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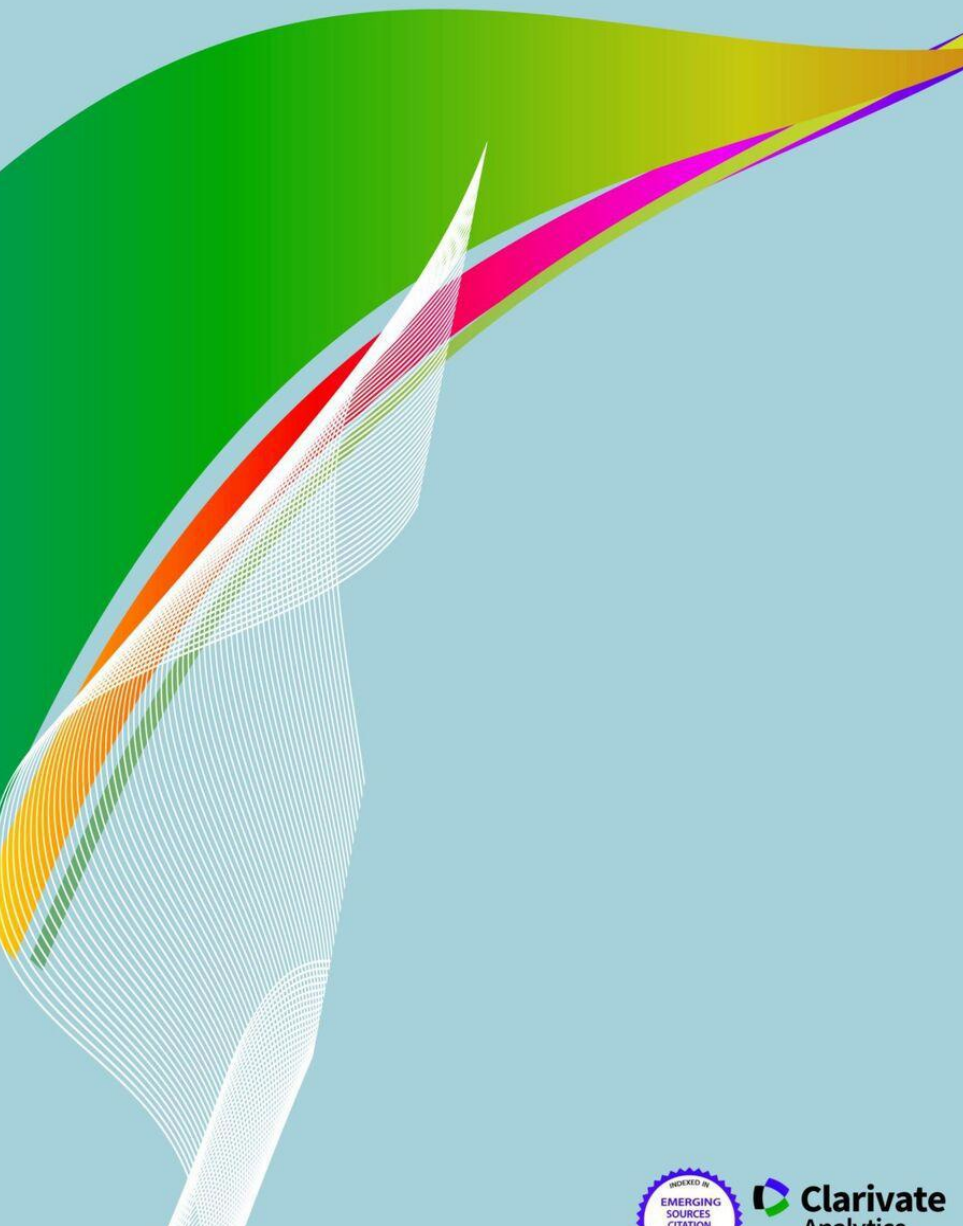
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**The Resistance of Madurese Muslim Society
to the Development of Non-Muslim Tourism Objects**

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THE RESISTANCE OF MADURESE MUSLIM SOCIETY TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF NON-MUSLIM TOURISM OBJECTS

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Abstract

Madurese's resistance to the development of tourism facilities is based on the socio-cultural conditions of the community, which is less open to modernization. This research describes the form of resistance and reflects on its relation to Madurese society's social and historical conditions. This research uses qualitative data with interview methods, collecting news on the internet, and literature studies. Data collection in this research begins with reading news on the internet on Madurese's resistance related to modern facilities and modern tourism, then conducting interviews with informants to confirm data from the news. Data analysis was carried out through three stages, namely describing data, classifying, and interpreting data thematically to reveal the meaning of the resistance by the Madurese community against the development of tourism facilities. The findings of this study highlight at least three main things, namely the forced closure of non-Muslim entertainment venues due to dissatisfaction with the resulting value shifts. Second, the presence of powerful actors triggers resistance from the community. Third, Madurese people tend to make tourism based on Islamic Sharia as they believe in their daily lives.

Keywords: *Resistance; Madura Muslim Society; Tourism.*



A. Introduction

Tourism is an auspicious sector in bolstering a country's economy. As per Indonesia's Law No. 10 of 2009 concerning Tourism, the term refers to the provision of tourism services and the establishment of tourist attractions and facilities (Ramadhany & Ridlwan, 2018). Tourism growth can generate substantial economic gains for the government, the private sector, and local communities within each tourist destination. Moreover, today, tourism has become increasingly crucial as a novel industry that significantly enhances people's welfare and generates foreign exchange (Flaviana, 2019). However, a different perspective emerged on Madura Island, East Java, Indonesia. In one instance of resistance, hundreds of residents from various parts of Pamekasan Regency staged a protest at the Bukit Bintang tourist site in Larangan Badung Village, Palengaan Subdistrict. They demanded the closure of the hillside tourist attraction, which they deemed a hub of moral corruption. Chanting *takbir*, they entered the tourist site and began vandalizing the facilities, including fences and shelters for visitors. The protest grew more violent as they set fire to a thatched hut located at the hilltop (Taufiqurrahman, 2020)

The community's protest was motivated by their belief that the tourist site could promote immoral behavior. Such resistance in the region is primarily fueled by religious and social factors, as Madurese society tends to view diverse aspects of life, including leisurely activities, through a religious lens. The available data indicates that the Madurese community's resistance is a response to perceived threats to their religion and social life. Other examples of such resistance include the rejection by 528 religious figures and members of the community of plans to develop a tourism site, including a hotel, in Sampang (Naibaho, 2010), the opposition by activists from several community organizations to the recent establishment of a cinema in Pamekasan (Arif, 2018) and the forced dissolution of a road race event by mosque caretakers and congregants as it was seen to disrupt prayer activities (tribunjatim.com, 2022). These instances illustrate how religion permeates the development of tourism in Madura.

As a complex and multifaceted phenomenon, scholars have studied resistance across disciplines. Political scientist James C. Scott offers a nuanced understanding of resistance as a response to attempts by those in power to impose their will on others (Mailleux Sant'Ana, 2007). According to Scott, resistance arises in society due to two factors: the operation of hegemony, which encompasses both material and symbolic forms of control, and the operation of false consciousness, which refers to the impact of social myths and religious doctrines (Rizki et al., 2023). In Scott's opinion (Scott, 2012), distinguishes between two types of resistance in society: public transcript and hidden transcript. This distinction is based on the articulation of resistance, forms, characteristics, social areas, and culture. It is important to note that resistance can be a legitimate response from the community to assert autonomy and challenge power imbalances in the face of inadequate development governance (Shaw et al., 2015; Sabri et al., 2020).

Stuart Hall (in Williams & Hannerz, 2014), a renowned cultural theorist, emphasizes the relational and conjunctural nature of societal resistance. According to Hall (in Williams & Hannerz, 2014), resistance cannot be understood as a singular phenomenon but is constituted by various relations and repertoires unique to specific times and places. Resistance can also be viewed as a form of negotiation between those in power and those who are subject to that power (Richmond, 2011; Fernando et al., 2023). Fringka (2017) also identifies several variables contributing to societal resistance, including political change, knowledge development, the enactment of customary rules and norms, and economic factors. These variables demonstrate that the context and history of the community shape resistance. Therefore, understanding the social, political, and economic context is essential for comprehending society's nature and form of resistance (Lassiter et al., 2018; Ismail, 2023).

Studies on community resistance to development have identified three prominent trends. Firstly, research has highlighted resistance in a society driven by the widespread growth of capitalism (Vakkayil, 2017;



Wiksell, 2017). Secondly, studies have explored community resistance against unsatisfactory state regulations (Crawford et al., 2020; Prasetya & Komara, 2019). Thirdly, research has focused on resistance as a means to safeguard the environment from harm (Wawan et al., 2021; Awan et al., 2020). Despite these trends, there has been limited examination of religious and socio-cultural community resistance to the development of tourism objects. Furthermore, the existing research has not sufficiently identified the forms of resistance or offered feasible solutions, such as the development of tourism based on Sharia and local wisdom in relevant communities. Consequently, studies related to resistance to development, particularly tourism development, have overlooked the religious aspect as an impediment to the progress of tourism.

At both the national and international levels, the tourism sector has been found to make a positive economic contribution (Millatina et al., 2019), indicating the potential for further development of this industry (Mustapa, 2019; Muharromah & Anwar, 2020). Various approaches have been proposed to facilitate such development, including the booster, economic industry, physical spatial, community, and sustainable approaches (Rusyidi & Fedryansah, 2019; Laila & Abdullah, 2022). Given that tourism involves three key actors, namely the community, the private sector, and the government (Butowski, 2021; Moniche & Gallego, 2021; Suhaimi et al., 2021), it is clear that this industry not only has implications for the government but also for the broader social fabric of the community involved.

The development of tourism objects has been identified as a significant focus of tourism, as it plays a crucial role in providing infrastructure and facilities that support tourism activities (Pavlov et al., 2020; Tahyudin et al., 2016). This development allows tourists more accessible access to accommodation, transportation, and other amenities necessary for their travel. These facilities also serve as a determining factor that influences visitor satisfaction during their travels. Studies have shown that aspects such as travel motivation, perceived values, travel experience,

and risks are among the key considerations that affect the selection of tourism objects (Abror et al., 2019). In this regard, efforts to improve tourism objectives can enhance the potential of tourism as a tool that can foster intercultural understanding and bridge gaps between diverse cultures, religions, backgrounds, and ethnicities. As tourists visit different destinations, they are exposed to different cultures, lifestyles, and ways of living, which broadens their perspectives and promotes cross-cultural interactions.

In recent years, the halal tourism industry has emerged as a crucial component of tourism development in various regions, particularly those with a predominantly Muslim population (Adel et al., 2021; Mustofa et al., 2023). Some consider halal tourism a subset of pilgrimage tourism that adheres to Islamic law. As noted by Kim et al. (2015), the growth of halal tourism has been substantial, with several experts having introduced the concept in previous studies. For instance, Shakona et al. (2015) delineated six dimensions of halal tourism: halal food, places of worship, gender segregation, non-alcoholic beverages, travel restrictions for women, and modest dress. Similarly, Akyol and Kiliç (2014) identified five dimensions of halal tourism: halal dining, Sharia-compliant hotels, Sharia-compliant airlines, Sharia-compliant tour packages, and halal finance. Moreover, Adinugraha et al. (2021) and Battour and Ismail (2016) identified key requirements that halal tourism should fulfill the concept of tourism applied to places, halal food, prayer facilities, Shariah-compliant activities, and sufficient restroom facilities.

This paper aims to fill gaps in previous research by thoroughly examining the various forms of resistance to tourism development within Madurese society. Three fundamental questions will be addressed to achieve this goal: 1) What are the various forms of opposition to the development of tourism objects in Madura that have been observed? 2) What factors influenced the emergence of such resistance? 3) What policy model can be implemented in Madura to address community resistance to tourism development effectively? The answers to these questions are



anticipated to illuminate the factors that have motivated Madurese society's resistance to tourism development and help establish a comprehensive framework that can serve as a basis for crafting effective policies to develop an optimal tourism industry in Madura.

This paper contends that in Madurese society, structural and cultural factors have shaped various instances of resistance to the development of tourism objects. The influence of the *ulema* (Islamic scholars), who wield significant power in regulating development in Madurese society, is a significant structural factor. Culturally, the Madurese people see various aspects of their lives through a religious lens, which means that resistance to tourism development is rooted in their society's historical and sociological processes, which are heavily influenced by religion. As a result, to establish regulations for developing and constructing tourism objects in Madura, it is necessary to consider economic and environmental variables and religious, historical, and sociological aspects that shape Madurese society.

B. Method

This research is qualitative and uses ethnographic methods with a descriptive-interpretative approach. The descriptive component of this research aims to describe the socio-cultural phenomena surrounding the Madurese community's resistance to the development of tourist attractions, which is then interpreted from the perspective of the indigenous community. This research combines primary and secondary data sources to ensure maximum effectiveness. Primary data was obtained from field studies involving direct observation and interviews with community leaders, *ulema*, and tourists visiting exciting Madura places. Meanwhile, secondary data was obtained from official documents and news sources related to tourism development in Madura.

This research centers on collecting data regarding the Madurese community's resistance to certain tourist attractions, the factors behind this

resistance, and the impacts it causes. This resistance takes the form of patterns and attitudes shown by the community in responding to certain tourist attractions. Factors contributing to resistance are ideological, interest-based, and practical interest-based. This research also analyzes the implications, especially regarding how this creates disharmony in society's views and actions. Secondary data comes from various online news sources, academic journals, books, and other literature relevant to the research. This data is used to visualize the various forms of resistance often occurring in Madurese society towards tourism development. The findings of this research will be used to describe and establish patterns of resistance among the Madurese community and provide recommendations for solving related problems.

This research involved two categories of informants: (1) community figures, such as village heads and administrators (*pamong*), local government representatives, academics, and tourists, and (2) religious figures, such as *kiai*, Islamic religious leaders, Islamic boarding schools, and administrators of religious organizations. These informants were chosen to find out the involvement of important figures in the emergence of resistance in society and their role in shaping the actions of society as a whole. Additional informants were selected based on their ability to evaluate the accuracy and validity of research findings.

The research began with news mapping and reporting from secondary sources, followed by interviews and focus group discussions. The collected data were recorded and mapped based on themes identified through reading news and online reports. Some interviews were conducted face-to-face with community figures, including ulama, while others were conducted online via video call using the WhatsApp application. Focus group discussions were also held with several clerics from Madura to explore data related to Islamic perspectives and community culture regarding resistance to the development of tourist attractions in Madura.



This research uses Miles and Huberman's (1994) data analysis approach, which involves processing data after it has been collected during the research process. Data processing stages included data presentation, drawing conclusions, and verification. Relevant data were sorted, mapped thematically, and presented in tables and narrative quotations while maintaining its original form. The triangulation method was used to ensure data accuracy. Finally, structured data were analyzed using restatement, description, and interpretation methods.

To provide a Madurese perspective, the researcher used the restatement method by including the interviewees' statements. The description method was used to map the types of resistance to tourist attractions.

C. Result and Discussion

1. Result

1. The Closure and Destruction of several Tourism Objects/ Facilities

Increasingly, there has been a growing resistance to the development of tourism objects perceived to be against Islamic principles, fueled by the implementation of Sharia-compliant regulations and the emergence of identity politics in presidential election events. Table 1 below provides examples of statements made by clerics and hardliners against such development.

Table 1. Statements against non-Muslim tourism

Informan	Statement/report against any non-Muslim tourist spot and/or form of entertainment	Code	Source
001	"The purpose of <i>madrassas</i> (Islamic educational institutions) is to cultivate the intellectual capacity of the nation's cadres in Islamic knowledge; instead, they are offered drum bands accompanied by [female] singers who get handed money	not in accordance with Islamic teachings	https://jatim.nu.or.id/ma-dura/nu-di-sumenep-haramkan-drum-band-dengan-biduan-24c3U

Informan	Statement/report against any non-Muslim tourist spot and/or form of entertainment	Code	Source
002	[on the spot], as well as other things that have nothing to do with education itself". "The tourist spot is just a front, because residents have often reported it to be a den of immoral activities".	a den of immorality	https://regional.kompas.com/read/2020/10/05/15135341/massa-bakar-tempat-wisata-di-pamekasan-karena-diduga-jadi-sarang-maksiat?page=all
003	"[We] support the closure, especially since the police have secured 15 youngsters who were caught red-handed partying using ecstasy pills".	a den of immorality	https://maduraindepth.com/kafe-dan-resto-wiraraja-jadi-tempat- pesta-narkoba-lagi
004	"The mob set fire to the tourist spot deemed to be a den of immorality. This tourist spot has often been reported by residents to be a den of immorality, and the site's owner has been in mediation efforts with community leaders, representatives of residents, village officials, as well as army and police officials".	a den of immorality	Online interview with SD, a Larangan Badung villager
005	"We oppose tourist spots that only serve as a cover for prostitution, such as cafes and restaurants that house immoral activities".	a den of immorality	FM, young cleric, member of Pamekasan Regency's MUI
006	"The ship(-shaped) hotel in Ambat Village will have negative impacts on Pamekasan residents, so (we) agree with it being shut down".	a den of immorality	TFQ, youth leader from Tlanakan Subdistrict, Pamekasan Regency
007	A three-star hotel in the shape of a cruise ship in Ambat Village, Tlanakan, Pamekasan, Madura, was sealed by a number of ulema and residents.		https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/331680/ulama-dan-warga-segel-hotel-bintang
008	"Tourist attractions can be attributed to the creation of jobs, such as through the existence of cinemas and hotels. In this context, what has been done by the community, mass organizations, and ulema is commendable for their intention to uphold the	not in accordance with Islamic teachings	<u>Interview, Outside tourism</u>



Informan	Statement/report against any non-Muslim tourist spot and/or form of entertainment	Code	Source
	integrity of Islamic teachings, where [in this regard] it is important to conduct a review based on <i>fiqh muamalah</i> (Islamic jurisprudence of commercial transactions) or Islamic law [in general] to promote improvements and awareness of tourism objects that comply with Sharia principles” HJ (Visitor outside tourism).		





Sources. Interviews and processed mass media coverage.

The table above shows that the opened tours have two main patterns, namely, first, tours created indoors are often misused as places of immorality. It also aligns with the facilities built by investors in Madura, leading to the abuse of supporting tourist attractions. The implication is that the Madurese community rejects several hotels considered not implementing Sharia. Second, the existing pattern shows that open tourism in Madura between managers and religious leaders has resulted in miscommunication and resistance from the community, which is heavily influenced by religious figures.

The type of religious tourism that has emerged thus far is primarily pilgrimage tourism, which involves both individual and group visits to sites that are considered holy, tombs of revered figures, certain hills or mountains, and the graves of supernaturally powerful and legendary figures. Pendit, in his book, identified that type of tourism is often associated with pursuing spiritual benefits, such as strengthening one’s faith, obtaining blessings, and even acquiring material wealth (Aryanatha, 2019). According to Vinandari et al. (2019), pilgrimage tourism can serve as both a means of entertainment and a source of education in Islamic teachings. Therefore, the community must embrace pilgrimage tourism, as it provides economic benefits and contributes to an individual’s inner peace.




Table 2. Forms of community resistance to Non-Muslim tourist spots

Code	Description	Source	Image
001	Ulema reject Lon Malang tourist destination	https://faktualnews.co/2017/09/12/ulama-tolak-destinasi-wisata-long-malam-sampang/36764/	
002	Mob burns down a tourist spot in Pamekasan	https://regional.kompas.com/read/2020/10/05/15135341/massa-bakar-tempat-wisata-di-pamekasan-karena-diduga-jadi-sarang-maksiat?page=all	
003	Community organizations reject a cinema	https://jateng.antaranews.com/berita/292338/pegiat-ormas-tolak-keberadaan-bioskop-di-pamekasan-madura	
004	Ulema and other local figures reject plan to build hotel	https://www.tribunnews.com/regional/2010/09/16/528-kiai-dan-tokoh-sampang-tolak-hotel-berbintang	




Source. Processed mass media coverage and observation.

The information presented in Table 2 indicates that the resistance ongoing in the Madurese community is rooted in religious ideology. It is evidenced by the opposition voiced by local religious leaders towards the development of the Lon Malang Beach area, the community's destructive response to tourist sites, and the vehement rejection of further development of tourism objects that violate Islamic values. The existing tourism objects are regarded as breeding grounds for immoral activities that can corrupt the younger generation and undermine the nation's morality.

Table 3: Overview of the number of tourist visits to Madura's tourist attractions

Tourist attractions	Number of local visitors	Number of regional visitors	Image
Camplong Beach	220 people per month	65 people per month	



Tourist attractions	Number of local visitors	Number of regional visitors	Image
KCM Pamekasan Cinema	810 people per month	243 people per month	
Bukit Bintang Pamekasan	120 people per month	-	
Lon Malang Beach Sampang	210 people per month	-	

Source. Data processed from various sources, 2022.

According to the data, KCM Pamekasan Cinema had the highest number of visitors in a month compared to other tourist attractions, followed by natural attractions such as beaches and artificial attractions. However, tourists' interest in visiting these attractions is still relatively low in overall. For instance, the average number of local and regional tourists visiting KCM Pamekasan Cinema is only 27 and 8, respectively. Similarly, the number of local and regional tourists visiting Camplong Beach is only about 7 and 2, respectively. On the other hand, Lon Malang Beach and Bukit Bintang receive even fewer visitors, with only 7 local tourists and no regional tourists visiting Lon Malang Beach and 4 local tourists, and no regional tourists visiting Bukit Bintang.

2. Discussion

Madura is an island whose people are known as an Islamic society that adheres closely to the results of the assimilation of Islamic with local culture (Sulalah et al., 2022). Madura is renowned as the home of *santri* (Islamic education) community, where every household has a special chamber for family members to pray. It reflects how Islamic practices in Madurese society serve as a religious practice and shape their identity and characteristics. In Madura, a person's inclusion in a particular group is



socially determined by their Islamic identity. Therefore, individuals who have abandoned Islam are excluded from the Madurese community. As a result, this has significant implications for various infrastructure and organizational developments in Madura. Adherence to religion and resistance to forms of abuse of Islamic teaching become reactive measures that arise when perceived threats materialize.

Due to the dominance of the patriarchal system in Madurese society, cultural construction tend to take precedence over aspects of justice (Supraptiningsih et al., 2023). In Madurese society, the presence of tourism sites that deviate from local culture is perceived as a threat, evidenced by community opposition to such sites. Tourism destinations should not solely focus on developing the sites and facilities supporting tourism activities (Pavlov et al., 2020; Tahyudin et al., 2016), especially those consistent with local culture. However, the destruction of these sites by the local community highlights the interplay between the ideologies behind the tourism development and the dominant Madurese ideology. Both verbal and non-verbal adverse reactions from local leaders and religious scholars regarding the development of non-Muslim tourism objects, which the community tends to follow, also contribute to this resistance. Thus, resistance in Madurese society is not solely based on Islamic culture but also influenced by the power of religious scholars as catalysts for resistance.

In order to achieve the various goals set forth by the constitution and increase economic growth, exploring domestic resources, such as the tourism sector, can be beneficial (Hamzana, 2018). However, community resistance to tourism development in Madura has three significant implications. *Firstly*, it can restrict the community's creativity in developing new and innovative tourism ideas, homogenizing the tourism experience. It can lead to decreased interest from tourists, who may find the experience repetitive and ultimately hinder the economy in the surrounding areas of the existing tourism sites.

Secondly, community resistance will also impact the distribution of infrastructure to support the region's economic activities. Opposition to the



establishment of tourist attractions indirectly impedes the development of infrastructure, such as public transportation, accommodations, roads, and critical sites like airports, bus terminals, and train stations. Ultimately, the hindrance of infrastructure development is linked to the number of investors willing to invest in its progress.

The *third* implication of community resistance to tourism development in Madura relates to the potential for such resistance, grounded in religious ideology, to act as a catalyst for the emergence of prejudice and related issues towards tourists who do not share the same religious beliefs. It is likely to harm both domestic and international tourism. Additionally, it may lead to intergroup conflict between individuals with differing religious views in the same neighborhood. In the context of tourism management policies, this could result in minority groups being marginalized. As a result, the possibility of inter-religious conflicts arising in the tourism environment is significant.

The resistance against non-Muslim tourism objects among the Muslim community can be mitigated by adopting a Sharia model as a new approach to tourism management. Developing halal tourism through optimizing religious tourism objects can serve as a solution for tourism development. Activities such as visiting tombs of religious leaders, Islamic historical sites, and managing Islamic nature tourism can motivate tourists while gaining community support for tourism activities. Halal tourism management requires innovation to maintain the essence of Islamic nuances while creating new concepts for tourism.

The concept of halal tourism has been identified by different terms in the existing literature, such as “Islamic tourism” and “Sharia tourism”. These terms are commonly assumed to refer to the same concept: promoting a halal lifestyle in the tourism industry (Battour & Ismail, 2016; Nuroniyah, 2023). In other words, the economic activities practiced by Muslim society are basically the effort to reach a better life (Hariyanto & Hamzah, 2022). The identification of various objects or actions allowed to be used or done in the tourism industry with Islamic law as the standard reflects the emphasis on adhering to Sharia principles in halal tourism

(Battour & Ismail, 2016). The term “halal tourism” was developed to facilitate the identification of the needs of Muslim tourists, specifically in terms of offering products and services that meet their religious requirements (Ambali & Bakar, 2014). Mohsin et al. (2016) also highlighted the perspective of halal tourism by linking it to the availability of consumable halal products based on Islamic guidelines. However, diverse perspectives on halal tourism may lead to contrasting approaches. In this regard, some groups may view “halal tourism” as merely a marketing strategy, while others prioritize the integration of Islamic principles in various dimensions of tourism. These differences underscore the importance of clarifying the definition and objectives of halal tourism to ensure a consistent and comprehensive understanding among stakeholders in the tourism industry.

The potential of the halal tourism industry in Indonesia is significant, despite some readiness issues, and should be encouraged (Rusli et al., 2018). This indicates the need to consider living law and cultural contexts in the lawmaking by the state (Musawwamah et al., 2023). In recognition, the Indonesian Ulema Council has issued a fatwa, specifically regulating halal tourism or tourism that adheres to Sharia values. The issuance of this fatwa, numbered 108/DSNMUI/X/2016 by the National Sharia Council of MUI, was motivated by two factors. Firstly, the growing global trend towards halal tourism, including in Indonesia, necessitates the establishment of guidelines for organizing tourism based on Sharia principles. Secondly, the absence of legal provisions governing the organization of Sharia-compliant tourism prompted the National Sharia Council of MUI to issue the fatwa above (Ansari & Makki, 2020). The fatwa comprehensively regulates all aspects of Sharia tourism activities, ranging from the terms of contracts to provisions for hotels, tourist destinations, spas and saunas, massage services, travel agencies, and even provisions for tour guides.

According to Abror et al. (2019), halal tourism and customer engagement have a significant impact on traveler satisfaction. The need for



halal products has become a characteristic of Indonesian people's consumption, both halal in lidzatihi (type of substance) or lighairihi (how to get it) (Rizki et al., 2023). As Suharto et al. (2019) note, tourism plays a vital role in human social and economic activities. The development of halal tourism in Madura can foster a sense of community and togetherness in tourism management. It can be achieved through community-based tourism, which involves the participation of residents in protecting the environment. To achieve this goal, a combination of structural and community-based approaches is required to create a comprehensive understanding of tourism among Madurese communities.

To effectively develop Sharia-compliant tourism objects in Madura, it is essential to adopt a cultural and structural approach that considers the Madurese ideology emphasizing the religious aspects of Islam. Such an approach can aid in identifying the appropriate tourism development model for the Madurese community while mitigating resistance. Tourist satisfaction or loyalty is influenced by various factors, as discussed by Wardi et al. (2018). To promote the development of halal tourism in Indonesia, government policies that are both direct and indirect should be established. The government's ability to regulate religious institutions in the public sphere is grounded in the reality of religious life in Indonesia, which is integrated into daily life, as highlighted by Alamsyah and Mery Yanti (2019).

Regardless of such, the *maslahah* (public interests) principle is one of the principles in the Sharia economy (Hariyanto et al., 2023). Thus, for tourism to flourish in Madura, there needs to be a harmonious partnership between the local government and the community across the four districts on the island of Madura, namely Pamekasan, Sumenep, Bangkalan, and Sampang. A concerted effort is needed to develop halal tourism in Madura, such as by promoting Visit Madura Year to attract domestic and foreign tourists and create a welcoming environment for them. It, in turn, will positively impact the local economy and dispel negative perceptions of tourism among the Madurese community.

D. Conclusion

In Madura, resistance towards tourism development can be attributed to three main factors. *Firstly*, there is dissatisfaction among the community regarding the lack of attention given to cultural and religious approaches in the development of tourism objects, which has resulted in statements of rejection, closure, and even destruction. *Secondly*, the historical and sociological factors of the Madurese people, who greatly emphasize Islamic cultural and social-religious values, have contributed to this resistance. *Thirdly*, the absence of a Sharia-compliant tourism policy model incorporating local cultural approaches has also fueled community resistance towards developing tourism objects in Madura.

The historical and sociological religious factors that underpin the Madurese community's cohesion and identity have profound implications for their sensitivity toward perceived injustices. To address this issue, one potential solution is to adopt Sharia-compliant tourism in Madura, which involves a collaborative effort among various stakeholders to develop a comprehensive tourism plan that aligns with local cultural values. This approach entails a close partnership between the four district governments in Madura and the broader community to ensure that tourism development proceeds in a way that respects the Madurese culture and religious beliefs. By involving all elements of society in this process, the implementation of Sharia-compliant tourism can be optimized to foster greater social cohesion and overcome resistance to tourism development in Madura in the long run.

The occurrence of anarchist actions by local communities against tourism objects demonstrates the importance of cultural preservation. Such actions not only result in material losses but also have detrimental impacts on the mental well-being of individuals. Therefore, it is imperative to consider cultural and religious sensitivities when developing tourism objects to prevent potential conflict and loss. From a material standpoint, the community's resistance towards the development of tourism objects can pose a significant obstacle for potential investors looking to invest in the Madura region. It is particularly concerning since the presence of investors



in an area can often positively impact the economic growth of the surrounding community. On a mental level, the Madurese community is heavily influenced by cultural hegemony, which shapes their perception of new opportunities and changes.

Following the future implementation of a Sharia-compliant tourism design in Madura by the local government and related agencies, it is imperative to undertake further research to assess the effectiveness of this initiative. The research should evaluate the community, community leaders, and religious leaders' acceptance of this new development. Additionally, the study should examine this approach's impact on Madura's progress in terms of infrastructure development, human resource improvement, and the overall comfort and welfare of the community. Such research will provide critical insights into the impact of the development of Sharia-compliant tourism objects on Madura's tourism industry and the well-being of its residents.

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