Self Identity And Religiosity Of Madurese People Indigenous Concepts Based On The Perspective Of Madurese Youth

by Diana Rahmasari

SELF-IDENTITY AND RELIGIOSITY OF MADURESE PEOPLE: TRADITIONAL CONCEPTS BASED ON THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE MADURESE ADOLESCENTS

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explain the identity and religiosity of the Madurese people based on the perspective of the Madurese adolescents, in the context of local Madurese cultural wisdom or the concept of Madurese tradition. This study used a qualitative method with a descriptive approach to explain the research study. Sources of data used in this study were primary and secondary data. Primary sources of the data were obtained directly from the Madurese adolescents using FGDs and semi-structured interviews with the seven students of class X in Pamekasan Regency. Each student met the requirements; namely being born and raised in Madura and having parents who are native Madurese. Meanwhile, secondary sources of data were obtained from a literature review about Madura, namely the results of previous studies on the Madurese that have relevance to the research's focus and interviews with Madurese cultural figures. The results of the study explained that according to Madurese adolescents, the Madurese are religious Muslim and have high self-esteem. Madurese native people have sense of self-esteem, known as *ajina abha*, meaning hot-tempered, hardworking, overly confident. Islamic religiosity is inherent in Madurese. If it is not Islam, it is not the Madurese. It further refers to empirical and theoretical studies explaining the same findings showing that the Madurese is known for their identity with Islam and upholds religious symbols as the embodiment of local wisdom values or Madurese tradition.

Keywords: Islamic Religiosity, the Madurese Adolescents, the Madurese's Identity, Traditional

INTRODUCTION

The Madurese are one of the largest ethnic groups in Indonesia, and are even the third largest ethnic group in Indonesia in terms of population, after the Javanese and Sundanese (Adib M., 2009) & (Dayakisni, 2004). The Madurese is known as individuals who have sincerity, craftsmanship, and a willingness to work hard (De Jonge, 1995, in Faraby, 2016). In general, Madurese people is identified to have a different way to behave from others, that is the attitude of exaltation and honor for the greatness and glory of Islam (Hannan, 2018). The identity as a Muslim is firmly held by the Madurese community and upheld as a parameter of social and cultural life. Islamization in Madura has been accomplished so that Islam has become the identity and tradition of the Madurese in almost all layers (Wiyata, 2003, in Lestari, 2017). Rifai (2007, in Amrullah, 2015) explained that the Madurese are well-known as believers of Islam who are devout, traditional, dedicated, and capable to reading Arabic letters without diacritical marks.

The Madurese value a cultural system that upholds religious symbols or the symbols that are the representation of local wisdom values or the tradition of the Madurese (Sharif & Hannan, 2020). Rifai (2007, in Faraby, 2016) also added that Madurese tend to be very active, work hard, try their best, work together. They are also serious in learning, humble, diligent, and very efficient. In addition,

Madurese can be tough and fierce when their pride is underestimated (Rochana, 2012). The Madurese is associated with Islam and will feel offended if acknowledged not as a Muslim because of the paradigm that perceives non-Muslims as *kuffar* (disbelievers) who will be placed in hell. The belief, "mandhârkapèra" (hopefully they may become disbelievers) in the Madurese's paradigm, is always preserved by the Madurese. Until now, they remain devoted believers of Islam(Sadik, 2014).

As a tribe with a Muslim majority, Madura is known for its uniqueness, that is having Muslim society who actualize their obedience to Islamic teachings. Islam and the Madurese tradition become a single entity that forms its own characteristics and has been preserved until now (Nasrullah, 2019). Traditionally, a well-known saying of the values of Islamic teachings is "*abhantal shahada, asapo'iman, apajung* Allah" meaning supported with *shahada*, covered with faith, and protected by Allah SWT (Faraby, 2016). The expression is the life philosophy of the Madurese and a cultural or traditional identity that is inherent to the Madurese. Therefore, insulting religion is the same as insulting the dignity of the Madurese. Islam has become the identity of the Madurese in almost all layers except for non-Muslim minorities.

Sharif and Hannan (2020) explained further that the image of the Madurese as a "*santri* community" is very strong. The identification of the Madurese with Islamic religiosity is also shown by the fact that almost every Madurese house, especially in the past, had a *langgar* or *Surau* (praying small building) as a worship place to pray. *Surau* is also used as a place to gather for religious activities. It is common that the Madurese have a unique relationship with Ulama, also known as *Kiai* because Islam has become part of the Madurese's identity. In Madurese society, the *Kiai* is a respected figure and a religious leader.

The role of *Kiai* plays a central and major element in Islam and public relations and is vital for important elements, such as *pesantren* and Islamic organizations in Madura (Personal, 2013). Clifford Geertz (in Hannan, 2018) revealed that the *kiai* acts as a mediator and cultural moderator who does not only act verbally but also carries out a process of transformation based on the local Madurese values.

The religious system owned by the Madurese community is instilled with the construction of local values that can be seen in their daily lives, such as rituals of *Tahlilan*, *Hadrah*, *Salametan*, prayers, *Remoh* events, and others (Hannan, 2018). Not only in daily life, the Madurese community also entrusts their pursuit to a basic understanding of religion to one of the important elements in Madura, namely the *Pesantren*. For Madurese, the distinctive culture of the *Pesantren* plays a role not only as a da'wah institution but also as a religious organization that functions strategically in various aspects in maintaining stability and overall social integration in Madurese society (Sharif & Hannan, 2020). This is the reason why a *Kiai Haji* (KH) has a reputation as a teacher and religious role model who gets a respectable place in the eyes of the community around him. Overall, Islamic teachings strongly influence Madurese culture and civilization (Personal, 2013).

Kiai is considered to have the basis for the perspective of Madurese people to act and behave positively or *akhlakul karimah*. The figure of the *kiai* is closely related to the *pesantren* and has a prestigious status which is often referred to by the community in helping with social problems in Madurese society (Hannan, 2018). Living a religious life as Muslims, the Madurese focuses on learning with the teachings of *ahl al-sunnah wal jamaah* which includes recognizing, understanding, and strengthening. One of the Islamic religious organizations, *Nahdlatul*

Ulama (NU), which values Islamic moderation, namely, *al-'Ada* (justice), *al-tawassut* (moderation), *al-tawazun* (balance), and *al-tasamuh* (tolerance). The values are based upon the Quran, *Hadith*, *Ijma*, and *Qiyas* (based on what *salaf al-salih* scholars agree on) and, to some extent, influence the religious traditions of the Madurese.

Siahaan (2003, in Rochana, 2012) added that the religious life of the Madurese shows that religious institutions and scholars are respected more and play an essential role. The role of religious leaders in Madurese society influence not only religious teachings but also social life and external life, such as problems of finding a spouse, luck, conflict, illness. For education, the majority of the Madurese is sent to institutions, such as Islamic boarding schools instead of formal schools. Since very young, the Madurese have learned to read the Quran and prayer activities as the most basic standard in the religious side of the Madurese and is taught by a religious teacher called *ghuru tolang* (Hannan, 2018).

Rifai (2007, in Djakfar, 2012) explained that Islamic holidays, such as the Prophet Muhammad's Birthday, *Isra' and Mi'raj, Nuzulul Quran*, and especially Eid al-Fitr (*tellasan grand*) and Eid al-Adha (*tellasan reyaja, tellasan reraja, tellasan ajjh*i) are always commemorated and celebrated grandly. The celebrations give the opportunity for the Madurese to stay in touch with all relatives and friends and forgive each other for all wrongdoings that are done intentionally or not. Many Madurese migrants prioritize *toron* (going home) to celebrate with their entire family. After the Eid celebration, it is a custom of the Madurese to fast the sunnah of *Shawwal* for six days or a week after Eid or *tellasan topa'* (Ketupat Eid) is celebrated. Besides strengthening relationship, (Djakfar, 2012) *Toron* is a kind of Madurese tradition that is related to religious values and local wisdom, or

in other words, the Madurese traditional uniqueness.

Religiosity for Madurese is Islam. Islam as the religion of the Madurese does not only function as a reference for social behavior in social life but also responds to or addresses problems. However, Islam is one element of the identity marker of the Madurese tribe or ethnicity. Islam is associated with Madura. As explained by Huub de Jonge, the Madurese are labeled as a community that adheres to Islamic teachings from the genealogy of the starting point of religiosity (Nasrullah, 2019).

Hence, the Madurese will be offended if they are considered not Muslims. The idea that Madurese are not Muslims is considered an insult to the dignity of Madurese. Furthermore, harassment of self-esteem makes Madurese feel *tada' ajina* or not appreciated (Sadik, 2014). Religiosity becomes connected with the cultural reality of the Madurese (Hidayati, 2009, in Hannan & Abdillah, 2019). This creates a close relationship between cultural aspects and religious identity in Madura. In general, this aspect of religiosity creates a tendency for the Madurese to uphold religious values and symbols structurally and culturally and becomes part of the identity and self-esteem of the Madurese (Hannan & Abdillah, 2019).

A number of explanations mentioned above become a reference that Islamic religiosity is one of the identities of the Madurese and even has a distinctiveness as the face of tradition that is associated with the Madurese. Based on the previous explanation, it can be understood that Islam has a unique and distinctive face to the Madurese. On the one hand, Madurese can be considered to be associated with Islam (entity as their identity) and consequently insulting Islam is the same as insulting the dignity of the Madurese. However, the form of Islamic religious practice or worship in the Madurese still does not fully reflect the true implementation of

Islam because they still believe in *bid'ah* matters and even many Madurese do not fully practice the Islamic worship teachings properly.

To understand this, there is dualism in the face of identity and religiosity of the Madurese. It is asking for the thoughts and questioning how the identity and religiosity of the Madurese in the view of the Madurese adolescents. Therefore, the Madurese's identity and religiosity based on the perspective of the Madurese adolescents is necessary to present as a study. The cultural gap with all the dynamic of understanding, knowledge and behavioral manifestations has actually occurred a lot in today's adolescent behavior. This is because the rapid advances in information and knowledge technology that have encouraged and resulted in changes in the cultural perspective of adolescents as the millennial generation or Gen Y. The millennial generation no longer pays attention to recognizing their own culture because they have been oriented towards the culture of other nations.

Therefore, the Madurese's identity and religiosity based on the perspective of the Madurese Adolescents are interesting to study as the objective and focus of the research. It is important to know the perspective of adolescents so that if the research's objectives are achieved, the research findings can become the foundation to strengthen religiosity in the Madurese adolescents as protectors in preventing various behavioral problems.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study used a qualitative method with a descriptive approach in explaining the research findings. Moleong (in Marni, 2015) explained that qualitative research intends to understand and describe the phenomena experienced by research subjects from the point of view of considering all aspects of the natural context. The data in this study used

primary and secondary data sources. The primary data source was obtained directly from Madurese teenagers using semi-structured interviews with 7 students of class X in Pamekasan Regency. Each student had the characteristics of being born and raised in Madura and having native Madurese parents. Secondary data sources were obtained from a review of books, literature, and the results of previous relevant research on the Madurese that have relevance to this research.

In addition to interviews, FGDs were conducted to strengthen the data from the interviews. FGD is a discussion technique that is carried out openly with the aim of obtaining the views and opinions of the participants (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Groups in FGDs usually consist of 5 to 10 participants depending on the research objectives (Hennink, 2014). In this study, the FGD was attended by 7 Madurese Adolescent students at a high school in Madura Regency. The data were analyzed by using the IPA method (interpretative phenomenological analysis).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
Results

Semi-structured interviews as a source of primary data were conducted to explore data regarding the characteristics of the Madurese based on the view of the Madurese adolescents. In addition, interviews with the Madurese adolescents were conducted to find out the role of religiosity in informing the Madurese's characters and the behavior of the Madurese adolescents.

Based on the results of the interviews, several Madurese characteristics were obtained. They are self-assured, overconfident, hot-tempered, principled, hardworking, vengeful, religious, sociable, optimistic, and adventurous. The complete results of the interviews are revealed in table 1 below:

Table 1

Interview Results of the Madurese Adolescents Regarding the Characters of the Madurese

Respondent's name (pseudonym)	Madurese Character-Identities
F student	Hot-tempered-self-assured-Too Confident
P student	principled - Vengeful
A student	Self-Esteem – hardworking
P student	Self-assured
A student	Self-assured
Student A	Religious-Sociable-Optimistic-self-assured
S student	Self-Esteem - Adventurous

Furthermore, FGD (focus group discussion) was conducted with 7 students of Grade X representing the Madurese adolescents with the topic of discussion regarding the role and profile of Madurese religiosity. The results of the discussion are listed in table 2 below:

Table 2
FGD results

FGD:	
FGD class X students at a school in One, Pamekasan Regency, Madura	Religiosity: faith and devotion to Allah SWT are the characteristic. Both faith and piety are at the factors that make the Madurese strong. Religiosity characterizes the Madurese by praying and doing other forms of worship

The results of the FGD showed that religiosity, namely faith and piety to Allah SWT, has an important role in making the Madurese become strong individuals.

The results of data collection concluded and clarified that the views of the Madurese adolescents regarding Madurese's character or identity were in line with a number of literatures regarding the Madurese's identity. In addition, religiosity plays an important role as the identity of the Madurese and a factor that makes the Madurese strong. This is also in line with the literature review on the Madurese and Madurese culture.

The results of interview with a Madurese cultural figure, Mr. Sulaiman Sadik, showed that culturally, the characteristics of true Madurese are Muslim, speaking Madurese in daily interactions, and concerned with the environment. Latief Wiyata also emphasized that the Madurese have *todus* and *malo* related to the pride of *ajina abha*. The Madurese can be offended when they show their Islamic attributes and their religiosity, they get insults hurting their identity and self-esteem or *ajina abha*.

Discussion

The findings of the research revealed that religiosity is a factor that has an important role and at the same time has an influence on the Madurese's identity. The faith and devotion to Allah SWT owned by the Madurese adolescents are shown as a representation of self-religiosity. Religiosity is inseparable identity as it is a whole identity of the Madurese. Madura is known for religious people with Islamic religiosity, one of the distinctive identities of the Madurese. Islamic religiosity is an original image of the Madurese. According to a Madurese cultural figure, Sadik (2017), the Madurese are identified into three main characteristics, namely being Muslim, speaking Madurese in daily life, and maintaining their social environment in the sense of having concern with their social environment. Furthermore, according to Sadik, the Madurese is associated with Muslims, which also becomes the typical identity of the Madurese. Therefore, their pride is offended if they are not considered Muslims. Adib (2011) also explained that for the Madurese, the religion is Islam, thus making it sacred and holy and a life principle that must be preserved.

The findings of this study verified two things. First, the Madurese's identity is Islamic religiosity which becomes a cultural identity as the traditional local wisdom of the Madurese. Second, religiosity becomes an important thing as a life principle and makes the Madurese tough in the perspective of the Madurese Adolescents.

According to the Madurese adolescents, the study of religiosity is an interesting study. As stated by a cultural figure, M. Sadik, this is because the younger generation or the Madurese adolescents have changed a lot from the true character of the Madurese. One of the characters is Islam and piety. In line with it, (Hannan, 2018) described that the Madurese are described to be associated with Islam and apply the attitude of total respect and uphold religious Islamic symbols. This inherent identity has been carried by the Madurese since childhood. It is shown in *Ghuru Tolang* in teaching the religious knowledge including reading the Quran and religious activities, such as the prayer as the basis of the religious side of Madurese society. The obedience of the Madurese is described as in Madurese custom, with a well-known Islamic saying, supported with shahada, covered with faith, and protected by Allah SWT (Faraby, 2016). This is in line with the results obtained showing Allah SWT is the hope for the Madurese who are obedient and faithful.

In this study about the religiosity, it is difficult to separate Islam from the Madurese. The islamization has occurred long ago on the island of Madura. Therefore, Islam has embedded in the identity and values of local wisdom in almost all levels of Madurese society (Wiyata, 2003, in Lestari, 2017). Vital Islamic elements in the Madurese community include Islamic organizations *NU*, and *Kiai* who does not only play a role in the development of Islamic teachings in Madura but also influences how the Madurese behave, establish relationships, organize activities, and solve problems (Private, 2013; Rochana, 2012). The implementation of religious symbols in Madurese society reflects how religiosity is carried out.

In his writings, Mayasari (2014) explained that in general all things that happen in Madurese society are perceived from the religious aspect and involve the vital elements of Islam that are implemented in everyday life. Religiosity contributes to the formation of moral values and *akhlaqul karimah* values that can prevent Madurese from feeling ashamed. As previously explained, Sadik (2014) revealed that the Madurese can feel ashamed when they are acknowledged as a *kafeer* (kafir) because this concerns the Madurese's self-esteem as Muslims. Regarding self-esteem, Rochana (2012) exposed the Madurese can be harsh when it comes to their pride. Misnadin (in Hidayaturrahman, 2018) stated that the Madurese are known for their stereotype in which they tend to solve problems with violence. However, the Madurese see themselves in three basic images, namely politeness, honor and Islam (Hidayaturrahman, 2018).

The research findings revealed that the identity of the Madurese, according to the views of adolescents, is characterized with strong self-esteem, hot temper, and piety. Some other characters that are not so prominent are adventurous, optimistic, hardworking, sociable, vengeful, principled, and overly confident. In accordance with the existing literature, the research findings are in line with the strong self-esteem possessed by Madurese who are sensitive to shame and uphold to their self-esteem, especially as a Muslim (Sadik, 2014). Self-esteem is the most important thing in Madurese social life and the principle that cannot be argued (Rahmasari et al., 2014; Rochana, 2012).

The self-esteem of the Madurese is *arghââna* or *ajina aba'* which is part of the

local Madurese wisdom and is closely associated with the development of character. The character of morality is a reflection of human behavior and is very necessary in improving oneself, society, and the nation, so that the development of character is very important (Rahmasari et al., 2014). Furthermore, religious character is generally attached to the Madurese because Islam cannot be separated from the Madurese's identity (Lestari, 2017). Other characters which are not prominent in the research findings are in line with Rifai's statement (2007, in Faraby, 2016) saying that the Madurese tend to be hardworking, diligent, sincere, and determined.

Adib (2009) also explained that for Madurese, religion is Islam. Islam has infused and colored the pattern of the Madurese's social life, which is shown, among other things, in the way they dress. For the Madurese, religion is something that is sacred and holy and a life principle that must be preserved. According to Sadik (2014), Madurese are associated with religious Muslims who are a typical identity of Madurese. Therefore, their pride is offended if they are not considered Muslims.

Religiosity contributes to the formation of moral values, the values of *akhlakul karimah* including politeness which can prevent Madurese from getting a sense of *todus*. The process of maintaining self-esteem is what will protect Madurese from negative actions or behavior. Even if faced with a situation or environment that can lead the Madurese adolescents to negative behavior, maintaining self-esteem will prevent Madurese from behaving in ways that are not in accordance with religious norms.

Islamic religiosity and *ajina aba'* or self-esteem are the identity or distinctive characteristics of the Madurese that distinguish them from other ethnic groups in Indonesia. By adhering to religion, Madurese feel that their existence is truly respected or valued. Harassment of self-esteem is equal to harassment of the honor and existence of the Madurese as a devoted Muslim. Disrespecting the religiosity of the Madurese is the same as underestimating the self-esteem of the Madurese. In the Madurese's self-esteem, *todus* or feelings of shame that occurs as a result of feeling that their behavior is inconsistent or even does not reflect religious moral values and sociocultural values, such as decency. Religiosity contributes to the formation of moral values,

In the perspective of the Madurese adolescents, religiosity makes the Madurese tough. This shows how important the role of religiosity is in directing behavior and supporting the system of Madurese in behaving in response to various daily problems. In other words, they agree that Islamic religiosity has an important role in shaping and directing the Madurese's behavior.

Theoretically, it is important for religiosity to be discussed in a number of studies and literatures. Religiosity has a positive influence on the mental health of individuals and sustains them in difficult times (Fitriani, 2016; Fridayanti, 2015). This is in line with the statement of Durkheim (1915, in Fridayanti, 2015), stating that religiosity can help someone positively, in this case, to be stable. A study by Rahmasari, et al (2015) supported the findings of this study by revealing that religiosity has a major influence on resilience in the face of difficulties and the causes of stress found in the environment.

The research from Rais, Dien & Dien's (2018) explained that the effect of global information provides a significant change in the perspective of the millennial generation in the nation's culture. Religiosity comes from the Latin word *religio* which means to bind. Mangunwijaya (1994, in Ahmad, 2020) stated that religiosity refers to religious aspects

related to the depth of human life in the heart. Religiosity is a complete unified element and makes a person does not only have a religion but also becomes a religious person.

Religious activities which include religious practice, rituals, religious behavior (morality), and religious social attitudes are inseparable from human life (Fitriani, 2016). Religiosity is often defined by several experts based on the function of religion. Durkheim (1915, in Fridayanti, 2015) showed religion helps people to be together and stable. Different from religion explained based on the substance, Bagus (2011, in Fridayanti, 2015) explained that religion is the belief and behavior related to organized religion. Meanwhile, Pargament (1997, in Fridayanti, 2015) explained that religiosity is an ideological, ritualistic, and organizational system. Glocks and Starks (in Fitriani, 2016) presented that religiosity is a system of beliefs, symbols, values, and behaviors and focuses on issues that are internalized as the most meaningful. The meaning of religiosity is expressed by the extent to which a person applies a religious paradigm, views things that happen from a religious perspective, and implements them in everyday life.

There is a consistent and significant relationship between religiosity and problem solving that affect anxiety, happiness, and psychosocial adjustments in general (Lewis & Cruise, 2006; Mahmoudi, 2007; Zwingmann, 2006, in Reza, 2013). A study by Mayasari (2014) revealed that religiosity offers a more meaningful life and subjective life satisfaction to individuals. Individuals with religiosity will optimize their potential in dealing with events or problems that occur, have good relationships with other people, raise hope, and develop independence. Religiosity is the relationship between humans with their Creator through religious teachings that are internalized within themselves and are reflected in attitudes and daily behavior.

Religiosity in adolescents is proven to be able to prevent juvenile delinquency behavior. Kim, S., Miles-Mason, E., Kim, CY, & Esquivel, GB (2013) wrote that they had found that religiosity in adolescents in France, America, Germany, and Poland had a positive influence in shaping orientation and love for family which then increased satisfaction of those adolescents' life in those four countries. Based on a research from Rahmasari, Jannah, and Puspitadewi (2014), religiosity is one of the protective factors that can prevent adolescents from engaging in juvenile delinquency.

Reza (2013), in his study, explained religiosity had been proved to have a significant relationship with the morality of adolescents. Varma, Lindsay S. Moore, Jennifer S. Cataldi, Ashley C. Estoup & David G. Stewart (2017) explained that religiosity with risk perception correlates with low consumption of marijuana in adolescents. These results indicated that religiosity is proven to have an important role in preventing behavioral problems in adolescents. A literature review in Adilah and Winarti's research (2021) showed that religiosity resulted in reduced cybersex activities in adolescents. Religiosity is also a guideline for individuals in facing an uncertain life (Darmawanti, 2012).

A study from Idayu Idris, Rozita Hod, Azmawati Mohammed Nawi, Qistina Mohd Ghazali & Nornatasha Azida Anua (2019) also explained that the emergence of mental health problems in adolescents in Malaysia was predicted due to the lack of religious practice and religiosity in the family. Pfund, GN, Schultz, LH, Andrews, JA, & Hill, PL (2022) explained that over the past 10 years the trend of religiosity in adolescents had been decreasing. This decline is still a concern and further research is expected to be conducted because it is predicted to occur at school-age

adolescents ranging from sixth grade to twelfth grade

All in all, the study on religiosity and adolescents is still an interesting discussion that needs to be developed, especially if religiosity is a cultural identity and traditional strength of that tribe. In particular, the research findings in this paper show that based on the perspective of the Madurese Adolescents, Islamic religiosity is a factor that is still considered important to make Madurese strong and it constitutes the identity of traditional Madurese individuals.

CONCLUSION

Religiosity becomes part of the self-esteem of the Madurese and a factor that protects them in the difficult circumstances they experience. Religiosity is a distinctive identity of the Madurese that distinguishes it from other ethnic groups or races in Indonesia. Furthermore, culturally, religiosity is related to the self-esteem of the Madurese, ajina aba. Islamic religiosity and ajina aba' or self-esteem are the identity or distinctive characteristics of the Madurese that distinguish them from other ethnic groups in Indonesia. By adhering to religion, Madurese feel that their existence is truly respected or valued. Harassment of self-esteem is equal to harassment of the honor and existence of the Madurese as a devoted Muslim.

Disrespecting the religiosity of the Madurese is the same as underestimating the self-esteem of the Madurese. Islamic religiosity can make them strong in dealing with various problems. Therefore, by strengthening Islamic religiosity by doing more good deeds and religious activities including in activities with the family, adolescents can protect themselves from the development of mental health in the Madurese adolescents

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