Undoing Stereotypes: Counter-Stereotyping Strategy Based on The Madurese Cultural Identities

Abstract: This study examines the construction of negative stereotypes and the efforts to build counter-stereotypes for the Madurese by utilizing their cultural identities. The Madurese are known as one of the ethnic groups in Indonesia who often become the object of negative stereotypes. A number of negative stereotypes of the Madurese include stubbornness, stiffness, temperamental, vengefulness, unruly, lack of respect for others, irritability, loud voices, lack of courtesy, lack of education, and easily commit acts of violence. Through the strategy of counter-stereotypes, it is hoped that the negative stereotypes attached to Madurese individuals will gradually diminish. This study uses a qualitative approach that focuses on the views and experiences of Madurese high school students in Madura. The data were obtained through field observations and in-depth interviews. This study found that negative stereotypes of Madurese are formed by the internal factors (from within individuals of the Madurese) and external factors (from the outside view of other ethnicities). The efforts to build positive stereotypes of Madurese can be carried out more effectively through the intervention of education at schools. The results of this study are expected to become a model to change negative stereotypes and build positive perceptions of certain ethnic groups.

Keywords: Stereotype, Counter-Stereotype, Ethnicity, Identity, Madura

INTRODUCTION

The practice of giving negative stereotypes (or stereotypes-threat) to certain ethnic groups is still common in Indonesia. One of the ethnic groups in Indonesia that often become the victim of negative stereotypes is the Madurese. The third largest ethnic group in Indonesia often gets negative stereotypes as stubbornness, stiffness, temperamental, vengefulness, unruly, lack of respect for others, irritability, loud voices, lack of courtesy, lack of education, and easily commit acts of violence (see de Jong, 1989; Wiyata, 2002; Rifai, 2005; Taufiqurrahman, 2007; Suryandari, 2015). This negative stereotypical image of the Madurese, for example, can easily be found in daily conversations, news media, anecdotes and humor, as well as in popular culture products (especially novels and films).

The negative stereotypes that have developed widely against the Madurese in turn also influence the process of forming
the identity of the Madurese people. A number of studies have shown that the self-image and identity of the Madurese are more or less influenced by other ethnic views of them (de Jong, 1989; Wiyata, 2002; Rifai, 2005; Taufiqurrahman, 2007; Suryandari, 2015; 2017; Hidayat, 2019). In other words, although not all, the negative self-image embedded by other parties or groups through the practice of negative stereotyping in turn tends to become an inseparable part of the Madurese embodied identity.

One of the efforts to fight the impact of negative stereotypes is through the practice of counter-stereotypes. Counter-stereotyping is an idea or practice that tries to match or counter the negative stereotypes that have been widespread in society by accentuating the positive side or aspects of certain objects (Durkin, 1985; Rubin, 2013). With counter-stereotyping practice, it is assumed that each individual or group actually has positive characters, rather than negative, which also deserves to be presented as its main identity characteristics.

In the context of the Madurese, the practice of counter-stereotyping is carried out by putting forward the positive characters of the Madurese which have not been widely known. A number of positive characteristics of the Madurese include resilience, hardworking, never give up, brave, loyal friends, thrifty, religious, obedient to parents, obedient to religious leaders, obedient to the government, maintain self-respect, love family, adapt easily, and having a high sense of solidarity (de Jong, 1989; Rifai, 2005). Culture-based identities like this should be nurtured as positive stereotypes of the Madurese.

One of the counter-stereotype strategies to fight negative stereotypes that have been widespread, is through interventions in the field of education. Intervention in the field of education is important because the socialization of religious, moral, social and cultural values at schools can take place more effectively, massively and sustainably. Furthermore, referring to Bourdieu (1977), education is a social sphere in which certain habitus, including ethnic group habitus, can be formed, grown and maintained. In this sense, through the learning process in schools, students receive a framework of new ideas, concepts and practices of action to fight negative stereotypes of particular ethnicity.

In this context, this study aims to explain the construction of negative stereotypes and the efforts to build counter-stereotypes for the Madurese by utilizing their cultural identities. More specifically, this study uses educational intervention strategies to promote positive
stereotypes (or stereotypes-boost) based on cultural identities owned by the Madurese ethnic group and to explain the potential for efforts to build positive counter-stereotypes of Madurese through teaching materials in the field of civic education in high schools in Madura.

This research was conducted in two districts in Madura, namely Bangkalan Regency on the west side of the island of Madura, and Sumenep Regency on the eastern side of the island of Madura, to see more clearly the potential for the formation of Madurese counter-stereotypes in the two regions of Madura Island which are quite different in terms of historical, economic, social, and cultural backgrounds. In the contemporary context, this research has an important contribution as an effort to fight the practice of giving negative stereotypes (stereotype-threat) to certain groups, including ethnic groups in Indonesia.

METHOD

This study used a descriptive qualitative method with a phenomenological approach. In the discourse of social science research, phenomenology is a method of research carried out by exploring and revealing hidden meanings behind the experiences of the informants studied (Creswell, 2013). The process of revealing the hidden meaning of subjective experiences to become objective or universal meanings is carried out by listening to the story of the subject's personal experiences and then analyzing the narrative that is conveyed based on themes that often arise to answer research questions.

The phenomenological method aims to reveal the universal meaning hidden behind the subjective phenomena experienced by the informants under study. One important aspect of the phenomenological method is the "bracketing out" process in which the researcher tries as far as possible to abandon personal experiences and conjectures during the stages of research with informant subjects (Creswell, 2013). In the context of this research, through the process of phenomenological analysis, it is hoped that a rich understanding of the stereotypical model of ethnic Madura based on cultural identity will be obtained through educational interventions in schools in Bangkalan and Sumenep District, Madura.

This research will begin with field observations to get an initial understanding of the location and research subject. The observations will be carried out especially in the research target schools, namely five high schools in each of the Bangkalan and Sumenep Districts, Madura. The research location was deliberately selected in the two westernmost and easternmost regency
cities of Madura Island, with the aim of obtaining richer data comparisons according to the research topic.

The process of selecting informants was then carried out based on the need to answer research questions. In this study, the informant subject was divided into two, namely the main informant and the supporting informant. The main informants in this study were students from high schools in Madura who have Madurese ethnic backgrounds, were born and live in Madura, understand Madurese culture and interact directly with Madurese ethnic groups, and understand the phenomenon of giving negative stereotypes to Madurese ethnic groups. In each research destination district, namely Bangkalan and Sumenep, 15 students would be recruited as main informants, so that the total number of main informants in this study was 30 students. Meanwhile, the supporting informants in this study were teachers who also came from the Madurese ethnicity, were born and lived in Madura, understood Madurese culture and interacted directly with Madurese ethnic groups, and understood the phenomenon of giving negative stereotypes to the Madurese. In each research destination district, five teachers will be recruited, so that the total number of supporting informants in this study is 10 teachers. The selection of all informants in this study was carried out using a purposive sampling method, taking into account the principles of diversity of backgrounds and identity attributes possessed by the informants.

Furthermore, the data collection process for this research was carried out in two ways, namely through primary data sources through field observations and in-depth interviews, and secondary data sources (literature references, media news, scientific documentation, pictures and photos). In-depth interviews will be conducted in a semi-structured manner in Madurese with the help of an interview guide and will be digitally recorded. The interview data will then be transcribed and translated into Indonesian for the analysis process.

Data analysis in this study was carried out in three stages (Creswell, 2013). First, the stage of data reading and coding, as well as clustering or labeling based on the themes that most often appear in the in-depth interview process. In this stage, unnecessary data reduction processes will also be carried out. Second, the stage of sorting the data according to the most relevant themes to answer the problem formulation in this study. Not all themes that arise in the in-depth interview process are necessarily relevant to this research question. Third, the stage of interpretation and synthesis of the raw data from the interview results which are still
subjective in nature and then abstract them in order to find objective or universal meanings from the findings of the phenomena studied in the field.

Finally, the researcher will draw conclusions and compile a description based on the results of the analysis of the Madurese ethnic stereotyping efforts based on cultural identity in Madura. The presentation of the results of this research will be carried out by presenting the main findings and recommendations that have been produced as a written report.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

According to the theme to be studied, this study will use three main theoretical concepts, namely stereotypes, counter-stereotypes, and cultural identity. In this section, these three concepts will be explained in more depth, by taking into account their relation to the purpose of this study, namely to develop a positive counter-stereotypical model of Madurese ethnicity based on cultural identity.

Stereotype (stereotype) is one of the sociological concepts which is quite important in studying the dynamics of interaction between groups. In the realm of inter-group relations, stereotypes often trigger prejudice and discrimination by one group against another. In the realities of everyday social life, stereotypes often have a real impact that can harm individuals or social groups who are victims of negative stereotyping.

Linguistically, stereotypes can be understood as an exaggerated conception of the nature or character of a group based on subjective and inappropriate prejudice (KBBI Online, 2020). Sociologically, stereotypes are understood as generalizing or distorting social beliefs about the characteristics of a person or group (for example, traits, characters, personality traits, behavior, personal values) that are accepted as true for the entire social group and its members (Manstead and Hewstone, 1996). Stereotypes are structured in the form of cognitive structures or thoughts that contain knowledge, beliefs, and expectations about certain social groups, both positively and negatively. Stereotypes tend to reduce the identity of a person or social group into a series of negative rather than positive characters and self-images (Barker, 2004 in Murdianto, 2018).

Theoretically, stereotypes can be divided into two types, namely heterostereotype and autostereotype (Triandis, 1994; Matsumoto, 2003). Heterostereotype refers to stereotypes associated with other groups, while otostereotypes are stereotypes related to one's own objects. Stereotypes can also be divided into explicit stereotypes and implicit stereotypes (Aronson et al., 2002). Explicit stereotypes are a form of
stereotypes that are aware of their existence, while implicit stereotypes are forms of stereotypes that are not aware of their existence and work in the subconscious.

Furthermore, stereotypes can occur due to several factors (Fariyanti, 2015). First, social actors tend to divide social reality into two categories: us and them. Furthermore, individuals who are perceived as being outside the group are often seen as more similar to each other than those within their own group. Second, sociocognitively, stereotypes come from the tendency of humans to carry out minimal cognitive activities in thinking about other people. By categorizing other individuals into groups, social actors assume that it is easier for them to know many things about other individuals (especially their main characteristics and behavioral tendencies).

Stereotypes are obtained through the learning process from various sources. First, from individuals or groups where social actors interact. In other words, social actors gain an understanding of stereotypes about themselves or others through the experiences of others. This occurs especially when social actors do not have direct experience of interacting with those who are the objects of the stereotype. Second, from personal experience. After interacting with certain individuals or groups (for example, certain ethnicities or races), a person then generalizes about the traits or characteristics possessed by that individual or group. Once the impression of the group is formed, then social actors tend to look for these traits or characteristics in every encounter with group members who are the objects of the stereotype. Third, from the mass media (newspapers, magazines, films, radio, television, internet). Social actors may gain knowledge about stereotypes about certain individuals or groups from the presentation of information in mass media (Fariyanti, 2015).

Meanwhile, stereotyping or (counter-stereotype) is a theoretical and practical framework that aims to reduce the negative influence of stereotyping certain individuals or groups. In terms of terminology, referring to Rubin (2013), stereotyping can be understood as ideas and practices that try to match or fight common stereotypes that have developed widely in society, by highlighting positive rather than negative aspects of certain stereotypical objects. Through the practice of counter-stereotyping, it is hoped that the negative stereotypes attached to certain individuals or groups will gradually decrease and disappear.

Furthermore, Durkin (1985) states that the practice of stereotyping will only be effective and succeed in changing
negative views on the identity of a particular individual or group if it does not merely reject the developing stereotype, but provides a positive side of identity by adjusting the level of diversity in the subject's social knowledge. If the subject knows or has experiences related to certain positive stereotypes of identity, it will be easier for him to accept and change his views. The affective function and individual power also play an important role in the success of the practice of stereotyping (Petra, 2017). This means that the greater the role of social actors who have emotional closeness and are “in power” over the subject, the greater the chances of successful counter-stereotyping practices in changing stereotypical views of certain identities.

In more depth, Block et al. (2011) describe a counter-stereotypical practice model scheme that can be used as a guide against stereotyping practices. Referring to Block, there are four counter-stereotype patterns consisting of hard invigoration, internal attributions, identity bifurcation, and assimilation (Block et al., 2011).

Invigoration in this context is a counter-stereotype strategy by trying hard to fight negative stereotypes that develop, and showing opposite (positive) characters. The social actor in this invigoration practice tries to show that negative stereotypes cannot be attached to him. In the context of the realm of education, the resistance strategy can be demonstrated by, for example, the case of a student who comes from a broken home family (negative stereotype), but tries hard to show his academic performance as well as possible.

Internal attributions are a counter-stereotype strategy by believing that the negative characters that are often embedded are not stereotypical attributes of social/group identities, but are personal attributes. For example, a student who believes that the laziness often attributed to his ethnic group does not come from his ethnic background, but rather because of his personal nature. The pattern of resistance in this model actually acts as a mechanism for personal protection from the group.

Identity bifurcation is a counter-stereotypical strategy by trying to reject or distance oneself from the negative aspects of the group's identity, and at the same time accepting other aspects of their positive group identity. Identity bifurcation enables social actors to distance themselves from negative stereotypes associated with their social groups.

Assimilation is a counter-stereotype strategy by trying to adopt the attitude/character of a certain group's social identity which is considered positive, while keeping away from the
negative identities or stereotypes of other groups. The assimilation process in this context can take the form of physical or cultural assimilation. Social and cultural assimilation, for example, may include adopting positive language, habits, and identity attitudes of other groups.

Meanwhile, cultural identity can be understood based on the two words that compose it, namely identity and culture. Identity, referring to Duty (2015), is a reflective view of ourselves and also other perceptions of our self-image by others, both as individuals and members of social groups. Meanwhile, culture is a system of meaning obtained from the learning process that contains traditions, beliefs, values, norms, and symbols that are passed down from generation to generation and shared with members of a group (Ting-Toomey, 1999). Cultural identity is thus a view and self-perception formed by a system of meanings, values and symbols of certain cultural forms (Ting-Toomey, 1999; Iskandar, 2004; Ennaji, 2005). The scope of cultural identity can be in the form of nationality, ethnicity, religion, social class, community, and all forms of social groups that have certain cultural values. In practice, cultural identity can be reflected in the form of language, how to dress, how to behave, food and drink, games, art, literature, architecture, traditions, customs, and beliefs (Tajfel, 1978; Duty, 2015).

Mary Jane Collier (1994) explains the concept of cultural identity by departing from cultural meaning as a system of symbols, values and norms that are historically transmitted. According to Collier, culture has three main components that complement each other, namely: 1). symbols and meanings; 2). norm; and 3). history. Based on these three components, the individual understands himself according to his capital and cultural relationships. Cultural identity is born when individuals or groups build the same symbols and ideas based on their history and needs (Collier, 1994). In contrast to the psychological approach which views identity as a characteristic and even individual personality, the sociological perspective views identity as something that is formed and created socially and through social interactions. That is, identity is always in the process of creation when individuals are involved in social interactions. Cultural identity, in this sense, is also formed through a process of interaction between individuals who are members of certain cultural groups.

Furthermore, Collier explained that cultural identity consists of seven main characteristics (properties) (Collier, 1994). First, self-perception, whether in the form of self-depiction (avowal) or self-
description by others (ascripton), for example through stereotypes and naming (attribution). Second, ways of expression through identity symbols in the form of definitions, premises, and propositions, for example through ways of dressing. Third, the form of identity, which can be seen from an individual’s point of view about what it means to be a member of a certain cultural group or citizen. Fourth, the quality of identity, which includes sustainability and change. These changes can occur due to economic, political, social, psychological factors, and so on. Fifth, the affective, cognitive, and behavioral components of identity. Affective components (emotions and feelings) affect cultural identity because it depends on the situation. The cognitive component is the belief about that identity which is manifested in the main symbols, for example into the name of the organization or the name of the group. The behavioral component focuses on the verbal and non-verbal actions of group members (Collier, 1994).

Furthermore, sixth, the content and relationship of cultural identity. This means that the communicated cultural messages not only contain information but also have implications regarding who is in control, how far they trust each other and the level of inclusion and exclusion. Seventh, differences in prominence and intensity, which depend on the context and time. When, for example, Collier realized that she was a white American female professor in South Africa, she was in the negative stereotypical minority. However, when he learned of the low level of treatment of women, his female identity stood out and demanded equal pay for equal work.

With the theoretical background above, cultural identity is an important concept in this study considering the many characteristics of cultural identity, especially Madurese culture, which can be a reference source for ethnic stereotypes. That is, the positive stereotypes of the Madurese that will be built in this study will include the characteristic aspects of cultural identity (Collier, 1994), namely: self-perception, both by oneself and by others, how to express oneself through symbols, identity (for example, language, proverbs, religion, social class, way of dress), the quality of cultural identity possessed, the affective, cognitive and behavioral components of individuals and groups, the relationship between cultural identities possessed, and the intensity of cultural identity which is influenced by space and time.
The Formation of Madurese Negative Stereotypes

This study found that the process of forming negative stereotypes for the Madurese took place both internally and externally. Internally, the negative stereotypes of the Madurese ethnic groups are influenced by the negative self-perceptions of the Madurese individuals. A number of informants in this study admitted that their negative self-image also influenced how stereotypical views of the Madurese ethnic group were accepted by other people or groups:

“Actually, that view arose because of the Madurese themselves. The problem is what people outside of Madura think, yes it does happen in Madura, although not all Madurese are like that. But it is still there. Personally, I say yes if Madurese are rude. The problem is that I myself feel that way, if I am provoked by a little problem, my anger immediately rises. Maybe that's considered rude.” (Riskillah, male student).

Meanwhile, externally, the negative stereotypes of the Madurese ethnic group are influenced by views from outside themselves or the Madurese ethnic group, namely from individuals or groups involved in interactions, either directly or indirectly, with the Madurese ethnicity. In addition, the formation of negative stereotypes for the Madurese ethnicity is externally influenced by the news by the mass media (newspapers, magazines, films, radio, television, internet). A number of informants in this study explained that external factors - the views of other people or groups and the mass media - have a big role in the process of forming negative stereotypes of Madurese people:

“The Javanese have a big role in the emergence of negative views towards the Madurese, because they actually only hear word of mouth, but not many see what the real reality is like in Madura. Maybe because they met a lot of overseas Madurese in Java who happened to also behave negatively, for example thugs or criminals. That is what eventually became the negative mark of the Madurese in their eyes.” (Wahyu, male student).

The negative stereotypical characters of the Madurese ethnicity that were found from in-depth interviews and documentation searches in this study were: stubborn, stiff, temperamental, lazy, dirty, vengeful, difficult to control, disrespectful of others, irritable, impatient, angry. , have a loud voice, don't know good manners, lack education, so it's easy to commit acts of violence. This negative stereotypical image of the Madurese people then spreads and can easily be found in daily conversations, mass media news, social media, anecdotes and humor, to popular culture products (especially novels and films).
Theoretically, stereotypes can be divided into two types, namely heterostereotype and autostereotype (Triandis, 1994; Matsumoto, 2003). Heterostereotype refers to stereotypes associated with other groups, while autostereotypes are stereotypes related to one's own objects. Stereotypes can also be divided into explicit stereotypes and implicit stereotypes (Aronson et al., 2002). Explicit stereotypes are a form of stereotypes that are aware of their existence, while implicit stereotypes are forms of stereotypes that are not aware of their existence and work in the subconscious.

Stereotypes are obtained through the learning process from various sources. First, from individuals or groups where social actors interact. In other words, social actors gain an understanding of stereotypes about themselves or others through the experiences of others. This occurs especially when social actors do not have direct experience of interacting with those who are the objects of the stereotype. Second, from personal experience. After interacting with certain individuals or groups (for example, certain ethnicities or races), a person then generalizes about the traits or characteristics possessed by that individual or group. Once the impression of the group is formed, then social actors tend to look for these traits or characteristics in every encounter with group members who are the objects of the stereotype. Third, from the mass media (newspapers, magazines, films, radio, television, internet). Social actors may gain knowledge about stereotypes about certain individuals or groups from the presentation of information in mass media (Fariyanti, 2015).

The negative stereotypes that have developed widely against the Madurese ethnicity in turn also influence the process of forming the identity construction of the Madurese. A number of studies show that the self-image and self-identity of the Madurese are more or less influenced by other ethnic views of them (de Jong, 1989; Wiyata, 2002; Rifai, 2005; Taufiqurrahman, 2007; Suryandari, 2015; 2017; Hidayat, 2019). In other words, although not all, the negative self-image embedded by other parties through this negative stereotyping practice in turn tends to become an inseparable part of the Madurese embodied identity.

The Madurese Positive Counter-Stereotypes

Apart from the negative stereotypes of the Madurese ethnicity, this study also found that the Madurese ethnic group actually has positive characteristics which have great potential to be developed as counter-stereotypes of the Madurese. As
with negative stereotypes, this positive view of the Madurese ethnic group also develops internally and externally. Internally, positive stereotypes of Madurese ethnicity are obtained through personal self-perceptions of Madurese ethnic individuals. Most of the informants in this study stated that the character of the Madurese people is actually not as much depicted in the mass media which tends to be negative. According to them, no different from other ethnic groups in Indonesia, the majority of Madurese ethnic groups living on the island of Madura actually have a positive attitude:

“Madurese have a strong worship; their religiosity is still high. Many children in Madura are enrolled in Islamic boarding schools by their parents, rather than going to public schools. His family is also close. They care for each other. Madurese can also be trusted, can hold their trust when given a mandate. Besides that, the Madurese are also known to be brave.” (Siti, female student).

In other words, the negative stereotypical views of the Madurese people arise because of the lack of intensity of interaction with other ethnic groups or ethnic Madurese who live on Madura Island.

Meanwhile, externally, the stereotypes of the Madurese ethnic were strongly influenced by the positive views of those outside the Madurese ethnic group. This positive view often comes from those who have had positive interactions with ethnic Madurese individuals, especially those who live on the island of Madura (not the overseas Madurese). In addition, although the intensity of the exposure is still limited, the formation of Madurese ethnic stereotypes externally is also heavily influenced by positive coverage in the mass media of certain individual figures with Madurese ethnic backgrounds. This positive news in turn helped build positive stereotypes about the Madurese ethnicity:

“If people outside Madura have lived in Madura, I mean that they have lived long enough on Madura Island, usually have a more positive view of the Madurese. There are more good Madurese than bad ones. There are also many figures in Indonesia who have Madurese ethnic backgrounds and are successful, for example Pak Mahfud MD (Indonesian minister).” (Mustaqimah, female student).

A number of positive characteristics of the Madurese ethnicity found through in-depth interviews in this study include: resilience, hardworking, never giving up, being brave, loyal friends, frugal, religious, obedient to parents, obedient to religious leaders, obedient to the government, maintaining self-esteem, loves family, adaptable, and has a high sense of solidarity with his ethnic group. Unfortunately, compared to the negative
Building the Madurese Counter-Stereotypes through Educational Interventions

This study found that efforts to change the negative image of the Madurese ethnic group and build positive stereotypes can be done through educational interventions. The world of education was the choice of most informants in this study because of the mass, structured and long-term nature of the world of education.

A number of studies have shown that stereotypes affect self-image, individual achievement, and the quality of intergroup relationships (Steele, 1995; Coleman et al., 1995; Kawai, 2005; Martens et al., 2006; Smith, 2008; Armenta, 2010; Block et al., 2011; Trytten et al., 2012; Thompson et al., 2016). In the context of education, Armenta (2010), for example, in her research shows that ethnic stereotypes, both positive (stereotype boost) and negative (stereotype threat), affect the academic achievement of students with certain ethnic identities. In her research on the influence of ethnic stereotypes on the academic performance of Asian-American and Latino students in the United States, she found that the positive 'minority model' stereotype improved the self-image and academic abilities of Asian American students. On the other hand, the negative stereotype of illegal immigrant families attached to
Latino students tends to reduce their self-image and academic abilities in school.

Efforts to instill positive values and stereotypes of the Madurese ethnicity can mainly be done through the provision of learning materials in the field of Citizenship studies. This is because in the citizenship subject, there is a discussion of national character and values for high school students:

“The most important thing for Madurese people is to improve education, so that those in remote areas or from the interior of Madura can have more open thoughts, can consider first and think before making a decision on an action. We also have to improve ourselves so that at least the outsiders know that the Madurese are not as bad as they think.” (Aldiansyah, male student).

In the context of this research, efforts to build counter-stereotypes of the Madurese ethnic include the characteristic aspects of cultural identity as conveyed by Collier (1994), namely: self-perception, both by oneself and by others, how to express oneself through identity symbols (for example language, proverbs, religion, social class, way of dress), the quality of cultural identity possessed, the affective, cognitive and behavioral components of individuals and groups, the relationship between cultural identities they have, and the intensity of cultural identity which is influenced by time and space.

More specifically, efforts to build counter-stereotypes of Madurese ethnicity through educational interventions are carried out at both theoretical and practical levels. Theoretically, the positive characteristics that exist in individuals of the Madurese ethnic group as described above -- resilient, hardworking, never give up, brave, loyal, thrifty, religious, obedient to parents, obedient to religious leaders, obedient to government, maintaining self-esteem, loving family, adaptability, and having a high sense of solidarity with their ethnic groups – must be continuously instilled in students through learning materials. Meanwhile, practically speaking, these positive characters must also be endeavored to become a student habitus in everyday life. This can be done through independent assignments for students as a complement to providing theoretical material in schools. Referring to Block et al. (2011) efforts to build counter-stereotypes can be carried out in four ways, namely invigoration, internal attributions, identity bifurcation, and assimilation. In the context of this research, invigoration was carried out by fighting negative stereotypes about the Madurese ethnic group that had already developed, and at the same time trying to display positive Madurese ethnic characteristics. In the practice of intervention in the world of education in Madura, this way of stiff
resistance can be done by way of students showing more academic achievement (positive character) as much as possible to fight stereotypes of the low level of education of the Madurese.

Meanwhile, the pattern of internal attributions is carried out by believing that the negative character stereotypes of the Madurese ethnic that are developing are not the social attributes of the Madurese, but are the attributes of the individual Madurese. In practice in the field of education, this can be done by instilling confidence in students that the stereotype of lazy Madurese does not originate from their ethnic background, but rather because of the personal nature of certain individuals who are lazy.

Furthermore, in the identity bifurcation pattern, efforts to build Madurese ethnic counter-stereotypes through the education sector are carried out by training students to reject or distance themselves from the negative identity of the Madurese ethnic group that has developed, and at the same time accepting the character of a positive ethnic identity.

Finally, efforts to build counter-stereotypes of the Madurese ethnic through assimilation techniques are carried out by training students to adopt the attitude/character identity of other ethnic groups (non-Madurese) which have been considered positive so far. These methods of assimilation can be in the form of social and cultural assimilation, for example the adoption of language, habits, and the attitude of other groups’ identities in everyday life that are viewed positively by the wider community.

CONCLUSION

Compared to other ethnic groups in Indonesia, the Madurese ethnic group is one of the ethnic groups that is often the victim of negative stereotypes. Negative views on the Madurese ethnicity are still widespread in Indonesia. The negative stereotypes attached to the Madurese ethnic have a number of negative consequences. These negative stereotypes affect the acceptance of the Madurese in social interactions and even in the world of work (Rifai, 2005). Negative stereotypes against the Madurese ethnic group also influence the formation of the Madurese self-image. Not a few Madurese accept their self-image negatively and view themselves and their ethnic groups with a lack of confidence. This way of looking at a negative self-image is certainly unhealthy and needs to be changed.

This study aims to describe the efforts to build a positive counter-stereotype for the Madurese ethnic by utilizing the rich base of Madurese ethnic cultural identity. The results of this study
indicate that the Madurese ethnic have positive cultural identity characteristics and are appropriate as a source of reference for the counter-stereotypes of the Madurese ethnicity. By proposing existing positive counter-stereotypes, especially through continuous educational interventions, it is hoped that the image and perception of the Madurese ethnic group will change and become increasingly positive.

The results of this study have strategic value both for the Madurese ethnic group in particular, as well as for other ethnic groups in general. For the Madurese ethnic group, the results of this study are expected to be a reference for practical efforts to change people's perceptions of the Madurese ethnicity, which has tended to be negative. Meanwhile, for other ethnic groups, the results of this study can be a model of how to change negative stereotypes based on ethnicity by utilizing a positive counter-stereotype model based on local cultural identities.

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