



Islamic Education Contribution on The Shifting of Madurese Women Social Relation

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Abstract

Keywords:
Patriarchy;
Islamic
Education;
Madurese
Women.

Starting with the significant rapid development of economic growth in Madura moreover the existence of cigarette Madurese workers, the authors are interested to study deeper about it and also the Islamic education contribution to the changing of Madurese social relations. Because of this phenomenon, shifting of social relations did not only happen in household relations but also massively happens in Madura. This research uses phenomenological approach to understand the phenomenon faced by the subject of the research, here the cigarette women workers. By using functional relation theory by Talcot Parson and social feminist theory by Fatimah Mernissi, the authors analyze this shifting and find the following results; social relation shifting pattern of madurese cigarette workers happens because of the increased understanding about gender relation, while the process of shifting can be seen in the patterns of family's leaderships which are more democratic and responsive to women, and Madurese women have already been believed as leaders in some sides of society. Meanwhile, the Islamic education is the endogenous factor which grows and becomes the Madurese women's characteristic so that Madurese women tend to firmly hold the Islamic norms in their lives. Madurese women's social relation is built on the strong religious foundation and this makes the family and social life in Madura become the place to preserve worship.

Abstrak:

Kata Kunci:
Patriarki; Pendidikan
Islam; Perempuan
Madura.

Fenomena perempuan bekerja di industri rokok menjadi fenomena baru di Madura yang menarik untuk dikaji, terutama terkait perubahan yang terjadi dalam relasi sosial masyarakat Madura dan kontribusi pendidikan Islam di dalamnya. Pergeseran relasi sosial tidak hanya dalam konteks rumah tangga, akan tetapi dalam masyarakat yang terjadi secara masif di Madura. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan fenomenologis untuk memahami fenomena yang dialami oleh subjek penelitian yakni perempuan pekerja di industri rokok. Dengan menggunakan teori relasi fungsional Talcot Parson dan Teori Sosial Feminis Muslim Fatimah Mernissi sebagai pisau analisis

menghasilkan beberapa beberapa temuan yaitu: pola pergeseran relasi sosial perempuan pekerja rokok di Madura terjadi karena berkembangnya pemahaman tentang relasi gender, Proses terjadinya pergeseran relasi sosial perempuan di Madura dapat dilihat pada pola kepemimpinan keluarga yang demokratis dan responsif terhadap perempuan, dan perempuan Madura sudah mulai dipercaya menjadi pemimpin, baik di tingkat rukun tetangga (RT) maupun kepala desa. Adapun kontribusi pendidikan Islam dalam proses pergeseran relasi sosial perempuan Madura adalah sebagai faktor endogen yang tertanam dalam diri perempuan madura dan menjadi karakter sehingga perempuan Madura tetap memegang teguh norma-norma agama Islam dalam kehidupannya. Pola relasi sosial perempuan Madura dibangun di atas fondasi keagamaan yang kuat, sehingga kehidupan keluarga dan masyarakat menjadi ladang ibadah untuk mendekatkan diri kepada Allah SWT.

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1. Introduction

The Madurese community living in rural areas mostly falls within the lower middle class¹. The majority earn their living through farming and working as construction laborers. In their social culture, men are responsible for being the family breadwinners. They work to meet their living needs, even though sometimes the wages they receive are insufficient to support their families. The crops from farming generally only suffices to meet the family's food needs. Other needs, such as children's education fee and healthcare costs, are still insufficient.

The paradigm of male superiority over females seems to be increasingly rejected by some communities along with the widespread issue of women's emancipation,² As observed in Madura, women now hold equal positions in terms of working in public spaces.³ Interestingly, Madurese women have long been associated with being hard-working⁴, tenacious⁵ and persistent.⁶ This shows that Madurese women have been able to establish themselves as economic contributors. The character of Madurese women is shaped by geographical factors. Madura is a less fertile area, necessitating that both men and women work to support the family's livelihood. This situation has led many Madurese migrate to other regions.

¹ Hasanatul Jannah, *Ulama Perempuan Madura: Otoritas Dan Relasi Gender* (IRCiSoD, 2020).

² Achmad Mulyadi, "Perempuan Madura Pesisir Meretas Budaya Mode Produksi Patriarkat," *KARSA: Journal of Social and Islamic Culture*, 2011, 200–213.

³ Naufal Ihya'Ulummudin et al., "MEMBONGKAR BUDAYA PATRIARKI MADURA: STUDI FENOMENOLOGI PASAR TRADISIONAL DI DESA LABANG SEBAGAI RUANG PUBLIK PEREMPUAN MADURA," *Jurnal Ilmiah Penalaran Dan Penelitian Mahasiswa* 6, no. 2 (2022): 142–57.

⁴ Achmad Mulyadi, "Perempuan Madura Pesisir Meretas Budaya Mode Produksi Patriarkat," *KARSA: Journal of Social and Islamic Culture*, 2011, 200–213

⁵ HASANATUL JANNAH, "ULAMA PEREMPUAN MADURA: Otoritas Dan Relasi Gender Perspektif Feminis Muslim Indonesia" (PhD Thesis, Universitas Airlangga, 2019).

⁶ Rizca Yunike Putri and Fajar Muharram, "Perempuan Madura, Tradisi Lokal Dan Gender," in *Seminar Nasional Gender & Kebudayaan Madura III, Madura: Perempuan, Budaya & Perubahan*, 2016, 47–52.

The rising cost of living and the lower earnings of husbands have made people realize that women can also support the family economy by working outside the house.⁷ The wages they earn can be used to meet daily needs and children's education fee. Based on an interview with an informant, it is known that women working in cigarette factories earn around one hundred and twenty thousand rupiah a day, while their husbands earn only eighty thousand rupiah as construction laborers.⁸ Similarly, Suryani mentioned that money earned from working outside can meet her family's needs because her husband has long been unemployed since returning from migration.⁹

The community's understanding of gender relations grows and develops from an understanding of tolerance, allowing flexibility in thinking to achieve equality and fairness in roles, creating harmonious family relationships. Additionally, democratic leadership patterns have begun to develop in Madura, and the community has become more responsive to women. This can be seen in several domestic activities that are no longer taboo for men to perform, such as childcare and kitchen chores.¹⁰

The shift in roles is also happen from the women's independence and success in managing multiple roles, both domestic and public, such as working in the cigarette industry.¹¹ This requires support, both from the women themselves (internal) and from their environment. Working women must balance their time, roles, and energy between these duties. As a result, many women experience burnout when returning home to find some domestic works to do, especially with high social demands from those around them, causing internal pressure on them. This sometimes leads to high levels of emotion and household conflicts due to the dual burdens¹² they bear. An imbalance in performing roles leads to inequality.

Balance will create a social ordered system. Order is achieved when there is a structure or hierarchy within the family, where each individual knows their position and adheres to the values underlying that structure. To achieve this balance, three main elements within the family structure must be interconnected: social status, social roles, and social norms.¹³ The strong support for patriarchy in predominantly Muslim countries, including Indonesia, has a simple reason: religious fundamentalism is not a marginal phenomenon but a norm to be followed.¹⁴

The social norms in Madura are based on religious norms. Therefore, Madurese women uphold religious values, respecting and honoring their husbands and still viewing them as the leaders, especially in making family decisions such as choosing educational institutions for their children. Similarly,

⁷ Eva Norma Sari and Nur Hidayah, "Fenomena Kehidupan Buruh Gendong Perempuan Di Pasar Giwangan," *E-Societas* 7, no. 2 (2018).

⁸ Huzaimah, *interview*, 12 Juni 2023

⁹ Suryani, *interview*, 12 Juni 2023.

¹⁰ Halimatus Sa'diyah, *observation*, 18 Juni 2023.

¹¹ Sri Nurhayati, *observation*, 12 Mei 2023.

¹² Al Muhajidin Noor, Husna Nashihin, and Muslimah Muslimah, "Teori Dan Analisis Wacana Keadilan Serta Kesetaraan Gender Pada Perempuan," *Attractive: Innovative Education Journal* 4, no. 1 (2022): 323–34, <http://digilib.iain-palangkaraya.ac.id/4437/>.

¹³ Danik Fujiati, "Relasi Gender Dalam Institusi Keluarga Dalam Pandangan Teori Sosial Dan Feminis," *Muwazah* 6, no. 1 (June 2014): 153130, <https://www.neliti.com/publications/153130/>.

¹⁴ Cemal Öztürk, "Revisiting the Islam-Patriarchy Nexus: Is Religious Fundamentalism the Central Cultural Barrier to Gender Equality?," *Zeitschrift Für Religion, Gesellschaft Und Politik* 7, no. 1 (May 1, 2023): 173–206, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41682-022-00130-3>.

men (husbands or fathers) are now more open to discussing and involving women (wives/mothers) in decision-making, fostering mutual respect within the family. This shift is interesting and provides a strategic reason for research, considering that Madurese women still adhere to Islamic educational values in today's millennial life, even though they economically support their families.

Studies on women in Madura have been discussed from various perspectives, including religion,¹⁵ socio-economics¹⁶ and culture.¹⁷ Unlike previous research that focused on one aspect, this study aims to examine women's roles both in their religious aspects, which are principles for Madurese women in social interactions when working in cigarette factories to help the family economy, forming new habits without losing the Islamic traditions of Madura. There are also studies on female Madurese ulama, exploring their roles in the public sector by preaching and *pengajian* in the community.¹⁸ Additionally, research on coastal Madurese women explores their daily activities.

All these researches does not yet discuss about what are the Islamic Education contribution in affecting the women shifting social relation in Madura

2. Methods

This research uses a qualitative approach with a phenomenological type. Qualitative research aims to understand phenomena experienced by research subjects, described in words and language within a specific natural context using various scientific methods.¹⁹ This study focuses more on the subjective experiences, interpretations, social and cultural contexts of the Madurese community, particularly women working in cigarette factories. The selection of research subjects is based on age classification and the number of children they have, assuming that women with more children will need more time to share roles with other family members. The researcher chose respondents aged 25-35, assuming they are still active and productive. There are 10 respondents spread across the regions of Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep.

Data sources were obtained from interviews and observations. Observations were conducted to obtain data on the process of cultural shift in patriarchal patterns in Madura. Interviews were conducted to gather data about female cigarette workers in Madura, focusing on their interpretation of Islamic education and its relationship to women's social relations, both within the family and in the community. Documentation is required as evidence of activities indicating the shift in women's social relations in Madura.

¹⁵ Tania Putri Anhary, "Kajian Sosiologi Islam Terhadap Patriarki Dan Bias Gender Di Madura," *Al-Mada: Jurnal Agama, Sosial, Dan Budaya* 6, no. 2 (April 14, 2023): 364–75, <https://doi.org/10.31538/almada.v6i2.3380>.

¹⁶ Stevany Afrizal and Polelah Lelah, "Peran Ganda Perempuan Dalam Peningkatan Perekonomian Keluarga: Studi Kasus Pada Perempuan Bekerja Di Kecamatan Padarincang Kabupaten Serang," *Indonesian Journal of Sociology, Education, and Development* 3, no. 1 (2021): 53–62.

¹⁷ Karkono Karkono, Justitia Maulida, and Putri Salma Rahmadiyah, "Budaya Patriarki Dalam Film Kartini (2017) Karya Hanung Bramantyo," *Kawruh: Journal of Language Education, Literature and Local Culture* 2, no. 1 (2020).

¹⁸ Hasanatul Jannah, *Ulama Perempuan Madura: Otoritas dan Relasi Gender* (IRCISOD, 2020). 138

¹⁹ J. Moleong Lexy, "Metode Penelitian Kualitatif," (Bandung: Rosda Karya, 2002), 50336–71.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Shift in Social Relations of Female Cigarette Workers in Madura

Gender roles refer to the system of social task distribution, including cultural and political aspects, encompassing all elements of public rights between men and women, which specifically characterize their biological identities. Ideally, gender roles should not merely identify the differences between men and women based on non-physical activities, but should focus more on social roles in society.²⁰ Each person typically performs a single role. For instance, women are often identified with traditional female gender roles, such as being housewives, caring for children, and other similar tasks. Similarly, men are identified with gender roles that position them as household heads, breadwinners, and figures of authority and others

The presence of women in the domestic sphere has led to the perception of women as "the second human" in the context of household life. This perception arises from the belief that women's abilities and reasoning are less perfect than men's. However, domestic tasks are merely roles and routine activities that can be performed or replaced by anyone, not inherently women's duties.²¹ Anyone can perform domestic tasks, but in Madura, it is considered "taboo" for men to wash clothes and dishes, care for children, or cook.

In Indonesia, including Madura, women generally have dual roles.²² Most non-essential family roles are almost entirely assigned to women, unlike men who focus solely on their inherent roles. Women cannot abandon their domestic roles even if they work outside the house. The strength of women's roles in the domestic sector is reflected in a popular Madurese expression, "mon reng bini' paggun toron ka depor" (if you are still a wife, you must do the household duties). Society typically views all domestic roles as the destined fate of women, predetermined by God. However, these roles can be exchanged between men and women, unlike the innate female role of giving birth, breastfeeding, and the male role of fertilization.

The existence of women plays a crucial role in the continuity of households, not only in managing family finances from their husband's income but also in striving to meet their family's needs for economic sustainability.²³ This is evident among some women in Madura, particularly in the regions of Pamekasan, Sampang, and Sumenep, who work in cigarette factories. Madurese women are able to seize job opportunities in their local areas by utilizing their skills in packaging and wrapping cigarettes at local factories to support their family economy.

²⁰ Taufiq Ahmad, "Islam Dan Gerakan Kesetaraan Gender di Indonesia," *Universum* 1, no. 01 (2007): 53–62.

²¹ Mariatul Qibiyah Harun Ar, "RETHINKING PERAN PEREMPUAN DALAM KELUARGA," *Karsa: Jurnal Sosial dan Budaya Keislaman* 23, no. 1 (June 5, 2015): 17–35, <https://doi.org/10.19105/karsa.v23i1.607>.

²² Widodo, et.al., *Peran yang berhubungan dengan urusan atau pekerjaan rumah tangga*. Kamus Ilmiah Populer Dilengkapi Ejaan yang Disempurnakan dan Pembentukan Istilah (Yogyakarta: Ab-solut, 2002), hlm. 107.

²³ Dewi Cahyani Puspitasari, "Modal Sosial Perempuan Dalam Peran Penguatan Ekonomi Keluarga," *Jurnal Pemikiran Sosiologi* 1, no. 2 (December 14, 2015): 69–80, <https://doi.org/10.22146/jps.v1i2.23445>.

Here is documentation of female cigarette workers in Larangan.



Figure 1
Female Cigarette Workers

When women take part to assist their husbands in fulfilling economic needs, they automatically accept the consequence of playing dual roles.²⁴ They must divide their thoughts, time, and energy between work and family.²⁵

Working women deserve more attention as a form of justice because they spend their time working outside the house. Nancy Fraser's concept of social justice, which includes the dimensions of redistribution and recognition, aligns with this²⁶. Fraser proposes a two-dimensional concept of justice that encompasses claims from both dimensions without diminishing either one.²⁷ In Fraser's perspective, the theories of recognition and redistribution often operate separately without intersecting, both practically and intellectually.

The pattern of male-female relations in families follows the values established in society. The socio-economic relations of cigarette workers in Madura appear to be influenced by a liberal-democratic society that tends towards egalitarianism. There is a balance between the roles of men and women in the family, creating a well-ordered social system (social order).²⁸ This balance can be seen in the division of domestic tasks between husband and wife.

According to Talcott Parsons' theory, achieving balance requires three main elements in the internal family structure: social status, social roles, and social

²⁴ Anshori, Muhammad Isa. "KONFLIK PERAN GANDA PARA PENGUSAHA PEREMPUAN PADA USAHA KECIL DI MADURA." *Journal of Innovation in Business and Economics* 1, no. 02 (2010).

²⁵ Zahra Zaini Arif, "Peran Ganda Perempuan Dalam Keluarga Perspektif Feminisme Muslim Indonesia," *Indonesian Journal of Islamic Law* 1, no. No.2 (June 2019): 97–126.

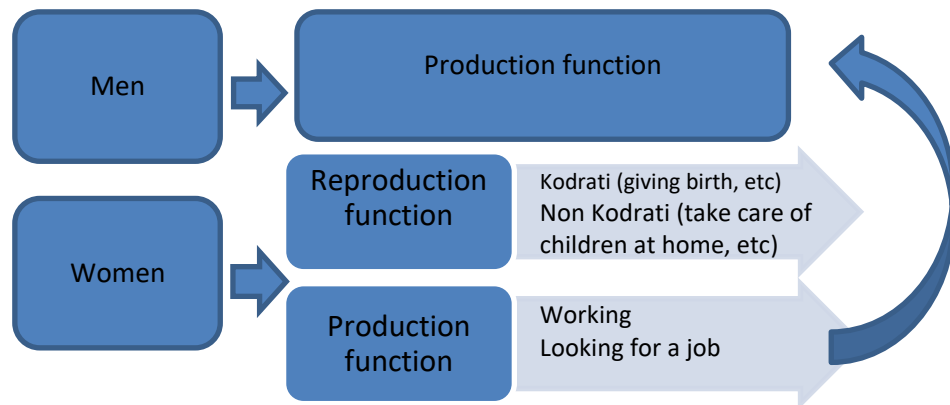
²⁶ Amin Mudzakkir, "Feminisme Kritis: Kritik Kapitalisme Nancy Fraser Dan Relevansinya Bagi Indonesia" (PhD Thesis, Driyarkara School of Philosophy, 2021).

²⁷ Nancy Fraser and Axel Honneth, *Redistribution or Recognition?: A Political-Philosophical Exchange* (Verso, 2003).

²⁸ Fujjati, "Relasi Gender Dalam Institusi Keluarga Dalam Pandangan Teori Sosial Dan Feminis."

norms.²⁹ Additionally, order is created when family members are aware of their positions and adhere to the prevailing norms or value systems. Similarly, in society, Madurese women now have broader opportunities to hold government positions such as neighborhood leaders, village heads, and legislative candidates. Research indicates a positive correlation between the increasing number of female legislators and the enactment of laws related to women's empowerment and the reduction of gender-discriminatory practices.³⁰ Thus, the involvement of Madurese women in legislative roles demonstrates an increase in their empowerment.

Hereby the visualizing shifting social role of Madurese women.



Gambar 2 Female social relation workers pattern

Generally, female cigarette workers in Madura are graduated from Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) or have at least studied religious teachings (*ngaji*)³¹ from *kyai* or *ibu nyai*. This instills a principle of obedience to their husbands and respect for them regardless of circumstances. Even if a wife's income exceeds that of her husband, she still respect him as the head of the household and never underestimate his financial contributions. Madurese women typically exhibit "qona'ah" (contentment), accepting what their husbands provide without any objection, and finding ways to meet their family's needs through their own efforts.

As devout Muslims, these women adhere to all religious obligations, which brings inner peace and boosts their enthusiasm for work and charitable acts. What a woman needs most in this regard is the boundaries of the work she must choose, as it must align with her specific situation, conditions, and the demands of her job and profession. This is to avoid creating undesirable social issues. Becoming a tobacco worker in an enclosed space is considered suitable by some people in Madura because, in addition to being close to their homes, the factory also provides health insurance to its employees. Moreover, there is special

²⁹ Thomas W. Parsons, "Separation of Speech from Interfering Speech by Means of Harmonic Selection," *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 60, no. 4 (October 1, 1976): 911–18, <https://doi.org/10.1121/1.381172>.

³⁰ Abeeda Qureshi and Sara Ahmad, "Reserved Seats for Women in Pakistan: Reinforcement of Patriarchy and Powerlessness (2002–2018)," *Women's Studies International Forum* 94 (September 1, 2022): 102629, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2022.102629>.

³¹ Mohammad Kosim, "Langgar Sebagai Institusi Pendidikan Keagamaan Islam," *TADRIS: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 4, no. 2 (2009).

transportation that usually shuttles employees to and from the tobacco factory.³² Her husband or family no longer has to worry about her safety and security.

Islam also allows women to develop their careers according to their fields and abilities, as long as they do not forget their nature and obligations as Muslim women. The obligations of a Muslim woman include covering her aurat (modesty) when going outside, lowering her gaze, and behaving modestly in front of the opposite sex. Women must also ensure that they work in environments where men and women do not stay in one place, to avoid slander.³³

The work of packaging and labeling cigarettes requires persevering character and is generally only done by women. Additionally, female tobacco workers in Madura are given a special place to perform their tasks, ensuring they do not mix with men and can maintain their modesty. Women in Madura occupy separate spaces from men, both at work and in other public places. This separation reflects the great care the community has for women, viewing them as individuals who must be protected and as symbols of men's struggle to uphold their dignity in society. Religious education is considered the most important subject for Madurese women to learn before studying other fields of knowledge.³⁴ This is what makes Madurese women more courteous in their actions and speech. Even though they have important roles in society and earn their own income, they remain obedient and respectful to their husbands as the heads of the household.³⁵

Not only within the family context, but female tobacco workers in Madura are also able to demonstrate their existence in society as independent women. They do not rely on men, especially in financial matters. True independence provides the strength to take actions born from mature thinking and a vision that our behavior is the result of conscious choices based on values, not the result of circumstances and conditioning. This shows that the independence of Madurese women is one form of the shifting socio-economic relations in Madura.

3.2 Islamic Education and its Contribution to the shift of Madurese Women Social Relation.

Islam places education in a very vital position, as can be seen in the Qur'an, Surah Al-Alaq, verses 1-5, which were first revealed to the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) and begin with the command "read." Reading is an activity that not only involves the senses but also requires the engagement of the intellect to understand what is being read..³⁶ The term for education in Islam is more commonly known as "tarbiyah," "ta'lim," and "ta'dib." Although there are some differences among these terms, they all represent the true practice of Islamic education, which involves not only the transfer of knowledge but also the transfer of values. As Mohammad Athiyah states, the general principle of Islamic education is to develop students' abilities to think critically, independently, and

³² Halimatus Sa'diyah, *Pergeseran Relasi Sosial-ekonomi*, Observation, 14 Agustus 2023.

³³ Nurussakinah Daulay, "PANDANGAN ISLAM DAN PSIKOLOGI TERHADAP TRANSFORMASI PEREMPUAN," *Al-Tahrir: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 15, no. 2 (December 14, 2015): 263–82, <https://doi.org/10.21154/al-tahrir.v15i2.266>.

³⁴ Tatik Hidayati Tatik Hidayati, "Perempuan Madura Antara Tradisi Dan Industrialisasi," *KARSA: Journal of Social and Islamic Culture*, 2009, 62–74.

³⁵ Sri Wahyuni, *interview*, 26 Juni 2023.

³⁶ Zainal Abidin, "Kesetaraan Gender Dan Emansipasi Perempuan Dalam Pendidikan Islam," *Tarbawiyah: Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan* 12, no. 01 (February 23, 2017): 1–17, <https://e-journal.metrouniv.ac.id/index.php/tarbawiyah/article/view/420>.

democratically, while taking into account their individual tendencies, including intellectual intelligence and talents, with an emphasis on the development of good character (akhlak).³⁷

Therefore, the purpose of Islamic education must be consistent with human life's goal, which is to cover all aspects of life, both in this world and in the Hereafter. As Allah says in the Qur'an in Az-Zariyat verse 56:

وَمَا خَلَقْتُ الْجِنَّ وَالْإِنْسَ إِلَّا لِيَعْبُدُونِ

"And I did not create jins and men except that they should worship Me"

The ultimate goal of Islamic education is to worship God and to establish Islamic Shariah. Worship is not only talking about prayer, but covering good deeds and seeking the righteousness of God will be worship. True Islamic education should be given from an early age as a cultivation of the values of tauhid and *akhlakul karimah*. As a parent he should give advice and example to his children to always do their obligations as a Muslim and away from his prohibitions as a form of faith and fear of God.³⁸ According to Muhammad Athiyah al-Abrasyi, one of the indicators of achieving the goal of Islamic education is increasing faith and fear of Allah.³⁹

Islamic education for Madurese people is the most important thing. So from an early age, children will be instructed to study in *langgar* until he steps the teens.⁴⁰ *Langgar* is the place to study knowledge of the Qur'an and other religions. Besides, people usually prefer Islamic schools to the formal schools of their children. There was also a school in Madrasah Diniyah in the afternoon when his child was in public school in the morning. It is so because children have a strong supply of religious knowledge for their life after they grow up. It seems to be really effective Islamic education given from the earliest, because the child will form an Islamic character if the understanding of religion he has acquired is firm and strong in him. Islamic education is a solution in the midst of the moral decadence that exists in society in the millennial era as it is today.⁴¹

For example, Madurese women who pursue careers outside the home continue to perform domestic roles as a form of devotion to their husbands. They also respect their husbands, even if the husbands do not fulfill the family's needs, demonstrating the significant contribution of Islamic education in shaping the character of Madurese women who remain obedient to their husbands as a manifestation of their obedience to Allah SWT and His Messenger. As revealed in an interview with Mrs. Hozaimah at her house, "I work at this cigarette factory to help supporting the family economy, and I still perform my duties as a wife and mother at home, such as preparing food and meeting the children's needs. For me, my role at home or in the family is my devotion to my husband and family. If my husband is not pleased with me, then Allah will not be pleased with what I do. I got this advice from my teacher when I studied at the mosque."⁴²

³⁷ Athiyah al-Abrosyi, *Dasar-Dasar Pokok Ajaran Pendidikan Islam* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1970). 3

³⁸ Isnanita Noviya Andriyani, "PENDIDIKAN ISLAM DALAM KELUARGA DAN MASYARAKAT," *AL-MANAR: Jurnal Komunikasi Dan Pendidikan Islam* 5, no. 1 (June 1, 2016), <https://www.journal.staimisyk.ac.id/index.php/almanar/article/view/16>.

³⁹ Halimatus Sa'diyah, "PROFIL GURU IDEAL DALAM PANDANGAN MUHAMMAD 'ATHIYAH AL-A BRASYI" 7 (2012).

⁴⁰ Kosim, "Langgar Sebagai Institusi Pendidikan Keagamaan Islam."

⁴¹ Halimatus Sa'diyah, "The Concept of Ismail Radji Al-Faruqi Islamic Education as a Solution in the Millennial Era," *Journal of Contemporary Islamic Education* 1, no. 1 (2021): 21–33, <https://journal.iaimnumetrolampung.ac.id/index.php/cie/article/view/1381>.

⁴² Hozaimah, *interview*, 26 Juni 2023.

Mrs. Hozaimah's statement indicates that the knowledge of Islamic education within her is firmly embedded, so even though she works and earns some income, she remains obedient to her husband and continues to perform domestic duties as a form of her devotion to her husband and family. On the other hand, Madurese women are aware of the opportunities to pursue careers and play roles in the public space. This awareness enhances women's existence and erodes the patriarchal culture in Madura. However, Madurese women adhere firmly to the Islamic teachings they follow, avoiding actions that violate their religious principles.

The collaboration and justice within the family through the division of roles and functions make society aware that both domestic and public roles can be performed by anyone and it is interchangeable.⁴³ Nowadays, some men in Madura have started to get used to performing domestic tasks, which some people in Madura still consider "taboo." Moreover, husbands are now involving women in family decision-making. For instance, when choosing their child's school, a husband will seek his wife's and child's input before making a decision, even though the final decision is made by the father. As Mrs. Rohani stated, "Whenever a decision needs to be made, my husband always asks for my agreement or disagreement and the reasons if I disagree, such as when our child was going to study at a boarding school. My husband wanted our child to study in Java, but I preferred Madura."⁴⁴ This shows that women are involved in family decision-making. Mutual dependence, respect, and consideration reflect tolerance and accountability in resource use, demonstrating "good governance" at the family level.⁴⁵

The social relations of Madurese women are built on a strong religious foundation, making family and community life a field of worship to get closer to Allah SWT. Harmonious family and community life must be preserved by managing human resources in various activities (domestic, public, and community) to address current and future challenges.

Female cigarette workers in Madura have shown that their position is equal to men in terms of religious, social, and economic education. This aligns with Fatima Mernissi's view that, theologically, women have a high status equal to men according to their nature.⁴⁶ Madurese women, accustomed to activities outside the home, whether working or studying, believe they will receive rewards as their intention is to worship Allah. The Quran frequently mentions that faith and good deeds go hand in hand, as in the verse "al-ladina amanu, wa 'amilu al-sholihat," meaning "those who believe and do good deeds."

4. Conclusion

The findings of this research include several key points: the pattern of shifting social relations among female cigarette workers in Madura is influenced by an evolving understanding of gender relations. The process of social relations shifting among Madurese women can be observed in the pattern of democratic family leadership that is responsive to women. Moreover, women in Madura are increasingly trusted to take on leadership roles at the neighborhood (RT), headman, and even legislative levels. The contribution of Islamic education to the

⁴³ Abidin, "Kesetaraan Gender Dan Emansipasi Perempuan Dalam Pendidikan Islam."

⁴⁴ Rohani, *interview*, 21 Juni 2023.

⁴⁵ Andriyani, "PENDIDIKAN ISLAM DALAM KELUARGA DAN MASYARAKAT."

⁴⁶ Siti Yumnah Syaukani, "PEMIKIRAN FATIMA MERNISSI TENTANG PENDIDIKAN ISLAM PERSPEKTIF GENDER," *Journal TALIMUNA* 10, no. 1 (2021): 24–41, <https://e-journal.staima-alhikam.ac.id/talimuna/article/view/489>.

process of shifting social relations among Madurese women is an internal factor embedded within them, forming their character so that they firmly stand on Islamic norms in their lives. The social relations patterns of Madurese women are built on a strong religious foundation, turning family and community life into a field of worship to draw closer to Allah SWT.

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