

The *Dukuns* of Madura: Their Types and Sources of Magical Ability in Perspective of Clifford Geertz and Pierre Bourdieu

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Abstract

This descriptive paper is based on a research in Madura, Indonesia, in 2014. The research data was mostly through in-depth qualitative interviews and direct observation that have been developed into ethnographic case study. These methods were informed by a methodological approach derived from the 'structural constructivism' of Pierre Bourdieu. The main concept of "*dukun*" (supernatural/magic service providers) of Clifford Geertz was employed to theorize the findings and frame the argument. Within eight-month research period in Madura, I interviewed 19 *dukuns* and describe them using pseudo-names. Madura's *dukun* phenomenon demonstrates that magic is undoubtedly one of the main strategic resources available for mobilization in Madura to gain social/economical and political standing within society. Moreover, due to the fact that Madura is known as one of the most devoted Islamic Area Strictest in Indonesia, it is important to find out how *dukuns*' magical ability actually comes into being and is performed.

Dukun-dukun Madura: Tipe dan Sumber Kemampuan Magi dalam Perspektif Clifford Geertz dan Pierre Bourdieu

Abstrak

Artikel deskriptif ini didasarkan pada penelitian yang dilaksanakan pada tahun 2014 di Madura, Indonesia. Sebagian besar data penelitian diperoleh melalui wawancara mendalam secara kualitatif dan observasi langsung yang terkemas dalam kerangka etnografi studi kasus. Metode-metode yang dipergunakan diarahkan pada pendekatan metodologi *Structural Constructivism* yang dikemukakan oleh Pierre Bourdieu. Konsep utama mengenai *Dukun* yang dipaparkan oleh Clifford Geertz diberdayakan untuk mengarahkan proses teorisasi dari penemuan-penemuan yang diperoleh serta membingkai argumen. Penelitian dilaksanakan sekitar delapan bulan di 4 (empat) Kabupaten di Pulau Madura dan dalam artikel ini 19 (sembilan belas) *dukun* yang diwawancarai dipaparkan dengan menggunakan nama samaran. Berkaitan dengan fenomena *Dukun* Madura, ditemukan bahwa magi—bagaimanapun—merupakan salah satu sumber strategis utama untuk meningkatkan strata sosial ekonomi dan politik dalam masyarakat. Fakta lain yang bertentangan dengan eksistensi magi tersebut adalah bahwa Madura dikenal sebagai salah satu pulau dengan mayoritas masyarakat Muslim taat di Indonesia. Fakta ini merupakan problematika akademik yang menarik untuk disingkap untuk mengetahui bagaimana kemampuan magi dari *dukun-dukun* tersebut muncul dan diwujudkan dalam masyarakat.

Keywords: Clifford Geertz, *dukun*, Madura, magic, magical ability, Pierre Bourdieu

Citation:

Haryanto, B.S.D. (2015). The *Dukuns* of Madura: Their types and sources of magical ability in perspective of Clifford Geertz and Pierre Bourdieu. *Makara Hubs-Asia*, 19(2): 107-118. DOI: 10.7454/mssh.v19i2.3479

1. Introduction

A trend of adopting magic as an important, alternative way to reach personal purposes and goals in life *instantly* has occurred in Madura since years ago, whereas religion promises no such immediacy. The matters of personal

interest in which magic is seen as helpful include things such as a desire to enhance one's social standing, reach business targets and quotas, career advancement, educational success, sound health and even success in love (Haryanto, 2006). Many Madurese, who otherwise self-identify themselves as Muslim, practice their sanctioned

religious beliefs and rituals but also engage in the unsanctioned activities of magic.

Madura is known as one of the most Islamic islands in Indonesia because Islam is adopted as a formal religion by the majority of its society (97%-99%). In daily life, Madurese perform as good Muslims, especially in the actualization of the normative obedience of their religious teaching (Wiyata, 2002:42). Because of religious obedience, the degree of devotion of Madurese to Islam is generally compared with the Acehese and Minang people in Sumatra, the Sundanese in Java, and the Buginese in Sulawesi (Rifai, 2007:44). Generally, magic is negated by religion. Magic is believed by the public as the antithesis of religion. In Madura and in many Muslim areas, practicing magic is regarded as *shirk* activity that can damage religion, and it is considered a 'cardinal' sin. In Islam, *shirk* is the unforgivable sin of practicing idolatry/polytheism (attributing a partner to Allah) or worshiping of anyone or anything other than the singular Allah. *Shirk* also means the establishment of "partners" placed beside Allah. However, in Madura, where good Muslims live in and hundreds of Islamic boarding schools exist, magic actually also exists as hidden or underground practice (Haryanto, 2007a:17).

Some magical rituals have apparently been carried out in Madura until now, such as the ritual of offerings to the God of the sea, the ritual of looking for cattle that will be forced to compete in races and so on. Before racing, the cow is to be blessed by religious leaders, and *dukuns* perform a ritual by reading spells and perform magic toward off black magic (Jonge, 2011:102).

The existence of *dukuns* in Madura is dilemmatic. They have to face the reality that magic is seen as a profane activity. Islam does not permit magic in any way; otherwise, one is in danger of being labeled *Mushrik* (polytheist, one who practices *Shirk* or associates, invokes or worships beings other than/with Allah). It is further argued here that, for Indonesia and Madura as well, magic in the context of modernity (at least) plays a dynamic role in the existing system of social, cultural, and political relations as a form of what the French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu, calls 'cultural capital'. *Dukuns* are constantly needed for magical/ supernatural services to support one's effort to enter or achieve a certain social status or career advancement (Haryanto 2005). Magical services can be used for almost any purpose: to enhance any aspect of a person's career possibilities, and sometimes they are used just to give the advantage of 'luck', something that is not visible in the physical world. This creates the 'chain reaction' of competition, and the biggest factor in success or failure might end up being luck. In Bourdieu's terminology, cultural capital then will be accumulated as a whole capital (together with/without economic capital, social

capital, and symbolic capital) to dominate the society (Irianto and Margaretha, 2011: 145).

2. Methods

As mentioned above, the overall analytical framework for this research and article lies in Pierre Bourdieu's basic notions of *habitus*, capital, and field. I worked based on Bourdieu's 'structural constructivism' epistemology, and the methodology follows Bourdieu's 'polytheism' approach.

Pierre Bourdieu's methodology and epistemology.

The methodology of this research, consistent with Pierre Bourdieu's structural constructivism epistemology, examined the magic and *dukuns* in Madura during a more than eight-month research project. The constructivists argue that "there is no objective human knowledge independent of human thinking. Knowledge of society is constructed jointly in interaction by the researcher and the researched through consensus" (Gbrich 2007:8). A major characteristic of constructivism is that

"it focuses on exploration of the way people interpret and make sense of their experiences in the world in which they live. The understandings that researchers construct and impose through interpretation are seen as limited by the frames derived from their own life experience. Subjectivity which is the researcher's own views and how they have been constructed, and inter-subjectivity, reconstruction of views through interaction with others via oral language and written texts, are of interest in the constructivism tradition" (Gbrich 2007:8)

Structuralism was a response to the dominance of phenomenology, which was represented by existentialism in France's public intellectual field. Phenomenology was an approach that emphasized an analysis of the forms, representations, and appearances that flood human conscience.

The method of phenomenology commences with what can be called a "double reduction", that is it involves both an eidetic reduction and a phenomenological reduction in the strict sense. Eidetic reduction entails a detailed description of what appears in the conscious lived-experience of the researcher. It presupposes the existence of a Cartesian ego engaged in perceptual activity and the existence of beliefs about objects. Eidetic reduction places priority on mimetically tracing the essence of an object in its final concrete form. The same thing is also done in phenomenological reduction proper, but here the "objects" are put within parentheses and subordinated to an examination of the lived experience or experiential reality constituting them. In summary, that approach said that social reality is a contingent condition that is continuously being formed

by the Subject based on its creativity in daily life. In other words, society is the result of decision, action and individual consciousness in the world each individual lives in and is meaningful for their sake (Wacquant: 1996 :9). To speak of “a point of view” is to put due stress on the way a subject thinks, appreciates and describes the social world including their understanding of the role of objective structure.

The tension between the structuralist and phenomenological approaches fascinated Bourdieu and were rigorously analyzed by him in order to redeem the insights of both. In studying the development of social science, Bourdieu posits three models of theoretical knowledge in social science. Firstly, there is phenomenology or ethnomethodology which emphasizes seeking the truth about or comprehending the taken-for-granted world of the social as it is experienced in everyday life. Secondly, objectivism is the form of theoretic knowledge adopted positivistic science and Saussurian structuralism. The objectivist model works to discover or explain an objective truth from basic experience and conditions, exploiting all possibilities of prior experience and knowledge (observation, experiment and incrementalism). Finally, Bourdieu presents a theoretical knowledge model that attempts to overcome the objectivism/subjectivism and structuralism/phenomenology binaries by acknowledging the double-constitution of knowledge from both the social world (in constituting “objects”) and the human agents subjective construction of meaning out of this socially acquired background (Bourdieu 1996: 2-3). His sociology is an attempt to see both sides of knowledge constitution simultaneously.

Bourdieu’s objection to objectivist and subjectivist approaches is that neither of them affords us to comprehend the totality of social reality. Both failed to comprehend ‘the objectivity of the subjective’ (Bourdieu 1990:72). In objectivist analyses, symbolic building, experience and the social agents’ actions are replaced or subsumed under deterministic and object-like economic conditions, social structures, or the logic of the cultural. In disclosing social reality, an objectivist approach envisages a detachment between theoretical and practical knowledge. This creates a radical separation between observer and observed object.

On the other hand, the subjectivist comprehension that social structure is the sum collection of actions and individual strategies renders the subjectivist approach unable to explain how individual strategies combine and constitute objectifiable forms and order within everyday life struggles. The subjectivist approach fails to explain the formulation of any working principles of social reality. In short, subjectivism dismisses the role of any objective or objectifiable structure in understanding social reality.

To Bourdieu, social life must be comprehended in a balanced comprehension of objective material conditions, social and cultural structure and practical design, and the experiences of individuals and groups. Bourdieu called this method of thinking a relational thinking method. This method of thinking saw that objective structure and subjective representations, agent, and actor, connect to each other dialectically. Each of them affected one another and influenced one another too. This way of thinking was also often called Genetic Structuralism. Genetic Structuralism works to describe a method of thinking and proposing questions. The method tries to describe, analyze, and calculate “the origin of people” (all that contributes to the formation of a person) and social structures (Bourdieu 1990:125-128). Genetic Structuralism is directed towards seeing a dialectic relation between social structure (an analysis of the “origin of persons” or all related groups) and the individual’s subjective view or schema of reality. Bourdieu also labeled Genetic Structuralism as “constructivist structuralism” or “structural constructivism”.

Bourdieu’s structural constructivism epistemology attempts to use the concepts of *habitus* and field to remove the division between the subjective and the objective. While the removal of the division (between subject and object) is crucial, Bourdieu adopts an open-ended approach to conducting research, guided by a particular philosophical stance. Objectivism argues that social reality consists of sets of relations that impose themselves upon agents, irrespective of their consciousness and will. On the contrary, subjectivism takes their individual representations of external forces as its basis. Subjectivism asserts that social reality is the sum total of innumerable acts of interpretation, whereby people jointly construct meaningful interaction. A ‘structuralist’ seeks out invisible relational patterns and a ‘constructivist’ investigates the commonsense perceptions of the individual. Bourdieu (1987) argues that the opposition between these two approaches is artificial and mutilating. According to Bourdieu, “the two moments, objectivist and subjectivist stand in a dialectical relationship (1987:21).

As mentioned above, Bourdieu’s methodology attempts to transcend the paradigms of objectivism and subjectivism by turning them into “moments of a form of analysis design to recapture the intrinsically double reality of the social world” (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:10). That is, there is recognition that both positions, objective and subjective, have explanatory power. The objective structures, or spaces of positions, refer to “the distribution of socially efficient resources that define the external constraints bearing on interactions and representations” (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:11). These objective structures operate alongside “the immediate, lived experience of agents in order to explicate the categories of perception and appreciation (dispositions) that structure

their action from inside” (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:11). Moreover, there is no perfectly transparent or neutral way to represent the physical and especially the social world (Atkinson & Hammersley 1994). The researchers, therefore, have a responsibility to ‘come clean’ about predispositions and feelings, to declare their values and be aware of their ‘taken-for-granted’ attitudes, though even this is not sufficient (Fugueroa 2000).

Research design. Because this research requires a comprehensive explanation of the existence of *dukuns* in Madura, as well as an understanding of the meanings, motives, and sources of the *dukuns*, this study is designed under the guidance of iterative or hermeneutic inquiry (see Gbrich 2007). An iterative approach involves seeking meaning and developing interpretive explanation through involving a series of actions of data collection, which are repeated until the accumulated findings “indicate that nothing new is likely to emerge and that the research question has been answered” (Gbrich 2007: 20-21). An iterative approach involves the researcher’s actions in the field, collecting data, and subjecting the data to critically-reflective processes. As a researcher, I interacted on as many occasions as possible—but with as little disruption as possible—with the *dukuns*, to minimize my impact on the setting and my (potential) over-interpretation of the situation to privilege the views of the informants. Additionally, this study deployed one of the iterative-inquiry approaches known as ethnography.

In Madura, I undertook modest ethnographic case studies to portray typical instances of the *dukuns* phenomena. In this instance, the ethnographic approach underpins and constitutes the research design, the research methodology, and, subsequently, relies on the principal research methods of intensive observation and in-depth interviews with *dukuns*. Ethnography is defined concisely by Fetterman (1998) as “the art and science of describing a group or culture” (1998:1). The definition of ethnography is elaborated by O’Reilly (2007) as an iterative-inductive research that evolves a study design drawing on a family of methods and involved directly with objects of research within the context of their daily lives and culture. Ethnography in this vein involves watching and listening to what happens, to enable the production of a richly written account that respects the irreducibility of human experience (O’Reilly 2007). Several relevant methods of data collection to access social meaning and observe behavior are “participant observation, in-depth interviewing and the use of documents” (Bryman 2007:59). In ethnography, theory is largely generated inductively from data (Glaser & Strauss 1967).

According to Sharan Merriam (1988), a case study is “an examination of a specific phenomenon such as a program, an event, a person, a process, an institution, or a social

group” (cited in Willis 2007:238). Robert Stake defines case study as motivated by “interest in the individual case, not by the methods of inquiry used” (Stake 2005:443). For Starke (2001), the key feature of a case study lies in its boundedness and specificity. Although, a case study can occur in a variety of contexts, the case can be an individual person, an event, a group or an institution. As with ethnography, the concept of a case study is a broad term (Willis 2007), and others have defined seven (7) types of case study (Merriam, 1988). As stated, however, concerning this research of *dukuns* of Madura as a multiple-reality phenomenon, I have used one of the types of case study, namely an ethnographic case study. An ethnographic case study emphasizes the particular socio-cultural issue in question—in this instance the existence of *dukuns* in Madura can be considered as a phenomena precisely because it “concerns with the cultural context is what sets this type of study apart from other qualitative research” (Merriam 1998:23).

Data collection. In a bid to access the boarder existence of *dukuns* in Madura, several relevant methods of data collection were utilized: (i) direct observation, (ii) in-depth interviews, and (iii) written documents. Further, in relation to the proposed ethnographic case study as a part of the data-collection process, I utilized the strategy of participant observation. Participant observation requires the researcher to regularly be in touch with and live among the community they are studying. The strategy is especially useful for collecting accurate and concrete evidence of sensitive topics such as the phenomena of the trade in magic among middle-class Indonesians. Participant observation aims to make no (pre-emptive) firm assumptions about what is important. Participant observation encourages researchers to immerse themselves in the day-to-day activities of the people whom they are attempting to understand. “In contrast to positivists who test big ideas deductively (hypotheses), participant observation’s ideas may be developed from observations (inductive) to generate new hypotheses or theories” (May 2001:148). That is, participant observation is a method of theory building rather than theory testing.

Direct observation involves data gathering by means of participation in the given ‘natural setting’ of informants, where the researchers have the chance to watch, observe, and talk to informants: to explore their interpretation, social meanings and practices. I collected data by employing participant observation to “reduce the problem of reactivity, for example the informants changing their behavior when they know that they’re being studied” (Barnard 1990). I also conducted interviews to uncover the *dukuns* interpretation and meaning in practicing and believing in magic.

The purpose of interviews was to capture the *dukuns*’ language, including any references or appeals to other

discourses. In this research, the use of language is understood as a representation of *dukuns*' behaviors, ideas, and practices. All *dukuns* were interviewed and recorded by the researcher several times for a total, minimum period of approximately two hours.

To obtain the required sample for the research from the *dukuns* in Madura (of 4 regions/districts: Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan and Sumenep) the most appropriate qualitative sampling technique was 'snowball' sampling, a type of purposive sampling (Miller & Brewer 2003). From an initial small sample, the *dukuns* were encouraged to provide additional, suitable contacts. Snowball sampling was chosen as the most appropriate based on the scope of this study, the nature of the topic, the quality of the data desired, the study design, and the use of shadowed data when participants speak of others' experience as well as their own (Morse 2001). Therefore, snowball sampling suited the goals and purpose of this study. Additionally, the method should be most effective because the population of *dukuns* who provide magical services was widely distributed or often elusive in Madura. The process of recruitment of new *dukuns* for this study was therefore via introduction by mutual friends who contact potential *dukuns* and explanation of the purpose of the study before introducing the researcher and requesting an initial meeting. The *Dukuns* were only identified by code, and in relation to any publications of data they are provided with a pseudonym, unless they wished to put their real name. The data was recorded on written texts or field notes, and digital sound recordings of interviews were taken for later transcription when possible.

The primary data-collection process used a semi-structured interview using a thematic guide in more than one interview meeting. The interview format gave the researcher access to informants' habitus, deployment of cultural capital, and positionality, as conceived by Pierre Bourdieu. As an ethnographic case study, the aim to encourage narration by informants in their own terms, pace, and expression, to uncover the meanings that they attribute to magic behaviors; hence, it needs 'rich information' from *dukuns*. Information about age, sex, occupation, and so on can be easily asked in a standardized format of questioning, a structured interview; but such a format was insufficient for this research as it focuses on a specific theme within a multiple reality, the *dukuns*, and their magical sources. Overall, a semi-structured interview was chosen in this research because "it allows participants to answer more on their own terms than a standardized interview permits" (May 2001:123), but still provides the basic structure for a specific focus.

The *Dukuns* of Madura in this research were interviewed in relation to their habitus, capital, and field information. This is necessary in order to be drawn into Pierre Bourdieu's 'participant objectivation' based on reflexive

sociology. Of interest were such things as where they were born, where they grew up, their family background, their family's educational background, and the backgrounds of their relatives and their close friends. Additionally, I also collected demographic and geographic data about places where *dukuns* were born and where they grew up. The latter is important to cover (and uncover) the characteristics of the *dukuns*' habitus.

Documentary research was also a part of this study. Documentary research has an affinity with ethnography and fieldwork, as it is additional and/or complementary; hence, it is also qualitative research (MacDonald 2008). In this research, documentary data is presented as being "set within a social context derived from previous studies" (May 2001:190). Specifically, it derived from mass media and literatures related to religion, magic and supernatural, Madura /and *dukuns*.

Data analysis. As this research is based on qualitative and ethnographic-case-study research, a discourse analysis was deployed as the main form of data analysis. The objective of discourse analysis is to understand what *dukuns* are doing with their language in a given situation. Thus, the coding phase in discourse analysis entailed identifying themes of trade-in-magic in Indonesia and roles as signified through language use. I used the N-vivo computer program for the purpose of coding, categorizing and developing themes more efficiently.

According to David Silverman (2001), discourse analysis describes a heterogeneous range of social science research, based on the analysis of recorded talk, and emphasizes how versions of the social world are produced within naturally occurring spoken or written discourse (in Bloor 2001). As mentioned above, the conversation of *dukuns* have been recorded in the form of field notes and digital sound recordings or interviews. In this article, "language reveals how participants construct themselves and others through their discourse" (Silverman 2001:120). However, such personal constructions can be also be undercut "because language and words, as a system of shared, mutually agreed signs, mediate the negotiation and creation of social meaning" (Silverman 2001:120). Therefore, a researcher—always aware of his own biases—must look in the discourse for revelations of unspoken or nuanced intentions.

At the next level of the data analysis, I investigated the interrelatedness and linkages across groups of categories and seek better understanding of the existence of *dukuns* by employing an interpretive analysis. During de-contextualisation, I separated the data from the original context of individual cases and assigned codes to units of meaning in the text. In re-contextualization, I examined the codes for patterns, then reintegrate, organize, and reduce the data around central themes and relationships

drawn across all the cases and narratives. Interpretive methods distill textual data to a set of categories or concepts from which the final product and conclusions can be drawn.

Relevant documents in relation to the phenomena of *dukuns* and magic in Madura were analyzed to provide a direction for obtaining data to measure the frequency and variety of messages related to this research. During data analysis, I also utilized Bourdieu's theoretical perspective to inform the data analysis. Bourdieu's perspective "requires researchers to look at the dynamic interaction between individuals" and the surroundings (the *dukuns*, Madurese, Moslems, Magic and supernatural in Madura) in which they find themselves, and such a perspective requires the account to be situated within a larger historical, political, economic and symbolic context. The symbolic context refers to such things as "practical activities, mundane knowledge, subjective meaning, and practical competency" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:709).

After selecting, interpreting, and representing the data, the intended meanings of *dukuns* were inevitably reshaped and may become distorted (Burke 2002). As a result, I then checked my interpretations and emerging constructions with *dukuns* of Madura on an ongoing basis

throughout the research. In Bourdieu's Structural-Construction methodology, the role of *habitus* and field of *dukuns* (again) function in maximizing pre-conclusion process of this research. This step is what Pierre Bourdieu refers to as "reflexive analysis" (in Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:37), and it is an important and integral part of the verification process and drawing conclusion.

3. Results and Discussion

Dukuns of Madura. As mentioned above, I employed 'snowball sampling', a type of purposive sampling method, to choose informants from different regions of Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep. They are 40- 70 years old as shown in Table 1.

Most of the Dukuns in this research made magic as their primary commodity for their trade business to meet their needs for themselves and their families, so we can say that their professional status are the Dukun. The decision to be a Dukun in Madura is their own: a strategic choice or there is no other option. Madura has a dry land, and its people have to survive living their life in the Island. The lack of *dukuns*' education and skills force them to decide to make their magic ability a

Table 1. Dukuns of Madura

Name (Pseudo-Name)	Sex/Age	Services *	Region
Asrima	Female/70	Mediums, Sorcerer, <i>Dukun Sihir, Dukun Siwer, Dukun Jampi</i>	Sumenep
Fathorahman	Male/31	<i>Dukun Japa, Dukun Siwer</i>	Sumenep
Kyai Abdur M	Male/60	Masseur, <i>Dukun Susuk, Dukun Siwer, Dukun Petungan</i>	Sumenep
Abah Ilham	Male/60	<i>Dukun Petungan</i>	Sumenep
Kyai Taufiqurrahman	Male/64	<i>Dukun Petungan, Dukun Japa</i>	Sumenep
Misluky Syah	Male/43	<i>Dukun Japa, Dukun Jampi</i>	Pamekasan
Ustads Hasan	Male/55	<i>Dukun Siwer, Dukun Petungan</i>	Pamekasan
Umi Umsiyah	Female/50	<i>Dukun Jampi</i>	Pamekasan
Mohniady	Male/70	Midwives, <i>Dukun Japa, Dukun Siwer</i>	
Kyai Suudi	Male/35	<i>Dukun Jampi</i>	Pamekasan
AbahRomlan	Male/50	<i>Dukun Petungan</i>	Sampang
Amse Dayat	Male/59	<i>Dukun Japa, Dukun Siwer</i>	Sampang
Umi Utik	Female/49	<i>Dukun Siwer, Mediums, Dukun Japa</i>	Sampang
H. Sadiq	Male/48	<i>Dukun Prewangan, Dukun susuk, Dukun Japa</i>	Sampang
Abah Affandi	Male/66	<i>Dukun Petungan, Dukun Wiwit</i>	Sampang
Buani	Female/64	<i>Dukun Penganten, Dukun Jampi.</i>	Bangkalan
Muniyah	Female/57	Midwives, Masseur, <i>Dukun Siwer</i>	Bangkalan
HJ (Hajjah) Tutik	Female/98	<i>Dukun Japa, Dukun Jampi, Mediums, Dukun Susuk</i>	Bangkalan
Kyai Haji Imam	Male/50	<i>Dukun Jampi, Mediums, Dukun Petungan, Dukun Japa, Sorcerer</i>	Bangkalan

Source: Primary Data; * to be explained in this article

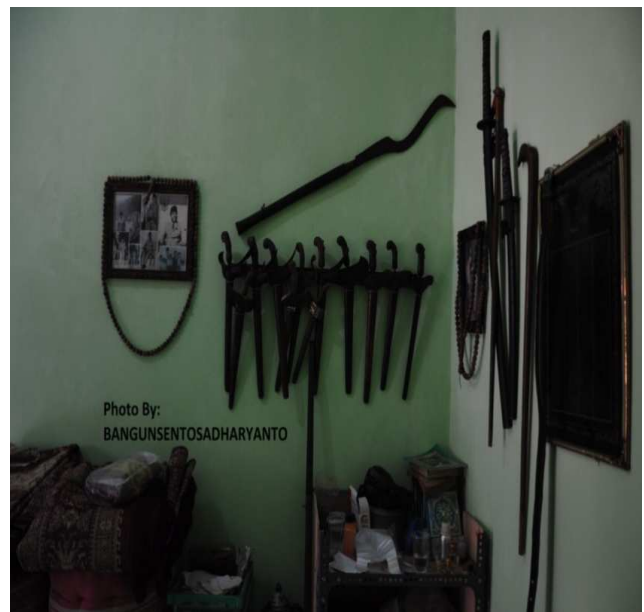
Based on data that I collected, most of Dukuns in Madura are male and all of them are non-advertised Dukun. They are different from Dukuns in Jakarta who are divided into *Indirectly-Advertised Dukun, Direct-Advertised Dukun* and *Non- Advertised Dukun* (Haryanto, 2013b). Only several female dukuns were found, and it made sense as Madura follows patriarchal social system. According to Betty Friedan in "The Second Stage" in Utomo (2012), it is dilemmatic for female to combine motherhood interest in public sphere (Utomo, 2012:126). Nevertheless, I think it needs and interesting to be researched further to reveal the social context behind this fact.

commercial product. They do not have to waste their time and energy to work hard in salt-field or rice-field from morning to sunset or doing fishing all night long. By trading in magic ability, most of them earn enough money, about 50 IDR- 100,000 IDR per day. Here is the reflection of classic economic term “demand and supply”, where the dukuns fill the ‘supplier’ position to respond to high “demands” for magical in Madura.

Dukun’s types: Clifford Geertz’s perspective. In the past, the term ‘*dukun*’ meaning a sorcerer or psychic (rather than the now more acceptable term of *Dukun*) was popular, particularly in the rural areas, but it is nowadays rarely mentioned (Haryanto, 2013a). It happens in Madura as well. For instance, in the rural area of Madura (Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep) where I did my research, the word ‘*dukun*’ is not often heard. More commonly, words such as *Haji*, to indicate a devout Muslim orientation; *Ustads*, indicating an Islamic teacher; *Kyai*, a title normally reserved for Pesantren and Islamic leaders; *Abah*, which means father; Umi (Muslim’s Mom), *Ki* or *Aki* (grandfather or grandmother), are used. It makes sense that Islamic terms of magic agents took over the terms dukuns, because as mentioned above Madura is a Muslim island. Madurese (especially the *dukuns*) realize it, and then society regularly constructs the new terms of *dukuns* as social consensus. For *dukuns*, the term ‘*dukun*’ tends to be irreligious, and it is a potentially insecure term for their ‘needs’.

Dukun, in traditional Javanese culture, used to be a generic term that then carried an additional qualifying term to indicate specializations. Thus, Geertz (1960) mentions: *Dukun Bayi* (midwives); *Dukun Pijet* (masseurs); *Dukun Perewangan* (mediums); *Dukun Calak* (circumcisors); *Dukun Wiwit* (harvest ritual and ceremonial specialists); *Dukun Penganten* (wedding ritual and ceremonial specialists); *Dukun Petungan* (experts in numerical divination); *Dukun Sihir/ Dukun Tenung/Dukun Santet* (sorcerers); *Dukun Susuk* (specialists who use certain kind of metal or stones to help clients accumulate power, strength or beauty); *Dukun Jampi* (curers who employ herbs and other native medicines); *Dukun Japa*(experts in spells and incantations); and *Dukun Siwer* (specialists in preventing natural misfortunes, such as keeping the rain away when needed). Geertz’ terminology from the past has also been frequently used by other scholars (see, for example, Connor, Asch and Asch, 1986; Suparlan 1991:11; Mahony 2002:6).

Consistent with their comprehensive coverage yet reminiscent of the types of *dukuns* studied by Geertz (1960), most of male *dukuns* in Madura said that they have all those abilities except those needed to be a masseur and midwife. They (9 male Dukuns) serve as sorcerers, numerical diviners, curers, spell and



Picture 1. Keris, Arek, and Tasbih. Dukuns often Intentionally Place some Private Magical-Medias, such as Keris, Arek, and Tasbih in the Living Room to Convince their Clients

incantation producers, mediums and preventers of natural misfortunes. The 6 female Dukuns perform as midwives, masseurs, mediums and curers. Only 3 male Dukuns introduced themselves as experts in numeric divination. Such services included the provision of a numeric specialist for calculating good days for wedding ceremonies, determining a good day to start business, or to give a psychic forecast on the suitability of dealing with one person (calculating fate), and so on. According to my data, not all *dukuns* have the ability of *Dukun Calak* (circumcisors); they said that circumcisor has more medical skills rather than magical ones. Like in Javanese culture, most of them also employ many kinds of flowers, *dupa* (aroma therapy), stones, *Keris* (Javanese traditional sword), and *Arek* (Madurese traditional sword), amulets, and even the Koran and *tasbih* to serve their clients.

Dukuns versus Islam. From the perception of the informants of this research, they did not see any dichotomy between religion and magic, or, if there were perceptual distinctions between religion and magic, then the seeming incompatibility was not found to be problematic.

Islam is the majority religion in Madura, and the Koran is taken to be the definitive guide in behavioral matters, and it specifies that the practice of magic is a sin. The reasoning given in these doctrines can be paraphrased as the fact that magic tends to defy the rule of religion because of its use of certain powers not reliant on God’s power. Since all worthwhile power comes from God

(through religion) then magic should not be practiced; by defying religion, magical practices defy God.

However, one of the research informants, Kyai Taufiqurrahman (*Dukun Japa*, 64 y.o), explained that the notion of ‘defiance’ of God needs to be understood in the proper context. According to Kyai Taufiqurrahman’s account, he considers himself to be ‘righteous’ in worshipping God, while still undertaking magical practices. Kyai Taufiqurrahman asserts that God has created special people as a ‘bridge’ between the earthly world and the world of God (where the nearness to God ensures the help of God). While all humans are created by God, some ‘are the chosen one’s by His Will’; those ‘chosen ones’ will have knowledge (including the knowledge of magic), and it is that special knowledge that is useful as a ‘bridge’ for other people to use in praying for God’s help. Under this view, it is a mistake to say that using a paranormal service is the same as submitting to worship that paranormal (as a substitute for God); the common assumption that the asking of ‘favours’ from a paranormal (connected through their powers to some ‘astral’ being, not God) is a false assumption according to Kyai Taufiqurrahman.

Ustads Hasan (*Dukun Siwer*, 55 y.o) said that there is no religious degradation and/or deviation involved because of practicing magic, either by the paranormals conducting the practice or by their clients who are asking for help from the ‘bridge’ (the paranormal). For Ustads Hasan, although some Muslim says that ‘the God’s 18,000 kind of creatures’ is just based on the *Hadist* called *Hadist Maudu*’ which means *Dhoif* (unofficial hadist) in the *Kitab Tafsir Baidhowi*, practical magic is not against the rule of Islam, because all wishes or desires (prayers) for something are directed to God somehow, even if the route is indirect, and sometimes in achieving those wishes for people, a paranormal needs to act with non-human creatures.

It also stressed by Haji Imam (Sorcerer, 50 y.o) that those who are given a special gift by God to be able make a connection (communicate) with other creatures (such as astral beings) are the chosen ones. Not all of human kind was given knowledge—by God—to observe and communicate with invisible creatures. Among all humanity, there are only a small percentage of people (genuine *dukuns*) that have the ability to make a connection with invisible things. Thus, it can be concluded from this, according to Haji Imam, that a well-established *dukun* is a genuine *dukun*, and their number is very limited. From this observation, it is very reasonable that a person who believes in the *dukun*’s power will be obedient and respectful of that *dukuns*, without being forced to do so. A paranormal/ *dukun* is naturally a charismatic figure and is believed to have extraordinary qualities as a person, “regardless of whether this quality is actual, alleged, or presumed” (Weber 1968: 467).

The details discussed above are also the type of data of interest to Pierre Bourdieu and his conception of the social model, particularly his concept of *habitus*. In Indonesia, and of course in Madura, the knowledge and understandings of religion derive from and are taught by family. Habits of religious life are trained by parents, gurus, and relatives. The knowledge of everything that is the concern of religion has been planted in children, including an understanding about the position of magic in religion. Besides the things concerning religion, the customs outside the context of religion have been learned by children that are then ‘inserted’ in their memories. This is so, according to Bourdieu, whether the people remember or not, Indonesians, Javanese, and Madurese, as has been noted by some researchers, sometimes keep the customs of animism and dynamism (mysticism and magic) and still maintain them in their activities besides the ‘imported’ religious customs, such as Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity. The children, during their early years with parents, are able to (and normally do) absorb almost all behaviors and dogmas of their parents. Therefore, in the children’s mind, not only the understandings of imported religion are planted, but also some customs and understanding and behavior that are based on the traditions of Madurese mysticism and magic.

It seems to me that one of the most important aspects of *dukuns* of Madura self-positioning in relation to the practice of magic is that they see no conflict between magic and religious practice; in their view the practice of magic is still founded in Islamic rules, and is not against God’s ordained ‘rules’, as interpreted by texts such as the Koran. In Madura, religion and magic do not have an antithetical relation as profane and sacred; religion and magic are two different things but they do not stand in contradiction. Magic is performed as relatively ‘*Islami*’ in Madura, as mentioned above.

The sources of magical ability. As all *dukuns* said that the ability of a *dukun* is not something that everybody can have, and that it is only “the charmed” people who can have it. If that magical ability is explained, we will see that it comes from many kinds of sources.

The first source is given magic. It is the source of ability that comes to the *dukun* naturally, not by learning or training, and it becomes a skill that keeps attached itself to the *dukun*. The ability of forecasting a future situation in advance, the power of healing certain diseases, the ability of communicating with some astral and invisible creatures, are examples of natural ability. This kind of ability is called given magic because it comes naturally. About that ability, the *dukun* is usually unaware initially until there is a special moment in which he “unintentionally” uses that ability on himself or other people. As one informant named Buani states:

“I was ‘told’ by a mysterious whisper, and I was sure it was my Grandfather’s, to do a special meditation in ‘Buju’ Raksah” (Buju = a place which looks like a cemetery but it is not (really) a cemetery and is believed to be a centre of supernatural power). From that meditation in several days, I got five stones with many colors from that place. I also did fasting and did some sunnah activities. Till now, I always do a ritual and bring offerings (sesajen) to that Buju annually on the 10th of the Suro month.” (Dukun Japa, 64 y.o)

According to some *dukuns*, *Buju* is the source of their magic ability, and some of them magically found amulets/*keris* in these *Buju*. For (some/most) ordinary Madurese people, *Buju* is treated as a sacral monument where they sometimes take dishes (*sajen*) here on special days to prevent their family from dangers or to wish a luck, such as on the days during harvest time, weddings, special celebrations, and so on. Society believes that *sajen* ritual is part of important social norms and a must. As implemented in many cultures, they have no bravery not to do this kind of rituals because it might create social disharmony or social disorder (Saputra, 2014: 54)

Mostly the ability of given magic comes to the *dukuns* preceded by an extraordinary incident that happens to that *dukun*, such as experiencing a very bad and long



Figure 2. Buju. A Sacral Area which Looks Like a Cemetery but it is not (Really) a Cemetery Built by ‘Un-known’ Ancestors, it is just a Mysterious Building—for Example—Underneath an Old-huge Tree, and is Believed as one of Supernatural Power Centers amongst Madurese Dukuns

term disease at the infant age or at the age of *baligh* (usually at teenage), as reported by female *dukun* Asrima:

“The origin of the science started when the small Asrima often fell sick and some local shamans or healers were not able to treat it. A few days after that, then I just experienced mystical events or the arrival of a creature that only she saw, while others could not see it. His name is great Patenggi of Panenggin. He came and accompanied me during my illness, and he also had a sound like man” (Mediums, 70 y.o)

However, if it is said that the “*ilmu*” of given magic is “purely” given, it cannot be fully justified, because that talent was actually being “inherited” and descended from their ancestors. After conducting some interviews with those *dukuns*, it was discovered that their “*ilmu*” came from their ancestor in the past as they have been told by their relatives about where that ability came from. Abah Romlan States, *“I think I got the ability of magic inherited. It starts from my parents, my sister, and then myself. In addition to its descendants have this ability because I meditate at night in a tomb which was in some place and endure all kinds of trials.” (Dukun Petungan, 50 y.o)*

It was believed in Javanese “*ilmu*”, and yet in Madurese as well, that without being preceded by their ancestors in the past (grandfather, great grandfather, grandmother of grandfather’s, grandfather of grandfather’s, and so on) who had that same magical ability before, it was impossible for someone to have it (Haryanto, 2013). Thus, that kind of magical ability cannot be owned by “common” people, as it was only for the chosen ones. It is explicitly consistent with Pierre Bourdieu’s Cultural Capital. In the conclusion section below, it will be recapped briefly.

The second source of magical ability is the ability achieved by the result of learning and deductive programs (examining) of that knowledge from a person who deserves to be called “guru”, and that magical ability is called magic by learning. It is believed by some dukuns that the magical ability can be learned like other kinds of science. Kyai Suudi said, “Originally I got it by learning from a Guru who was guiding and also providing practices based on the Koran. We did fasting and dhikr, as well to increase its quality” (Dukun Jampi, 35 y.o)

One ought to have the will and self-determination and also self-confidence to be able to learn magic and make magic as his professional endeavor. What has been said by H. Imam will begin to make sense; that is, every human kind on earth actually owns the potential to become a magic expert because the main elements of magic i.e. positive energy and negative energy (like those in electricity) lie inside everybody.

Nevertheless, according to Kyai Imam and Abah Romlan, the ability of magic which is achieved by learning has a clearly different quality of magic compared to that of given magic, exactly like what I have explained previously. The reason is “the chosen” people have already owned the basic of “ilmu” and medium (Javanese, physical and non-physical body), and they are more prepared and more suited to be “filled” by those magic “ilmu”. This is different from those who gain magic only by learning, as this kind of magic can be transformed in a limited manner for only certain purposes and not all kinds of purpose, so their level of magic could be lower than that of the chosen ones. Hence, if there are two people who both learn magic, and the first one is “the chosen” one and the second is not “the chosen” one, surely the first one will have more potential in mastering and implementing his ability well and more accurately.

Overall, the ability of magic amongst the Dukuns of Madura also meets Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of ‘cultural capital’ because it is inherited and/or is learned within specific period of time. Consistent with Bourdieu’s concepts, the dry land of Madura the limitation of job availability (except farmers, ‘small’ traders, and fishermen), the lack of capitals (education background, skills, or networks), the need of economical sources, Islam culture, and competitiveness of social/ political respects is what Bourdieu calls “field” around the *dukuns* of Madura. The ability to provide magic services that become their primary job is related to Bourdieu’s *habitus*. *Habitus* is forgotten history and forgotten memory which appears as a response to the uncertainty and competitive ‘field’ aiming to survival strategy, with consequences some or all consensus values (such as religion norms i.e. *shrik*, *mushrik*, and social norms) disobeyed.

4. Conclusions

The significant contributions of this article to academic sphere are as follow. First, the type of *dukuns* in madura is mostly consistent with Clifford Geertz concept of Javanese *dukuns* such as *Dukun Bayi*, *Dukun Pijet*, *Dukun Perewangan*, *Dukun Calak* (circumcisors), *Dukun Wiwit*, *Dukun Penganten*, *Dukun Petungan*, *Dukun Sihir/Dukun Tenung/Dukun Santet* (sorcerers), *Dukun Susuk*, *Dukun Jampi*, *Dukun Japa*, and *Dukun Siwer*. I conclude that , different from Geertz’s *dukuns*, in Madura *dukuns* put Islamic names before their real names such as *Kyai*, *Ustads*, *Umi*, *Abah*, and so on, and then intentionally employ Islamic symbols such as Arabic spells/mantras taken from Koran’s verses and wear Islamic fashions, to show (convince) that they are Muslim; not profane people who deserve to be hated. It could be a ‘safe strategy’ to economically and socially survive. Because of Madurese culture mind set, which believes that *Kyai/ Ustadz* is one of political sources (mentioned above in this article), some of them also

perform as cultural, political, and spiritual un-official leaders in the society. In this point, *dukuns* are relatively acceptable to do anything they want on behalf of ‘society welfare’, even if it is logically irrational and sinful. In Geertz’s terminology, *dukuns* are placed in the irreligious group of social structure called *Abangan*. However, I found that *dukuns* of Madura, called *Kyai*, *Ustadz*, *Abah*, *Umi*, and so on, are considered as religious (at the same time, not ‘really’ religious).

I conclude that the ability of magic amongst *dukuns* of Madura also meets Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of ‘cultural capital’ because it is (also) inherited and/or is learned within specific period of time. It also can be a pride of their family, because they are ‘the chosen family’: family with a ‘special power’ and experience the *habitus* of magic. The status of ‘*dukun* family’ can be a valuable ‘richness’ of their next generations. Socially, their children/grandchildren will be always known as members of a *dukun* family and then deserve privileges from the society such as respect, honor, and ‘higher’ political and social standing.

Overall, in Madura, the practical magic by *dukuns* as providers is taken to be present in its own special ‘space’ and ‘color’, and is integrated to ‘religious space’ so that the two are accepted together, whereas before they were considered contradictory. Magic and religion both stand on their mixed path, and both actually have their own function in Madura. The current situation involves the historical circumstances of people’s lives (religion, both traditional and imported), and is completed by syncretism of traditional customs (Javanese-Madurese customs) of the mystic and magical. Magic, under this view, is sanctioned by Islam rather than forbidden. Others have stated that by practicing magic as a ‘chosen one’ or ‘excessive human’ they are no more or less than another of God’s creations, and they function to solve problems. For *dukuns*, practical magic is not against the Islamic rules, where the essence of practical magic is to ‘seek’ the help of God, which involves the excess of certain human beings (*dukuns*) and the cooperation of other creatures (spirits, or astral beings).

Acknowledgment

I thank Dr. Phillip Ablett and Dr. Phillip Mahnken of the University of the Sunshine Coast Australia and “The Guru” Prof. Iwan Triyuwono, who have introduced me to discussions of spiritual, supernatural, religion and magic in academic perspectives. Sincere thanks are also due to all informants/ *dukuns* in Madura, my colleague Yudho Bawono, M.Psi. as professional assistance during the research, and my students as great translators of Bahasa Madura. I also thank Prof. Dr. Andreas Budihardjo and anonymous reviewers for comments, suggestions and guidances in RAW-Q 2014 event and during the review process. This fundamental research would not

have been possible at all without the support of Ditjen Pendidikan Tinggi - Litabmas and LPPM Universitas Trunojoyo Madura.

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