political competition, and similar meanings). This order places the honor and dignity of men as the main thing.



Map of Madura (Source: <https://www.pinhome.id/blog/peta-madura/>)

When carok is explained using the theory of cultural violence (Galtung, 1969) or symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 2002), it cannot reveal and explain the behavior of reciprocating (reproductive) carok and the cultural meanings that perpetuate the carok. Carok and masculinity are two swords and have become a culture that has a hegemonic nature and is therefore practiced by men until now. There are policies from local governments (Sumenep, Pamekasan, Sampang, and Bangkalan governments) to reduce carok by carrying out sharp weapons operations, providing legal socialization, increasing penalties and so on. The legal and policy instruments have not been able to prevent carok incidents. There is a Criminal Code and local policies issued by the local government. These policies were not able to stop carok and even preserved it as a Madurese ethnic identity. Some call carok a Madurese cultural tradition. What is not ironic, this is precisely where the uniqueness of the Madurese ethnic culture lies, which places the values of local violence as its cultural icon. Once someone performs carok, carok will be reproduced through the act of retaliation so that it becomes new carok. In carok there are gender relations as social institutions that regulate socio-cultural life in a hierarchical and exclusive manner. That is, carok is carried out by men whose dignity and honor are insulted by other men. Example: a man annoys his wife or a wife has an affair with another man. Here, the husband and the husband's family will perform carok or 'nyelep' with a man who has committed a disgraceful act or violated the social norms. It was not the wife who was killed, but the man who was killed because he was considered to have lowered his position as a husband who could not protect and look after his wife.

Carok is a hegemonic masculinity and a symbolic representation of male violence that is driven by individual behavior to restore self-esteem and honor that has been insulted by other men. This paper describes carok using the concept of violence from

which refers to the behavior of a person against another person intentionally in the form of threatening, trying to take life and or actually causing physical harm to the other person's body (Reiss and Roth (1993). this is then included in the definition of aggression that can be carried out blatantly or intentionally to harm another person (Volavka, 1999) and can also be more covert and less intentional. physically harmful, but can cause serious emotional harm to those who are victims. The definition put forward by Reiss and Roth (1993) is more relevant than using Galtung's (1969) definition of cultural violence. If we follow Galtung's definition of cultural violence, we only get mere analytical justification. That carok was carried out because carok is part of carrying out the prevailing socio-cultural traditions and norms. Whoever the man disturbs his wife, then the man is justified to do carok, which means to kill the man. Regardless of whether the man has a blater soul or not. The blater figure refers to being brave, having qualified kanuragan knowledge skills, mastering certain martial arts such as pencak, religious knowledge which is also capable because there are blater who have both santri and non-student backgrounds (Hefni, 2012). The self-abilities possessed by the (old) blater are shown to the public to gain social and cultural recognition and appreciation. An adult male who has studied Kanuragan and will try his knowledge on other people. How to use carok media. Social law or social norms have regulated in such a way, carok must be done. If the man does not perform carok, then the family of the man will take over [the role of carrying out the act of killing the man. If they do not dare, the man does not deserve to be called a man, but a woman or in local terms called 'bendhuh' (Aminah, Koesbardiaty, Kinasih, 2007).

In carok, there is a gender mythology that is a representation of Madurese culture, where men carry out their gender roles, to be superior over all

areas of life. Men are legitimate/justified to carry out and perpetuate the dominant masculinity mythology and to achieve and maintain their power superiority. Many scholars have studied carok using the perspective of cultural violence from Galtung (1969), symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 2002) and masculinity (Connel, 1987), and Hall (2002) who is famous for his model of patriarchal violence. Carok is a cultural violence, complex, involving many factors and interests, the response and articulation of individual male anger for other male individuals who have made verbal and non-verbal insults to all their power. The theories of violence are all still relevant and can be used to build arguments about the sustainable nature of carok.

In this study, we incorporate the concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' to explain carok. This concept emerged in the 1980s as convergence of ideas from three main sources: women's political experience and research on gender hierarchies; gay men's political experience and oppression theory; and empirical research on boys in local educational institutions such as schools and workplaces (Carrigan et al., 1985). The concept of hegemonic masculinity recognizes political importance of the differences between men in terms of gender as well as in terms of class and race. It recognizes the relationship between two important things social patterns, hierarchies between men and women, and hierarchies between man.

Understanding the existing cases of carok, there are factors that change from this carok, namely the historical character of carok. At first, carok was a direct fight which was agreed by both parties to resolve the issue between two men using a sickle weapon in an open and secret place (unknown to the public) until one of the parties was killed (FGD results, 8 July 20210). In later developments, this method was not carried out. The method used is 'nyelep', which has a different meaning from carok. Nyelep is an act of killing that is not done face-to-face/directly, but through continuous surveillance and taking opportunities from the negligence of potential victims. The one who managed to kill was considered the strong one. Both carok and 'nyelep' are contestations of hegemonic, cultural violence and gender construction from ethnic Madurese. There is a possibility of struggle for hegemonic position and hegemonic contestation between men to fight for the highest or superior position. This position can be in formal and informal socio-

political structures. So that men who want to achieve a position as a superior man, the man must first do carok. Carok as a place or event to prove the superiority of men has social and political power. The proof is calculated from a measurable achievement, namely the number of people who have been killed. The more the number of victims, the man gets a new social status as a superior/strong blater.

Carok meets the substantial structure of the definition of violence as proposed by Jackman (2002), which has two main assumptions: first, violence is motivated by hostility and the intention to cause harm to the opposing party. Second, violence deviates — legally, socially, morally from the mainstream of human activity. From the results of his study, he argues that violence contains aggressive behavior, is related to social conflict, and cannot be separated from environmental factors (Jackman, 2002). This opinion is supported by Sampson and his colleagues who consistently shows that violence is more likely to occur in environments characterized by poverty and limited economic opportunity than in more affluent areas of society (Morenoff, Sampson, & Raudenbush, 2001; Sampson, Morenoff, & Gannon-Rowely, 2002). This opinion strengthens the explanation of the factors where the carok incident has characteristics, such as poverty, housing for simple residents, and low community participation, which are associated with violent behavior that occurs among young people. (Proctor & Dalaker, 2003; Reiss & Roth, 1993).

Masculinity operates as a symbolic source of self-information, enabling various forms of masculine and feminine subjectivity, which in turn allow for various possibilities of meaningful action. One such meaningful action is violence (Andersson, 2008). Connel's (1987) definition of hegemonic masculinity refers to social power that is obtained through the play of social power and cultural processes. and in the realm of private life. The concept of hegemonic masculinity is sometimes used as part of a theory of change, but is more commonly seen in terms of identifying the key elements in the gender order that are part of explaining the existence and perpetuation of gender inequality. The concept of hegemonic masculinity has been used in gender studies since the early 1980s to explain the power of men over women.

Emphasizes the power of legitimacy for consent to acts of violence. This translation of hegemonic masculinity has been tested and is useful for explaining policy interventions in order to build gender equality. (Jewkes , Morrellb , Jeff, Lundqvistf , Blackbeardg, Lindeggerg , Quayleh , Sikweiyaa , Gottzéni , 2015). Another concept of hegemonic masculinity can clarify the social practice of carok. Connel's (1987) conception of hegemonic masculinity as an analytical instrument to identify attitudes and practices among men that perpetuate gender inequality, involving the dominance of men over women and the power of some men over others (often minority groups). man. This concept has been widely used and debated, and over the years refined (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005), with the basic idea that hegemonic masculinity is a culturally idealized form and is a personal and collective project (Donaldson 1993). The conceptualization of hegemonic masculinity is described as a set of values, shaped by men (who are strong and powerful and function to include and exclude) , to govern society in a gender unequal way. The concept of hegemonic masculinity combines several characteristics: hierarchical masculinity, different access of men to power (over women and other men), and interactions between male identity, male ideals, interaction, power, and patriarchy. (Jewkes and Morrell 2012). Masculine values and practices are cruel and sexist, but not necessarily hegemonic in a particular culture (Messerschmidt, 2012). This argument applies in building a counter argument about carok which is continuously culturally legitimized, but carok perpetrators are subject to criminal proceedings with punishments regulated in the Criminal Code. Carok is included in the category of crimes that can cause suffering and even kill someone's life, so carok is seen from the point of view of the Criminal Code is prohibited as explained in Articles 338 and 340 of the Criminal Code (Heriyanto, 2007). The relationship between gender norms, social collectivities and individuals is complex, with each impacting the other, with different strengths and effects at different times.

Rapid conflict and interpersonal violence are characteristics of lower-status young men who mostly come from poor communities and the most materially disadvantaged racial or ethnic minorities (Oliver 1994; Stewart and Simons 2010). Such people, it is hypothesized, engage in escalating

arguments and developed into a heated character contest (Deibert and Miethe 2003) with possible bloodshed as a result. In such a theory, maintaining face and honor becomes an explanation why economically and socially / marginalized men decide to engage in dangerous violence , which can threaten their lives . Hegemonic masculinity has been widely used as a social structural concept to explain the legitimacy of masculinity through social institutions and social groups (Morrell, Jewkes, and Lindegger 2012).

METHODS

This study applies a qualitative method. This study requires primary and secondary data. Primary data sources were obtained directly from informants in the field through in-depth interviews , direct observations of the environment and the daily lives of the people, traditions and culture of Madura, as well as systematic and structured discussions through FGD (Focus Group Discussion) activities. Research informants are spread across four districts, the number of informants is 35 people (as perpetrators of the victim's family , victim's family, community, academics, village head, former village head, security apparatus, community leaders, kyai, blater, and informants representing government agencies / policy makers at the local level). Data collection was also carried out by in-depth interviews with informants who had knowledge of carok /nylelep , informants as mediators who reconciled carok, community leaders and village heads.

In Bangkalan District , the area that is the focus of this research is Labang District, Kwanyar District, Galis District, Tanah Merah District. Likewise for Sampang District, there are several sub-districts that were observed and interviewed with informants, namely: Sreseh District and Kedundung District. For Pamekasan District, interviews and observations of the socio-cultural environment were focused on Proppo District, Middle Longitude, East Longitude. For Sumenep Regency, in-depth interviews with informants focused on two sub-districts, namely Lenteng and Dungkek. While the secondary data of this study used sources from documentation (archives/libraries), previous studies, both published and unpublished. The data collection was carried out by taking an inventory of as many materials as possible related to carok studies from various perspectives. These materials are in the form of

books, journals, articles, and materials available on the internet.

The second form of qualitative research consisted of two focused group discussions of 30 participants. Each FGD was attended by 15 participants. This activity lasts about 1.5 hours. Semi-structured questions and focused on the perceptions of policy makers about the construction and characteristics of carok/nyelep, the power relations of men and women in the Madurese ethnic community.

FGD activity was carried out in two locations, namely: in Kab. Bangkalan and Pamekasan. The FGD activity in Bangkalan brought together community leaders from Kab. Bangkalan and Kab. Sampang, while in Pamekasan Regency, community leaders, both formal and informal leaders, academics, representatives from government elements (Bakesbangpol, Polres, DPRD and several related agencies), as well as representatives from existing mass organizations relevant to research / civil data needs society and Kab. Sumenep.¹

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Hegemonic Masculinity and Gender Mythology

The values of masculinity that are wrapped in the value of self-respect and shame become values whose laws must be fought for, maintained, and enforced in everyday life. The carok experience is an experience that strengthens the identity of Madurese ethnic masculinity. Now the carok has been reduced, but it does not eliminate the carok entity that is attached to ethnic Madurese men. As an expression of masculinity values, carok is reproduced continuously. Men as victims and perpetrators can do carok repeatedly. This requires the form of comprehensive intervention policies, short-term and long-term strategies.

There are several cases of carok that are motivated by various causes and are in a broad spectrum. In a narrow spectrum, carok is initiated by causes that cause irritation, contempt, and perspectives that give rise to hostile intentions for others. This is then responded with violence, emotion. Aggressive behavior and carok occur. The beginning of the carok was caused by light issues that had no political or economic content. But carok can turn into a serial murder that causes many casualties on both sides

(results of FGD 1 and 2, 9 and 12 April 2021). Thus, men who dare to do carok will get social recognition and appreciation and carok actors understand and are well aware that if they have done carok where the target is the enemy, the enemy dies and the consequences have been well considered and economically mature. The amount of money that must be prepared to face the prosecution of murder cases in court, bear the effects of continuous revenge, and so on. What is interesting is that Madurese men still want to do carok, so carok is a challenge for ethnic Madurese men, especially those in rural areas and far from the center of crowds, hilly and remote areas (in-depth interviews # informants 1 and 3, 7 June 2021)

There are several cases of carok in Sampang and Bangkalan districts related to political issues. Carok became popular since there were direct elections for village heads and regional heads. In general, carok that occurs in four areas of Madura Island, East Java has its own uniqueness. What makes the difference in Kab. Pamekasan and Sumenep, carok has less intensity than the districts of Sampang and Bangkalan. Understanding the cases of carok and the motives behind it, carok is in the range of cultural violence (symbolic power of a man) and politics (real power in the political structure as village head or regional head/regent). Someone who has done carok and came out victorious (meaning that he succeeded in killing the enemy and taking revenge continuously without being able to stop it, unless it involved religious leaders and strict supervision from the police). The killings of the losing or winning parties continue and this has the effect of exacerbating and perpetuating the symbolic domination system of carok perpetrators. Symbolic violence tends to be a more effective tool of repression and in some cases carok in Madura is more brutal. The more victims who were killed, the family of the killer became culturally stronger because they were considered tough and became people who were famous and respected by the community in which they lived. Symbolic violence in Bourdieu's view is seen in the form of political action (Bourdieu, in Bourdieu & Eagleton 1992). This can be seen when the perpetrator who wins the carok (in the sense of succeeding in killing more than one person from the victim's family) will appear in the political arena. Example: running for village

head or respected community leader, or becoming a new Blater. In turn, this form of symbolic violence works to generate and protect the interests of the dominant class, namely the political elite who wants to control political resources at all levels (society and government institutions). The family of a carok winner can become a supporter of a certain political force (in-depth interview #3, 7 July 2021).

events do not appear without a reason. Generally in the range of issues of self-esteem , gender relations with women

a woman as a wife or fiancé is seized, seduced, or married to another man. These issues are understood by ethnic Madurese as having to do with dignity. (in-depth interview #2, 12 September 2021). Dignity is inviolable because dignity is part of right someone to get , be respected , respected and treated ethically

in accordance with local conditions. Dignity is an important concept in the fields of morality , ethics , law , and politics , and is rooted in the concept of rights that are inherent in human beings and cannot be revoked . Carok's actions are undignified actions, these are two things whose understanding is disproportionate to the life of ethnic Madurese. One of these carok cases occurred and claimed 7 lives in Pamekasan Regency in June 2007 and 2014 . These two caroks were initially triggered by something essential and principled , but gradually the problem shifted to issues of dignity and self-esteem, shifts to such trivial and small issues such as differences in each individual (personal) which triggers carok, for example violating politeness, children's problems, insults and small matters that can burn emotions and aggressive behavior.

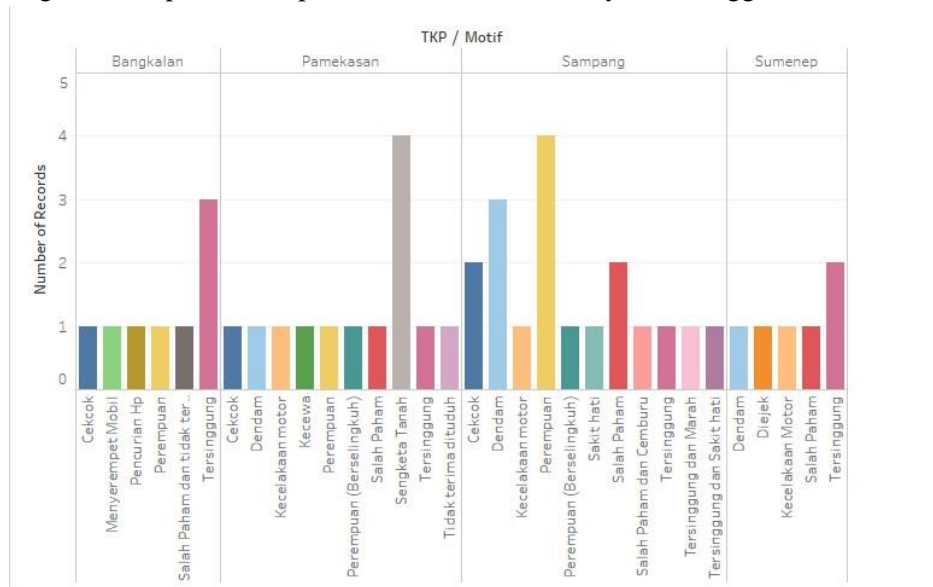


Chart 1 Cases and Carok Motifs 2002-2019

Source: <https://ujungan3.mahkamahagung.go.id> (Table Visualization)

The carok that has occurred until now has a different meaning and practice from the carok that occurred in the early 1970s (FGD conclusion, 9 April 2021). What is currently happening, carok cannot be equated with the meaning of ordinary murder or acts of antisocial or cultural criminal practices. Carok is a manifestation of the idea of masculinity that is constructed socially and culturally. Carok is a part of gender construction too. It is men who can do carok. This is one of the genders of the Madurese ethnicity which places the idea of masculinity as a way of understanding socio-cultural and political relations in everyday life, where biological gender (male) and carok are inherent.

The gender construction of ethnic Madurese places the position of the father as the head of the family who is responsible for the life journey of his family members. While the placement of bhabhu (mother) in second place cannot be separated from the problem of women who are under the hegemony of men (Hefni, 2012). Such a man will look for the right issues/events that can arouse emotions, anger and aggressive behavior from other men so that they can be carok. Doing carok is pride for men. So that carok becomes an arena of proof to the public to gain recognition that a man has succeeded in carrying out his gender role (in-depth interview #5, 8 October 2021). The socialization of carok violence begins at

an early age, especially for families who died from carok, carok reproduction is like a wild ball.

“...a child whose father died of carok, will take revenge waiting for the child to grow into an adult. The initial retaliation will be carried out by the brother/big family from the father's side. The boy is constantly reminded by his family/mother about his father's death. The clothes worn by the father when he died and the grave of the father which in local tradition is in the yard or yard of the house...” (in-depth interview #13, 17 June 2021).

The causes of carok in general have been identified by researchers. Some even say that carok is part of the Madurese tradition and culture (Rohman, Hanita, Luthfi, 2012). Carok can be done 'ngongge i' (challenging a one-on-one duel) or nyelep (stabbing the enemy when the enemy is off guard/unprepared). In the early days of its emergence, carok was mostly done by means of 'nganggai' (going to a house that was considered to have committed violence in various forms: verbal and physical). Since the 1970s there has been a shift that carok is sometimes done by nyelep.

The problem faced by local governments is the perpetuation of carok, whose issues are no longer around classic issues (women), but issues of power (politics). There are feelings caused by anxiety, psychological insecurity if not being a public figure or public figure. This causes men to look for ways to get carok. So that the production and reproduction of carok through retaliation to kill on the part of the victim and perpetrator is difficult to stop. There is a local government policy to reduce carok, but it has not succeeded in stopping carok, unless it has succeeded in reducing the intensity of carok events (in-depth interview #4, 8 July 2021). In short, carok is a form of gender construction and is a norm that is firmly held by men who places the value of self-esteem above all else. Carok perpetrators and victims are men, as well as a form of male violence against other men.

Carok is an act of violence resulting from a socio-cultural process. Carok stage:

1. Warning stage to men not to violate existing norms;
2. Surveillance stage for proof (this is to see if the man is still in a secret relationship or not);

3. The deliberation stage to obtain an agreement in the nuclear family involving community leaders (alim ulama, kyai, blater);
4. Community leaders usually urge both parties not to do carok;
5. An agreement was reached, but this agreement led to another response from the man his wife was bullied by other men, resulting in a carok.

Carok caused by women's factors—women are subject to direct violence but are not involved in carok operations. The position of women's gender in Madurese culture is in the hegemony of male power. Women who are already married are culturally prohibited from having relationships with men, making direct contact, making eye contact, especially having personal relationships. This is evidence of women being subordinate to men. At the same time, men use carok violence to punish other men who are already in a personal relationship with the woman who becomes his wife. There are several cases of carok which are mostly caused by female factors (infidelity). A married man has a personal relationship with a married woman. Carok means reducing the power of married men. Men face men to show their masculinity and social power superiority.

Verbal and physical insults

Findings from field research show that men tend to commit violence. The general pattern of carok is to find out the profile of a man known as a blater/jagoan, generally being invited to an event/celebration. The male traits have been studied. This is for a masculine reputation. Against the simple idea that a masculine reputation can always be built on carok violence, they are tough and always on standby with a sickle weapon that they carry with them wherever they go. Ethnic Madurese men, culturally constructed or gender constructed to dare to do carok. Men who do not dare to be invited to carok or do not dare to accept challenges are not considered as men by gender. There is the intention of challenging, looking for opponents, looking for enemies by insulting other men.

Verbal and physical insults were felt and interpreted by other men as hostile intentions (Luckenbill and Doyle, 1989). The slightest verbal insult has an impact on carok. Another man feels offended to be belittled and insulted by another man. Therefore, the occurrence of carok based on an agreement, there is already a threat from the opposing party that there

will be carok. One of the parties has given a threat that the murder of one of the parties will be carried out. They love to take on a challenge because it is a masculine domain. In such a theory, keeping face and honor is an explanation of why it is poor and social marginal men decide to engage in dangerous violence. The implication is that other men, who are more embedded in mainstream culture or office suite codes, are perceived to be much more vulnerable to respond well to various things that are taken for granted. There is an intention to find enemies, to look for opportunities to show one's existence as a man who is already strong in the science of *kanuragan*/a contest of supernatural powers. Such a man wants to gain social status as a *blater*.

The culture in the Madura Island region, which is mostly hilly- inland, the carok tradition has been going on for generations hereditary. Families who are victims of carok will keep the clothes in question (died) with their neighbors which will later be shown to their children when they grow up, that their father died because of carok or was killed by 'X' after that the child in question will take revenge by finding and killing the killer. father and so on until the next *kerungan*. This habit occurs in people whose background knowledge is still very low and is included in the category of *Pandalungan* subculture.

Carok there are those who see in terms of good and bad, as a double-edged sword. Of the four districts in Madura Island, carok is considered a negative thing and must be abandoned, while there are people who still want to continue violence in the form of carok. This view reinforces the idea that Madura is an island known for its tradition of carok violence and legitimizes the homogenization of violence caused by women's issues. Female actors are culturally agreed upon as justifications for doing carok. Carok is culturally included in the regeneration of violence and has undergone many shifts in its *modus operandi*. In the beginning, carok was a mechanism for resolving individual problems with the way of chivalry, which began with an agreement and ended with a duel at an undisclosed location.

Paying attention to the details of the occurrence of carok, at first from social interactions in cultural events, which trigger violent encounters, such as *tok-otok*, orchestra performances, *pencak silat* performances, wedding celebrations/celebrations, *karapan sapi*, night markets and so on. In this social interaction, there is evidence collected by relatives

of potential carok perpetrators, for example touching, face to face. This, however, creates an increased sensitivity to personal insults that offend self-esteem. At that time on the show there was a need to react extraordinary and quickly and aggressively to all verbal and sexual harassment by other men against other men's wives or fiancés of other men. Or carok is an act of cultural violence that arises from social disputes that seem very minor or related to problems that are pending resolution. Carok is related to the aggressive behavior of individuals who are at odds. Carok is a reflection of social interactions or symbolic interactions caused by annoyance that occurs in everyday social relationships. Interactions that provoked the anger of other men, were carried out on purpose to test the abilities of other men who had no previous problems. But it is seen that men have the potential to be bullied, threatened, humiliated which can trigger their anger so that carok occurs.

Carok is seen as normal violence and does not violate prevailing social norms. Carok is not merely an act of violence that causes the loss of one's life or murder, hurting the enemy, but a cultural event to show one's abilities as a man who is stronger, braver, more powerful, and so on. There is a socio-cultural acknowledgment from people who started carok. Especially if the victim / opponent dies. There is a resounding popularity in the village/area. In a large number of studies that have focused on the details of the social interactions that trigger violent encounters, researchers have gathered evidence for the real thing. increased sensitivity to personal insults and insults, and an overwhelming need to react quickly and aggressively to any of these with verbal abuse and physical abuse (Felson et al. 2017). There is a part of the community from a strong group who provokes carok (looking for fights to get carok). In addition to verbal insults at a certain event/activity (deliberately looking for an opponent/enemy to be invited to carok). Even those who practice this often are no longer invited to social events. Friends and companions who are ready to provoke such an incident are seen little more than a nuisance in their own group. This is especially the case considering how a man can cause trouble with a strong rival. This happens in a cultural activity called '*tok-otok*', where the *Blater* people gather and show their existence.

The occurrence of new carok can be caused by political contestation to compete for resources/power, since there has been

democratization at the local level in the form of direct elections for regional heads and village heads. Contests that can end in carok are carried out

between supporters of the candidate and/or directly actors who are contesting with other actors.

Type	Old Carok	New Carok
Ideology	Focus on socio-cultural problems	There are social, cultural and political problems
Participant	Individual and collective based	Mass based/followers/loyal supporters of contesting actors
Issues that cause	Women, criminality (cockfighting, gambling, certain competitions such as kites, remoh blater, karapan sapi, etc.) that risk their self-esteem as individuals and collectively	Political
Objective	Goals: satisfaction, self-esteem, and revenge (non-material)	Goal: get resources/power (material and non-material/status/position and political position)
Organizing	Focused on individuals and informal/individual fights directly (carok) and indirectly (nyelep)	Supporter centered and informal/grassroots
Change medium	Collective and individual action	Collective and individual action
	Emotional factor	Prestige
		Direct

The experience of carok from the informant, as follows:

“... We know that fighting at a wedding (in a public place) will only spoil the whole event for everyone. If you're not allowed to carry sharp weapons and disturb guests while you're interested in watching the orchestra, why ruin the whole show for just a few moments of anger over your wife's bumping into another man. I think you are aware of the consequences... that's the difference between a person who intends to attend a wedding and one who intends to make a fuss ...” (in-depth interview #6, September 8, 2021).

The experience of carok perpetrators who want to practice carok violence can be explained by Connell's model which is really persuasive in contemporary violence research. It deals with various evidences and changes in masculinity that can be distinguished as destructive and non-destructive. Furthermore, the core idea of carok's hegemonic masculinity as 'rule by consent' implies the opposite of the domination of direct and violent violence or threats of violence. As interpreted by some researchers (e.g., Hall 2002), this can be thought of as referring to what Connell (2016) notes as a problematic category of '

realization of hegemony' and one's conscious process of knowing and effectively seeking and discovering male strength through the practice of violence. In particular, this view becomes ambiguous as to whether violence is a means used by some ethnic Madurese men to achieve a hegemonic position in socio-economic and political life or whether carok is better understood as an articulation of an oppositional form of masculinity protest . What this means is that carok is a criminal act to physically harm until the body is injured and or dies. Carok is done as an expression and articulation to gain recognition from others as a strong and invincible person. This is a personal goal, not a common goal. Therefore, to seek justification or hegemony to satisfy anger.

Carok is a symbol of the power of ethnic Madurese men. In 2019 outside Madura Island, namely in the Lumajang area, East Java. In this area there is carok caused by two men fighting over 'widows'. So it's really carok because these two men fight using weapons face to face. Year 2019 in Kab. Bangkalan, Tanjung Bumi Subdistrict , there was a carok incident due to his wife having an affair with another man. This caused the husband to be offended and hurt, which then killed the man who had a personal relationship. In Madurese culture, when the self-

respect and dignity of two men are not respected, then carok is the solution. At the time of killing his opponent was carried out in a sadistic and vile manner, the limbs of the man who had an affair with his wife were torn apart, the limbs separated from each other (in-depth interview #5, 12 September 2021).

Married women should not violate applicable social norms. The interaction of married women with other people or men in public spaces is really regulated by culture. Women as wives have a nature that must be lived well, namely taking care of their household, taking care of their husbands and children well, even if the husband does not work or provide a living or fulfill his daily needs. A woman who is in charge of earning a living to support her family well. A wife who is bullied by another man is a shame and a disgrace to a Madurese man. To remove the disgrace / shame then carok.

Carok: Media Reach Blater Status

Some of the causes of carok are triggered by the goal of being a blater. So carok here is not to solve problems but to reproduce new carok. However, understanding in this direction is not non-existent, the carok actors interviewed acknowledged the magnitude of the risks that must be borne personally and collectively, including sanctions if they fail to kill their opponent or enemy. If you succeed in killing, then the legal risk of going to prison and bearing other social risks is understandable.

There was an informant who wanted to become a blater, from a young age he had studied Kanuragan and received informal education at a pesantren. When he grew up, he made troubles that offended the pride of a man who had become a blater. Finally carok ensued and not until the victim died because the local community managed to break it up. Then this was reconciled by involving the leaders/blater (in-depth interview #9, July 8, 2021). There are men who want to be blater and it is considered natural, because this is part of the construction of masculinity. Unlike the case with carok which was reproduced after several years, there had been no chance for revenge. When there is an opportunity for revenge, then carok cannot be avoided. Delayed retaliation generally occurs because the perpetrator fled to areas outside Java. The place to go to escape (hide) to avoid retaliation from the victim's family: P. Kalimantan, Papua and several countries such as Malaysia or Saudi Arabia. When the carok perpetrator returned to Madura/hometown, they

killed him at that time. There is a gap of several years on the part of the slain victims to take revenge against the perpetrators. This is influenced by the age of the child who is still a minor or due to the perpetrator fleeing abroad or outside Java.

The effects of carok are long and involve extended families. After the carok, there is a reproduction of revenge and the birth of a new carok. In the pre-carok process, there is a scope of issues: the issue of women is a sensitive and very decisive issue. To analyze the carok caused by the female factor, there is no choice here. Carok is absolute, so there is no negotiation and cultural tolerance. This leads to a bigger problem called self-esteem. From here on, the issue of self-esteem is very thick with gender.

Recognition based on mapping the roles and social status of others, within the framework of the capacities of others, will never reduce or harm one's own capacity, on the contrary, will strengthen it. Second, the perpetrator will be considered to have violated the agreement on socio-cultural values, in the form of a lack of recognition and appreciation, so that the person concerned feels *tadhâ* "ajina (does not have self-respect, in the context of self-capacity), and ultimately causes feelings of shame (Hariyanto , 2016, <http://lppm.trunojoyo.ac.id/kulturmadura/download> , accessed 6 May 2021) .

According to Hariyanto (2016), carok is at a crossroads between traditions that must be done to defend self-esteem (women) and carok as a form of violent crime that is very disturbing to the community and at the same time an act that will not be justified by the state and religion because it is classified as an act of violence. judge yourself . In this context, carok is done because there is a passion to defend the family, protect, and respect women. Carok is different from ordinary killings because carok is a medium to protect and respect women as wives and children. This is the construction of women in Madurese culture. If the reason is not a woman factor, then carok is to defend one's honor (self-respect) and family (large). Another case occurred in 2007, where a man who was his wife A's cheating friend came to A's house by slashing her body, until she died. Call it the man named B who owns the land that is worked on by person A. The man from person B ambushes person A and person A manages to snatch the sickle that has been stabbed into his body, but the sickle is successfully taken because his brother is helping him. then the sickle

was swung at B's body and finally B died. Then person A surrenders to the police station (in-depth interview #8, October 10, 2021).

The purpose of reporting the murder by the perpetrator is not only a form of legal recognition of guilt by surrendering, but also there is a need for the perpetrator to obtain protection from law enforcement officials (police) from retaliation against the victim's family. Traditionally, person B's extended family will look for him/hunt him to kill person B's death. The count here is a life for a life. One life can be paid for with one life, two lives or even more. This then oversees the occurrence of retaliatory violence to kill each other in the nuclear family network to become a large family. There is a sanction received by the cheating wife where Si A divorces his wife. What's interesting is that person A was sentenced to two (2) years in prison while his brother who helped kill person B was sentenced to five months in prison (in-depth interview #9, October 10, 2021).

Some ethnic Madurese still consider carok to be part of the way to deal with and resolve disputes that meet the subjective justice values of the carok actors. This understanding of carok affects the production and reproduction of carok. So doing carok with face to face / mob (more than one perpetrator attacks another person so that the person dies) is interpreted as a 'fair' male fight. Carok winners are given the title as 'champion'. (in-depth interview #11, October 12, 2021). By committing acts of murder against other people or just physically injuring, hurting or offending other people through words, actions, attitudes, it will be immediately responded to in a male way. Maybe you could say that carok is an expression of superiority or the highest value as a man who is strong, great, brave. This later became a phenomenon associated with the tradition that men do not want to be referred to as 'bendhuh' (behave like women) who do not dare to fight and kill using sharp weapons, but only dare to fight with their mouths (fights) . In this cultural context, it can be seen that women have a position of power under men and places women as weak physically and non-physically. Even men make their own slogan that women have two mouths so they like to fight with words while men have weapons so they are very naive and even losers if they don't fight with weapons.

So carok is not merely an act of violence that causes the loss of a person's life or murder, hurting the

enemy, but a cultural event to show one's abilities as a man who is stronger, braver, more powerful, and so on. There is a socio-cultural acknowledgment from people who started carok. Especially if the victim / opponent dies. There is a resounding popularity in the village/area. In a large number of cases focusing on the details of social interactions that trigger violent encounters, researchers have gathered evidence of the real thing. Increased sensitivity to family or personal insults, and an overwhelming need to react quickly and aggressively to any of these with verbal abuse and physical violence (Felson et al. 2017).

Interviews with several informants (community leaders, police, people in Bangkalan Regency) mentioned that the carok case cannot be separated from the Bangkalan people's habit of carrying sharp weapons, especially sickles, when traveling which is tucked behind their clothes. This is to provide a sense of security on the way. This habit is not solely on guard as a way to protect himself if disturbed by others or if he meets his enemy. In addition, carrying sickles wherever you go is a Madurese tradition. This applies when the government has not implemented a sharp weapons operation policy in Madura. There is a slightly different opinion in giving meaning to this tradition of carrying sharp weapons, namely because there are enemies, you have to carry a knife everywhere. The local government continues to actively socialize to the community not to carry sickles when traveling, but this has not been complied with by the majority of the people in Kab. Sampang and Bangkalan. There is a reason that cannot be ignored in socio-cultural considerations (in-depth interview #8, 9 September 2021).

In the early part of this analysis, it is shown that the factors that cause carok are varied. Some are caused by trivial things but are interpreted as reducing one's self-esteem and dignity (words/speech that are accidentally spoken and then interpreted by the interlocutor as offending his self-esteem, these words become things that cannot be considered trivial by the perpetrator (one of the parties). Or has offended his self-respect and honor. Words/speech that come out of someone's mouth are interpreted as insults that cannot be forgiven or negotiated in a family manner. Other reasons that become carok are family members who fighting over parental inheritance such as land, rice fields, houses and other valuables, taking other people's rights, ignoring

other people's ownership, such as taking grass on other people's land, fighting over inheritance rights to property (valuable items) inherited by parents .

Carok as a form of violence that 'manipulates' (utilizes) cultural values inherent in the daily life of ethnic Madurese. As an ethnic, the carok entity is inherent in the ethnicity. Carok is accepted, justified, practiced to maintain personal and family self-respect and honor. The spectrum of carok then broadens, but as an entity that maintains self-esteem, honor still influences other areas of life that are not socio-cultural, but enter the realm of practical politics and economics. This then causes carok to continue to be reproduced from generation to generation, there are some who have avoided the practice of carok, but some are still continuing the practice of carok to gain status and recognition as strong, brave, possessing high knowledge of kanuragan as well as a way to solve problems. daily.

Carok to Gain Political Power

The enactment of Law no. 6 of 2014 concerning Villages, the spectrum of carok expands and becomes increasingly complex. The actors who become carok actors are political actors (politicians). Politicians who participate in political contestations choose the carok method to pursue political interests by participating in regional head and village head election contestations. The occurrence of carok using firearms is not accidental, but is due to competition between village head candidates/candidates and even regional heads (village head elections in Bangkalan Regency) which have involved the masses or their fanatical support base and tend to fully defend the victory of the candidate they support.

These actions arise from seemingly very minor social disputes, or are related to some illegal act or practice, so reporting and arbitration from the police or other lawful states authority becomes impossible. Whether the main framework for this study has to do with the aggressive behavior of individuals 'at odds' (Felson et al. 2017), or the symbolic interactions of annoyance that occur in everyday social relationships, research in this area reveals that a particular danger of this incident is a sense of grievance. sharp man and appropriateness of violent response to real or imaginary actions, insults, and perceived perceptions hostile intentions of others (Luckenbill and Doyle 1989).

Such people, it is hypothesized, engage in escalating arguments and developed into a heated character

contest (Deibert and Miethe 2003) with possible bloodshed as a result. This may be worse among those immersed in certain urban subcultures or codes of street-based violence (Stewart and Simons 2010; Wolfgang and Ferracutti 1967). In such a theory, keeping face and honor is an explanation of why it is poor and social marginal men decide to engage in dangerous violence. The implication is that other men, who are more embedded in mainstream culture or office suite codes, are perceived to be much more vulnerable to respond well to various things that are taken for granted. It tends envision this violence as a major instrument in securing patriarchal authority (Dobash and Dobash 1979; Stanko 1990).

Hegemony

An equally influential explanation for male violence in society in Madura comes from research dealing with how men's everyday social practices and identities (as blaters and heroes) are played out in society. Following Connell's (1995) analysis, it is seen that within the carok there are structural relationships of power and broader conflict between men and women, and importantly, between different groups of men. Connell (1995) builds an explanation of the social power of gender, where there is a great interest among men to achieve the power and status as brave and strong men (blater) that the public bestows on men who win the battle for masculinity. contested through carok events . The carok incident which took place in the Karapan Kelinci field, Tanjung Sampang village, did not slash a sickle on the victim's body until he died, but the perpetrator resides in Kab. Pakistan. This happened in 2020 due to bickering between the two parties. (in-depth interview with informant # 8, 5 September 2021).

Masculine reputation is often the cause of mass carok, carried out by several people, has occurred in Kab. Pamekasan and Sumenep. The effects of mass carok are still being felt by the families of the victims to this day. There were two mass caroks in the Middle Longitude Village, Batumarmar Subdistrict (the incident occurred in June 2007) and the East Bulangan Village, Pagantenan District (the incident occurred in November 2009). The trigger factors for carok were misunderstandings and accidental beatings of someone who later became mass carok. The number of victims who died was quite large and there were victims who were injured. Carok was handled by the police and the suspect was charged with Article 338 of the Criminal Code (KUHP) with a maximum penalty of 15 years in

prison. Carok is not only an act of killing another person's life but also an act of mistreatment that causes the victim to experience permanent physical disabilities (results of FGD 2, April 12, 2021). Carok performed by several people (en masse). Whatever the motive, they want to show the wider public that they are the 'superior'. In fact, those who frequently practice this practice are no longer invited to social events. There are various opinions from informants about carok. This opinion is in the range of pros and cons of carok. Some argue that carok should be eliminated because carok has become a bad culture for the Madurese. Meanwhile, there are informants who want carok to be preserved because it is a distinctive part of Madurese culture to maintain the traditional gender order of Madurese men. The opinions of these informants, among others:

“...No man wants to be insulted by anyone. Especially being insulted by women. Angry men sometimes respond right away on the scene and sometimes wait for the right opportunity. Many carok incidents are caused by trivial things that sometimes don't make sense. In Blegah Market, there is a man who accidentally steps on the feet of an animal (cow) when there is a cattle market. This then becomes a carok. Apart from provoking parties, they really don't want to be offended by any words or actions, intentional or unintentional...” (informant interview #5, June 8, 2021)

“... In carok, there are young and old men who want to do carok and they have a strong temper . Those who are not initially involved in carok can become carok victims, because they are considered to be still one family. Carok takes place in unexpected ways (nylelep) and anywhere, anytime. You could say, carok goes naturally. If you are already involved in carok, then it is difficult to get out of the carok circle. Under such conditions, the carok reproduced, which they experienced ca n't get out without making threats or using physical force / sharp weapons (celurit) that have been prepared to guard themselves wherever they go. Sickles / sharp weapons as a form of their own vigilance. Most insisted that on occasions like this, the police, security forces , and community leaders appealed not

to carok. But the appeal seems useless because they keep doing it... ” (informant interview#10, September 12, 2021).

Taking into account the existing context in the socio-cultural and political life of the Madurese community, it can be seen that the act of eliminating political opponents in the Pilkades can be called carok. The weapon used is no longer a sickle but a firearm (interview data , 5 April 2021). Carok as a form of structural violence fights over political resources in the form of power. Defeat in a political competition is considered a shame and disturbs his self-esteem, so that carok is the answer to defeat, disappointment, and honor in participating in political competitions (Pilkades). Carok in the case of village head elections (Pilkades) is a by-product of the efforts of the political elite to hold or gain power. The elites trigger their supporters to build political support. This process has the effect of building an antagonistic identity and supporting more violence in the Pilkades. (results of FGD 2, 12 April 2021). Empirical arguments built from the results of in-depth interviews and discussions with multi-stakeholders (interview with informants April 15, 2021 and results of FGD 1, April 8, 2021). There are efforts by the political elite that convincing their followers to adopt wrong beliefs and take actions that won't be taken by followers who won the Pilkades that eliminating opponents is necessary. So the supporters who supported the losing village head candidate just followed what the elite wanted.

New Carok Production

What we mean by 'cultural violence' are those aspects culture, the symbolic space of our existence that can be used to justify or legitimize the direct or structural violence. The carok used a sharp weapon and is now using a firearm. Killing someone by using a sharp weapon (celurit), even a sickle is put behind the clothes and it becomes a symbolic power over a person. A person who carries a sickle (sharp weapon) is a person who is considered brave, can guard himself at any time when he is attacked by the enemy.

Our analysis of how youth groups perceive their own and frequent violence by other men resonate with these models of the protection of social reputation and the search for masculine power and hegemony. In fact, many of these findings may be framed in more recent theoretical expansions of localized,

shifting and transient 'dominant' or 'hegemonic' masculinities (Messerschmidt, 2018). However, our findings also signal caution with the notion that young men are widely considered to be successful in using violence masculinity or securing the honor and power of men. In another odd expression, he represents masculinity researchers who argue that violence is a 'privilege'. Hall seems to have missed the point, though carefully formulated by Messerschmidt (1993) in a text cited by Hall, that violence often appears in the construction of masculinity, as part of a practice in which certain men or groups of men claim respect, intimidate rivals, or trying to gain material advantage. Violence is not a 'privilege', but is often a means of claiming or defending and asserting superiority or taking advantage of the carok, even though the carok perpetrator already knows the risks he bears, is arrested by the police, imprisoned, there are carok rewards, and so on.

Men and their families who are involved in carok are actually related to the view that equates violent tendencies directly with **respectable forms of masculinity**. Carok cases, both individual and mass, are caused by insulting behavior or speech. This verbal utterance is more often done intentionally. There was an incident some time ago in Kamal-Bangkalan. A man is waiting for a taxi to go to his house in Sampang. The taxi driver tried to quip the prospective passenger by using words that offended him, such as instead of waiting for him to just start ... because the passengers are now deserted and there are no taxis that want to go with one passenger. The words were repeated over and over until the prospective passenger attacked him from behind and the taxi driver was injured..."

Several cases of carok, which in reality are nyelep, are more often caused by sudden and unexpected attacks by the perpetrator. The response to another man's utterance that meant contempt, led to an uncontrollable violent response from the man. They feel uncomfortable being called poor, penniless, unmanly. There are those who avoid and do not respond to the challenge or ridicule, but the reality is not so. If the man did not respond to the challenge immediately, they would follow him all the way to his house. Therefore, not all carok or nyelep events are caused by clear and definite issues. There are carok/nyelep caused by trivial issues that do not consider the impact and socio-cultural risks. But the issue can burn his emotions. This emotional

response is always associated with shame, self-respect, honor. That is the value in the carok order.

CONCLUSION

There is also the practice of carok/nyelep which is carried out immediately when you have found your opponent in any place. Carok reproduction, both for the purpose of retaliating for the dead and increasing the number of victims, can occur anywhere, not only in Madura, but outside Madura Island and even outside Java. There is encouragement from the perpetrators and victims of carok to always be alert and alert. This carok action produces a spiral of carok hardness. How men as victims and perpetrators compete in many conflicts and they hold on to the understanding of the value of masculinity. The understanding that becomes their motive for carrying out carok violence is to maintain/ preserve the traditional gender order related to the value of masculinity. Educational media, both formal and informal, can be used to prevent carok for ethnic Madurese. The value of masculinity is not relevant to be used for the purpose of carok/nyelep. Masculinity is still understood as a form of maintaining the respect and power inherent in the body and soul of men. The masculine power of ethnic Madurese men is not at stake and is contested through carok/nyelep. There are many media that can be used for self-actualization for men to show true strength and power. Carok is not a show of masculine strength. intervention reduces carok through education with a didactic message that violence in all forms and things should not be accepted and even culturally legitimized. Even though it seems imperative and heroic to maintain self-respect and honor, it is very difficult to realize because there is a masculine commitment that is firmly embedded in the Madurese about carok. This view has led some ethnic Madurese men to use carok for other life-destroying purposes. In short, carok is not merely cultural violence, but is part of the gender construction of the Madurese ethnicity that places the value of masculinity in everyday life. Therefore, to reduce carok, what needs to be done is to deconstruct the concept and value of masculinity that can be realized in a culture that can function to promote a culture of tolerance and peace. Changes in hegemonic masculinity. Masculinity must be elaborated in carok. If masculinity is attached to superiority and it is measured/tested from its ability to perform carok, then during that time carok cannot be stopped. There is a transformation from carok which further strengthens the social and cultural

practice of carok. That carok has entered the public/political sphere. The defeat of men in the political contestation of regional head elections and village head elections in the practice of direct democracy in villages and districts is seen by men as a form of humiliation and reduces their power as men. So that regional head candidates and village head candidates who compete democratically to become village heads and regents will use carok to beat village head candidates. That power is in the hands of men and men who are able to use violence are men who have real power.

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