

# KOBHUNG, GENDER, AND RELIGION: HUSBAND AND WIFE POWER RELATIONS IN MADURESE CULTURE

## KOBHUNG, GENDER, DAN AGAMA: RELASI KUASA SUAMI-ISTERI DALAM BUDAYA MADURA



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### Abstract

One of the uniqueness of the Madurese community until now is the concept of *kobhung* which has become an important place for religious activities and oversees the activities of family members. Although there are other functions, namely the economic and social functions played by the *kobhung*. This research discusses the role of *kobhung* among Madura culture; whose position is in the west (qibla) *taneyan lanjheng* (long yard) in each residential area. It functions as a center for male (husband) activity to transfer religious values to their children or their wives. On the other hand it functions as a symbol of supervision and control (*panopticon*) of family members, especially men (husbands) over women (wives). This is legitimized by the patriarchal tradition in the Madurese community which is reflected in the concepts of *bhupa'*, *bhabhu*, *ghuru*, *rato* that was very thick. This concept is a referential standard of Madurese compliance with hierarchical main figures. Therefore, this research outlines the cultural dynamics and the efforts of the wives in positioning themselves during patriarchal culture. This research is more into the qualitative type of phenomenology that looks at the dynamics of the husband-wife relationship through the role of *kobhung*. The data collection used was interview and observation techniques; while data analysis used the interactive analysis by Miles and Hubermann. This research found that women in *Panagguan* cannot be separated from the concept of "three-action", among others: *adhandhan*, *arembi'*, and *amassa'* (taking care of themselves, giving birth, and cooking). This concept is a manifestation of the devotion to the family which is believed to be natural (destiny). Therefore, they don't sue at all; they even received gracefully about their role in the household.

**Keywords:** *Kobhung*, *Taneyan Lanjheng*, and *Panopticon*

### Abstraks:

Salah satu keunikan masyarakat Madura sampai saat ini adalah konsep *kobhung* yang menjadi tempat penting untuk aktivitas keagamaan maupun mengawasi aktivitas anggota keluarga. Walaupun ada fungsi lain yaitu fungsi ekonomi maupun sosial yang dimainkan oleh *kobhung* tersebut. Riset ini membahas peran *kobhung* di tengah kebudayaan Madura; yang posisinya berada di sebelah Barat (kiblat) *taneyan lanjheng* (halaman panjang) di setiap permukiman penduduk. Ia berfungsi sebagai pusat aktivitas laki-laki (suami) untuk melakukan transfer nilai religi kepada anak-anak atau isteri mereka. Di sisi lain, ia juga sebagai simbol pengawasan dan kontrol (*panopticon*) keluar-masuk anggota keluarga, terutama laki-laki (suami) atas perempuan (istri). Hal ini terlegitimasi oleh tradisi patriarkal di masyarakat Madura yang tercermin dalam konsep *bhupa'*, *bhabhu*, *ghuru*, *rato* sangat kental. Konsep ini merupakan sebuah *referential standard* kepatuhan masyarakat Madura terhadap figur-figur utama secara hierarkis. Oleh sebab itu, riset ini mengurai dinamika budaya dan upaya istri dalam memposisikan diri mereka di tengah budaya patriarkhi. Riset ini lebih masuk pada jenis kualitatif fenomenologi yang meneropong dinamika relasi suami-istri tersebut melalui peran *kobhung*. Koleksi data yang digunakan adalah tehnik interview dan observasi; sedangkan analisis data memakai analisis interaktif Miles dan Hubermann. Riset ini menemukan bahwa perempuan di *panagguan* tidak bisa lepas dari konsep "tri aksi", antara lain: *adhandhan*, *arembi'*, dan *amassa'* (merawat diri, melahirkan, dan memasak). Konsep ini merupakan wujud dari pengabdian dirinya atas keluarga yang diyakini sebagai kodrat (takdir). Karenanya, mereka sama sekali tidak menggugat; bahkan ia menerima dengan lapang dada tentang perannya di dalam rumah tangga.

**Kata Kunci:** *Kobhung*, *Taneyan Lanjheng*, dan *Panoptikon*

## INTRODUCTION

As a conception that exists in human life, marriage is considered sociologically as a social institution that gives legitimacy and recognition to male and female partners and their children (Fairchild, 1966:257; Huda, 2018). One domain that gets attention is about the pattern of settling after marriage (post-marital residence); which is the implication of a social organization system in the family, such as the distribution of power in the family, especially the power distribution of husband and wife (Murdock, 1949:221-222; Moravec, et. al., 2018). This pattern is known as *the main sequence of kinship theory* (Fox, 1967:1; Naroll, 1970). However, different patterns of settling after marriage will result in different patterns of power. As in matrilocal residence patterns, matriarchal power relations will be found; or vice versa if patriarchal residency is to be found patriarchal power relations.

Some research shows the validity of the theory, such as research on the pattern of the matrilocal residence conducted by Sear (2008) and Phiri (1983) in the Chewa community -a region in Malawi, Africa. They found that women in this area remained with their mothers after marriage and inherited land to be managed together with their husbands and children. Thus, a husband becomes a subordinate member and depends on a family due to the application of matriarchal authority and matrilocal marriage norms (Njunga & Blystad, 2010). In other parts of the country namely in the Pumé, Venezuela (Kramer & Greaves, 2011), Cham communities in the Mekong Delta, Vietnam (Yamamoto (Edit.), 2008:7-23), some regions in Thailand (Foster, 1975; Kamnuansilp & Cowgill, 1980; Potter, 1977), and also in India, such as

Nair, Mappila in Kerala, tribal groups on the islands of Minicoy, Kashi, Jaintia, and Garo in Meghalaya (Das, 2001; Kapadia, 1966), as well as the Minangkabau people, West Sumatra, Indonesia (Quisumbing & Otsuka, 2001; Hadler, 2010). On the other hand, some communities practice patrilocal residence patterns with patriarchal power patterns. This pattern occurs almost in all human communities and even reaches 70% (Burton, et. al., 1996). One of them appeared in the Muslim community and a small part of the Santal community, Bangladesh. Through this series of patterns, after marriage, each woman moves to the husband's house or the husband's father's house and occupies a subordinate position in a family due to the application of patriarchal authority (Uddin, 2008; Uddin, 2009). The same pattern also occurs in the Bedouin community in Egypt (Abu-Lughod, 1993), in the Batak community, North Sumatra, Indonesia (Vergouwen, 1964), or several other regions.

Changes in *post-marital residence* have also led to changes in power patterns as has happened in the Garo community in India. Initially, the Garo population was a matrilineal-matriarchal tribe, but the existence of urbanization, education, and employment caused a change in residency patterns after marriage. There are around 32% of couples who prefer patrilocal residence patterns so that they can shift or encourage changes in the pattern of power from matriarchal to patriarchal (Sikdar, 2009). The same thing happened in the Pueblo Bonito Society in Chaco Canyon, Mexico (Eggan, 1950; Schillaci & Stojanowski, 2003). However, this pattern does not always undergo dynamic and massive changes through local cultural settings.

In Madura, *post-marital residence* adheres to the pattern of matrilineal residence (Wiyata, 2002:44; Kuntowijoyo, 2002:61) resulting in a *tanéyan lanjhang* pattern (Jonge, 1989:14) with a *kobhung* building at the west end (Heng & Kusuma, 2013). Notwithstanding the *main sequence kinship theory*, in this matrilineal residence pattern, the ruling party is a man or husband (Mansoor, 1990:91) with a patriarchal pattern of power. That is, in this matrilineal residence pattern adheres to the *male-dominant* type of power, so that the power, especially in decision making, is in the hands of the husband. Even the power of the husband is reflected in the concept of *bhupa'-bhabhu-ghuru-rato* which is a *referential standard* of Madura compliance with the main figures in a hierarchical manner. That is, this concept implies a hierarchy of figures that must be respected and obeyed, starting from the father, mother, teacher, and finally the queen (government).

The placement of the term *bhupa* (father) at the beginning of the chain of obedience in the concept of *bhupa-bhabhu-ghuru-rato*, is structurally caused by the position of the father himself. This position can be traced through the family and kinship system of the Madura community which tends to be asymmetrical. In this case, Neihof, as quoted by Sidiq (in Soegianto (Edit.) 2003:103) said, in the lineage, the female lineage (*pancer biné'*) was considered non-existent. The children of a father, although born by several mothers (*tarétan sapancer*) are said to be closer than the children of a thousand of several fathers (*tarétan dhângaso*). After the new male position, the placement of *bhabhu'* (mother) is second; this position cannot be separated from the problems of women who are under the hegemony

of men. This hegemony is also massively and systemically designed in the form of culture, including through the building of *kobhung* which functions to control, regulate, and preserve patriarchal values.

Based on the latent functions of the *kobhung*, there has been a lot of research produced by academics such as Nor Hasan's (2008) research examining the function of the *kobhung* in the Madura community as forming a Madura generation that is firm in tradition, has a noble spirit, respect and courtesy, and a strong sense of ownership and responsibility for the country. Looking on research from Jeckhi Heng & Aji Bayu Kusuma (2013) which focused on the position of the *langgar (kobhung)* as a sacred space in Madura, according to him, the *langgar* in Madura serves as a center for male activity, namely the transfer of religious values, a place to work during the day, a place to receive guests, a place to rest and sleep for men, a place to perform daily rituals, and a warehouse for agricultural products. As well as research by Ayu Indeswari, et al. (2013) which elaborates on the pattern of shared space in overseas Madura settlements in Malang City. This research concludes, *langgar (kobhung)* is one of the common spaces in *taneyan lanjhang*; which serves as a place to share information between family members or close neighbors.

Based on the description, this research tries to parse the existence of *kobhung* in its role for the patriarchal power relations behavior of the husband and wife. Therefore, this research also focuses on revealing the other side of the existence of *kobhung* for the behavior and psychology of the wives in Madura towards attitude, action, and power of obedience for their husbands.

## METHODS

Because this research focused on the religious actions of Madurese women within the framework of adherence to the patriarchal system. It is common for this research to use a qualitative approach as a research design; with this type of phenomenological research. This research approach and type were chosen because this research aims to capture the meaning (*meaning*) or to understand the symptoms, events, facts, events, or realities regarding socio-religious and humanitarian events of Madurese women with the complexity of patriarchal culture in depth. That is, these approaches and types are used as research fields that focus on phenomenological-naturalistic, so this research tries to explain or uncover the meaning of concepts, phenomena, or experiences based on the religious awareness of women in Madura society. It even reveals the meaning of religious attitudes and behaviors that naturally occur to Madurese women individually.

This research was conducted in Panagguan Village, Proppo District, Pamekasan Regency from October 2018 to August 2019. The data collection used were two, namely interview and observation techniques. Interview techniques used are unstructured, but these interviews remain centered on a particular subject. This technique is carried out openly following the nature of qualitative research that is *open-ended* and addressed to certain informants who are considered to be informants and regular informants. While the observation technique is participant observation is used to complete and test the results of interviews given by informants who have not been comprehensive and have not been able to describe all kinds of situations or even deviated.

To analyzing the data, researchers have Miles and Hubermann's interactive data analysis. Through data analysis of this model, researcher can examine, organize, and divide data into units that can be managed, synthesize, look for patterns, and find the meaning behind phenomena. It is even possible to research and decide on the basic framework for reporting data comprehensively and systematically.

## DISCUSSION

### *Kobhung* as the Patriarchate Hegemonic Panopticon

The power system is a structured work order and determines one's position over others through its existence in a dominant, sub-dominant, or equivalent position. In Panagguan Village, Proppo Subdistrict, Pamekasan District -hereinafter written DP3- has a patriarchal power pattern between husband and wife. This means that the husband has dominant power over his wife, but this dominance is considered as part of their religious values. Indeed the influence of Islam in the DP3 region is very strong, especially in creating culture. Indeed, the strength of the Islamic religious culture that is found in the mainstream of Madurese society indirectly implies the strength of the Islamic religious rules that bind their lives starting from family life and social life. Madurese often conclusively says that Madurese is one hundred percent Muslim and none of the Madurese are non-Muslim. Even if there are non-Muslims, they can be sure that they are newcomers. In one of Khoiri's research, it was stated that between Islam and the local culture of the Madurese community there had been acculturation; and this can be seen from the cultural order of the

Madurese community or the mosque or palace building.

Included in the marriage patterns context that grows in Madurese society is the acculturation pattern of Islamic religious interpretation that is integrated with the local culture. One of Taufiqurrahman's research (2007) stated that Islam as a formal doctrine that was believed and guided in the lives of Madurese ethnic individuals did not always show linearity in their attitudes, positions, and behavior patterns. It is the common if the paradigmatic in the DP3 community are men as leaders for women; following the normative message of Islam. Therefore, he is responsible for the living expense starting from clothing, food, and shelter for themselves, their children, and their wives. The paradigm is strongly embedded in the DP3 community through the justification of the verses of the Qur'an and the Hadith which suggest the existence of male supremacy over women. Therefore, women submit to and obey men as a cultural message that is wrapped in religious orders. It even applies in certain aspects of worship, such as the implementation of the *sunnah* fasting, a wife must first obtain permission from her husband. If her husband does not give permission and she continues to fast, then she can be seen as having sinned. The implication is that the attitude of "obeying a husband is obligatory, and must take precedence over the *sunnah* fasting". This is inseparable from the religious attitude of Madurese women who consider this obedience to be God's command. It is common for them to have an ethical principle that God has made a husband as a leader, while his wife and children are like the people who must obey their leaders. This is what

was said in Sa'dah (2016) and Hamdi's (2018) research as collaboration between Madura's traditional law and Islamic law.

This is recognized by the majority of DP3 people, obedience to husbands is a very important joint in maintaining the integrity of the household. Obedience to husbands is also based on theological awareness, if they have shortcomings and are not the same as men. One of the religious leaders stressed that men are leaders for women because God has overestimated some of the men over women and he is spending their wealth on women. On the other hand, there is also a doctrine that states that men are actors who regulate the etiquette of women because God has superior men with the perfection of reason, skill, sharpness of thought, strong in work and obedience. On that basis, they are devoted to carrying the prophetic, priestly, and guardian positions to uphold *Shi'ar* (the religion of God).

All of the hegemonic frameworks in the DP3 community, in essence, have begun to suffer from the moment men and women got married. Seeing the traditions in DP3 society, besides giving dowry, men are required to give certain items to the women at the time of their marriage. Indeed normatively, in the Maliki, Shafi'i, and Hambali *madzhab*, it is stated that dowry is something that must be paid to wife so that the wife becomes lawful to have intercourse with (Dahlan, 2001:1042). Therefore, the *madzhab's* scholars agree that the wife has the right to refuse intercourse before the dowry is paid (Mughniyah, 1996:370). The opinion of the Fiq'h *madzhab* raises the view of the DP3 community that the dowry is interpreted as an intermediary for *halal* conduct for sexual relations

between husband and wife. They even grasp the idea of the marriage contract as ownership, namely the husband's ownership of his wife because he had paid a certain amount of dowry to his wife.

Indeed there are some *madzhab* that view ownership contracts as a logical consequence of marriage. One of them is the Hanafi's *madzhab* which allows marriage contracts to use *lafadz al-tamlík* (ownership), *al-hibah* (submission), and *al-bay'* (sale) (Mughniyah, 1996:309). This view also raises the extreme implications that dowry is the purchase of a wife by a husband (Shihab, 2006:204). However, some contemporary 'scholars reject this view, like Shihab. He sees dowry as a symbol of the readiness and willingness of a husband to provide birth to his wife and children. El-Fadl (in Budiman, 2011) also rejects that view; he sees that if a dowry misinterpreted as the purchase of women, it will give the impression that if marrying a woman needs to be done in three ways, namely being held captive, confiscated, and/or purchased.

This view of the obligation to give dowry, at a certain level in DP3, is interpreted as a substantial Islamic doctrine. Even though he was influenced by pre-Islamic traditions which placed and made dowry as a reward given to female guardians because he had taken care and raised her; even on the one hand, it is considered as a reward due to the risk of losing his role in the family (Mutahhari, 1985:167). Therefore, in this context, dowry is interpreted as the purchase price of a woman from her guardian, so that the woman belongs to her husband completely (Hirsch & Wardlow (Edit.), 2006:17; Nanda, 2019). This DP3 community reasoning is seen from an anthropological perspective

placing dowry as another form of buying and selling transactions in the form of compensation for losses suffered by female family members due to the loss of some supporting factors in the family such as labor or reduced level of fertility in the group.

This view finally gave rise to the hegemonic tradition of women which was legitimized by understanding patriarchal religion. Therefore, the DP3 community-building layout framework is very closely linked to the pattern of supervision of women. One of them is *kobhung* who acts as a *panopticon* in the relations of power between husband and wife with patriarchal power patterns. In the DP3 community, a cluster of houses consists of several masses with specific space functions, namely *roma* (room), *kobhung*, *dhapor* (kitchen), *pakeban* (latrine), *somor* (well) and *kandhang* (cage). All of their houses face south (*lao'*) (Houses in Madura that generally face South are proof, the ancestors of Madurese people came from the North (China). *Lao'* can be interpreted as a symbol of salvation, because in the course of history the Chinese people who became ancestors of the Madurese people had received a threat of danger that came from the interior in the North (Tim Penulis Sejarah Sumenep, 2003:24-25)) with the westernmost building occupied by parents or youngest daughter -later she will own the house if her parents have passed away. In the east part is occupied by their siblings, each of which houses in front of him there is a kitchen, a cage and *pakeban*. In the west, *kobhung* is built as a place for men, in this case, the head of the family or where the husband lives.

*Kobhung* became the complementary unit or even the most important element in the yard or open space of the DP3

community. Arrangement of the building mass in such a way that forms an open space in the community is called *tanèan lanjhang*. The establishment of this settlement was preceded by the main house called *tonghuh*, a forerunner or ancestral home of a family and equipped with *kobhung*, cage, and kitchen. If a family has children who are wedded, especially girls, the parents will or even have to make a house for her and it usually placed east of their house. This group of settlements is called *pamengkang*; and will develop into *koren* until *tanèan lanjhang*. This building arrangement also continues to grow from time to time to form the arrangement of houses facing each other. The structure of this building, in Rahman & Selviyanti's (2018) research, is influenced by the social stratification of the community.

*Kobhung* in *tanèan lanjhang* is at the western end (*qibla*) and functions as a center of male activity to transfer religious value to his generation as described in Rahem's (2017) research. It also functions as a workplace during the day; receiving a guests; resting place, and used to perform daily rituals and even as a warehouse for agricultural products. With *kobhung* in the west, a house in the north and kitchen, *pakeban*, and cage in the south or in front of the house, it helps for husbands to supervise their wives. Through *kobhung* the husband can control the activities of his wife and other people into the cluster, because the entrance and the exit of the cluster are usually located in the west, precisely in the south or north *kobhung*. Husband supervision is increasingly massive and more effective because the front of the *kobhung* is closed, leaving only the in and out door of the *kobhung*. With *kobhung* architecture like that, the husband can see how is the situation outside, but

people outside *kobhung* cannot see the inside. More specifically, the wife does not know the situation in *kobhung*, whether her husband is in it or not. Therefore, the wife will feel constantly monitored by her husband; and this indicates *kobhung* being a panopticon.

Illustratively, the eight-square panopticon building is surrounded by a wall with a tower in the middle. On the edge, there is a circular building which is a holding cell with two windows open with iron bars. One window leads inward until it is clearly visible from the control tower and the other window opens outward so that sunlight illuminates the cell. Therefore, it is not only the shadow of the prisoner that is visible, but all their movements are clearly monitored by the supervisor. Prisoners don't know who or how many are watching him, but what they do know is that they are constantly being watched (Haggerty & Ericson, 2000; Sutrisno & Putranto (Edit.), 2005:155). Foucault uses this panopticon as a metaphor for individual supervision in daily life, which then gave birth to the term *panopticism* (Blackford, 2004; Hope, 2005).

The concept was raised by Foucault (1998:36; O'Farrel, 2005:100-101; Mills, 2003:36) to see power as productive social relations that produce knowledge, forms of order, and individuals. The concept of the panopticon is used rather than possessed. (Foucault, 1977:26; Foucault, 1980:98); in a sense, it is not a commodity, position, or institution (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982:218). But it is the name given to a strategy in a society that takes place everywhere. There are systems, rules, arrangements, and regulations; hence, power comes from everywhere

(Kamahi, 2017). Therefore, for Foucault, power is a strategy for forming bodily discipline; naturally, power justifies observing and *monitoring* behavior (Dandeker, 1990:25).

In modern life, it is not a necessity for physical presence to be monitored, although the effects are felt. Physical presence may only be possible once, but people who are supervised feel constantly controlled. Therefore, *the panopticon* can be understood as a model of power that can be exercised through supervision (Haggerty & Ericson, 2000). Likewise, the existence of *kobhung* in DP3 society confirmed the dominance of the patriarchal system which firmly gripped the position of women. Madurese women are dominated by a systemic and hierarchical culture without seeing the female side as a potential balance in men's lives.

Even Madurese women are continually tested for their compliance to be seen for their loyalty and devotion. Indeed, one form of disciplinary dominance is through testing. For Foucault (1997:184), testing refers to hierarchical observations of power on activities carried out by individuals as objects of power. In this position, an assessment is carried out whether the activity is following existing norms (or rules) or not. People who are in disciplinary institutions can be seen by the power, then knowledge or norms against it are arranged, making it easy to compare individuals with one another and interventions to "govern" them to be more effective (Foucault, 1977:187-192; Smart, 2002:87). This condition encourages women's confrontation efforts on facing male domination over them.

### Women Confrontative Psychology in Facing Male Domination

*Tanèan Lanjhang* is a separate social unit within the DP3 community that divides the differentiation between private and public space. Public space is symbolized as a man's room that is free, open and outside; this construction is realized by *kobhung* and *tanean* as shared space; as revealed by Sattar's (2015) research. While private space is symbolized as a closed space for women and children, located inside and manifested in the form of the main house (*tongghu*) along with other utility spaces, such as kitchen and *pakeban*; this building layout construction also appeared in Yulianda & Sarmini's (2018) research. This construction positions the woman in a protected or subordinate position, so that she only has a special room such as, for example, the house is the place of women. The allocation of this space is occupied by groups of women and children; whereas adult men have spaces that are outside and are very common in nature such as *kobhung*.

Indeed, the position of DP3 women cannot be separated from the patriarchy system that surrounds it. The domination of power and power of men over women occurs in all aspects of political, economic, socio-cultural life and other aspects. Therefore, the domination of men over women is a matter that has deep roots in the patriarchal system and this has developed massively in DP3 society. On the other side, there is a systemic relationship between the patriarchal system and the problem of gender differences. Kamla Bashin (2001:3) in this scope, stated the problem of sex differences in the kinship system will



have consequences on the emergence of differences in the types of rights and obligations that will be accepted and imposed on each sex. There is also another aspect, namely gender analysis in the interpretation of religion into facts that need to be studied properly. According to Fakhri (1996:129-130), there was indeed a tendency in interpreting gender injustice which was influenced by the views that existed in the patriarchal system. This results in religious interpretations that place in a patriarchal perspective, such as bringing up the image of God "as if" a male figure.

The dichotomy of public-domestic role differentiation does not take place autonomously. It is reinforced by arguments justification, such as the distinction of biological structures between men and women, the interpretation of religious arguments, and the reconstruction of various related scientific disciplines. However, as Bahshin and Fakhri pointed out, among several factors, interpretation of religious propositions or theological doctrine is the main cause (*prima causa*). This factor has an extraordinary influence, to the extent that the hierarchical gender relations in the household have settled in the subconscious of both men and women. Clarification efforts are not only dealing with men, but it is not uncommon to have to face the challenges of women themselves. Of course, this challenge is not due to suspicion or a priori attitude. Sexual awareness has led to efforts to uphold gender equality and justice -including releasing families from hierarchical gender relations- which are seen as destroying religious values and damaging the social fabric of DP3. Interpretation of religious arguments

in this context needs to be emphasized, that religious arguments are impossible to lead humans to acts of injustice and violence. Between religious propositions and interpretations, it needs to be separated, because the two are indeed very different. The theorem of religion is sourced from God the Truest and Most Just, while interpretation is a process of human reason whose truth is relative.

However, at least two modes of thought developed in DP3, namely scripturalist and substantialism; and to see the diversity of the *Madurese* people can see Taufiqurrahman's (2007) research. The birth of Muslim thought patterns at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century AD until now occurred due to an intensive encounter between the Muslim world and the West. Scripturalist thinking tends to treat orthodoxy as a goal and reality must be following the doctrine text. If there is a conflict between reality and the text of the teaching, then the task of the *'ulama* is to immediately conquer the reality of the doctrine. The task of conquering a distorted reality is known as the *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* mission (Thoha & Mustofa (Edit.), 1997:175). This category appear to a community with a high orthodoxy spirit or even became very idealistic. However, in this context there is something that needs to be underlined, namely, when taking care of texts that are different from when they were revealed, they are often naive. In this context of naivety which will massively trigger extremism of thought.

While substantialist thinking is a realist thought pattern, whose concern is to understand and accept reality by considering the substance of the doctrine text, although for that the doctrine in the text may be sued or modified (Thoha &

Mustofa (Edit.), 1997:175). This typology of religious understanding in the past was represented by the intellectualistic *Mu'tazilah* group. With their controversial thesis that the *Qur'an* is a creature, the *Mu'tazilah* and their followers actually seek legitimacy if at some point they have to sue and throw away what the *Qur'an* text says. Their belief in reason has forced them to see revelation that is not contradicting with a human decision that present in the form of conceptual or social reality (Thoha & Mustofa (Edit.), 1997:176).

Both styles of the thought can see the construction of women's leadership; departs from the *hadith* of the prophet Muhammad which means: "*It will not be fortunate for those who appoint a woman as their leader*" (al-Bukhari, 1990:90-91). Interpretation of the *kiai* and *ustadz* in DP3 community regarding this *hadith* is very varied. Some argue the *hadith* is a legal basis for the inability of women to become leaders. That group is the forerunner to the birth of *kiai* or scripturalist *ustadz*. On the other hand, some argue that the substance of the *hadith* is adapted to the context. This group then produces the substantialist *kiai* or *ustadz*.

The group of *kiai* or scripturalist *ustadz*. Assumes the source of Islamic doctrine comes from the holy text in the form of the *Qur'an* and *hadith*. Therefore, when the text is considered a source of doctrine, then any interpretation needs to be in line with the existing text. Part of DP3 community has this view which considers that the text of the teachings contained in the *Qur'an* and *hadith* need not be interpreted other than those contained in them, or adapted to the interpretation of the previous *'ulama* (scholars). Consequently, the impression

that emerges is that the text of the *hadith* as a source of Islamic teachings must not have any other meaning other than what has been explained by the *al-salaf al-salih*. If there are other meanings, the scriptural DP3 society does not leave meaning written in the text. They even thought that there should not be other interpretations that deviate from the understanding of the salaf scholars in classical books.

Therefore, the process of understanding by the scriptural DP3 community is more likely to follow the initial concept of the text. The implication, a statement emerged among them that any community will never be lucky if it is led by a woman. They insist that whatever the goals and ideals of a people will never be achieved as long as those who lead them are women or a woman. One of them gave an example during the *jamal* war between Sayyidina Ali and Aisha (who at that time was her warlord). It turned out that the end of the battle was won by the Ali and Aisha then deported to be returned to Medina. Naturally, if they conclude that if women are too forward, then any goals and ideals often run aground. That is because a woman has too many shortcomings both physically and mentally.

Conversely, there are groups of *kiai* or *ustadz* who have a substantial understanding. There are several reasons, namely: *First*, they judge from historical roots that the *hadith* is seen from its historical background; *Second*, the *hadith* needs to be seen in its context that the *asbab al-wurud* of the *hadith* is casuistic and reactive to the insult of the king Kisra; *Third*, the present state administration system is different from the royal past (the king is the sole ruler with authority). In the Indonesian context, the president

holds the power in the executive field. *Fourth*, the substance of the hadith is not a gender issue that distinguishes between types of men and women. However, in one's professionalism and competence as well as the success and glory of the Saba' country, led by a woman named Queen Balqis.

Interestingly in this context is when the DP3 community responds to the decree of Allah, *surah An-Nisa'* verse 34 which is considered as a domestic problem. In this realm, a husband is positioned as the head of the household and the wife as his assistant. So, the context of this verse is more on family matters, not on public matters. Therefore, they assume things related to public affairs do not focus on gender, but rather the ability, competence and professionalism. So the questions raised by them; If a woman is considered capable and can lead, then why not? Therefore, a substantial DP3 community believes that women have equal rights between men and women in exercising political rights. Because the public interest and democratic practice require that, women have the same interests as men. The equality between the two needs to be realized in regulating the general affairs of the state through the use of political rights perfectly. The disadvantages that exist in women are human things because men also have flaws.

Women's participation in politics is a matter of justice, so the principle of democracy provides opportunities between men and women in politics. Some DP3 communities are in the same suit if women are part of the community who need to be consulted and give equal rights to men in this matter. This opinion is based on one of the verses in the QS. an-Naml verses 32-33 about Queen Balqis.

In this verse, it is clear that normatively women can express their true opinions, participate in political matters and assume enormous responsibilities. However, in reality, women in DP3 society follow a lot of scripturalist thinking. Therefore, women's work cannot be separated from *adhandhan*, *arembi'*, and *amassa'* (caring for themselves, giving birth or caring for family, and cooking) as a form of her devotion to the family. Even in the case of marriage, they are very obedient to this scripturalist school that is presented by religious leaders –read: the *kiai*. The researcher assumes that the continuity (existence) of underage marriages (early marriage) that occurs in DP3 is inseparable from the influence of view guides (*opinion leaders*), especially in the omission option and even preservation of the tradition is part of a tradition that has lasted a long time and inherited until generations recently.

Indeed, the wife must *adhandhan* to get justification from the *hadith* of the Prophet; Salman al-Farisi said "I heard the Messenger of Allah say that women (wives) who dressed up, used fragrances, then left the house without her husband's permission, means that she walked under the wrath of Allah until she returned" (al-Asqalani, 1984:246). That is, the wife dresses up only for her husband and if she wants to leave the house, she must get her husband's permission. About *arembik* activities, DP3 women are very averse to refusing a husband's invitation to have sex (*apolong tedung*). They have an assumption; sexual relations are the most intimate entity that exists between husband and wife. Sexual intercourse is not just a means of fulfilling the biological desires inherent in every living thing. Sexual relations have a sacred dimension

because it is a form of worship to God. The husband has the right to take his wife to bed whenever he wants. In the hadith of the Prophet, it is stated that a wife who refuses a husband's invitation to bed will be cursed by Allah until morning (al-Asqalani, 1984:248).

The DP3 women's movement is very limited, for example, it has never been included in discussions on various aspects, such as political, economic, social, educational, and so on. For the DP3 community, these aspects are the *rembhak ake'* (conversations or matters of men or husbands). This means that there is a process of marginalization of DP3 women in certain aspects. The implication, there are very basic differences between men and women who are wrapped in the interpretation of religious texts. The process of marginalization of DP3 women positions women as unimportant groups and even causes them to be marginalized in all aspects of their lives.

As if what DP3 men do is far from understanding that marginalization is a process of impoverishment of women, whereas marginalization does not only refer to economic impoverishment, but also social, economic, political, and cultural role impoverishment. According to Fakhri (1996:14-15), marginalization is a process of exploitation in the form of the impoverishment of the sexes which is sourced from government policies, religious interpretations, beliefs, traditions, and habits or even assumptions from science. Therefore, DP3 focuses activities only aimed at the role of men (*androcentris*) and women are only second sex that does not function much. This phenomenon illustrates the social behavior of people who have consciously exploited by reducing the role in the

absence of recognition of the role played by women. Ironically, this is considered as fairness in a society (Koentjoroningrat, 1990:81).

Regarding the problem of marginalization of women according to Nunuk P. Murniati (2005:54), it did not just happen just like that. It arises as a result of the patriarchal system which gave a great tendency to marginalize women. Therefore, it will be placed in the domestic service area of the household; and the nature of women to conceive, give birth and breastfeed, leading them to be placed in a stable position in the house. Judging from the reality and theory is real if marginalization of women is often done in the family or household area; as happened in DP3. It appears in the form of social networks legitimized by tradition wrapped in the understanding of religious normative texts. Tragically, the system in the middle of the DP3 community continues to develop and become a provision.

The marginalization of women that occurs in social networks where injustice is socialized systematically, eventually women become accustomed and behave "surrender" and it is believed that gender roles are natural. Naturally, if an "acceptable" structure and system of gender inequality is created and can no longer be felt something is wrong. This condition happened to DP3 women, they did not sue or accept gracefully about their role in the household. According to them, this has been taught from generation to generation by grandmothers and their parents as well as by *kiai* or *nyai* when they were in boarding schools. She is placed as a male object like most in the patriarchal system. Thus, from many cases of marginalization, the position of

women continues to be the object of the process of marginalization that exists in a society (Engineer, 2005:97).

However, to a very small extent, some DP3 women work outside the house. They to some extent follow the ideas of the *kiai* and the *ustadz* who have a substantial understanding. They sell their agricultural products such as beans, cassava, roasted corn, and so on. They traveled from locations in the city of Pamekasan to other locations; from office to office, including to IAIN Madura. Their husband allows it when she helps the family economy by selling things; as did Mrs. Jum selling sea fish at the intersection of Pamekasan Pawnshop Office. This was done solely to help her husband find a family income.

This means that some women have a double burden, namely working inside the house (domestic space) and outside the home (public space). In fact women not only play a double role but also a triple role (including the burden on the DP3 community), namely the role of reproduction (i.e. roles related to traditional roles in the domestic sector), productive roles (i.e. economic roles in the public sector), and social roles (i.e. role in the community) (Narwoko & Suyanto, 2006:345). Women's daily lives will be different in the context of the double burden they play. However, the burden of the role they play is never paid in the form of egalitarian services to her. Including in the context of domestic workloads or providing family survival is also unable to provide norms for women.

Even though DP3 women have a burden of roles -in the context of the role of *khobung* as a panopticon- these women must not abandon their obligations to

take care of the household. They cannot even be separated from their position as wives (housewives), because men (husbands) under any circumstances are required to require a wife to take care of their lives. This DP3 woman was very aware that she could not leave any obligation imposed on her. In one of the *fatwas* inscribed that women must prioritize the implementation of all their obligations rather than work because the law of working for women is permissible (Mughniyah, 1996:351). With this law, women may choose between working or not working. If a mukmin or Muslim prioritizes immoral acts and ignores the obligatory deeds, it means he has committed immorality (sin) to Allah. Therefore, DP3 women are more passive in their husband's domestic territory. Because they believe, it is not appropriate for a Muslim woman to prioritize working in public spaces by neglecting her basic duties as a mother and as a manager for their household.

Working outside may not make a woman -in DP3 communities- negligent in fulfilling the husband's rights, for example not going home for a long time while the husband is at home. If the conditions for the burden of women's roles are fulfilled, then DP3 community women feel it is fine to work outside the home without any risk. When he works and has his own income, then the income owned by him becomes the wife's full right to use it, because the obligation to provide income only exists with the husband. However, they still provide their income for family and household needs which are counted as alms (transcendental); or as additional income in the family (profane). Even so, there are still few opportunities for women in DP3

society to have a parallel space because they are constantly monitored by men.

The oppression of the position of DP3 women is very much seen in terms of the dominance of the patriarchal system. *Kobhung*, which had been sacred, turned out to be a medium capable of imprisoning their existence. Although male domination is not physical, supervision through the concept of panopticon (*kobhung*) is very massive and systemic. In this context, the researcher considers that male domination through *kobhung* is a very modern form of gender domination. As in modern society, physical presence in surveillance is not a necessity, but the effect is felt. Physical presence may only be occasional, but the person being watched feels that they are always controlled. Therefore, the *panopticon* can be understood as a model of how power can be exercised through supervision (Haggerty & Ericson, 2000).

However, the power of men –read: husbands- in DP3 is exercised not without resistance. It is precisely women's resistance that is part of men's power relations themselves which are carried out through and in their ways. That is, where there is power there will be resistance that follows it. Although on the one hand, "deliberately" the power creates resistance to legitimize the dominative system. Foucault's theory of panopticism with the *panopticon* as a watchtower is in harmony with the patterns developed by *kobhung*. This means that the existence of *kobhung* as a *panopticon* in the patriarchal power relations in Madura has been able to dominate aspects of the behavior and psychological conditions of women –read: wives. *Kobhung*, which is likened to the panopticon in the *Taneyan*

*Lanjhang* culture building in Madura, has a *role* as a guardian for its residents from bad deeds. Even for women who are in the locus of *Taneyan Lanjhang* from disobedience behavior. Even though the building is not occupied, but it is only a symbol of human civilization in the context of the family in Madura.

## CONCLUSION

Obviously, the Madura community settlement known as *taneyan lanjhang* and *kobhung* is at the west end (*qibla*). This *Kobhung* functions as a center of male activity to supervise his wife and control the entry and exit of the wife into the *taneyan lanjhang* area. Through the concept of the *kobhung* version of DP3 society, the wife does not know or cannot look inside and she will continue to feel watched by her husband. This role indicates that *kobhung* become a panopticon of DP3 women, so they have no room to reveal their potential and existence.

Women are positioned as protected (subordinate) with the burden of the role of *adhandhan*, *arembi* ', and *amassa*' (caring for themselves, giving birth or caring for family, and cooking). This role is a form of self-devotion to the family, but they did not sue and accept gracefully about their role. However, some women work outside; so that it can be said to have a double role (double burden), which is to work inside the home or domestic space and outside the home or public space.

Therefore, educational institutions in the Madura region play more roles in the community, in providing gender-fair HR (Human Resources) preparation. On the one side, religious institutions need to continue to play a prophetic role through counseling the importance of egalitarian

religious-based gender sensitivity in the countryside. While government institutions to more intensely provide assistance and enlightenment about the role of *kobhung* as local wisdom at the village level as well as being a sacred place in maintaining family honor.

## RECOMMENDATION

Based on the description of research results and conclusions, the researcher needs to submit suggestions/recommendations, among others: *first*, the results of this research can be used as a way to improve the quality of relations between men and women; between husband and wife, so the concept of egalitarian relations between husband and wife emerged within the scope of Madurese culture. *Second*, the developed thought has become one of the actualized thought patterns in the Madurese community through an intensive socialization process by government officials or religious institutions.

*Third*, to further researchers, it is recommended to continue this research at a higher level and detail with the specifications of the entire religious culture of the Madurese people to the complete and perfect dissemination

stage. And *fourth*, officials such as the regent and the staff need to intensively support the development of contextual religious-based egalitarian relations through organizing counseling, training or workshops for egalitarian societies by upholding the interpretation of religious values that are egalitarian or not gender-biased.

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