

Kinship Systems and the Internalization of Islamic Values among the Madurese Community in Tanean Lanjheng



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Abstract

The kinship system within Tanean Lanjheng plays a pivotal role in the transmission and internalization of Islamic values in the daily lives of the Madurese community. This process of internalization occurs within a traditional social space that not only reflects a physical settlement pattern but also embodies cultural symbols and practices deeply intertwined with religious teachings. This study seeks to analyze the kinship system present in Tanean Lanjheng settlements and to examine the mechanisms through which Islamic values are perpetuated across generations. Employing a qualitative case study approach, the research was conducted in Lieson Hamlet, Sumenep, utilizing participatory observation and in-depth interviews with local community leaders. Data analysis was informed by Berger and Luckmann's theory of social construction, Émile Durkheim's concept of social facts, and Clifford Geertz's notion of the cultural broker. The findings indicate that Tanean Lanjheng operates as a matrilineal social system that facilitates the collective transmission of Islamic values through processes of exemplification (uswah) and habituation (ta'dib), with the ghuru (teacher/cleric) serving as the principal agent. The internalization of values transpires not only through ritual practices but also via quotidian interactions and kinship solidarity. Nonetheless, the study identifies significant challenges, including the erosion of central family figures, social fragmentation resulting from youth mobility, and stratified patterns of value internalization linked to families' socio-religious status. These findings underscore the significance of Tanean Lanjheng as a contextually grounded model of Islamic values education that retains its relevance amid modernization.

Keywords:

Kinship system; Internalization of Islamic values; Tanean Lanjheng

Abstrak

Sistem kekerabatan di Tanean Lanjheng memiliki peran strategis dalam mewariskan serta menginternalisasi nilai-nilai keislaman dalam kehidupan masyarakat Madura. Internalisasi ini berlangsung melalui ruang sosial tradisional yang bukan hanya merepresentasikan tata ruang fisik, tetapi juga mengandung simbol dan praktik budaya yang terintegrasi dengan ajaran agama. Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis sistem kekerabatan dalam pemukiman Tanean Lanjheng serta mengkaji bagaimana proses internalisasi nilai keislaman dijalankan secara turun-temurun. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan studi kasus yang dilakukan di Dusun Lieson, Sumenep, melalui observasi partisipatif dan wawancara mendalam dengan tokoh lokal. Analisis data mengacu pada teori konstruksi sosial Berger & Luckmann, konsep fakta sosial Émile Durkheim, dan gagasan cultural broker Clifford Geertz. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Tanean Lanjheng berfungsi sebagai sistem sosial matrilineal yang memfasilitasi transmisi nilai Islam secara kolektif melalui mekanisme keteladanan (uswah) dan pembiasaan (ta'dib), dengan figur ghuru (guru/kiai) sebagai agen utama. Internalisasi nilai berlangsung tidak hanya dalam ranah ritual, tetapi juga melalui praktik keseharian dan solidaritas kekerabatan. Namun, penelitian juga menemukan tantangan serius, antara lain hilangnya figur sentral keluarga, fragmentasi sosial akibat mobilitas generasi muda, serta adanya stratifikasi pola internalisasi berdasarkan status sosial-keagamaan keluarga. Temuan ini menegaskan bahwa keberadaan Tanean Lanjheng penting sebagai model pendidikan nilai Islam yang kontekstual, berakar pada budaya lokal, sekaligus adaptif menghadapi arus modernisasi.

Kata kunci:

Sistem kekerabatan; Internalisasi nilai keislaman; Tanean Lanjheng

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Introduction

Islam in Madura occupies a distinctive position, having successfully preserved traditional social forms that are deeply intertwined with Islamic values. In this context, Islam functions not merely as a belief system but is integrally connected to modes of life, spatial organization, and social structures. Religious expression is evident not only in formal acts of worship but also in interpersonal relationships, community interactions, and patterns of settlement.¹ A particularly notable feature of Madurese society that embodies Islamic values is the Tanean Lanjeng, a traditional settlement composed of clusters of houses inhabited by interconnected families. This settlement symbolizes both genealogical ties and a shared living environment imbued with cultural values.² Within this framework, principles such as respect for parents, mutual cooperation, and emotional closeness among extended family members are cultivated within an organized system.³ Although these values are frequently associated with Islamic teachings, they are transmitted primarily through cultural and social practices that are not always explicitly religious.

Tanean Lanjeng represents a social space that integrates family members across multiple generations within a complex that is interconnected both physically and symbolically. Within this context, kinship functions not only as an indicator of blood relations but also as the basis for establishing norms, values, and collective practices.⁴ These ties are both structural and functional, particularly in facilitating the transmission of religious values. The close relationships among family members foster mechanisms for the daily internalization of Islamic values, whether in the dining area, the house veranda, or the courtyard where families convene and worship collectively.⁵ Therefore, it is essential to examine how kinship within Tanean Lanjeng operates in contemporary times and the degree to which it continues to serve as a primary conduit for Islamic socialization.

The kinship system and the socialization of Islamic values in Tanean Lanjeng are of considerable significance as they illustrate the interplay between religion and culture within a community that preserves its Islamic identity through unique social structures.⁶ Contemporary Islamic discourse frequently emphasizes formal institutions and new media as primary channels for the transmission of Islamic values, often

¹ Syamsuddin, *History of Madura: Sejarah, Budaya, Dan Ajaran Luhur Masyarakat Madura* (Yogyakarta: Araska, 2019), 89.

² Mohsi, "Langghar, Kophung Dan Bhaqaf Konservasi Kebudayaan Khazanah Keislaman Madura," *Sabda: Jurnal Kajian Kebudayaan* 14, no. 1 (2019): 15, <https://doi.org/10.14710/sabda.14.1.14-20>.

³ Salamet, "Etika Masyarakat Madura Dalam Tradisi Tanean Lanjeng," *Arete: Jurnal Filsafat* 8, no. 2 (2019): 139, <https://doi.org/10.33508/arete.v8i2.4014>.

⁴ Alfiandi Zikra, M. Iqbal Irham, and Sugeng Wanto, "Sejarah Peradaban Islam Di Pulau Madura," *Journal on Education* 5, no. 2 (2023): 3133, <https://doi.org/10.31004/joe.v5i2.975>.

⁵ Heni Listiana, Hesti Kusumawati, and Achmad Baidawi, *Potret Moderasi Beragama Di Madura* (Pamekasan: Duta Media Publishing, 2024), 64.

⁶ Samantha Bella Puri Bahesa and Nurudin Nurudin, "Etnografi Komunikasi Masyarakat Taneyan Lanjeng Sebagai Identitas Budaya Pamekasan," *Jurnal Penelitian dan Pengembangan Sains dan Humaniora* 5, no. 3 (2021): 475.

neglecting traditional forms of socialization, such as those observed in Tanean Lanjheng, within the sociology of Islam. However, a comprehensive understanding of the ways in which Islamic values are sustained and evolve within traditional family settings is essential to complement broader analyses of Islamic dynamics in Indonesia's pluralistic society.

Previous research has extensively examined the religious life of the Madurese community and the distinctive features of Tanean Lanjheng as a traditional settlement structure. Nevertheless, the specific mechanisms through which Islamic values are transmitted within the kinship system of Tanean Lanjheng remain insufficiently investigated. Some studies have focused on the ritualistic or symbolic aspects of Madurese religiosity, while others have explored the philosophical dimensions of Madurese social architecture. For example, Syukron Djazilan analyzed the socialization of Islamic values within both formal and informal educational settings in Surabaya, highlighting the pivotal role of religious instructors in shaping the Islamic identity of the urban Muslim middle class.⁷ In Madura, Elly Yulia Indra Lestari examined the local arasol tradition in Murtajih Village, Pamekasan, identifying it as a medium for inculcating Islamic values through communal thanksgiving rituals led by community leaders.⁸ Additionally, Raudlatul Jannah et.al investigated Tanean Lanjheng as a socio-philosophical space, emphasizing kinship values, cooperation, and bilateral family relations embedded within its structural organization.⁹

Building upon previous studies, the present research aims to analyze the kinship system of the Madurese community within Tanean Lanjheng settlements and to examine the ongoing processes of Islamic value socialization therein. Tanean Lanjheng functions not merely as a spatial arrangement but as the primary arena for the direct transmission of Islamic values through familial and communal interactions. This focus is particularly significant given, as noted by Zainul Hamdi, the relative paucity of scholarly attention devoted to the study of Islam in Madura.¹⁰ Consequently, this research not only enriches the academic discourse on Islam and local culture but also contributes to a more nuanced understanding of how religious values are continuously inherited and internalized within traditional communities amid evolving social dynamics.

⁷ Syukron Djazilan, "Proses Sosialisasi Dan Internalisasi Nilai-Nilai Ke-Islaman Pada Kelas Menengah Muslim Di Surabaya," *Education and Human Development Journal* 4, no. 1 (2019): 34, <https://doi.org/10.33086/ehdj.v4i1.1082>.

⁸ Elly Yulia Indra Lestari, "Internalisasi Nilai-Nilai Keislaman Dan Sosial Terhadap Tradisi Arasol Di Desa Murtajih Kecamatan Pademawu Kabupaten Pamekasan" (Skripsi Prodi Pendidikan Agama Islam Fakultas Tarbiyah Institut Agama Islam Negeri Madura, 2017), 24, [http://repo.iain-tulungagung.ac.id/5510/5/BAB 2.pdf](http://repo.iain-tulungagung.ac.id/5510/5/BAB%202.pdf).

⁹ Lestari, "Internalisasi Nilai-Nilai Keislaman Dan Sosial Terhadap Tradisi Arasol Di Desa Murtajih Kecamatan Pademawu Kabupaten Pamekasan," 24.

¹⁰ Ahmad Zainul Hamdi, "Dinamika Hubungan Islam Dan Lokalitas: Perebutan Makna Keislaman Di Madura," *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam* 8, no. 2 (2018): 135, <https://doi.org/10.15642/teosofi.2018.8.2.430-454>.

This study utilizes a qualitative methodology employing a case study approach to examine the kinship system of the Madurese community¹¹ residing in the Tanean Lanjheng settlement at Lieson Hamlet, Kalinget Timur Village, Kalianget District, Sumenep Regency. This approach was selected for its ability to provide comprehensive insights into the social dynamics, kinship relations, and spatial configurations influenced by local customs and religious values. Primary data were collected through in-depth interviews and participatory observation. Two principal informants, Zaenuddin and Subei—both esteemed members of the extended family living in Tanean Lanjheng—were interviewed over a two-day period using semi-structured interview guides that addressed topics such as house structures, kinship relations, spatial divisions, and quotidian social and religious practices. To complement the primary data, secondary sources were consulted, including ethnographic studies, scholarly journals, and pertinent literature concerning kinship systems, Madurese social organization, and anthropological and sociological analyses of Tanean Lanjheng. Data analysis was conducted descriptively and qualitatively, beginning with the transcription of interviews, integration with observational field notes, and triangulation with relevant literature. The data were subsequently organized into major thematic categories, including family hierarchy, spatial ownership, matrilineal kinship practices, and the social functions of Tanean Lanjheng. From these categories, a detailed interpretation was developed to elucidate how Islamic values are not only verbally transmitted but also internalized through exemplification, habituation, daily routines, and the symbolic use of space within the lived experiences of the Madurese community.

Results and Discussion

Tanean Lanjheng and the Kinship System Within the Madurese Community

A. Historical and Socio-Ecological Foundations of Settlement

Madura Island encompasses an area of approximately 5,304 square kilometers, extending roughly 190 kilometers in length and about 40 kilometers in width.¹² Geographically, the island is predominantly flat, with the Madura Strait reaching a maximum depth of approximately 100 meters. The island's highest elevation is Mount Tembuku, which rises to 471 meters above sea level.¹³ The soil composition of Madura closely resembles that of northern Java, primarily characterized by limestone deposits, except in certain localized areas. These soil properties render the island less conducive to large-scale wet rice cultivation. Furthermore, the island's relatively low rainfall further constrains the development of irrigated rice agriculture, in contrast to

¹¹ Ratna Dewi Nur'aini, "Penerapan Metode Studi Kasus Yin Dalam Penelitian Arsitektur Dan Perilaku," *Inersia* 16, no. 1 (2020): 92, <https://doi.org/10.21831/inersia.v16i1.31319>.

¹² Hasani Ustman, *Tengka: Etika Sosial Dalam Masyarakat Tradisional Madura*, Cet. 1. (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Sulus, 2020), 37.

¹³ Hamdi, "Dinamika Hubungan Islam Dan Lokalitas: Perebutan Makna Keislaman Di Madura," 445.

conditions on Java.¹⁴ These ecological factors have historically influenced distinctive adaptive patterns within the social and cultural structures of the Madurese people, notably affecting their settlement systems and kinship organization.

According to Kuntowijoyo, the ecological conditions and natural environment of Madura play a significant role in shaping the settlement patterns of its inhabitants. The island's predominantly dry terrain (*tegalan*) has led to dispersed and scattered settlements, typically organized in small groups within open fields. As a result, Madurese villages do not form compact and dense units but rather consist of small, separate hamlets. This settlement pattern contrasts with those found in rice-farming or coastal regions, where communities tend to be more concentrated and compact.¹⁵

A distinctive characteristic of Madurese settlements is their tendency to cluster around accessible water sources, such as wells, rivers, or coastal areas. Due to the scarcity of water, these sources serve as vital centers of life. Residential structures are constructed in close proximity around these water sources, forming small communities that share common access to water. Another ecological factor influencing Madurese settlement patterns is the development of very small settlement units, typically comprising four or five families residing in close proximity within a single yard or compound. This arrangement represents an adaptive strategy to limited natural resources, particularly water.¹⁶ Consequently, the fundamental social unit of Madurese society is the yard or compound of houses, known as *Tanean Lanjheng*.¹⁷ These settlements not only reflect adaptive responses to environmental conditions but also embody a system of values historically developed and transmitted through generations within the social structure of the Madurese community.

B. Social Structure and Hierarchy in *Tanean Lanjheng*

Tanean Lanjheng is a traditional Madurese settlement, with its name derived from the words meaning and meaning. The Madurese settlement tradition has a longstanding history, originating with an ancestral house known as the *tonghuh*. This ancestral home, transmitted across generations, served as the foundation for the extended family.¹⁸ Typically, the *tonghuh* was accompanied by a *langgar* (a small prayer house) oriented eastward, a *kandheng* (livestock pen), a *keben* (bathroom), and a *depo* (kitchen) facing north. Within the settlement, the *tanean lanjheng* occupied a

¹⁴ Ustman, *Tengka: Etika Sosial Dalam Masyarakat Tradisional Madura*, 40.

¹⁵ Kuntowijoyo, *Perubahan Sosial Dalam Masyarakat Agraris: Madura 1850-1940* (Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD, 2017), 304.

¹⁶ Ismu Rini Dwi Ari and Antariksa, "Studi Karakteristik Pola Permukiman Di Kecamatan Labang Madura," *Jurnal ASPI* 4, no. 2 (2005): 80, https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Antariksa-Sudikno/publication/314724566_Studi_Karakteristik_Pola_Permukiman_Di_Kecamatan_Labang_Madura/links/58c51b8345851538eb8792de/Studi-Karakteristik-Pola-Permukiman-Di-Kecamatan-Labang-Madura.pdf.

¹⁷ Kuntowijoyo, *Perubahan Sosial Dalam Masyarakat Agraris: Madura 1850-1940*, 307.

¹⁸ Lintu Tulistyantoro, "Makna Ruang Pada *Tanean Lanjang* Di Madura," *Dimensi Interior* 3, no. 2 (2005): 141, <http://puslit2.petra.ac.id/ejournal/index.php/int/article/view/16389>.

central position, functioning as a communal space for drying food and as a play area for children.¹⁹

Clusters of houses initially formed units known as pamengkang. Over time, as successive generations established their own households, these units evolved into koren and eventually into tanean lanjheng, or elongated settlements. The houses were consistently arranged along a west-east axis,²⁰ a spatial pattern preserved across generations. This settlement layout was influenced by the arid geological conditions of Madura, which necessitated linear construction to conserve arable land for agricultural use. Such an arrangement exemplifies the indigenous knowledge of the Madurese people in sustainably managing their environment, acknowledging agriculture as their primary livelihood that must be maintained.²¹

The close proximity of the tanean lanjheng to agricultural fields fostered a strong sense of solidarity among the families residing within the compound. These families collaborated in cultivating the farmland and worked collectively during the harvest season.²² This cooperative spirit extended to the care of livestock, with families sharing pens and pooling feed resources. Beyond its practical functions, the size and maintenance of a tanean lanjheng also served as a symbol of social status; larger and more orderly compounds were indicative of higher family standing. Consequently, the settlement functioned not only as a kinship-based arrangement but also as a symbolic representation of social stratification.²³

In traditional Madurese society, the spatial arrangement of houses adhered to kinship hierarchies. The west-east orientation symbolized genealogical order, progressing from the eldest to the youngest family members. This configuration served to reinforce strong familial bonds; however, the dispersion of family clusters across various settlements occasionally attenuated inter-cluster relationships. Positioned at the western end of the compound was the langgar, while along the northern side, houses were organized according to generational hierarchy—beginning with the parents' residence in the west, followed sequentially by those of their children, grandchildren, and ultimately great-grandchildren, particularly through the female lineage.²⁴ Thus, the spatial organization of the tanean lanjheng was far from neutral, being profoundly imbued with social, gender, and generational significance.

According to Rifai, the elongated west-east orientation is reminiscent of pre-Islamic Hindu settlement structures. However, with the advent of Islam, the langgar

¹⁹ Edi Susanto, "Ruh Islam Dalam 'Wadag' Lokal Madura; Kasus 'Tanean Lanjeng,'" *Karsa* 14, no. 2 (2008): 145, <https://doi.org/10.19105/karsa.v14i2.122>.

²⁰ Lintu Tulistyantoro, "Makna Ruang Pada Tanean Lanjang Di Madura," 143.

²¹ Zainul Wahid, "Makna Gotong Royong Dalam Kosmologi Permukiman Tradisional Tanean Lanjang Di Madura," *Jurnal Pendidikan Seni, Bahasa Dan Budaya* 1, no. 1 (2018): 15.

²² Wahid, "Makna Gotong Royong Dalam Kosmologi Permukiman Tradisional Tanean Lanjang Di Madura," 35.

²³ Setiani, Eko Setiawan, and Wen-Chi Huang, "Taneyan Lanjang Shared Home Gardens and Sustainable Rural Livelihoods of Ethnic Madurese in Madura Island, Indonesia," *Sustainability* 14, no. 5690 (2022): 20.

²⁴ Lintu Tulistyantoro, "Makna Ruang Pada Tanean Lanjang Di Madura," 145.

assumed the role of the religious and symbolic center, thereby reinforcing the epistemological transformation of Madurese society.²⁵ Since that time, tanean lanjheng has represented an Islamic settlement model, wherein the arrangement of houses, the orientation of buildings, and the placement of the langgar and depo reflect a cosmological and spiritual worldview that has been deeply integrated into Madurese spatial and cultural practices.²⁶

C. Social Epistemology and the Kinship System

Tanean Lanjheng is not merely a physical settlement but also a social construct that embodies the kinship system, hierarchical organization, and epistemological values of the Madurese community. It represents the systems, patterns, and values upheld by the people of Madura. Characterized by an elongated settlement pattern comprising multiple spaces, Tanean Lanjheng reflects an extended family structure that includes nuclear families, grandparents, uncles, aunts, and other relatives. Social interactions within this extended family reinforce kinship values and solidarity among the Madurese. Consequently, this traditional settlement serves as the foundation for strong kinship bonds and a pronounced sense of communal unity within Madurese society.²⁷

Moreover, the Tanean Lanjheng serves as a significant indicator of social status within traditional Madurese culture. It is not merely a residential courtyard but rather a manifestation of the owner's prosperity and social standing. The size and condition of a Tanean Lanjheng correlate directly with the prestige of its inhabitants; larger and better-maintained courtyards denote higher social esteem. Consequently, it symbolizes wealth and honor and is typically possessed by respected and affluent families. In addition to functioning as a communal space for daily activities, the Tanean Lanjheng also accommodates important events such as weddings, traditional ceremonies, and feasts for distinguished guests. Therefore, a grand and well-maintained Tanean Lanjheng signifies that its owners hold considerable respect within the community.²⁸

In Indonesia, three primary kinship principles are widely acknowledged: patrilineal descent, which traces lineage through the father; matrilineal descent, which traces lineage through the mother; and bilateral or parental descent, which recognizes both paternal and maternal lines. These principles promote cohabitation within kinship

²⁵ Mien Ahmad Rifai, *Lintasan Sejarah Madura*, ed. Moh Djasuli and Iskandar Dzulkarnain (Bangkalan: LPPM Universitas Trunojoyo Madura, 2017), 89.

²⁶ Mohsi, "Langghar, Kophung Dan Bhaqaf Konservasi Kebudayaan Khazanah Keislaman Madura," 18.

²⁷ Raudlatul Jannah, Agik Nur Efendi, and Fithriyah Rahmawati, "Tanean Lanjhang: A Reflection of Guyub and Strengthening of Ukhuwah Among Madurese Society," *Islamuna: Jurnal Studi Islam* 8, no. 2 (2021): 110, <https://doi.org/10.19105/islamuna.v8i2.4414>.

²⁸ Wahid, "Makna Gotong Royong Dalam Kosmologi Permukiman Tradisional Tanean Lanjhang Di Madura," 17.

systems, wherein relatives—whether from the paternal or maternal side—such as siblings, uncles, aunts, and cousins, are connected by blood ties.²⁹

In the Madurese context, Hasani notes that the community predominantly adheres to a patrilineal system. Nevertheless, this does not exclude the existence of alternative systems in certain regions, contingent upon the local kinship framework.³⁰ Other scholars, such as Mansurnoor, observe that Madura exhibits characteristics of both matrilineal and patrilineal systems, suggesting that the society fundamentally follows a bilateral or parental lineage system, tracing descent from both maternal and paternal lines.³¹ Specifically, in Tanean Lanjheng settlements, the kinship system is primarily matrilineal, as reflected in spatial organization, property ownership, and domestic customs. Residential structures are arranged according to family hierarchy along the female line, whether by birth or marriage. Houses are allocated for female guests, whereas male visitors are received in the langgar. Property ownership is vested in the female lineage, with construction undertaken by the women's families. In instances of divorce, the husband is required to leave the household, thereby reinforcing the matrilineal principle whereby men reside with their wives' families following marriage.³²

The evidence clearly demonstrates that Madurese kinship in Tanean Lanjheng adheres to a matrilineal system. According to Lintu, this system may have undergone modifications following the advent of Islam, which introduced patrilineal norms; however, the matrilineal heritage has persisted. This continuity corresponds with Koentjaraningrat's assertion that matrilineal systems are historically antecedent to patrilineal ones.³³ The endurance of matrilineal traditions, despite the predominance of Islamic patriarchy, serves as an epistemological basis for Madurese conceptions of women's roles and status within the family. Consequently, women occupy a central and esteemed position in Madurese society. This is exemplified by the custom of bequeathing houses to daughters as a form of protection and respect, reflecting the perception of women as custodians of family continuity and primary inheritors of cultural and religious values.

The Pattern of Islamic Value Socialization in Tanean Lanjheng

A. Tanean Lanjheng as a Context for the Socialization of Islamic Values

The Tanean Lanjheng settlement serves not only as a residential area for the Madurese community but also as a social structure integral to the socialization of Islamic values. According to Berger and Luckmann (1991), social reality is constructed

²⁹ Yetti Hidayatillah, "Komparasi Nilai Kekerabatan Tanèyan Lanjháng Masyarakat Madura," *Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan Pancasila dan Kewarganegaraan* 2, no. 2 (2017): 150, <http://journal2.um.ac.id/index.php/jppk>.

³⁰ Ustman, *Tengka: Etika Sosial Dalam Masyarakat Tradisional Madura*, 243.

³¹ Lik Arifin Mansurnoor, *Islam in an Indonesian World Ulama of Madura* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1990), 98.

³² Lintu Tulistyantoro, "Makna Ruang Pada Tanean Lanjang Di Madura," 148.

³³ Hamdi, "Dinamika Hubungan Islam Dan Lokalitas: Perebutan Makna Keislaman Di Madura," 450.

through the dialectical interaction between individuals and social structures. In this context, this dynamic is evident in how the spatial organization of Tanean Lanjheng influences patterns of interaction and the transmission of values.³⁴ The physical environment of the settlement functions as a site for the processes of externalization, objectivation, and internalization of Islamic values within the daily lives of its residents.

The Tanean Lanjheng, a distinctive matrilineal kinship system, creates intricate networks of social interaction that promote the dissemination of Islamic teachings deeply embedded within Madurese traditions and culture. These values manifest in various dimensions of life, including social relations, collective religious practices, and customary ceremonies transmitted across generations. Through this socialization process, what Durkheim identified as social facts arise, facilitating the intergenerational transmission of Islamic teachings and thereby maintaining the continuity of Islamic identity within Madurese society.³⁵

The transmission of Islamic values seeks to foster religious understanding and practice within the family context, particularly among children. These values serve as moral foundations (akhlak) that guide both external behavior and internal disposition, in accordance with the Qur'an, Hadith, and the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad.³⁶ Islamic pedagogy is grounded in three fundamental pillars: *aqidah* (faith and belief), *sharia* (laws governing worship and social relations), and *akhlaq* (ethical conduct).³⁷ Together, these dimensions constitute an integrated framework that defines Islamic morality and practice, offering a comprehensive guide for Muslims to navigate both worldly life and the hereafter.

B. The Role of Bhuppa', Bhâbhu', and Ghuru as Agents of Socialization

The family constitutes the primary context for the transmission of Islamic values. Through parental interaction, children acquire faith and piety, while practices such as prayer and Qur'anic recitation exemplify the embodiment of Islamic teachings in daily life. The principal function of familial socialization is to educate and shape the child's personality from an early age, thereby preparing them to adapt to and participate effectively in society. Socialization is a continuous process involving multiple agents – including family, peers, educational institutions, and media – all of which significantly contribute to the formation of individual values and behaviors.³⁸

According to Berger and Luckmann, socialization manifests in two distinct forms. Primary socialization occurs during childhood through intimate interactions with

³⁴ Peter L Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality* (London: Penguin Books, 1967), 567.

³⁵ Arifuddin M. Arif, "Perspektif Teori Sosial Emile Durkheim Dalam Sosiologi Pendidikan," *Moderasi: Jurnal Studi Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial* 1, no. 2 (2020): 4.

³⁶ Djazilan, "Proses Sosialisasi Dan Internalisasi Nilai-Nilai Ke-Islaman Pada Kelas Menengah Muslim Di Surabaya," 45.

³⁷ Niken Ristianah, "Internalisasi Nilai-Nilai Keislaman Perspektif Sosial Kemasyarakatan," *Darajat* 3, no. 1 (2020): 7, <http://journal.um-surabaya.ac.id/index.php/JKM/article/view/2203>.

³⁸ Kamanto Sunarto, *Pengantar Sosiologi*, Ed. Revisi. (Jakarta: Lembaga Penerbit Fakultas Ekonomi Universitas Indonesia, 2004), 150.

family members, establishing the foundation for personality development and identity formation. Secondary socialization, which transpires subsequently, exposes individuals to wider societal norms and roles within institutions such as schools, workplaces, and social organizations. Both forms are interrelated and crucial for the development of a fully integrated member of society.³⁹

The findings of this study elucidate the intricate dynamics of Islamic value socialization within the kinship structure of Tanean Lanjeng. In-depth interviews with Zainuddin revealed that the internalization of Islamic values commenced in early childhood under the guidance of his grandfather, a respected religious leader in Lieson hamlet. As a ghuru (cleric), he served as a primary agent of socialization, imparting values related to aqidah (faith), sharia (Islamic law), and ihsan (spiritual excellence). These teachings were not presented merely as abstract doctrines but were integrated into everyday practices.

The central role of the ghuru corresponds with Clifford Geertz's concept of the cultural broker, a figure who mediates between universal Islamic values and local cultural traditions.⁴⁰ The ghuru functioned not only as a formal religious instructor but also as a moral and social guide in everyday life. As one informant noted, the ghuru "taught us not only how to pray or recite the Qur'an but also how those values are embodied in everyday conduct, guiding us to understand the meaning behind each ritual and practice."⁴¹ This example demonstrates that the transmission of Islamic values in Tanean Lanjeng occurs through enculturation—namely, the gradual internalization of values via social practice, role modeling, and repetitive interaction within family and community contexts. Within this social framework, values such as adab (proper etiquette), respect for elders, sensitivity to others, and religious ethics are not conveyed as abstract theories but are enacted through collective actions, intergenerational relationships, and everyday practices imbued with significance.

C. Transformation of Socialization Patterns: Challenges to Sustainability

This study identifies critical factors that jeopardize the sustainability of transmitting Islamic values within the social structure of Tanean Lanjeng. A primary finding is the decline in religious educational activities following the death of the ghuru figure, specifically the grandfather of the principal informant, Zainuddin. Prior to his passing, the Tanean Lanjeng complex served as an informal learning center accessible not only to family members but also to children from neighboring communities. However, subsequent to his death, religious activities significantly diminished and became confined solely to the children of the nuclear family. As Zainuddin remarked, "Since embuk passed away, it is very different. Before, many children from the surrounding village came to learn here; now, only the children of the family remain."⁴²

³⁹ Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*, 567.

⁴⁰ Moch. Muwaffiqillah, "Analisis Teoritik Atas Tulisan Geertz Tentang Kyai Jawa Sebagai Cultural Broker," *Indonesian Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 4, no. 1 (2023): 32.

⁴¹ Interview with Zainuddin, 12 January 2025, pukul 12.30 WIB

⁴² Interview with Zainuddin, 12 January 2025, pukul 12.40 WIB

This phenomenon reflects a shift in religious authority characterized by Max Weber as charismatic authority, which is derived from the personal spiritual and moral qualities of an individual.⁴³ Upon the departure of such a figure, this form of authority loses its inherent legitimacy and is not readily supplanted by rational or traditional authority. In the case of Tanean Lanjheng, the ghuru functioned not only as an instructor but also as a collective moral emblem that unified the community's value system. This transformation underscores the structural challenges associated with sustaining kinship- and locality-based Islamic socialization. In the context of modernization, increased social mobility, and family fragmentation, traditional forms of religious education – once embedded within domestic and communal settings – are becoming increasingly vulnerable. Consequently, there is an urgent need to reconceptualize models for transmitting Islamic values that preserve traditional foundations while simultaneously adapting to contemporary social dynamics.

D. Strategies for the Socialization of Islamic Values

The study identifies two primary mechanisms of Islamic value socialization within the kinship system of Tanean Lanjheng: exemplification (*uswatun hasanah*) and habituation (*ta'dib*). Zainuddin emphasizes that exemplification constitutes a fundamental component of the value transmission process. Within the Tanean Lanjheng community, exemplification is not confined to senior family members but is shared among all kin, including those from both the direct line (*taretan dhibik*) and the collateral line (*taretan samping*).

Exemplification encompasses not only religious and spiritual dimensions but also *tengka*, a Madurese ethical concept that governs morality, etiquette, and social interactions. Family members, including parents, siblings, uncles, aunts, and even distant relatives, are expected to serve as role models for the younger generation.⁴⁴ In addition to exemplification, habituation is crucial in transmitting Islamic values, primarily through the consistent practice of collective religious rituals in daily life.

In Tanean Lanjheng, habituation functions as a collective process that engages the entire family as a of practice. Rituals such as the five daily prayers, Qur'an recitation, *dhikr*, and other forms of worship are inculcated from an early age. Parents and elders guide children to perform prayers in congregation, whether at home or in the mosque, while communal activities such as Qur'an recitation circles and religious gatherings are regularly observed. Through active participation in these practices, Islamic values are conveyed not merely as abstract knowledge but as lived experiences deeply embedded within family and community life.

E. Variations in the Socialization of Islamic Values

Another notable finding is the variation in patterns of Islamic value socialization across different social strata in Tanean Lanjheng. Zainuddin's experience, originating

⁴³ Hadi Latif and Silfia Hanani, "Pemikiran Otoritas Max Weber Dalam Pengambilan Keputusan Di Sekolah: Studi Kasus Di Pondok Pesantren Tarbiyah Islamiyah Gobah V Surau," *Tadbiruna* 4, no. 2 (2025): 245.

⁴⁴ Ustman, *Tengka: Etika Sosial Dalam Masyarakat Tradisional Madura*, 345.

from a family with high socio-religious status, demonstrates that Islamic values were deeply internalized at home under the guidance of a ghuru who was respected within the community. In contrast, Subei, an informant from a more modest background, reported that he learned basic religious practices such as prayer and ablution from his parents (oreng seppo duwe'), while more comprehensive religious knowledge—including aqidah, Islamic history, and Arabic grammar—was acquired at the langgher keyae (cleric's prayer house) in his hamlet.⁴⁵

This example demonstrates stratification in access to religious knowledge within Tanean Lanjheng, consistent with Pierre Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital. Religious knowledge and practices are distributed unevenly, shaped by the social position of families. Those with higher socio-religious status, particularly families that include a ghuru figure, transmit more profound and comprehensive Islamic knowledge directly within their kinship networks. In contrast, families of lower status depend more heavily on external institutions, such as local suraus or prayer houses, for religious instruction.

Furthermore, differences are evident in the substantive content of the values transmitted. In Subei's family, particular emphasis was placed on tengka—social ethics governing relationships with family members, neighbors, and the broader community—alongside practical religious observances.⁴⁶ He recalled, "My grandfather rarely taught us ritual Islam formally but guided us more through practices, reciting verses of the Qur'an or prayers from the Hadith." This illustrates that, in certain contexts, Islamic values are conveyed pragmatically, grounded in local wisdom rather than through systematic doctrinal instruction.⁴⁷ The focus on tengka underscores how Islamic values are internalized through social ethics and lived spiritual practices, rendering the process of Islamic socialization in Tanean Lanjheng both contextual and shaped by familial background and tradition.⁴⁸

Conclusion

This study elucidates that Tanean Lanjheng functions not merely as a physical configuration of traditional Madurese settlements but also as a social, symbolic, and epistemological space that upholds a matrilineal kinship system while facilitating the internalization of Islamic values. The linear spatial organization from west to east embodies a genealogical hierarchy, wherein women hold a central role in household ownership and the perpetuation of family lineage. The socialization of Islamic values is achieved through processes of exemplification (uswatun hasanah) and habituation (ta'dib), which are reinforced by the ghuru (cleric) acting as a cultural intermediary who bridges universal Islamic teachings with local cultural traditions. Additionally,

⁴⁵ Interview with Subei, 12 January 2025, pukul 13.00 WIB

⁴⁶ Nanang Krisdinanto, "Pierre Bourdieu, Sang Juru Damai," *Kanal: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi* 2, no. 2 (2016): 190.

⁴⁷ Ustman, *Tengka: Etika Sosial Dalam Masyarakat Tradisional Madura*, 345.

⁴⁸ Interview with Subei, 12 January 2025, pukul 13.00 WIB

the inclusion of a langgar (small prayer house) within the settlement complex further consolidates the integration of domestic spaces with collective religious practices. These findings underscore that the internalization of Islamic values within Madurese society is organic, contextually grounded, and deeply embedded in quotidian life, thereby illustrating the dynamic interplay between religion and local culture in sustaining Islamic identity amid social transformation.

This study elucidates significant limitations and challenges in sustaining the internalization of Islamic values within Tanean Lanjeng. The loss of central figures, such as the ghuru, social fragmentation resulting from youth mobility, and the pressures of modernization and urbanization collectively threaten the preservation of kinship-based value transmission. Furthermore, variations in internalization patterns among families with differing socio-religious statuses reveal stratification in access to Islamic knowledge. These findings underscore the necessity of developing strategies for Islamic value transmission that are both adaptive to contemporary contexts and firmly rooted in local wisdom. This research contributes to the fields of Islamic sociology and cultural anthropology by highlighting the importance of contextual approaches in understanding the interplay among kinship systems, social spaces, and the transmission of religious values. Future research should incorporate a larger number of informants, cover broader geographic areas, and extend observation periods to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of the sustainability of Islamic values within Madurese society.

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