



Cultural Traditions of *Hajj* and *Umrah*: A Comparative Study of Madurese Communities in Indonesia and Malaysia

Moh. Hafid Effendy¹; Erie Hariyanto²; Maimun³; Anas Ahmadi⁴;

Agus Purnomo Ahmad Putikadyanto⁵

^{1,2,3,5}Universitas Islam Negeri Madura, Indonesia

⁴State University of Surabaya, Indonesia

¹Correspondence Email: effendyhafid@iainmadura.ac.id

Received: August 28, 2024

Accepted: January 1, 2026

Published: January 30, 2026

Article Url: <https://journal.scadindependent.org/index.php/jipeuradeun/article/view/1870>

Abstract

Local traditions surrounding the *Hajj* and *Umrah* pilgrimages among Madurese communities have received limited scholarly attention, particularly within comparative transnational contexts. While existing studies documented the cultural significance of pilgrimage in Madura, less is known about how these traditions are reconfigured when Madurese communities migrate and inhabit different socio-political environments. This study examined how *Hajj* and *Umrah* practices are organized, experienced, and transformed among Madurese communities in Indonesia and among Madurese migrants in Malaysia. Employing a qualitative descriptive approach, data were collected through in-depth interviews, participant observation, and documentation involving community members, religious leaders, and academics. The findings revealed a clear contrast between the two contexts: in Madura, pilgrimage traditions remained highly visible and communally celebrated, reinforcing social cohesion and moral recognition, while in Malaysia these practices tended to be simplified and selectively expressed as adaptive responses to minority positioning, sociopolitical regulation, and norms of public visibility. The study demonstrated that *Hajj* and *Umrah* function not only as acts of worship but also as culturally embedded performances through which identity, belonging, and social legitimacy are negotiated within transnational social fields. By foregrounding the interplay between ritual, culture, and mobility, this research contributes to broader discussions on lived Islam, migration, and the dynamic transformation of religious practices across national boundaries.

Keywords: Local Traditions; *Hajj* and *Umrah*; Indonesia; Malaysia.

A. Introduction

Madurese society is widely recognized for its strong attachment to local traditions that structure everyday social and religious life. Across the four regencies of Madura—Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep—religious practices are deeply embedded in communal norms and cultural values that shape collective identities, moral orientations, and patterns of social interaction (Effendy et al., 2022, 2025; Pribadi, 2015; Sobri, 2017). Within this socio-cultural landscape, religion is not merely practiced as a personal matter of belief, but lived through shared rituals, customary obligations, and symbolic acts that reinforce social cohesion and cultural continuity. Religious observance thus functions simultaneously as devotion and as a social mechanism through which belonging and recognition are articulated.

Within this context, *Hajj* and *Umrah* occupy a particularly central position in Madurese religious life. Beyond their doctrinal status as core Islamic rituals, pilgrimage practices carry profound social meanings that extend far beyond the individual pilgrim. Performing *Hajj* or *Umrah* is widely perceived as a marker of moral achievement, religious devotion, and social recognition within the community, conferring symbolic capital that reshapes social relations and everyday interactions (Rosyid, 2017; Takdir, 2018). The title of *Haji* or *Hajjah* is not only a religious designation but also a culturally embedded status that signals piety, respectability, and moral authority, reinforcing the collective significance of pilgrimage within Madurese society.

Although the ritual core of *Hajj* and *Umrah* is universally standardized within Islamic teaching, their social enactment varies considerably across cultural and spatial contexts. Among Madurese communities, pilgrimage practices are closely intertwined with locally rooted traditions enacted before departure, during the journey, and upon return. Rituals such as communal send-offs, welcoming ceremonies, and thanksgiving gatherings illustrate how religious observance is embedded within cultural performance and social stratification (Dani & Mudhofir, 2022; Usman, 2023). These practices reveal that pilgrimage is not experienced solely as an individual spiritual journey, but as a collective event involving families, neighbors, and broader social networks. Previous studies further indicate that among Madurese communities, particularly in rural areas, religious devotion associated with pilgrimage often outweighs material considerations, even among lower economic groups (Hamzah, 2022; Iswahyudi, 2022). Such findings underscore the depth of moral commitment attached to pilgrimage, while also highlighting how social norms and cultural expectations shape its practice.

Existing scholarship has provided important insights into the cultural meanings and symbolic value of *Hajj* and *Umrah* within Madurese society. Research has shown how pilgrimage functions as a mechanism of social differentiation and moral elevation, with particular emphasis on the prestige associated with the *Haji* identity (Rosyid, 2017; Dani & Mudhofir, 2022). These studies contribute significantly to understanding the local dynamics of pilgrimage traditions in Madura. However, they tend to focus primarily on localized settings and often treat Madurese pilgrimage practices as culturally homogeneous and territorially bounded. As a result, less attention has been given to how these traditions are rearticulated when Madurese communities move beyond their homeland and inhabit new social environments shaped by different political, cultural, and normative frameworks.

This limitation becomes particularly evident when considering the long-standing migration of Madurese people to Malaysia. Madurese migrant communities in Malaysia maintain strong communal ties, including the continued use of the Madurese language and the preservation of shared religious practices, indicating the persistence of cultural identity across national borders (Lutfianah & Herawati, 2023; Rahayuningsih, 2018). At the same time, their position as migrants and as a minority group places them within distinct sociopolitical conditions that shape how religious and cultural expressions can be publicly enacted. Norms of visibility, legal regulations, and social sensitivities in the host society inevitably influence how religious rituals are performed, negotiated, or restrained. Despite the significance of these dynamics, comparative analyses that examine how *Hajj* and *Umrah* traditions are maintained, modified, or reconfigured across homeland and diaspora contexts remain relatively limited.

Against this backdrop, understanding *Hajj* and *Umrah* solely as fixed religious obligations is insufficient to capture the complexity of their lived practice among Madurese communities. Rather, pilgrimage must be approached as a socially embedded process that unfolds within transnational social fields, where religious meaning, cultural performance, and identity negotiation intersect. Drawing on the framework of cultural performance (Turner & Schechner, 1988) and the concept of transnational religious practices (Levitt & Schiller, 2004), this study situates Madurese pilgrimage traditions within broader processes of mobility, adaptation, and social negotiation. These perspectives allow for an analysis of how similar religious rituals are enacted differently across national settings in response to contrasting social structures, power relations, and norms of public expression.

By comparing Madurese communities in Indonesia with Madurese migrant workers in Malaysia, this research examines how local traditions surrounding *Hajj* and *Umrah* are organized, experienced, and transformed across different stages of pilgrimage and across distinct sociopolitical contexts. Through a transnational qualitative approach, the study seeks to contribute to broader discussions on religion, migration, and culture by demonstrating how pilgrimage operates simultaneously as an act of worship, a cultural performance, and a dynamic process of negotiating belonging. In doing so, the research offers a nuanced understanding of how religious traditions are sustained and reconfigured within both local and diaspora Madurese communities, enriching scholarly debates on lived Islam in an increasingly interconnected world.

B. Method

This study employs a qualitative approach with a descriptive design. The data consist of verbal narratives interpreted by the researcher, focusing on participants' experiences and meanings related to *Hajj* and *Umrah* traditions (Ahmadi, 2023, 2024). Data were collected through in-depth interviews, participant observation, and documentation to capture both practices and contextual meanings.

Fieldwork was conducted in Madura (Indonesia) and Malaysia to examine contrasting sociocultural contexts: the homeland setting and the migrant diaspora setting. Malaysia was selected as a research site due to its long-standing Madurese migrant population, where strong intracommunity ties persist, including the continued use of the Madurese language in daily interactions. The study involved 13 participants, comprising 6 Madura informants and 7 Madurese diaspora members in Malaysia. The participants represented various social roles, including cultural practitioners, teachers, *ustaz*, entrepreneurs, farmers, Indonesian migrant workers, and recruiters of migrant workers. This variation enabled a comparative examination of how *Hajj* and *Umrah* traditions are enacted and negotiated across different social positions within a transnational Madurese community.

Data analysis followed the interactive model proposed by Miles and Huberman (2018), which involves three concurrent stages: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing or verification. These analytical steps were applied iteratively throughout the research process to ensure consistency between empirical data and emerging interpretations.

The analysis was guided by the theory of cultural performance (Turner & Schechner, 1988) and the concept of transnational religious practices (Levitt & Schiller, 2004). The Turner and Schechner framework was used to interpret *Hajj* and *Umrah* as performative rituals, paying attention to ritual stages, symbolic actions, public participation, and changes in social status associated with pilgrimage. The concept of Levitt and Schiller informed the analysis of how these practices are maintained, modified, or restricted within different national and migratory contexts, particularly among Madurese communities in Malaysia. Peer discussions were conducted to critically review the application of these analytical frameworks and to improve the rigour of the interpretation.

All research procedures adhered to established ethical guidelines. Participants were informed about the aims and scope of the study prior to data collection and provided consent to participate. Confidentiality was ensured through the use of pseudonyms in all transcripts and reports. All interview recordings, field notes, and documentation were securely stored and accessed only by the research team to protect the privacy and personal information.

C. Results and Discussion

Before presenting the research findings, it is important to understand that the practices of *Hajj* and *Umrah* among the Madurese communities in both Indonesia and Malaysia are not only seen as religious obligations, but also as symbols of social status and cultural identity. In Madura, these pilgrimages are celebrated with various traditions such as communal feasts (*salameddhân*), processions, and the conferring of titles like “Pak Haji” or “Bu *Hajjah*” as markers of elevated social standing. In contrast, the Madurese diaspora in Malaysia faces challenges such as assimilation pressures and limited social space, leading to more modest and adapted religious expressions.

1. Results

The findings presented in this study are directly supported by empirical data collected through in-depth interviews, participant observation, and documentation. Interviews with community members, religious leaders, and cultural practitioners provided firsthand insights into the meanings and values attached to *Hajj* and *Umrah* rituals in both Madura and Malaysia. Observations conducted during departure and homecoming rituals—such as *ngater Hajjiyân* and *ngambâ' Hajjiyân*—allowed the researcher to capture the performative and symbolic dimensions of these practices in

real time. Meanwhile, documentation of community events, visual records, and local publications enriched the analysis by offering contextual evidence of how traditions are maintained or adapted across settings. These triangulated data sources were systematically analyzed to ensure that each theme or finding presented in the discussion section is grounded in observable and verifiable field evidence.

The Madurese consider worship and the *Hajj* to be important, as reflected in the following quote from a farmer: *Performing Hajj or Umrah is not only based on financial ability but also on fulfilling the fifth pillar of Islam.*

The interview with a farmer shows that the meaning of *Hajj* and *Umrah* is not solely based on financial capability, but is rooted in a religious awareness to fulfill the fifth pillar of Islam. He emphasized that traveling to the holy land is not merely a matter of cost, but a form of spiritual obedience that must be fulfilled when God has granted the physical ability and the opportunity in life.

The interview data indicate that *Hajj* among Madurese communities in Indonesia is understood not merely as the fulfilment of a religious obligation, but as a key source of social honor and collective identity formation. This honorary status is symbolically expressed through the use of the title *Haji* and the adoption of new forms of address that carry strong cultural meaning within the community.

A community figure from Sumenep explained that in rural Madura there remains a strong belief in the conferral of a new name by a *syekh* or religious authority in Mecca. Although this name is not formally registered in official documents, it functions as a public marker of respect and recognition displayed in social spaces. As one informant stated:

"In rural areas, people still believe in the new names given by religious authorities in Mecca. The name is not changed in official identity documents, but the form of address displayed at the house entrance changes. For Madurese people, receiving the Hajj title is a form of honor."

This statement demonstrates that the title *Haji* operates as a culturally and religiously recognized indicator of status transformation, independent of state-based administrative recognition.

Beyond individual status, the *Hajj* also shapes family and communal identity. An Islamic teacher from Sampang described how the families of pilgrims organize nightly *selamatan* rituals during the pilgrim's stay in Mecca and provide drinking water as an act of charity in front of their homes:

“Families hold nightly thanksgiving rituals throughout the pilgrimage period and place drinking water in front of the house as a form of charity for the pilgrim, allowing anyone to take it freely. This practice is closely related to social identity in the community.”

These practices indicate that the *Hajj* is understood as a collective social event involving family and community members. Accordingly, the honor and identity derived from the pilgrimage are not purely individual, but are socially constructed and maintained through shared rituals and public acts of generosity within Madurese society.

Local Traditions of *Hajj* and *Umrah* from the Perspective of Madurese Society in Indonesia. Below can be described the percentage of local traditions that still have a strong presence among the Madurese community in Madura.

Table 1. Percentage of the existence of local *Hajj* and *Umrah* traditions in the Madurese Community in Indonesia

No.	A Form of Local Tradition	Village	City
1.	<i>Tasyakkuran (salameddhân)</i>	95%	70%
2.	Transporting <i>Hajj</i> and <i>Umrah</i> pilgrims (<i>ngater Hajjiyân</i>)	100%	75%
3.	Picking up <i>Hajj</i> and <i>Umrah</i> pilgrims (<i>ngambâ' Hajjiyân</i>)	100%	60%

Based on the table above, it can be seen that local traditions of *Hajj* and *Umrah* in urban areas differ from those in rural settings. The tradition of *tasyakkuran (slameddhân)* remains particularly strong in rural Madurese communities, reaching 95%, which reflects the relatively homogeneous social structure of villages where most residents are native Madurese and only around 5% are migrants from outside the area. In contrast, among Madurese communities living in urban areas, the practice shows a lower percentage of 70%, indicating greater cultural interaction and social diversification. These percentage figures are derived from quantitative data collected through a Google Form questionnaire distributed to 25 Madurese respondents residing in Indonesia, which was then triangulated with qualitative data obtained from direct observations in Madura and Malaysia as well as in-depth interviews with six informants in Madura, including community leaders, cultural figures, and local practitioners. This mixed-data approach strengthens the reliability of the findings by combining self-reported community practices with ethnographic observation.

Observational data further reveal the intensity of local participation in rural contexts. Field observations show that the practice of *ngambâ' Hajjiyân* in Madura often

leads to traffic congestion on main roads, particularly in village areas, due to the large number of community members gathering to welcome returning pilgrims.

Local *Hajj* and *Umrah* traditions from the perspective of the Madurese community in Malaysia reflect a distinctive pattern of religious practice shaped by migration, cultural continuity, and transnational belonging. For the Madurese diaspora, pilgrimage is not merely understood as an individual act of devotion, but as a collective religious aspiration that reinforces moral identity and social cohesion within migrant networks. The performance of *Hajj* and *Umrah* is closely intertwined with communal expectations, symbolic status, and the maintenance of Madurese cultural values, even as these rituals are enacted within the different administrative, economic, and religious contexts of Malaysian society. In this regard, the levels and percentages of *Hajj* and *Umrah* participation among the Madurese community in Malaysia offer an important empirical lens for understanding how religious obligations are prioritized, adapted, and sustained across borders, revealing the ways in which transnational mobility reshapes devotional intensity while preserving the ethical and cultural meanings attached to pilgrimage.

Table 2. Percentage of the existence of local *Hajj* and *Umrah* traditions in the Madurese Community in Malaysia

No.	A Form of Local Tradition	Village	City
1.	<i>Tasyakkuran (salameddhân)</i>	95%	70%
2.	Transporting <i>Hajj</i> and <i>Umrah</i> pilgrims (<i>ngater Hajjiyân</i>)	85%	55%
3.	Picking up <i>Hajj</i> and <i>Umrah</i> pilgrims (<i>ngambâ' Hajjiyân</i>)	80%	65%

Based on Table 2 above, local traditions related to *Hajj* and *Umrah* are practiced differently between rural and urban Madurese communities in Malaysia. In rural settings, the tradition of *tasyakkuran (slameddhân)* remains highly prevalent, reaching 90%, which reflects the relatively homogeneous composition of Madurese migrants in these areas, with only around 10% being native Malaysians. In contrast, among Madurese communities living in urban areas, the practice declines to 50%, largely due to greater cultural diversity, stronger assimilation pressures, and differences in local traditions with the surrounding Malaysian population. These findings are supported not only by observations and in-depth interviews with seven Madurese diaspora members in Malaysia—including Indonesian migrant workers, *ustaz*, and business actors—but also by quantitative data collected through a Google Form survey distributed to 20 Madurese immigrant respondents in Malaysia.

Interview data further clarify the contextual reasons behind the reduced visibility of local traditions. An Indonesian migrant worker in Malaysia explained that *Hajj* practices in the Malaysian context are generally conducted in a simple and private manner:

“For Malaysians, the Hajj tradition is very simple. There is no thanksgiving ritual; pilgrims are usually accompanied by only one family car. They usually just ask for prayers from an ustad at the mosque or surau. This is different from Madurese people, who are accompanied and hold tasyakkuran before departure.”

The same informant also emphasized that economic priorities shape religious practice among Madurese migrant workers in Malaysia:

“Madurese people working in Malaysia initially focus on completing their family life by building a house, a kitchen, and a bathroom. Only after owning a house as the result of their hard work do they begin to think about the cost of performing the Hajj.”

This interview evidence reinforces the quantitative findings by showing that the simplification of *Hajj* and *Umrah* traditions among Madurese migrants in Malaysia is closely related to adaptation to local religious norms, migrant economic priorities, and the pragmatic realities of diaspora life. Together, these factors explain why local Madurese traditions are selectively maintained and less publicly expressed in the Malaysian context.

Based on data presented above, the following summarizes the results of interviews and observations on the comparative aspects of *Hajj* traditions between the Madurese communities in Indonesia and Malaysia. This comparison highlights not only differences in participation levels and access to *Hajj* services, but also variations in how the ritual is socially interpreted, symbolically valued, and embedded within everyday religious life. While both communities share a common cultural and theological understanding of *Hajj* as a core religious obligation, the distinct national contexts shape divergent experiences in terms of institutional arrangements, waiting periods, and communal expectations, offering a nuanced picture of how a shared religious tradition is rearticulated across transnational settings.

Table 3. Comparative aspects of Hajj traditions between Madurese communities in Indonesia and Malaysia

Aspect	Madura - Indonesia	Madura - Malaysia
Social Status	<i>Hajj</i> significantly elevates social status; pilgrims are honored with special titles.	Social status increases, but recognition is limited to internal community circles.

Aspect	Madura – Indonesia	Madura – Malaysia
Welcoming Rituals	Accompanied by parades, communal feasts, and large celebrations by family and villagers.	Simple celebrations, limited to immediate family due to diaspora conditions.
Religious Symbols	White clothing, kopiah haji, and the titles “Pak Haji” or “Bu Hajjah” are used openly.	Use of religious symbols is more private, adjusted to the surrounding social norms.
Local Cultural Influence	Madurese local traditions are deeply embedded in the entire <i>Hajj</i> process.	There is adaptation to Malay culture and Malaysian social norms.
Identity Expression	<i>Hajj</i> serves as an open expression of religious and ethnic identity.	Religious identity remains important, but its expression is more restrained.

The table above illustrates the differences in how *Hajj* traditions are expressed by the Madurese communities in Indonesia and Malaysia, shaped by differing social, cultural, and political contexts. Based on the research findings above, in Indonesia, the *Hajj* is not only the fulfillment of a religious obligation but also a powerful symbol of social status and cultural identity. The honorary title “Pak Haji,” the processions, and the use of religious symbols show how the *Hajj* reinforces social standing and community networks.

In contrast, the Madurese diaspora in Malaysia faces limitations in expressing these traditions publicly. Adaptation to the dominant Malay culture and Malaysian social policies has led to a more private form of celebration. These findings align with SelvaRaj & Nagata (2011) study, which suggests that minority Muslim communities tend to downplay overt religious expressions to maintain social harmony.

2. Discussion

The findings of this study indicate that *Hajj* and *Umrah* among Madurese communities are not merely religious obligations performed in isolation from social life, but culturally situated practices whose meanings are actively shaped by social stratification, spatial context, and power relations. Across both Indonesia and Malaysia, pilgrimage emerges as a socially embedded process in which religious devotion, cultural expression, and identity negotiation intersect. While the ritual foundations of *Hajj* and *Umrah* are doctrinally standardized, their social enactment varies considerably, reflecting the extent to which religious practices are mediated by local traditions, structural constraints, and transnational positioning.

In the Madurese context in Indonesia, *Hajj* and *Umrah* are performed as highly visible and communal rituals that integrate religious piety with cultural performance. Local traditions such as *salameddhân*, *ngater Hajjiyân*, and *ngambâ' Hajjiyân* function not merely as accompanying customs, but as performative frameworks through which piety is enacted, displayed, and socially recognized. These practices reinforce the collective nature of pilgrimage, transforming what might otherwise be an individual religious act into a shared social event that involves families, neighbors, and wider village networks. This finding aligns with earlier studies emphasizing the strong symbolic value of *Hajj* within Madurese society, where pilgrimage is closely associated with honor, moral authority, and social recognition (Rosyid, 2017; Dani & Mudhofir, 2022; Leong & Saleh, 2024).

The conferral of honorific titles such as *Haji* and *Hajjah* further illustrates how pilgrimage operates as a mechanism of social transformation. In the Madurese context, these titles are not merely nominal markers of religious accomplishment, but cultural instruments that reconfigure social relations and everyday interactions. Changes in forms of address within families—such as the use of *Aba* and *Umi*—demonstrate how religious achievement is translated into enduring social authority, a pattern also observed in other Indonesian Muslim communities where religious rituals are embedded within local cultural systems (Usman, 2023; Mustolehudin et al., 2024). Drawing on Turner and Schechner's (1988) concept of cultural performance, *Hajj* can be understood as a liminal ritual that produces status transformation through collectively recognized symbolic processes. In Madura, this transformation is amplified through public participation, ritual spectacle, and communal validation, underscoring the performative intensity of pilgrimage in a socially homogeneous and culturally cohesive environment, where ethnic and religious identity mutually reinforce social legitimacy (Arodha et al., 2025).

At the same time, the findings show that enthusiasm for *Hajj* and *Umrah* among the Madurese community reflects a culturally embedded moral obligation. The belief that Islamic devotion is considered incomplete without performing the *Hajj* positions pilgrimage as a collective moral benchmark rather than merely an individual religious choice (Thabrani, 2017). Such moral framing resonates with broader patterns of local Islamic interpretation in Indonesia, where religious obligations are continuously negotiated through communal norms and local wisdom (Syatar et al., 2023; Subakir et al., 2025). In this moral framework, *Umrah* emerges as a

legitimate religious alternative, particularly given the lengthy waiting period for Hajj in Indonesia. As Dewi (2023) notes, *Umrah* allows believers to fulfill spiritual aspirations without undermining religious legitimacy, illustrating the flexibility of Islamic practice in accommodating social and administrative realities. This flexibility does not dilute the sacred meaning of pilgrimage; rather, it demonstrates the capacity of Madurese Islam to negotiate universal religious obligations within specific socio-political and cultural contexts, a dynamic similarly identified in studies on the integration of local wisdom and Islamic norms across diverse Indonesian Muslim societies (Khojir et al., 2025; Dani & Mudhofir, 2022; Hannan, 2023).

Differences between rural and urban Madurese communities further highlight the socially embedded nature of pilgrimage practices. High levels of participation in *ngater Hajjiyân* and *ngambâ' Hajjiyân* in rural areas reflect strong social solidarity, cultural homogeneity, and dense communal networks. In contrast, reduced participation in urban settings is associated with occupational diversity, social mobility, and more fragmented patterns of social interaction (Cox et al., 2017; de Haan, 2017; Setiadi, 2019). These variations should not be interpreted as indicators of declining religiosity. Instead, they demonstrate that religious expression is shaped by social context and reflects broader processes of differentiation and modernization rather than erosion of faith.

In Malaysia, the performance of *Hajj* and *Umrah* among Madurese diaspora communities takes on a markedly different form. Administrative structures, such as visa accessibility and prolonged *Hajj* waiting lists, combined with economic considerations, make *Umrah* a more practical and accessible option for many migrants (Affandy, 2020). Religious practice in this diasporic context is therefore directly shaped by the regulatory and economic regimes of the host country. These structural conditions have significant implications for the transformation of social traditions accompanying pilgrimage. Practices such as *tasyakkuran*, collective send-offs, and welcoming ceremonies are often simplified or privatized, reflecting adaptive strategies developed in response to minority status and integration demands.

Importantly, this simplification does not signal a decline in religiosity or weakening of social bonds. Rather, it represents a strategic recalibration of religious expression. Within the context of migration, the Madurese community adapts ritual forms to align with dominant Malay cultural norms and their positioning as a minority group. The conversion of *tasyakkuran* into charitable donations to an *ustaz*, for example, preserves spiritual meaning while minimizing public visibility. This pattern supports SelvaRaj & Nagata (2011)

argument that minority Muslim communities often regulate religious expression to maintain social harmony, yet the present study extends this insight by framing such regulation as an active and intentional form of religious practice rather than passive accommodation.

Engaging with Levitt and Schiller's (2004) concept of transnational religious practices allows these findings to be situated within broader transnational social fields. Rather than viewing migration as a process that simply preserves or reshapes religious tradition, the study shows that Madurese pilgrims actively negotiate their religious practices across borders. Rituals are selectively preserved, modified, or restrained depending on context, demonstrating that transnational religiosity involves ongoing recalibration through everyday negotiations of legitimacy, belonging, and visibility. This challenges static interpretations of pilgrimage as a universally standardized ritual and instead conceptualizes *Hajj* and *Umrah* as dynamic social practices whose meanings are contingent upon geography, class position, and political context.

Variation between rural and urban Madurese communities in Malaysia further underscores the social dimensions of ritual transformation. Higher participation rates in *ngater Hajjiyân* in rural settings indicate stronger communal solidarity within relatively homogeneous social spaces, whereas lower participation in urban areas reflects individualistic lifestyles, occupational diversity, and heightened social sensitivity (Mas'udi, 2013). These patterns reinforce the argument that *Hajj* functions as an arena of social negotiation, where expressions of religiosity are mediated by class position, legal status, and social awareness rather than dictated solely by doctrinal norms.

Theoretically, this study makes an important contribution by introducing the notion of ritual invisibility as an alternative mode of performativity in diasporic contexts. While Turner and Schechner (1988) emphasize ritual as collective performance producing liminality and transformation, the Madurese case in Malaysia reveals that reduced visibility can itself be performative. The absence or minimization of ritual display functions as a strategic act that enables migrant communities to negotiate legitimacy, security, and belonging within host societies. This perspective refines theories of cultural performance by demonstrating that performativity does not always manifest through public spectacle, but may also operate through restraint and moral regulation.

From a broader global perspective, the findings contribute to international discussions on *lived Islam*, ritual practice, and religious transformation in contexts of mobility and migration. By illustrating how universal Islamic rituals are localized



through cultural accommodation and strategic adaptation, this study challenges homogenizing views of Muslim religiosity that often portray Islamic practice as uniform and static. In line with Vertovec's (2001) discussion of transnationalism and identity, the Madurese case demonstrates that pilgrimage practices can shift from markers of communal status to expressions of individual moral achievement without losing their religious legitimacy. This dynamic resonates with comparative studies showing that Islamic traditions are continually reinterpreted through historical experience, cultural memory, and social change, as seen in the development of Islamic practices in Kazakh society (Aitbayeva et al., 2024) and in culture-based *dakwah* that translates religious values into locally meaningful forms (Ahyar et al., 2024). Rather than eroding religious authority, such localization reinforces the vitality of Islam as a lived and socially embedded tradition across diverse Muslim societies.

At the same time, these findings enrich global understandings of how Muslim communities negotiate faith, identity, and belonging amid plural social environments and shifting power relations. Studies on religious minorities and converts in Indonesia demonstrate that Islamic identity is often shaped through negotiation with social pressure, conflict, and communal expectations, rather than through doctrinal adherence alone (Sulaiman et al., 2025). Similar processes are evident in digital religious spaces, where Sufi adherents articulate moral identity and authority through interaction and contestation with other Muslim groups (Mustapha, 2024).

From a legal and ethical perspective, the incorporation of cultural values into Islamic jurisprudence—whether in family law, divorce mediation, or the protection of social harmony—shows how Islamic norms adapt to social realities without abandoning their normative foundations (Naimah et al., 2024; Sebyar et al., 2025). In a global climate increasingly shaped by Islamophobia and populist narratives that frame Islam as incompatible with modern plural societies, these adaptive practices offer an alternative picture of Islam as flexible, dialogical, and peace-oriented (Vveinhardt et al., 2025). Taken together, the Madurese case underscores that pilgrimage, like other Islamic rituals, functions not only as a religious obligation but also as a site where global Islamic norms, local culture, and transnational mobility intersect to produce new forms of moral selfhood and collective belonging.

Building on this insight, the Madurese experience also points to the broader mechanisms through which Islamic norms are translated into ethical dispositions

and social sensibilities across different institutional and intellectual domains. The intersection of pilgrimage, local culture, and mobility mirrors patterns found in Islamic educational settings, where the integration of local wisdom has been shown to foster tolerance and moral reflexivity among *santri*, reinforcing Islam as a lived ethical project rather than a purely doctrinal system (Khojir et al., 2025). At the level of religious authority, this process is further shaped by mediating actors such as *kyai*, whose interpretive role bridges textual norms and contemporary social realities, enabling Islamic principles to remain authoritative while contextually responsive (Nur et al., 2025). Even within more abstract theological discourses, Islamic thought demonstrates a similar capacity for synthesis, as universal metaphysical concepts are articulated through contemporary intellectual frameworks without severing their spiritual foundations (Leong & Saleh, 2024). Taken together, these dynamics suggest that pilgrimage-related moral selfhood in Madura is part of a wider Islamic epistemic tradition—one that continuously aligns global norms, local knowledge, and evolving contexts to sustain both individual ethical formation and collective belonging (Tabrani ZA, 2015).

Despite these contributions, the study has several limitations. The relatively small number of informants constrains the representation of the full diversity of *Hajj* and *Umrah* practices across Madurese communities, particularly among second- and third-generation diaspora members in Malaysia. The focus on selected rural and urban sites may overlook variations present in larger metropolitan contexts. Moreover, while the descriptive qualitative approach effectively captures meanings and lived experiences, it does not allow for longitudinal analysis of intergenerational change. Future research may expand geographical scope, incorporate broader generational perspectives, and integrate qualitative and quantitative methods to strengthen comparative analysis and generalizability.

Taken together, this study demonstrates that *Hajj* and *Umrah* among Madurese communities function as socially embedded, context-sensitive practices through which religious devotion, cultural identity, and transnational belonging are continuously negotiated. By foregrounding the interplay between ritual, power, and mobility, the research advances anthropological and transnational approaches to Islam and offers a nuanced understanding of pilgrimage as both worship and cultural performance within an increasingly interconnected world.



D. Conclusion

This study demonstrates that *Hajj* and *Umrah* traditions among Madurese communities operate as dynamic and context-dependent practices rather than as fixed religious rituals. The comparative analysis between Madura and the Madurese diaspora in Malaysia reveals that pilgrimage is enacted through distinct modes of visibility shaped by sociopolitical structures, minority positioning, and cultural negotiation. While in Madura *Hajj* and *Umrah* are publicly performed as communal rituals that reinforce social status and collective identity, in the Malaysian diaspora these practices tend to be simplified and selectively expressed as adaptive responses to the constraints of migration, legal frameworks, and dominant cultural norms. These findings confirm that pilgrimage functions as a negotiated religious practice within transnational social fields, where ritual meanings and expressions are continuously reconfigured across space and context.

From a theoretical perspective, this study contributes to Islamic anthropology and diaspora studies by advancing an understanding of ritual visibility and invisibility as strategic forms of religious performance. By showing that the reduction of ritual display does not signal declining religiosity but rather reflects adaptive strategies of belonging and legitimacy, this research refines theories of cultural performance and transnational religious practice. It demonstrates that diasporic religiosity involves not only the transformation of ritual forms, but also the recalibration of their public presence, social meaning, and moral authority within different sociopolitical environments.

At the practical and analytical level, the findings highlight the importance of recognizing religious traditions as flexible cultural resources that sustain identity, solidarity, and moral continuity within migrant communities. This perspective has implications for policymakers, religious institutions, and community leaders in developing culturally sensitive approaches that acknowledge the adaptive nature of religious expression in migrant contexts. At the same time, the study's limitations—particularly regarding the scope of research locations and the generational range of informants—open avenues for future research. Further studies may explore intergenerational transformations of pilgrimage practices, expand comparative analysis across Muslim ethnic groups, or integrate longitudinal and mixed-method approaches to deepen understanding of religious adaptation in transnational settings.

Taken together, this study underscores that *Hajj* and *Umrah* among Madurese communities should be understood not merely as acts of worship, but as socially

embedded and strategically negotiated practices through which religious commitment, cultural identity, and transnational belonging are continuously articulated. By foregrounding the interplay between ritual, power, and mobility, this research offers a nuanced contribution to global discussions on lived Islam and the evolving forms of religiosity in an increasingly interconnected world.

Bibliography

- Affandy, F. F. (2020). Perilaku Konsumen Muslim di Indonesia Terhadap Ibadah Umroh: Antara 'Ubudiyah dan Gaya Hidup. *OIKONOMIKA: Jurnal Kajian Ekonomi Dan Keuangan Syariah*, 1(2), 78-87. <https://doi.org/10.53491/oikonomika.v1i2.73>
- Ahmadi, A. (2023). A Spiritual Journey of an Indonesian Woman: The Evidence through Literature from a Psychospiritual Perspective. *Cogent Arts & Humanities*, 10(2), 1-13. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2023.2270789>
- Ahmadi, A. (2024). Masculinities to Trans-femininities: Evidence through the "Girl" Film. *Masculinities & Social Change*, 13(1), 63-82. <https://doi.org/10.17583/mcs.11837>
- Ahyar, A., Imtihan, N., & Mukhtar, W. K. A. B. W. (2024). Culture-Based Dakwah and Education Values: A Study of TGH. M. Najamuddin Makmun's Work. *Ulumuna*, 28(1), 108-135. <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v28i1.702>
- Aitbayeva, B., Karybaeva, S., Mirzahmetov, A., Toleubayeva, K., & Zharmaganbetova, A. Z. (2024). Historical Reality as an Integral System in the Context of the Development of Kazakh Culture and Islamic Traditions. *Journal of Al-Tamaddun*, 19(1), 121-131. <https://doi.org/10.22452/JAT.vol19no1.9>
- Arodha, D., Panorama, M., Moh. Syawaludin, & Musari, K. (2025). Can Muslim Communities Empower through Ethnic-based? A Case Study in Indonesia. *International Journal of Islamic Khazanah*, 15(1), 36-47. <https://doi.org/10.15575/ijik.v15i1.48990>
- Cox, J. A., Beanland, V., & Filtness, A. J. (2017). Risk and Safety Perception on Urban and Rural Roads: Effects of Environmental Features, Driver Age and Risk Sensitivity. *Traffic Injury Prevention*, 18(7), 703-710. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15389588.2017.1296956>
- Dani, A. A., & Mudhofir, M. M. (2022). Makna Umrah bagi Muslim Madura. *Jurnal Reflektika*, 17(1), 141-186. <https://doi.org/10.28944/reflektika.v17i1.613>
- de Haan, L. (2017). Rural and Urban Livelihoods, Social Exclusion and Social Protection in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Geografisk Tidsskrift-Danish Journal of Geography*, 117(2), 130-141. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00167223.2017.1343674>

- Dewi, S. K. (2023). The Expressions of Indonesian Muslims in Performing the 'Umrah Pilgrimage to Mecca. *Islamic Studies Review*, 2(2), 183–216. <https://doi.org/10.56529/isr.v2i2.209>
- Effendy, M. H., Hadi, S., & Alatas, M. A. (2025). Masculinity of Madurese Men in the Folk Tale Kè' Lèsap. *GHANCARAN: Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa Dan Sastra Indonesia*, 489–505. <https://doi.org/10.19105/ghancaran.vi.21624>
- Effendy, M. H., Maulidiawati, M., & Putikadyanto, A. P. A. (2022). Kearifan Lokal Madura Roket Bhuju' Siti Rohana sebagai Alternatif Muatan Lokal Era Merdeka Belajar. *GHANCARAN: Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa Dan Sastra Indonesia*, 134–150. <https://doi.org/10.19105/ghancaran.vi.7453>
- Hamzah, K. (2022). *Haji: Ibadah yang Mengubah Sejarah Nusantara*. Jakarta: Neosphere Digdaya Mulia.
- Hannan, H. (2023). Under the Guidance of the Prophet: Charisma and Religious Authority in Contemporary Madura, Indonesia. *Islamica: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, 17(2), 335–364. <https://doi.org/10.15642/islamica.2023.17.2.335-364>
- Iswahyudi, I. (2022). Cosmology and Social Stratification of the Madurese Population in the XIX Century. *Cogent Arts & Humanities*, 9(1), 2104798. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2022.2104798>
- Khojir, K., Zurqoni, Z., Sudadi, S., & Afendi, A. R. (2025). The Integration of Local Wisdom Values and the Improvement of Santri's Tolerance: A Study on the Pesantren in East Kalimantan. *Ulumuna*, 29(1), 365–397. <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujs.v29i1.1522>
- Leong, D., & Saleh, A. (2024). The Informational Universe of Allah: An Islamic Perspective on Quantum Information Theory. *International Journal of Islamic Thought*, 26, 34–54. <https://doi.org/10.24035/ijit.26.2024.300>
- Levitt, P., & Schiller, N. G. (2004). Conceptualizing Simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on Society1. *International Migration Review*, 38(3), 1002–1039. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2004.tb00227.x>
- Lutfianah, M., & Herawati, N. (2023). Makna Etos Kerja Pada Perempuan Madura. *Motiva: Jurnal Psikologi*, 6(2), 154–165. <https://doi.org/10.31293/mv.v6i2.6477>
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (2018). *Analisis Data Kualitatif*. Universitas Indonesia.
- Mustapha, R. O. (2024). The Behavior of Sufi Adherents on Social Media and Their Interactions With Non-Sufi Muslims. *International Journal of Islamic Khazanah*, 14(2), 118–142. <https://doi.org/10.15575/ijik.v14i2.43974>
- Mustolehudin, M., Noviani, N. L., Muawanah, S., Haryanto, J., Zakiyah, Z., & Muzayanah, U. (2024). The Practice of Islamic Traditions among the Bugis in Bali. *Journal of Al-Tamaddun*, 19(1), 157–169. <https://doi.org/10.22452/JAT.vol19no1.12>

- SelvaRaj, C. N., & Nagata, J. A. (2011). In Conversation with Professor Judith Ann Nagata. *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 39(3), 373-390. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/156853111x577622>
- Naimah, F. U., Rokhman, M., Hali, A. U., Maarif, M. A., & Sirojuddin, A. (2024). Internalization of Local Traditions in Child Marriage from the Perspective of Maqasid Al-Ushrah. *El-Mashlahah*, 14(2), 237-258. <https://doi.org/10.23971/el-mashlahah.v14i2.7942>
- Nur, M., Nisa, S. M., Arhamzah, T. U. A., Sidqi, I., & Witro, D. (2025). From Text to Context: The Role of Kyai in Shaping Modern Islamic Inheritance Law. *Al-Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam*, 19(1), 31-50. <https://doi.org/10.24090/mnh.v19i1.9762>
- Pribadi, Y. (2015). The Klebun, the Kiai and the Blater: Notes from Western Madura, Indonesia. *South East Asia Research*, 23(3), 303-317. <https://doi.org/10.5367/sear.2015.0267>
- Rahayuningsih, R. (2018). Analisis Profil Tenaga Kerja Indonesia (TKI) asal Madura. *Jurnal Pamator: Jurnal Ilmiah Universitas Trunojoyo*, 11(1), 19-31. <https://doi.org/10.21107/pamator.v11i1>
- Rosyid, M. F. (2017). *Habitus Haji Madura (Studi Tentang Konstruksi Sosial Haji di Dusun Mandala Desa Bujur Tengah Kecamatan Batu Marmar Kabupaten Pamekasan Jawa Timur)*. UIN Sunan Kalijaga.
- Sebyar, M. H., Jafar, W. A., Harahap, S. M., Putra, D., & Efendi, R. (2025). Divorce Mediation at Panyabungan Religious Court: Transforming the Desire for Divorce into Reconciliation through Cultural Values in Contemporary Islamic Jurisprudence. *Al-Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam*, 19(1), 81-100. <https://doi.org/10.24090/mnh.v19i1.12255>
- Setiadi, K. (2019). Pengaruh Kearifan Lokal dan Kecerdasan Spiritual terhadap Perilaku Peserta Didik. *Jurnal Ilmiah AL-Jauhari: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Interdisipliner*, 4(1), 126-151. <https://doi.org/10.30603/jiaj.v4i1.850>
- Sobri, A. Y. (2017). Leadership Values in Madurasee Culture. *Atlantis-Press.Com*.
- Subakir, A., Wakhidah, N., Nazir, M., & Sholihah, M. M. (2025). Islamic Law and Local Religious Interpretations in the Samin Community of Central Java. *El-Mashlahah*, 15(1), 41-58. <https://doi.org/10.23971/el-mashlahah.v15i1.7886>
- Sulaiman, R., Zulkifli, Z., Ghozali, M., & Gustin, G. (2025). Religious Conversion and Conflict: The Struggles of Chinese Muslim Converts in Indonesia's Harmonious Society. *Journal of Al-Tamaddun*, 20(2), 83-96. <https://doi.org/10.22452/IAT.vol20no2.6>
- Sya'rani, M. (2017). Haji Dalam Lokalitas Masyarakat Sasak. *Jurnal Penelitian Tarbawi*:

Pendidikan Islam Dan Isu-Isu Sosial, 2(1), 1-12.
<https://doi.org/10.37216/tarbawi.v2i1.136>

- Syafaq, H. (2009). *Bid'ah Dalam Praktek Keagamaan Masyarakat Islam Tradisional*. Jakarta: Al Maarif.
- Syatar, A., Bakry, M., Bedong, M. A. R., Ahmad, A., & Pallawagau, B. (2023). The Development of Fatwas Based on Local Wisdom to the National Level: A Case Study of Panaik Money Fatwa. *El-Mashlahah*, 13(2), 133-150. <https://doi.org/10.23971/el-mashlahah.v13i2.7373>
- Takdir, M. (2018). Potret Kerukunan Berbasis Kearifan Lokal: Implementasi Nilai-Nilai Harmoni dalam Ungkapan "Rampak Naong Bringen Korong" dalam Kehidupan Masyarakat Madura. *Khazanah: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Humaniora*, 16(1), 73-102. <https://doi.org/10.18592/khazanah.v16i1.2057>
- Tabrani ZA. (2015). *Persuit Epistemology of Islamic Studies (Buku 2 Arah Baru Metodologi Studi Islam)*. Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak.
- Thabrani, A. M. (2017). *Orang Madura Naik Haji*. Yogyakarta: Diva Press.
- Turner, V. W., & Schechner, R. (1988). *The Anthropology of Performance*. New York: PAJ Publications.
- Usman, U. (2023). Social and Cultural Interpretation of the Maleman Tradition in the Sasak Community of Lombok. *Ulumuna*, 27(1), 449-466. <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v27i1.774>
- Vertovec, S. (2001). Transnationalism and Identity. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 27(4), 573-582. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830120090386>
- Vveinhardt, J., Hussain, T., Mustafa, A. R. U., & Rawoof, H. A. (2025). Islamophobia, Populism and Peace in the Perspective of Relinquished Financial European Economies: A Systematic Review. *International Journal of Islamic Thought*, 27, 92-104. <https://doi.org/10.24035/ijit.27.2025.320>