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The Dowry Classing Concept Based on Women's Criteria at Karangsono, Wonorejo, Pasuruan; A Study of Berger and Luckmann's Social Construction

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Abstract:

Determination of the dowry among people of Karangsono Village was originally based on Islamic law by relying on convenience, lightness, and simplicity principles. However later, it was replaced by the so-called dowry classing concept. This article portrays the practice of the concept using social construction theory. This is field research with a qualitative descriptive method using Berger and Luckmann's social construction theory as the analytical tool. The data were from a study on documents, interviews, and observations. The conclusions are: (1) The dowry classing concept is based on the characteristic of the bride, namely marital status (single or widow), physical beauty, and age. The higher quality of the woman, the higher dowry she can get; (2) Determination of the dowry has undergone social construction based on three simultaneous processes. At first, the externalization process occurs through adaptation to religious texts and nowadays life context. Afterward, the process of objectivation is signified by the birth of new meanings which are clear in the actions of the

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wider community which turn them into objective facts. The last step, internalization, happens through the affirmation of the consciousness that everybody experiences personally and transferring process on the objective meaning.

Keywords:

Dowry Class; Social Construction; Karangsono.

Abstrak:

Penentuan mahar dalam masyarakat Desa Karangsono mulanya didasarkan pada aturan hukum Islam, yakni berdasarkan asas kemudahan, keringanan dan kesederhanaan. Namun belakangan, prinsip tersebut tergantung oleh konsep kelas mahar. Artikel ini memotret praktik konsep kelas mahar tersebut dengan teori konstruksi sosial. Penelitian lapangan ini menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif dengan teori konstruksi sosial Berger dan Luckmann sebagai pisau analisisnya. Pengambilan data dilakukan melalui studi dokumen, wawancara dan observasi. Kesimpulannya adalah: (1) Konsep kelas mahar didasarkan pada karakteristik yang dimiliki calon pengantin perempuan, apakah dia perawan atau janda, bagaimana paras dan berapa usianya. Semakin tinggi kualitas yang dimiliki, semakin tinggi pula mahar yang bisa didapatkan, (2) Penentuan mahar dengan konsep kelas mahar telah mengalami konstruksi sosial berdasarkan tiga proses simultan. *Pertama*, proses eksternalisasi terjadi melalui adaptasi dengan teks-teks keagamaan dan konteks kehidupan kekinian. Selanjutnya, proses obyektivasi melahirkan pemaknaan baru yang termanifestasikan ke dalam tindakan-tindakan masyarakat sehingga menjadi kenyataan obyektif dan lumrah dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Selanjutnya, proses internalisasi tergambar dari penegasan akan kesadaran yang dialami secara subjektif dan pentransferan pengetahuan tentang makna-makna obyektif.

Kata Kunci:

Kelas Mahar; Konstruksi Sosial; Karangsono

Introduction

Marriage is an important issue in human life that is regulated in religion, state, even culture. The rules and procedures of marriage aim at none other than to enable both husband and wives to easily reach the peak of so-called *sakinah mawaddah warahmah*.¹ In the sense of marriage validity, for instance, Islamic scholars generally agree about the requirements which consist of the marriage contract, a bride, a groom, a guardian of the bride, two witnesses, and dowry.²

Dowry is the main requirement in the marriage contract commencement which a prospective husband gives to his next wife on her preference. It is one of the things that differentiate between marriage before and after Islam. Pre-Islamic brides did not get dowry because it was addressed to their guardians in exchange for the daughters or as a reward for giving them over the groom's family for strengthening the relationship of both families.

Philosophically, dowry is a symbol of serious goodwill of a future husband to his future wife by giving useful gifts either material or non-material.³ Before the marriage takes place, the couple needs to discuss the dowry as it represents affection, responsibility, and respect for women.⁴

The dowry obligation itself is based on the Qur'an, the hadith as well as the consensus of Islamic scholars. The Qur'an makes it clear at Surat al-Nisā' verse 4 as follow:

وَأْتُوا النِّسَاءَ صَدُقَاتِهِنَّ نِحْلَةً فَإِنْ طِبْنَ لَكُمْ عَنْ شَيْءٍ مِنْهُ نَفْسًا فَكُلُوهُ هَنِيئًا مَرِيئًا

"Give the dowry to the woman (whom you marry) as a voluntary gift. If they give you a portion of the dowry with pleasure,

¹ Huzaimah Tahido Yanggo, *Problematika Hukum Islam Kontemporer* (Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 1996), 67.

² Amir Syarifuddin, *Hukum Perkawinan Islam Di Indonesia: Antara Fikih Munakahat Dan Undang-Undang Perkawinan* (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2009), 59.

³ Dian Ramadhan and Farah Ihza Fauzia Balqis, "Pandangan Mazhab Hanafi Dan Maliki Terhadap Jumlah Kadar Mahar Pada Akad Nikah," *Jawi* 3, no. 1 (2020): 45.

⁴ Saiful Usman and Ruslan Rida Alfida, "Penetapan Mahar Perempuan Di Desa Kampung Paya, Kecamatan Kluet Utara, Kabupaten Aceh Selatan," *Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan Unsyiah* 1, no. 1 (2016): 90.

then eat (take) that gift (as food) which is delicious again with good consequences.”⁵

In addition, to obliging the dowry, the verse also mentions that a husband whose wife has received the dowry then decides to give some parts of it to him voluntarily may accept it.⁶ This rule furthermore implies that a dowry belongs fully to a wife and it is her who decides how to use or spend it, including sharing it with the husband who initially gave it for her. Likewise, regulation of the dowry indicates how Islam guides Moslems to build a loving and evergreen family.⁷

Meanwhile, at the hadith, the Prophet Muhammad pbuh once gave an example of giving a simple dowry in the form of an iron ring. The story narrated by Sahl bin Sa'ad al-Sa'idi⁸ shows how Islam makes it easy for Moslems in terms of giving dowry.⁹

At the Indonesian positive law, regulation on the dowry is found in Articles 30-38 of the Compilation of Islamic Law. It mentions that a dowry must be given to a wife by considering the principle of simplicity. Additionally, because it is given to the wife, she has full ownership rights. Law No. 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage neither regulates nor mentions the dowry.¹⁰

Practically, determination of the dowry occurs variously and naturally in society. Most of the time, local culture and values play a role in deciding what kind of dowry the next bride will receive. Some uniqueness and distinctive features inevitably appear because marriage or wedding is not only a religious event, but also a cultural one.

⁵ Departemen Agama RI, *Al-Qur'an Dan Terjemahnya* (Bandung: Diponegoro, 2006), 77.

⁶ Wahbah al-Zuhaily, *Mausū'ah Al-Fiqh Wa Al-Qaḍāyā Al-Mu'āṣirah* (Damaskus: Dar al Fikr, 2013), 248.

⁷ Rida Alfida, “Penetapan Mahar Perempuan Di Desa Kampung Paya, Kecamatan Kluet Utara, Kabupaten Aceh Selatan,” 91.

⁸ The Prophet SAW said: *أَنْظِرْ وَلَوْ خَاتَمًا مِنْ حَدِيدٍ* (Look even if it is only an iron ring).

⁹ Amir, *Hukum*, 86.

¹⁰ Amieur Nuruddin and Azhari Akmal Tarigan, *Hukum Perdata Islam Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2016), 64-67.

People at Karangsono Village, Wonorejo District, Pasuruan Regency have a distinctive feature in the determination of the dowry which has become a custom. They practice so-called dowry classing concept in deciding the form of dowry according to the prospective wife's characteristics. It includes her marital status (single or widow), her outer or physical beauty, and age. The higher this is used in determining the high or low of the dowry, that will later be given to the bride.

A resident of the village mentions that determining high-value dowries such as motorbikes, cars, land, or property aims as an anticipatory instrument just in case something bad happens, such as the death of a husband with a wife and children left behind.¹¹ In the general scope, the concept of dowry makes a prospective husband think about the proper form of material dowry based on the characteristic of women they wish to get married to.¹²

This article discusses the concept of the dowry classing in Karangsono Village then portraying it using the perspective of Berger and Luckmann's social construction theory. The phenomenon of classing concept of dowry among people in Karangsono Village is deemed to be worth as a research subject with the theory considering that its people's life has never been stagnant. Instead, it keeps changing while forming a dynamic life order.

Methods

This field research used the qualitative descriptive method in displaying the data. Meanwhile, the data came from a study of documents, observation, and interviews. Document study is a technique of collecting written data related to research topics whether from books, documents, notes, and archives. The document that this research studied included some literature on the concept of dowry in marriage and social construction theory.

Observation, on the other hand, focused on the behavior of Karangsono Village people in determining the dowry for marriage. Meanwhile, interviews targeted some parties involved in determining

¹¹ SF, *Interview*, Pasuruan, September 25, 2019.

¹² Dian Ramadhan and Farah Ihza Fauzia Balqis, "Pandangan Mazhab Hanafi Dan Maliki Terhadap Jumlah Kadar Mahar Pada Akad Nikah," 46.

the dowry. This study used the purposive sampling method in determining the interviewees who answered certain questions according to the research objectives. The whole data was then analyzed using the social construction theory of Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann.

This research is increasingly important to conduct because previous studies were limited in discussing the concept of dowry mainly from the perspective of Islamic law and gender justice.¹³ On the other hand, researches with social construction as an analytical tool were mainly discussed women in mixed marriages or polygamy.¹⁴

The Methods section is usually the second-longest section in the Abstract. It should contain enough information to enable the reader to understand what was done and important questions to which the Methods section should provide brief answers.

Discussion and Result

The Concept of Dowry in Islamic Law and Indonesian Positive Law

The dowry in Islamic law is called *ṣadāq*. In Indonesia, it is usually called *mahar* or *maskawin*. Terminologically, dowry is a gift that a husband must give to his wife as a form of love, affection, and sincerity.¹⁵ The form, number, or type of dowry is usually pronounced in the marriage contract. A dowry, at least, must fulfill several requirements, such as having value, being useful, lawful, fully owned by the giver or the husband, and clear in the condition, shape, and characteristic.

¹³ For example, a research conducted by Jannatin Aliah, entitled *Kedudukan Mahar dalam Proses Pernikahan Perspektif Fiqih Munakahat (Studi Kasus di Desa Pemulutan Ilir Kecamatan Pemulutan Kabupaten Ogan Ilir)*. Another research was conducted by Sami Faidhullah with the title *Konsep Mahar Perkawinan berupa Hafalan Surah al-Qur'an Perspektif Keadilan Gender*.

¹⁴ For example, a research conducted by Benazir Bona Pratamawaty, Deddy Mulyana and Dadang Sugiana, entitled *Model Konstruksi Makna Peran dan Posisi Perempuan Indonesia Pelaku Kawin Campur*. Another example is Roibin's research, entitled *Praktik Poligami di Kalangan Para Kiai (Studi Konstruksi Sosial Poligami Para Kiai Pesantren di Jawa Timur)*.

¹⁵ Putra Halomoan, "Penetapan Mahar Terhadap Kelangsungan Pernikahan Ditinjau Menurut Hukum Islam," *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 14, no. 2 (2016).

In Islamic law, a dowry is required as a gift to the bride-to-be in a valuable form as a marriage sign. Islam considers it as one of the important things in marriage so that it does set any minimum limit regarding the dowry. Furthermore, it can be delivered or paid in advance or postponed after the wedding with the consent of both parties.¹⁶

The provision and regulation of dowry in Islamic law contain several pearl of wisdom. It ranges from legalizing relationships between men and women, representing respect for the honor and dignity of women, binding love and affection of both to showing goodwill as well as sincerity and seriousness of husband to be responsible in the marriage.¹⁷ The dowry itself can be in a form of material things or non-material ones. The common forms of the former type are money, praying tools, gold, land, house, and the likes. Meanwhile, the later can be an activity or service, such as teaching to recite the Qur'an, memorization of the Qur'anic verses, and so on.¹⁸

Meanwhile, according to Indonesian positive law, dowry refers to a gift in the form of goods, money, or services from a groom to a bride. It must be paid based on the agreement between both while paying attention to the principles of simplicity and convenience as Islamic teachings recommend. This means that although giving dowry is mandatory, a decision on its form, value, and number must still be based on the principles of convenience and simplicity. Additionally, both parties need to discuss to get a fair agreement on it so that it will not burden the husband and at the same time, it will not be just random that the wife probably does not want it.

Furthermore, KHI regulates the issue of dowry as a form of legal certainty, in addition, to set uniformity in understanding this concept among the community and officials. For example, it highlights that instead of being among one of the marriage pillars, dowry is the main requirement. It also mentions that ethical consideration needs to get attention in determining the dowry while

¹⁶ Syed Sahid Ahammad, "A Critical Analysis of Dower (Mahr) in Islam," *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 21, no. 07 (2016): 86-91, <https://doi.org/10.9790/0837-2107058691>.

¹⁷ Ibnu Irawan and Jayusman, "Mahar Hafalan Al-Qur'an Perspektif Hukum Islam," *Jurnal Palita* 4, no. 2 (2019): 126-27.

¹⁸ Arif Jamaluddin, *Hadis Hukum Keluarga* (Surabaya: UINSA Press, 2014), 41-42.

enforcing the principles of simplicity and easiness instead of economic value, social status, and prestige.

The Social Construction Theory of Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann

Discussing the theory of social construction cannot be separated from Berger and Luckman's theoretical building. In 1926, both worked together to write a book entitled *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in The Sociology of Knowledge*.¹⁹ The term social construction was firstly mentioned in the book. It accentuates about dialectical relationship between individuals and their socio-cultural world through three stages namely externalization, objectivation, and internalization.²⁰

The process of externalization enables individuals to collectively carry out objectification and creates a new construction of objective reality. Later on, the internalization process enables them to think deeply about the complexity of the definitions of reality, routine behavior, and established patterned or institutionalized action as a social fact.²¹

According to them both, the two main objects of everyday life reality related to knowledge have both subjective and objective dimensions. The former comes in the form of individual knowledge, while the latter is defined as social facts.²² Both consider society as the product of individuals while at the same time, individuals are also the product of society.

¹⁹ The central role of the sociology of knowledge is shown by both of them as an important instrument in building future sociological theories. See Ida Bagus Wirawan, *Teori-Teori Sosial Dalam Tiga Paradigma* (Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2015), 106.

²⁰ Burhan Bungin, *Konstruksi Sosial Media Massa: Kekuatan Pengaruh Media Massa, Iklan Televisi Dan Keputusan Konsumen Serta Kritik Terhadap Peter L. Berger Dan Thomas Luckman* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2008), 15.

²¹ Margareth M. Poloma, *Contemporary Sociology*, ed. The Yasogama Translation Team (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2007), 301.

²² Humans are instruments in the creation of objective social realities through a process of externalization. Even so, individuals who are influenced by social reality through the process of internalization are a reflection of subjective reality. See Sindung Haryanto, *Spektrum Teori Sosial Dari Klasik Hingga Postmodern* (Yogyakarta: Ar-Ruzz Media, 2012), 154.

Through creative activities, individuals are considered able to construct society and various other aspects based on existing social realities. The created social reality then leads them to deal with external and objective reality. Afterward, individuals internalize the reality to become a part of their subjective awareness believing that objective social reality can shape individuals. In other words, individuals are creators of social institutions as well as products of society.²³

Berger believes that society has a dual reality rather than a single one as the result of social construction. It means that individuals create reality and therefore create themselves. Social construction, meanwhile, occurs when individuals make simultaneous interactions with their environment.²⁴ Humans are biologically destined to form and inhabit the world together with others. Therefore, the three mentioned stages are deemed as a dialectic process that will keep happening, running, and relating to one another. Society and every part of it are simultaneously characterized by the three stages while returning to the stage of internalization and so on so that individuals can create new meanings and behaviors along with the new values attached. Conversely, any analysis which only uses one of the three stages will not be sufficient.²⁵

²³ This social reality is everyday knowledge that lives and develops in society. See Burhan Bungin, *Konstruksi Sosial Media Massa: Kekuatan Pengaruh Media Massa, Iklan Televisi Dan Keputusan Konsumen Serta Kritik Terhadap Peter L. Berger Dan Thomas Luckman*, 24.

²⁴ The implication of this dual reality is that the social realities that are formed can mutually build or collapse each other. Considering that society lives in the dimension of objective reality which is constructed through the process of externalization and the process of objectivation, as well as in the dimension of subjective reality which is lived through the process of internalization. All these processes will always be connected dialectically. See Margareth M. Poloma, *Contemporary Sociology*, 301.

²⁵ Peter L. Berger dan Thomas Luckman, *Tafsir Sosial Atas Kenyataan: Risala Tentang Sosiologi Pengetahuan* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2018), 176-249. Burhan Bungin, *Konstruksi Sosial Media Massa: Kekuatan Pengaruh Media Massa, Iklan Televisi Dan Keputusan Konsumen Serta Kritik Terhadap Peter L. Berger Dan Thomas Luckman*, 18-19.

Determination of Dowry in Wedding Process among People at Karangsono Village, Wonorejo District, Pasuruan Regency

Karangsono Village lies at Wonorejo District and is in the administrative area of Pasuruan Regency. The area of Karangsono is 367.43 Ha in width with a 5,673 population. 3,038 of them are female while the rest 2,635 are male. The poverty rate of this village is quite high because 50% of its people are categorized as poor.²⁶ Islam is the only religion that Karangsono people embrace with high obedience and strict practice of Islamic teaching.

Additionally, there found religious schools (*madrrasah diniyah*), al-Qur'an educational parks, and Islamic boarding schools in the village.²⁷ However, this is not in line with the educational background of its people which is still low considering that the highest number of them is senior high school graduates. Some of them even get dropped out of school because of getting married at a young age.

Besides early marriage, what makes Karangsono different is the high number of unregistered marriage practices or so-called *nikah sirri*. This makes the village popular because when a man can't find future a wife in surrounding villages, such as Rembang, Pajar, Kalisat, and others, they will search in Karangsono. Karangsono is not as popular as its neighbor at first. The increasing number of *nikah sirri* practices closely relates to the assumption that it does not violate any Islamic law as long as the whole marriage's terms and conditions have been fulfilled. Moreover, local religious leaders do not prohibit the practice. Even more, they are the ones who wed the couple in the *nikah sirri* practice.²⁸

Chronologically, common practices of the wedding at Karangsono begin with so-called *nontoni* which refers to a man's visit to his prospective wife's house. Her parents play a role as witnesses in

²⁶ Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) Kabupaten Pasuruan, *Kabupaten Pasuruan Dalam Angka 2019* (Pasuruan: BPS Kabupaten Pasuruan, 2019), 25.

²⁷ Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) Kabupaten Pasuruan, 25.

²⁸ In general, rural and urban communities are different in solving a problem. Rural communities usually resolve their problems through consultation with families, religious leaders, and community leaders. Read also Arif Wahyudi and Fatekhul Mujib Fahrudin Ali Sabri, "Resistance Strategies of Madurese Moslem Women against Domestic Violence in Rural Society," *Al Ihkam : Jurnal Hukum Dan Pranata Sosial* 15, no. 1 (2020): 110.

addition to a matchmaker or intermediary if any. This early step aims to enable both persons to know each other. The future groom can find out the face, attitude, and character of his next wife, including to which category she can get in the dowry classing concept. Meanwhile, the future bride can have a moment to find out the groom who will marry her.

It is during the process of *nontoni* that a decision will be made whether the two are matching each other and can step into the next process. If they don't, the process stops at that phase. Conversely, if the two match each other, it will be continued by the next step called marriage application (*lamaran*). The groom will ask his future the bride's parents for approval of being a husband of their daughter. In the process, it is common for the next groom to bring some gifts during the application process although a few don't do so.

Responding to the application, the parents will discuss with their daughter whether to accept it or not. If accepted, the form or amount of dowry becomes the next discussion topic including its details and the date when the marriage contract takes place. At first, determining the dowry in Karangsono was based on Islamic teaching, namely simplicity and convenience in the order it does not burden the husband. However, over time, it changed into the dowry classing concept based on the classification of the bride. Nowadays, determining dowry using the principles of dowry class concept because common among people at Karangsono Village.²⁹

Approximately, there found five classes of dowry, namely class 1 to 5 ranging from the highest to the lowest with the following criteria at table.

Table

Dowry Classes	Dowry Form	Criteria		
		Not Married yet	Physically Beautiful	Young Age
1	House/Land	√	√	√
2	Motorcycle	√	√	-

²⁹ Process of determining dowry above is usually through deliberation between the groom and the bride. However, sometimes, it also involves the family of bride or an intermediary. TA, *Interview*, Pasuruan, 10 December 2019.

	Jewelry	√	-	√
3	Money (high amount)	-	√	√
4	Money (Average amount)	-	√	
		-	-	√
5	Money (low amount)	-	-	-

After determining the dowry, the next step is organizing the marriage contract ceremony. The shortest gap period between the proposal to marriage contract is two days, while the longest is two weeks. Therefore, the bride generally does not reply to the marriage proposal by holding a *balesi* ceremony. After the amount of dowry is determined, the groom typically hands it over to his parents in law to be so that they can divide it according to the agreed portion. Usually, the dowry is well divided for the bride, her parents, the matchmaker if any, *unggakan* money, *jenang abang* money, or other parts as the agreement. This typical division implies that money is the most common dowry among people at Karangsono.

Unggakan money refers to security money in which the amount is determined during the application process. The parents of the bride will appoint someone as an intermediary who will be delegated to pay the security service to the RT, RW, sub-village (*dusun*), and village apparatus. This delegation is usually called *pengarep*. Before delivering the money and asking for security service, *pengarep* will first record the data on the predetermined date of the marriage contract.

Afterward, the marriage contract takes place according to the predetermined date at the house of the bride. During the marriage contract process and wedding reception, the host provides the guests with some cakes and meals. The cost for providing the dish is from *jenang abang* money. It covers all operational costs starting from marriage contract to wedding reception.

The Dowry Classing Concept on the Perspective of Social Construction Theory of Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann

People of Karangsono are quite religious and having high spiritual awareness. This is clear from a series of routine religious activities that are still running well. Additionally, they have harmonious relationships and interactions with each other and seem to live their daily lives well. This enables them to exchange ideas and express insight or opinions on one another about some topics, including the determination of the dowry for the bride-to-be. At first, they determined the dowry relying on Islamic law principles, namely convenience, lightness, and simplicity in order not to burden the groom.

However, it gradually changes into a new principle called the dowry classing concept which was initiated then continued by individuals. Instead of using the old principles, they used the new one depending on the characteristics of the bride-to-be, namely marital status, physical appearance, and age. Apart from it, the role of an intermediary still exists in some cases, so that there found two types of the wedding process, including determination of the dowry, among Karangsono people.

The first is without the role of the intermediary. Decision-making on the dowry is through discussion or negotiation between two parties. The groom directly visits the family of the bride to express goodwill to get married to get approval. After getting his marriage proposal approved, he will begin discussing the form and amount of the dowry. Parents of the next bride typically play a lot of roles putting themselves in between suggesting the form and or amount of dowry and letting both decide. However, they do consider the three main characteristics of their daughter in suggesting the dowry as well as when agreeing or disagreeing opinions about the dowry.

Another topic to discuss and decide is the amount of *unggakan* and *jenang abang* money to financially support a series of wedding ceremonies that the bride's family will hold. Sometimes, the parents also talk about other things, such as special requests on the dowry, common gifts to deliver, paying off debts, *taklik* divorce agreements, and so on. It is important to take note that different from dowry, other requests do not necessarily have to be fulfilled. Moreover, the groom

is typically entitled to give his opinion on whether he agrees, rejects, or has a different opinion. Once the agreement is made, the groom must prepare all the details.

The second is the wedding process accompanied by the intermediary. This particularly happens if the groom comes outside Karangsono. The groom will firstly look for the intermediary among community leaders or even local religious leaders who are willing to help him finding the prospective wife. In this case, the form and amount of dowry can be assigned in two ways, namely through the deliberation of the bride's family and deliberation before the groom visits the bride's house along with the intermediary. At the former choice, the groom visits the bride's house for delivering as well as getting approval of his marriage proposal. He will also talk about the same topic as in the first category in addition to gratitude money/commission for the intermediary.

In the latter type, the groom determines the dowry before coming to the bride's house. Usually, the intermediary asks in advance how much dowry the groom can pay, as well as the amount he can get. After that, only then does the intermediary look for a woman according to the dowry classing that the groom could afford. During the process of looking for a bride, the groom has the right to cancel the plan if he feels he doesn't fit. If this happens, the intermediary will try to find another woman until the groom feels interested in her. The bottom line of those different procedures is the use of the dowry classing concept to assess suitable dowry for the bride.

Analyzing the phenomenon, this research uses the social construction theory of Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman with its three dialectical models, namely externalization, objectivation, and internalization. This is mainly because any society will always naturally create a dialectical relationship between its individuals and surrounding sociocultural life. In the dialectical process, a dynamic living system leads them to keep changing as a form of social construction.

In the externalization and the objectivation stages of the process, people experience the formation process or primary socialization when individuals try to gain and build their position in society. Therefore, in both processes, individuals consider society as

an objective reality.³⁰ Meanwhile, in the internalization process, individuals need social rules or institutions to maintain the sustainability of those social institutions or rules, consistency, and justification for these social rules. People create justification by themselves through a process of legitimacy gaining called secondary socialization.³¹

The three dialectical models above show integrated social phenomena which lead to social construction. Considering the theory of Berger and Luckmann, it makes sense and is even inevitable if people of Karangsono with high religiosity apply such kind of dowry classing concept. A more detailed explanation of the application of the model to the case is as follow:

1. Externalization Process

Social reality causes externalization stage process is born because of. The process of externalization in social construction theory is a necessity for humans who naturally act as social creatures, have a culture, and also have a biological desire. So that the social order is something that already exists, and precedes any of its developments.³²

Initially, the process of determining the dowry among Karangsono people did not depend on the bride's characteristics. However, along with recent development and inevitable interaction between both and with others, something new has come and replaced the old one then turning into a social phenomenon or reality. Other factors also play a big role in triggering the change, such as economic needs, requests from brides' parents, dreaming more adequate and happier life, and maintaining the family's esteem.

Those factors enable people to keep doing interaction and adaptation with their socio-cultural context. As a consequence, conditions, local norms, and traditions of their surroundings have a big role in shaping their mindset. This externalization process makes it possible for Karangsono people to change their old model in determining the dowry into a new one. In this case, the

³⁰ Berger, *Tafsir*, 178-185.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 188-191.

³² Burhan, *Konstruksi*, 15.

process of externalization occurs through two ways of adaptation, namely:

a. Adaptation with religious texts.

Differences in the sociological and cultural background of each individual make the adaptation process not running the same. This is clear from the different behavior of each individual based on their subjective interpretation. Consequently, all activities do not come suddenly, but are based on the normative basis which is different from one another due to each background.

In determining the dowry, Karangsono people rely on some relevant Qur'anic verses or hadith. This makes them more confident to do the process considering that they have legitimate basics. Among others, they rely on Surat al-Nisā 'verse 34 which mentions men as leaders for women. Another one is QS. Al-Nisa' verse 9 tells about warning not to leave offspring in poor situations. Interpretation of those verses makes them believe that it is highly recommended to find a life partner who can provide material welfare instead of those who let the wives and children in a bad economic condition.

The normative basics become direct legitimacy to support validity on what they practice in determining the dowry. In other words, Karangsono people consider that the way they determine the dowry is based on religious teaching through its verses. Another legitimacy is a hadith mention the suggestion to marry women who have never got married before. They assume that it is a special privilege to marry this type of woman so that they put the criteria as one of the measurements in the dowry classing concept.

The legitimacy of religious text strengthens the practice of this concept and makes it more popular among Karangsono people that it keeps being used until nowadays. Furthermore, it attracts attention from people outside Karangsono with different motives.

b. Adaptation with local traditions.

This mainly occurs along with the special interests of each individual. In responding to the particular social phenomena of the dowry classing concept, the increasingly

urgent economic need, obligation to preserve existing traditions, and difficulties to build a happy and stable family in the hard-economic condition can convince them that the dowry classing concept is one of the life necessities they need to maintain. that must be lived.

In this process, society places the texts of life, such as background motives such as requests from parents, recognition from society about the status of spinster for women aged 20 years and over, feel less with their lonely status, or those who never failed with domestic life in the past, then fostering a pragmatic attitude or local traditions that have been justified based on the legitimacy of local religious leaders, as the belief that choosing a husband who can form a happy and stable family is a good action.

The existence of a dowry class based on a classification accompanied by motives and goals does not violate the rules of Islamic law, even though Islam recommends an easy and simple dowry, there is nothing wrong with a woman and or a family who determines a dowry for the good of her daughter's life. The shows the public's concern for women to determine the dowry because a woman also deserves to get the best dowry according to her version.³³

The real result of the externalization process in the process of determining the dowry is the magnitude of the surrounding environment which can influence people's thinking patterns. So with that, even though some individuals have their thoughts on determining the dowry, in the end, they will still follow this local tradition that has been passed down from generation to generation. As for some other individuals, apply the process of determining the dowry based on this classification because of the motives and goals to be achieved.

³³ One of the motivations that can encourage women to choose their dowry is that there is a desire to be respected not only as a material issue. See Ibnu Irawan, *Mahar*, 129-130.

2. The Activation Process

In terms of its relation to the process of determining the dowry in the marriage of the Karangsono Village community, the objectivation process that occurs is divided into several stages, namely:

- a. First, that the product resulting from the externalization process will form other facts outside the individual. This momentum is defined as a process of institutionalizing the intersubjective struggle between individuals and their social world. This then gives rise to something that stands alone between individuals, which is different from its creation and becomes an entity outside of oneself.

That way, the product that is produced and stands alone is a human product as well or an implication of the activities carried out by humans continuously with the social structure it faces. Apart from the elements of certain subject control, it means that there is an intersubjective network process that influences, institutionalizes, and habituates it until it finally gets affirmation as well as justification.

- b. The next stage is the process of building awareness until it finally becomes an action, or what is called institutionalization. In this stage, the goals and values that become the basis for carrying out a meaning that is no longer singular have become an inseparable part, as done and recognized by the people of Karangsono Village.

The process of determining the dowry in marriage carried out by the people of Karangsono Village shows a picture related to the existence of struggles and interactions with religious texts and local traditions whose meaning is understood through the process of study. Each individual understands that the process of determining a dowry is part of the important religious practice and must be carefully thought through, in which various meanings are stored by following with the motives experienced.

Such a perspective seems to have been mutually agreed, that determining the dowry based on the classification of the bride-to-be can provide a better life, create happiness, and maintain the integrity of the family later. From there, it

can be seen that there is a process of institutionalizing thought and action, namely a process formed from objective social reality, which is produced through cultural patterns and gaining mutual understanding, which ultimately influences the mindset and actions of each individual.

This classification of women in the dowry class is a form of settlement that has indirectly been mutually agreed upon on the many reasons or motives that the family and/or women want to achieve. The unconsciousness in the formation of this collective agreement is an objective form. If a different action appears, the people of Karangsono Village feel that this action has violated the agreement. Dialectically, society produces a social reality. This fact then also influences the mindset of each individual to interpret the process of determining the dowry in marriage. At this level, individuals are not just following along, but they understand and are fully aware of the motives, goals, and values of the actions they take.

- c. The last stage is a process of rational action aimed at becoming part of everyday life, or what is commonly known as the capitalization process. So that at this stage, individuals no longer need a lot of meaning for action. Given the actions that have been taken have become part of the calculation and accumulation.

Any process that encourages the mindset and action of the Karangsono Village community does not only originate from individual activities, but also as a reality that has been objectivated through an intersubjective pattern. This means that the reality that exists in Karangsono Village, both past and present, is the meeting point of community activities as an objective social reality.

As a phenomenon, this reality is outside the individual but also influences his mindset and actions. So, like it or not, each individual must pay close attention to the process of determining the dowry, based on the classification possessed by the bride.

Thus, individuals have experienced a capitalization process in determining the amount of the dowry. This

capitalization process will give birth to different motives and goals. This is what distinguishes it from the externalization process, where the actions taken are more based on previous interpretations.

The role of religion and government figures also seems to be involved in maintaining the continuity of the capitalization process related to determining the number of dowries in Karangsono Village. This is evidenced by the presence of uploaded money which is included in the details of the dowry amount. Given that the uploaded money is security money that will later be given to RT, RW, Dusun, and Desa.

Not only the *unggakan* money can preserve the process of determining the dowry is also supported by the existence of *jenang abang*. The groom will pay his *jenang abang* money as a sign that he will marry a woman in Karangsono village. That way, the public will not arise questions regarding the marriage carried out by the two.

The justification from local religious leaders has also increasingly encouraged people to continue the process of determining the dowry in this way. Support from all parties allows this capitalization process to take place properly and sustainably. So that the practice is carried out continuously by the people of Karangsono Village. this practice has become a social reality that is continuously undergoing a socialization process, which will continue to be carried out for their children and grandchildren.

3. Internalization Process

In this internalization process, the role of society is quite important to respond to the meanings that exist in objective reality, then proceed to affirmation in the consciousness experienced subjectively. To realize this absorption activity, of course, rely on the continuous socialization process. Socialization is intended as an effort to transfer knowledge about objective meanings from one generation to the next.

The involvement of people who have charisma in the arena of social construction is an important aspect in maintaining the sustainability of the social values that are being faced. When

looking at the social construction model in determining the marriage dowry for the people of Karangsono Village, influential people, such as religious leaders, government leaders, and community leaders, will participate in the socialization process. This process is carried out to increase the attractiveness and sympathy of the community so that what is conveyed will be easily internalized by each individual.

With socialization, it is possible to move the objective reality that is outside the individual to the subjective reality that is within the individual. Things like this can be seen in the number of figures, from religious leaders, government figures to community leaders who also socialize the process of determining dowries based on classes, namely the classifications owned by the prospective bride related to virginity status, the appearance of beauty and age. In this way, continuous production of meaning will be created from one generation to the next.

In the process of internalization, what is manifested is the re-absorption by individuals of the values contained in determining the dowry based on classes, then it is manifested in the process of determining the dowry of marriage. This awareness stage is then able to become a common bond between communities to respect each other, live in harmony, and produce an agreed collective meaning.

Naturally, this reality continues to create dialectical relationships, in the sense that the internalization process experienced by society will occur over a length time, because the order of people's lives is never stagnant and dynamic, even though the entities that occur experience changes along with the changing times. Until finally, this continuity will affect the individual in absorbing the values, which then form a distinctive personality and also apply in society.

In the study of social construction theory, the internalization process for the people of Karangsono Village includes two moments, namely:

a. Pragmatic calculative

Each individual certainly has a specific goal when they want to take an action. Likewise with the people of Karangsono Village, of course, they also have goals to be

achieved when going through the process of determining the dowry in their marriage. They said that the goal was to secure a better future, to form an economically stable family, to make the wife happy, and to elevate the status of the wife and her family.

b. Religious normative

At this moment, as a society that is devout in religion and strong in religious education, of course, it will be very avoiding having a husband-wife relationship without any marital ties, or even selling oneself because of the motives they experience. So that in practice, the people of Karangsono Village prefer to maintain the existing local traditions, namely determining dowries based on classes. They are of the view that the process of determining the dowry in this way does not violate religious rules at all.

Based on the dialectic of the Berger and Luckman social construction model above, it can be understood that the determination of the dowry based on the classes in the community of Karangsono Village is an integral part of the process of adaptation, interaction, and identification with the sociocultural world. The social construction process that occurs starts from defining, responding, taking an attitude, and taking action. The actions taken vary, of course, according to the motives behind each individual.

Thus, the determination of the classes in the dowry that occurred in Karangsono Village was the result of construction in the community's marriage. So that the concept of the dowry class can be justified and applied in the marriage of the community. The concept of the dowry class in marriage in question is to determine the dowry based on the status of a virgin or widow, the appearance of beauty, and the age of the prospective bride. The higher the quality of the woman, the higher the dowry she can get.

Conclusion

The concept of dowry class in Karangsono Village is based on the characteristic of prospective brides, namely marital status (virgins or widows), physical beauty, and age. This applies to both registered and unregistered or *sirri* marriages. The higher qualification a woman

has, the higher the dowry she can get. Meanwhile, according to the social construction theory of Berger and Luckmann, there found three stages of the process. Externalization occurs through adaptation of religious texts to life experience. After that, it happens objectivation process which gives birth to new meanings in a form of a wider community's behavior which then becomes common objective facts in everyday life. The last stage, namely internalization, is signed by affirmation on the awareness that individuals subjectively experience it as well as the transfer of knowledge on objective meanings. In this context, the knowledge is about the dowry class which has been told and kept across generations.

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