



Abstinence and Prohibition of Madurese in Indonesian Short Stories: A Critical Literary Ethnographic Perspective

Siswanto Siswanto^{1*}, Anas Ahmadi¹, Darni Darni¹, Heny Subandiyah¹

¹ Universitas Negeri Surabaya, Indonesia

*siswanto.23047@mhs.unesa.ac.id

Abstract. This paper discusses the existence of orality in modern Indonesian short stories from a critical literary ethnographic perspective. The orality referred to is taboos and prohibitions in Madurese culture, which are embodied in several short stories by Muna Masyari, namely Kandung Kembar, Burung Tua, and Pamengkang. The critical literary ethnographic approach in this research describes cultural articulations and provides space for critically interpreting and dismantling ideological operations. The results of this research show that there are three cultural orientations. First, there is a taboo and prohibition narrative about Madurese women, which has relevance to their social and spiritual construction. Second, self-esteem as a Madurese human being is also found in the text, especially taboos and prohibitions related to dignity as a man and husband. Third, the abstinence and prohibition narrative related to the role of Madurese women in ecological issues.

Keywords: Literary Ethnography, Critical Discourse, Madura, Abstinence Forbids, Self-Esteem, Ecological.

1 Introduction

It can be said that there is not much information about Madurese people in Indonesian prose narratives (short stories-novels). This is confirmed by the lack of literary works in the prose genre by writers from Madura which are not as massive as those published in the poetry genre. The Indonesian literary community clearly became acquainted with Madurese people when they read the novel *Earth of Mankind* by Toer [1] published by Lentera Nusantara. This character is named Darsam, this figure is visualized directly on the cover of the novel as a Madurese man who works for an Indonesian-Dutch family. You can clearly see the facial character and clothing style of a typical Madurese man who is working as a horse-drawn carriage driver, as the figure of Nyai Ontosoroh's loyal servant.

The development of prose in Madura is starting to show its existence by presenting narratives or issues of locality, gender, ecology, and so on. This phenomenon is interesting to discuss, at least to understand the mapping and development of Madurese

literature and culture from time to time. The material object of this research is based on a collection of short stories by Muna Masyari, namely *Kembang Selir* [2]. In general, Muna Masyari has succeeded in building stories with interesting, unique and paradox- ical Madurese human characters. The thematic orientation is dominated by narratives about gender, culture and environmental issues.

Based on initial observations of the four short stories, several Madurese cultural notes were found related to oral traditions, namely about *pantang larang* or *bittowa*. According to Jeferson [3], *pantang larang* or *pamali* (Sundanese) *bittowa* (Madura) is a concept of prohibition expressed by ancient people and is still a mystery. These sym- bolic expressions are usually heard from the speech of elders or older people (grand- parents) from generation to generation. *Pamali* is a belief held by almost all ethnic groups in Indonesia. *Pamali* is a unique belief that is easy to develop on the surface of society, although difficult to understand. However, according to Sabarudin [4] what is certain is that *pamali* has many benefits, for example for social control, education, and preserving the cultural values of the community that adheres to it.

The process of adapting oral tradition - *pantang larang/bittowa* Madura - in the short story above strengthens the opinion of Hippolyte Taine who claims that in essence a text or literary work is not a meteor that just falls to earth, but is the result that develops from a larger process namely a special social context that can be analyzed either from a cultural, economic, political or sociological perspective [5, p. 78]. This phenomenon will be discussed from a literary ethnographic perspective which will outline aspects of culture, customs and oral traditions in literary works. Meanwhile, the existence of Ma- dura *tabang hara ban* will be studied in critical discourse from an Ecofeminist perspec- tive [6] and van Leeuwen's [7] concept of legitimacy, specifically placing the text as a legitimate discourse.

This phenomenon is interesting to study from a critical ethnographic perspective. Ethnography is a description of a cultural group, namely how individuals in the group use their culture to interpret reality and construct social interactions between [8]. Mean- while, Spradley [9] declared that the culture is the whole knowledge learned by humans and used to interpret experiences and shape behavior. Furthermore, this study employs van Leeuwen's [7] theory of legitimacy to examine the underlying processes that rein- force or legitimize the discourse of abstinence and prohibition in Madurese culture Van Leeuwen's [7] critical discourse theory divides four main categories of legitimacy, with the hope that this can be useful for critically analyzing the construction of legitimacy in discourse and, more generally, for reflection on the problems facing legitimacy to- day, including authorization, moral evaluation , rationalization, mythopoesis.

1.1 Critical Ethnography

What I mean by "ethical responsibility" is a strong sense of responsibility and commit- ment based on moral principles of human freedom and well-being, and hence a sense of compassion for the suffering of living beings. The conditions for living in a given context are not what they are for certain subjects; as a result, the researcher feels a moral obligation to contribute to changing those conditions towards greater freedom and equality. According to Madison [16], critical ethnographers also take us beneath the

surface, disrupting the status quo and unsettling both neutrality and taken-for-granted assumptions by exposing the underlying and obscure operations of power and control.

What does “resisting domestication” mean for the critical ethnographer? It means that she will use her resources, skills and privileges to make accessible the voices and experiences of people whose stories are stifled and out of reach-to break through boundaries and break through barriers in self-defense. That is, critical ethnographers contribute to emancipatory knowledge and social justice discourse. According to Madison [16], the phrase “Knowledge is power” reflects on how narrow perceptions, limited ways of understanding, and uncritical thinking reduce the capacity to imagine alternative life possibilities; domestication will prohibit new forms of conflict management, and it will humiliate the foreigner and the country as distinct.

According to Madison [16], knowledge is a force relative to social justice as it guides and equips us to identify, name, question, and act against injustice; as a result, a researcher unsettles other layers of engagement. However, the researcher must now confess: there is something missing in my emphasis on the politics and politics of domestication resistance.

1.2 Legitimation Van Leeuwen Models

Recontextualization involves not only the transformation of social practices into discourses about social practices, but also the addition of context-specific legitimacy to those social practices, answers to the spoken and unspoken questions “Why should we do this?” or “Why should we do this in this way?”. Every discourse has a purpose, either directly or indirectly. Therefore, it is not enough to read the discourse textually, it must be able to uncover the ideology, the authorization behind the discourse. How can a discourse convince or transform its ideology? One of them is through legitimization. AWK van Leeuwen refers to several concepts about legitimacy, for example Karl Max Weber's statement that “Every system of authority seeks to build and foster confidence in its legitimacy,” he refers to this statement to explain and strengthen his argument about the discourse of legitimacy in the ongoing discourse operations.

Van Leeuwen's [7, p. 105-106] AWK theory divides four main categories of legitimacy, with the hope that these can be useful for critically analyzing the construction of legitimacy in discourse and, more generally, for reflection on the problems facing legitimacy today, including authorization, moral evaluation, rationalization, mythopoeisis. These forms of legitimation can occur separately or simultaneously. They can be used to legitimize, but also to delegitimize, to criticize. They can occupy the lion's share of certain texts and talk that may barely refer to what is being legitimized, or they can be scattered throughout detailed descriptive or prescriptive accounts of the practices and institutions they legitimize.

2 Methods

This research utilizes a qualitative framework to explore the experiences, perspectives, and history of individuals, with a focus on the narratives presented in short stories by Muna Masyari [2]. This approach seeks to understand the social world by exploring

people's experiences, perspectives and history [10]. It involves deep engagement and can answer questions that are difficult to answer using qualitative methods [11]. This type of research is well suited to studying human experience and meaning, and often provides results in words rather than numbers [12]. The use and assessment of qualitative research methods in the health sciences can be improved through the application of certain criteria and strategies [13].

The collection method is based on literary ethnography. The data analysis uses content analysis which can produce verbal answers to each research question [14]. The data that has been classified is then described, discussed and interpreted in accordance with the critical reading theory that has been determined, namely ecofeminism and van Leeuwen's discourse of legitimacy. Apart from that, critical ethnography studies social issues regarding power, empowerment, injustice, domination, repression, hegemony and oppression with other supporting theories, namely ecofeminism and van Leeuwen's concept of discourse legitimacy [15-17]. Data sources are short stories by Muna Masyari, namely *Kandung Kembar*, *Burung Tua*, and *Pamengkang* and relevant documents/library.

3 Results and Discussion

3.1 Abstinence and prohibition or *Bittowa Gher-ogher*

The *rokat pandhaba* tradition in Madurese culture still exists today. This tradition is similar to the *ruwatan sukerta* tradition in Javanese culture, namely salvation which aims to release negative energy in certain children with the Batara Kala mythology. In the view of the oral tradition, *rokat pandhaba* is included in the category of abstinence and prohibition of *bittowa gher-ogher*, which are ancestral teachings in the form of guidelines in the context of human existence or birth, from the womb until birth into the natural world [18]. As a *gher-ogher* (guideline/rule) of course it places the *rokat pandhaba* as a rite that only has a special purpose, for example only single Tiger children, Ontang-Anteng, wombs/twins, and so on which have been determined according to custom.

The narrative of Bittowa Gher-ogher's abstinence and prohibition in Madurese socio-culture is found in the short story entitled *Kandung Kembar* by Muna Masyari, the following are the excerpts.

(1) Do you still remember your mother-in-law's explanation when you asked why the rokat was done?

"So that our fetuses both grow healthy and are born safely! There is no "losing" one of them." [2, p. 10]

(2) Taking off your sandals in front of many people means letting your posture betray you and you will be nothing more than a dwarf chicken.

"No! I'm not used to walking without sandals!" you firmly refuse. [2, p. 12]

This short story presents an emotional narrative related to the *rokat pandhaba* ritual as an expression of gratitude for the gift of twins in the womb. Muna Masyari explained in quite detail the procedures for saving someone who is pregnant with twins, not forgetting the offerings and taboos during the *rokat* procession. Apart from that, this short story also presents a cultural conflict, namely the existence of conflicting discourses in viewing the existence of *rokat*. Through the main character, the presentation conveys critical voices regarding the *rokat* ritual, both from a religious and ethical perspective between different generations. The main character is told that he refused when asked to take off his footwear during the twin birth procession. As a result, this attitude caused a lot of polemics both within the nuclear family and residents who witnessed it. In the end, the main character becomes the source of disaster when the child she is carrying miscarries a few days after the *rokat* ritual takes place. At the end of this short story, it is told that a woman who is pregnant with twins experiences a serious accident which has fatal consequences for the fetus in her womb. This is assumed to be because it violates the prohibition on wearing sandals during the *rokat* ritual procession.

This narrative at least leaves several notes, first, there were efforts to silence women's voices in the name of customs, for example when they were asked to remove their footwear during the *rokat* bathing procession. Second, women are assumed to be the source of disaster because they are unable to look after themselves. It should be seen that this phenomenon can be interpreted from various perspectives, medical, for example, it is known that the main character becomes pregnant when she is 8 years old at marriage. Indirectly, there are indications that their reproductive system and mental health need to be given proper attention, rather than being burdened with narratives or excessive gossip due to criticism of customs.

This short story indirectly builds legitimacy using the Mythopoesis model, namely legitimacy conveyed through narratives whose results reward legitimate actions and punish illegal actions according to the value system [7]. This is strengthened by the mythological basis of the *rokat* ritual, namely as a form of effort to avoid negative energy in another term called *Batara Kala*, as in the sentence "So that our fetuses will both grow healthy and be born safely!". So, it can be concluded that the *tabang hara* or *bittowa* narrative does not only contain noble words that underlie a nation's socio-cultural interactions in a wiser direction. However, in its development there are things that are mutually respected and understood so that there are no attempts or attitudes to impose what one believes on other people.

3.2 Abstinence and prohibition or *Bittowa Bâbâlân*

Every ethnic group in the archipelago has noble advice or speech in conveying good values to its people. For example, Madurese and Javanese people believe and believe in the months of Suro (Java), Sora (Madura), Muharram (the first month of the Javanese/Islamic calendar). This month has a special place both in Islam and in the beliefs of Javanese and Madurese people. In the Koran and Hadith of the Prophet it is explained that the month of Muharram is included in the 4 noble months, and in the Javanese-Madurese Islamic tradition the month of Suro/Sora is a turning point (oasis) of spirituality. For example, Serat Centini presented a taboo and prohibition narrative that it is not permissible to hold a wedding in the month of Suro/Sora, if this is not paid attention

to, the bridal couple will experience a lot of bad luck and negative things in building their household. A similar abstinence and prohibition narrative is also found in Madurese socio-culture which is found in the short story entitled *Bubur Sura*, the following are the excerpts.

- (3) "Why does every Sura Ibu always cook porridge?" one day I asked that.
 "To ward off evil, because Sura is the fateful month!" he explained. [2, p. 73]

In terms of thematic orientation, this short story raises things that are similar to the short story entitled *Burung Tua* which tells the story of *Bubur Safar*, the only difference is in the cultural, spiritual and mythological value base which underlies it is tied to the Sura Moon or Suro in Javanese culture. The narrative of taboos and prohibitions in Madurese socio-culture is found in the short story entitled *Burung Tua*, the following are the ex- cerpts.

- (4) During the month of Safar, every day, someone comes to deliver a plate or two of *Tajin Sappar* to this house. Another time, your mother helped out at a neighbor's house who was cooking similar *tajin*.

- (5) "You can give rice alms at any time, you don't have to wait for *Bhulan Sappar*!" [2, p. 27]

These two short stories present the narrative of *pantang larang bittowa bâbâlân* which is one of the mechanisms for transforming the local wisdom of Madurese society in educating and developing ethics in everyday life. *Bâbâlân* in the general sense is advice or wise advice in acting in society. Muna Masyari [2] adapted Madurese oral traditions about the sacredness of the month of Sora. This is reinforced by the dialogues in the short story which confirm that in the months of Sora and Safar there are rites that must be carried out in those months. For example, every family in Madura makes Suro/Sora porridge as an effort to repel negative and unfortunate things. Likewise, the tradition of the month of Safar is also to make Safar porridge with the aim of avoiding life's mis- fortunes. In another perspective, the month of Suro/Sora is also associated with the Karbala tragedy, this war event resulted in the killing of the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, Hussein Ibn Ali.

In the context of critical reading, there are at least several things that need to be considered in these two short stories. First, the abstinence and prohibition discourse in Madurese culture, which takes the form of religious-based traditions, tends to be rigid and there is no room for dialogue or negotiation, especially for women. Muna Masyari, through this short story, wants to voice that there are unhealthy gender relations in ritual activities that take place in her community. This can be observed in the dialogue quote "...swallowing rice in your mouth, it feels like swallowing coir." [2].

Second, Madurese people have several traditions that are tied to social values in religion, for example almsgiving or Safar porridge. This short story presents how to solve problems from differences in views of tradition. The tradition of *ater tajin* Safar and *tajin Sora* has been going on for a long time in Madurese society and ultimately gives

rise to social sanctions if it is not carried out. This short story shows that in this tradition there is a message of togetherness, brotherhood and strong kinship in the Madurese community. For example, the process of making Safar porridge doesn't have to be made yourself, you can just order it or cook it together in a neighbor's kitchen. The substance is to strengthen ties between neighbors or relatives.

The legitimation process that operates in the *pantang larang bittowa bâbâlan* discourse in the short stories *Burung Tua* and *Bubur Sura* can be classified as role model authorization legitimacy. An authorization strategy of legitimation can be interpreted as meaning that there is a strengthening process that refers to the authority of traditions, customs, laws, and/or people who have institutional authority. The concept of authorization is divided into several parts. role model authority, In the case of role model authority, people follow the example of a role model or opinion leader. Role models may be members of a peer group or media celebrities who are imitated from afar, and the fact that these role models adopt certain behaviors, or believe certain things, is enough to legitimize the actions of their followers, van Leeuwen [7]. Whatever the case, it is clear that in terms of legitimacy in the abstinence and prohibition discourse it is faced with a choice between morality and authority. And it is also clear that in reflecting on the crisis of legitimacy, it is necessary to consider not only legitimacy, but also especially the complex relationship between social practices and the discourse that legitimizes them, in this case the social strata of Madurese society. The tradition of celebrating during the months of Suro/Sora and Safar is a form of respect for ancestors who have taught them wisdom (*bittowa bâbâlan*) in living life in society.

3.3 Abstinence and prohibition or *Bittowa Pantangan*

The short story entitled *Pamengkang* presents *bittowa* taboos with the main issues focused on gender and ecological conflict. The explicit message we want to convey to readers is that Madura is not only faced with socio-economic problems, but also serious problems, namely gender inequality and ecological problems. The discourse built by Muna Masyari [2], depicting the side of Madurese women who are the last bastion of protecting the natural/environmental ecosystem, is rarely paid attention to by female writers who write prose. These efforts are in line with the concept of social construction Ecofeminism, ecofeminism rejects the assumed inferiority of women and nature, as well as the assumed superiority of men and culture. This thinking is western dichotomy thinking that must be destroyed. According to Dinnersaein [19, p. 384], the emergence of the property industry or housing business has created a dilemma. On the other hand, there is economic growth, while on the other hand, there are environmental aspects that are ignored, namely the reduction in productive land due to changing functions. Such a narrative is found in the short story entitled *Pamengkang*, the following are the excerpts.

(6) "Selling inherited land, let alone *pamengkang*, will never make our lives prosperous!" you said

"The ones that were there actually got hit by the plague!" continued the grandmother, nodding in agreement

(7) Inherited land is heritage that must be cared for and guarded [2, p. 68]

The abstinence and prohibition narrative in the short story excerpt above raises the issue of gender and ecological conflict in a paradigmatic way that can be said to be ecofeminism. The existence of land in several cultures is indeed interesting to discuss, both from a formal legal perspective and from a spiritual and cultural perspective. Warren [20], one of the main proponents of ecofeminism, describes ecofeminism as feminism that uses gender analysis to describe, analyze, and resolve the various ways in which the unjustified domination of women and other subordinate human groups (other humans) is justified and historically interconnected with the unjustified domination of 'nature' (nonhuman animals and nonhuman environments). Based on observations of the short story text, several narratives of gender and ecological relations were found. First, namely the exploitation of nature, especially regarding "heritage land" which must be "cared for and guarded". This shows the exploitation of nature which is considered a resource that can be taken advantage of without considering environmental sustainability. Ecofeminism sees a connection between nature and women, where both are often objects of exploitation. In the text, when "inherited land" is discussed, there is also discussion of money and position, which can be seen as symbols of male domination over nature and women.

Culturally, Madurese people believe that inherited land (*tana sangkolan*) is something sacred, especially within traditional families. There is an expression "*Tana sangkolan jek juel, matak posang nak potonah*" (Inherited land should not be sold, so that children and grandchildren are not lost), the diction "lost" can be interpreted in many ways, including loss of hope for economic resources, loss of a uniting entity in the family as a sign of the kinship system, the last myth is that inherited land can have fatal consequences for the seller which impacts other aspects. This is how the Madurese people interpret it in protecting and placing "land", not only as a place to live but also as a node of brotherhood and a source of spirituality in everyday life.

Second, there are acts of marginalization of women. In the quote from the short story text, there is the phrase "Not everyone has an opportunity like this. The salary is quite large." This shows that there is gender inequality, where men tend to enjoy better opportunities and income. Muna Masyari [2] built a hidden ideology to convey criticism of the patriarchal system. Implicitly, this text can be seen as a criticism of the patriarchal system which places men as holders of power and resources, while women and nature are objects that can be utilized. Overall, this text can be seen as a reflection of the inequality and exploitation that occurs in society, which can be analyzed more deeply from an ecofeminist perspective.

Ecofeminism is a theory and social movement concerned with the nature and practices of oppression in all forms of oppression. Feminist communication scholar Wood [21] stated that ecofeminists believe that domination and oppression are wrong actions and destroy all forms of life. For ecofeminists, oppression itself, not specific oppression, is the central issue. They believe that, as long as oppression remains culturally valuable, it will be imposed on anyone and anything who is unable or unable to resist. Therefore, the oppression of women is best understood as a specific instance of an overarching cultural ideology that idolizes oppression in general.

4 Conclusion

This research found several abstinence and prohibition concepts in Madurese social culture contained in three short story titles by Muna Masyari. First, the abstinence and prohibition or *bittowa gher-ogher* which is a guide to the traditions and customs of the Madurese people. Second, the abstinence and prohibition or *bittowa bâbâlân* is a norm strategy for regulating attitudes in daily life interactions. Third, the abstinence and pro- hibition or *bittowa pantangan* is a social control strategy in guarding and protecting against negative things. So, it can be concluded that *pantang larang / bittowa* in Madu- rese culture has relevance to its spirituality, worldview and socio-cultural attitudes.

References

1. P. A. Toer, *Bumi Manusia*. Jakarta: Lentera Dipantara, 2011.
2. M. Masyari, *Kembang Selir*. Yogyakarta: Diva Press, 2023.
3. J. Jeferson, "Pamali Dalam Masyarakat Dayak Meratus Kecamatan Hampang Kabupaten Kotabaru (Pamali In Dayak Meratus Community In Hampang District, Kotabaru Regency)," *Jurnal Bahasa, Sastra dan Pembelajarannya*, vol. 12, no. 1, 2022.
4. S. Sabaruddin, B. Risa, and I. Amiruddin, "Analisis Kepercayaan Pamali Pada Tindakan Sosial Masyarakat Bugis Di Desa Sampano," *Jurnal Sosioreligius*, vol. 8, no. 2, 2023.
5. A. Swingewood and D. Laurenson, *The Sociology of Literature*. London: Paladin Press, 1972.
6. D. Candraningrum and A.I.R. Hunga, *Ekofeminisme III: Tambang, Perubahan Iklim & Memori Rahim*. Yogyakarta: Jalasutra Press, 2015.
7. T. Van Leeuwen, *Discourse and Practice: New Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
8. R. Kriyantono, "Etnografi (Deskriptif & Kritis)," 2013. [Online]. Available: <http://rachmat-kriyantono.lecture.ub.ac.id/files/2013/12/ETNOGRAFI.pdf>. [Accessed: Jan. 13, 2024].
9. J.P. Spradley, *Metode Etnografi*, 2nd ed., Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2007.
10. U. Kemparaj and S. Chavan, "Qualitative research: a brief description," *Indian Journal of Medical Sciences*, vol. 67, no. 3, p. 89-98, 2013.
11. J. Sargeant, "Qualitative Research Part II: Participants, Analysis, and Quality Assurance," *Journal of Graduate Medical Education*, vol. 4, no. 1, p. 1-3, 2012. [Online]. Available: <https://doi.org/10.4300/JGME-D-11-00307.1>. [Accessed: Jan. 14, 2024].
12. W.B. Stiles, "Qualitative Research: Evaluating the Process and the Product," *onlinelibrary.wiley.com*, 2005. [Online]. Available: doi.org/10.1002/0470013389.ch24. [Accessed: Jan. 14, 2024]
13. L. Busetto, W. Wick, and C. Gumbinger, "How To Use And Assess Qualitative Research Methods," *Neurological Research and Practice*, vol. 2, no. 14, 2020. [Online]. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1186/s42466-020-00059-z>. [Accessed: Jan. 12, 2024].
14. K. Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc., 2004.
15. J. Creswell and T.C. Guetterman, *Educational Research: Planning, Conducting, and Evaluating Quantitative and Qualitative Research*, 6th ed., London: Pearson, 2018.
16. S. Madison, "Introduction to Critical Ethnography," in *Critical Ethnography*. New York: Sage Publication, 2004. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-61779-968-6>.

17. J. Thomas, *Doing Critical Ethnography: Beginning to Think Critically*. New York: Sage Publications, 1993. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412983945.n2>.
18. A. Sofyan, "Bittowa dalam Masyarakat Etnik Madura (Bittowa in Madurese Ethnic Society)," *Webinar HISKI Jember*, 2022. [Accessed: Oct. 27, 2022].
19. R.P. Tong, *Feminist Thought: A More Comprehensive Introduction*, 2nd ed., Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2006.
20. K.J. Warren, *Ecofeminist Philosophy: A Western Perspective on What It is and Why It Matters*. UK: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000.
21. J.T. Wood, *Gendered lives: Communication, gender, and culture*, 6th ed., Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2005.

Open Access This chapter is licensed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>), which permits any noncommercial use, sharing, adaptation, distribution and reproduction in any medium or format, as long as you give appropriate credit to the original author(s) and the source, provide a link to the Creative Commons license and indicate if changes were made.

The images or other third party material in this chapter are included in the chapter's Creative Commons license, unless indicated otherwise in a credit line to the material. If material is not included in the chapter's Creative Commons license and your intended use is not permitted by statutory regulation or exceeds the permitted use, you will need to obtain permission directly from the copyright holder.

