



## The Social Construction of Islamic Education Through the Internalization of Traditional Values and Regional Culture

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**Abstract.** This study investigates the social construction of Islamic education in Madura through the internalization of ritual tradition values of *dhâmmong*. There are three research problems adopted in this research, these are; social construction, Islamic education in Madura, and *dhâmmong* tradition. By utilizing qualitative research and analyzing it through the theory of social construction by Peter L. Berger, this study obtains a research finding that the ritual of *dhâmmong* is one of local traditions in Madura that has a lot of meanings. However, the tradition is generally comprehended as a ritual to invoke rain when a long dry season happens. As the reality of regional authenticity, *dhâmmong* tradition contains the values of local wisdom. The local wisdom concept refers to the social structure and system of Madurese people that is now identical to religious symbol such as morality, obedience, and reverence toward religious practices. Observed from the education perspective, all of the religious values have great relevance to the principles of Islamic education, these are *i'tiqodiyah*, *khuluqiyah*, and *amaliyah*. *I'tiqodiyah* values mean that *dhâmmong* tradition contains religious ritual orienting to the strength of faith and piety to The One and Only God. Meanwhile, *khuluqiyah* values mean that *dhâmmong* tradition contains religious ritual that aims to empower character and personality, so that, by *khuluqiyah* values, an individual has self-integrity. Furthermore, *amaliyah* values mean that *dhâmmong* tradition contains religious ritual that teaches people to always build positive relationship in their social life, cultivate philanthropic attitude, continually share goodness and usefulness with people around them.

**Keywords:** Social Construction, Islamic Education, *Dhâmmong* Tradition.

Received: 19.07.2020

Accepted: 22.08.2020

Published: 24.09.2020

### INTRODUCTION

In a lot of social science discourses, the study of Madura with its all cultures and traditions continually catches many circles' attention and discussion (Ma'arif, 2015). The discussion is either on theoretical domain or on practical domain related to the dynamics of everyday social life of Madurese people. On the theoretical aspect, the discourse and discussion of Madura gets its delightful side, especially when it is observed from the aspect of their social typology which is constantly identified as traditionalist people (Iik, 1990). In relation to it, Madurese citizens are known as a group of people who highly honour ancestral heritage values as the inseparable part of their social activities. Whether in economic aspect, agriculture, education, or even in spiritual aspect; religion. Meanwhile, in the area of its practice, the discussion of Madura discovers its room along with the strength of their social life's reality toward all sorts of religious symbols (Hannan, 2018). Syndry religious symbols and attributes such as *kyai* (knowledgeable people), *pesantren* (boarding school), and community or organization of Islam. All of them become the inseparable parts of their social life's reality, they are even taken root and strongly embedded in their identity of social structure and system. It is the root that, in several opportunities, social scientists state that Madura as an island which is not only identical to traditionalist values, but also identical to religious symbol (A'la et al., 2018)

If we take a look at the previous discourse, indeed, the study of Madura with all cultural constructions and its traditions has been conducted whether in the perspective of religion, politics, culture, education, and economics. Even several names of influential social scientists like Kuntowijoyo, Hubb De Jonge, Martin Van Bruinessen, Koentjoroningrat are known that they had conducted a research about Madura. In the cultural matters, the study of Madurese culture had been performed by Kuntowijoyo, *Perubahan Sosial dalam Masyarakat Madura; Madura 1850-1940* (1940). In the research, Kuntowijoyo conducted a discourse about the correlation of people's ecological texture and the social change of Madurese people happened in 1850 until 1940. According to the study, Kuntowijoyo discovered, that, as ecohistorical unit, Madura is a unique region since it has distinctive ecology formation. Ecology emerged in Madura is extremely different with other regions, even with the ecology of Java island. According to Kuntowijoyo, the characteristic of Madurese people's ecology is known that it has

dispersed settlement pattern which represents their identity and culture that tend to migrate and go outside the region (Riyanto, 2013).

In the case of religious education, the discourse had also been conducted one of them is Said Abdullah's work (2010), *Pesantren Madura, Jati Diri, dan Pencerahan Masyarakat*. In his work, Said Abdullah clearly described how the history of boarding school emergence of Madura is, the social structure and system in boarding school circles, their strategic roles and functions toward the construction of sociocultural and socioreligious of Madurese people. According to him, the emergence of boarding school in the circle of Madurese people not only holds the position of religious organization but also represents the identity and personality of the locals who have moderate Islamic atmosphere, affable, and highly honour a local custom and tradition. The special character of Madurese boarding school education consisting Islamic values, on its turn, becomes the role of learning model which takes root in the construction and the tradition of locals' education, that is religious-oriented education (read: Islam) (Abdillah, 2019).

Meanwhile, in the realm of religion, the study of Madura was written by Hub De Jonge, *Agama, Kebudayaan, dan Ekonomi: Studi Interdisipliner tentang Masyarakat Madura* (1989). On his writing, Hub De Jonge agglomerated Madura into two big poles, these are West Madura and East Madura. West Madura is divided into two regions; Bangkalan and Sampang. While East Madura consists of Pamekasan and Sumenep. Interestingly, although he divided Madura into two different poles, it does not directly have impact to the difference of their culture and tradition (De Jonge, 1989). Because, sociologically, whether West Madura or East Madura, both of them have similar cultural typology that also consists of two values at once, these are traditionalist and religious values (Bruinessen, 1995). Whether the culture is in the form of proverb such as *buppa'*, *babhu'*, *ghuruh*, *ratoh*, in the form physical; *kerapan sapi* (cow race), *tarian pecut* (pecut dance), *tari samman* (samman dance), and so on, or in the form of ritual such as *dhâmmong*.

Interestingly, in the culture of Madurese people, the construction of culture is not believed solely as a symbolic ancestral heritage and yearly ritual. In addition to that, according to them, culture and tradition is ancestor creativity that contain a set of values, norms, and the study of nobility, virtue, and goodness in life (Susanto, 2012). Hence, in the life of local citizens, the position of tradition does not only function as a ritual but also as a learning medium in regional level to encourage people to have more moral, religious, and humanist. Religious, humanist, and moral values are still discovered in every tradition and culture in Madura, including the tradition and culture of *dhâmmong*.

From the above thinking framework, this study provides special interest to thoroughly investigate and describe the sundry traditions and cultures of Madura, the role and function in religious education aspect (Islam) in the circles of Madurese people. Several crucial problems related to the reality of culture in Madura, such as *dhâmmong* tradition, the existence of religious education (Islam) in Madura, social system in Madura, are the core of the problem which will be analyzed thoroughly in this discourse.

## METHODS

Methodologically, this research utilizes qualitative research by focusing on phenomenological approach. The use of qualitative research is based on the research objective that is aimed to describe the research problems thoroughly, in this case, it is about the social construction of Islamic education in the circles of Madurese people through the internalization of Islamic education and ritual tradition of *dhâmmong*. Meanwhile, the use of phenomenological approach is based upon the paradigm of the problem, in this research, it belongs to the category of social definition paradigm, as what had been illustrated by Alfred Schuthz (1899-1926), that research utilizing phenomenological approach is a discourse approach used to find out the meaning or the essence of reality through a direct observation. Every phenomenon is symbolic, and the researcher's duty is revealing the reality behind the symbol itself (Nindito, 2013; Yudin, 2016). In its practice, phenomenology strongly emphasizes itself in investigation activity, excavation and comprehension toward the phenomena thoroughly and comprehensively (Ruggerone, 2013; Smith, 2005).

The location of this research is in Sampang and Sumenep Regency. The foundation of choosing the place is based upon the social characteristic of local region, in which, sociologically, both regions have tradition and cultural complexity which could represent the variety of most Madurese cultures and traditions. Out of the above reason, the selected location; Sampang and Sumenep Regency is based upon the researcher's consideration to both regions that represent other regions. Sampang is the representative of West Madura's culture, while Sumenep is the part of East Madura that represents the Madurese culture in East Madura.

The data sources used in this research are from two sources, these are primary and secondary source. The primary data are the data of observation and interview. In a research, observation is performed by conducting participatory activity repeatedly and continually, and direct interaction actively with all informants in the field. Meanwhile, the process of the interview is conducted by unstructured method. The informants are selected based on two methods; purposive and snowball. Purposive method and snowball are performed through the researcher's subjective consideration regarding the informants' expertise and capability to answer the research problems. In this research, purposive method is utilized to determine the key informant, while snowball method is to determine the supporting informants. In addition to the primary data, this research is also completed by the secondary data. In this research, the secondary data is data documentation and literature. Documentation is data consisting some notes, information, and past proof concerning the research focus. Furthermore, the literature data refer to the set of data obtained from books, journals, and previous researches that have correlation with the research topic, that is culture and tradition in Madura

As for the technique of research analysis, it utilizes Miles' and Haberman's analysis (1984). In Miles' and Haberman's method, there are three steps of analysis, these are: *firstly*, data reduction. This step is summarizing, determining important discussion, focusing attention on the research topics' main point by seeking the form and the pattern (Moleong, 2006). In this research, the data reduction is conducted by grouping the field data into the main focus of research, including Islamic education and the tradition of Madurese culture; *secondly*, the data presentation, data presentation is a process of describing data in the form of narration and thorough description, so that, it can describe the information or data obtained when conducting observation or the search of information (Suyanto, 2005). The data description in this research is conducted by forming narration and thorough analysis concerning all information obtained by researcher in the field. To maintain the originality and the novelty of data, data analysis process is conducted in detail by paying attention to the time, place, and the source of obtained information; *thirdly*, the last step of data analysis is drawing conclusion. The conclusion of qualitative research is a new finding which has previously never existed. (Willig & Rogers, 2020) In this research, the conclusion consists of several new findings in the form of answers regarding the research questions, especially the social construction of Islamic education through the internalization of traditional values and regional culture in Madura island.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### The Concept of Islamic Education

The discourse of education is literally not a new theme in social science discourse, yet it is conducted oftentimes, whether in practical or theoretical discourse. However, along with the complexity of social change happened today, rapid technological advancement and the media of information in every aspect which is known as industrial era 4.0, it has to be admitted that it has influenced the existence and the way of global education. (Lase, 2019; Risdianto & Cs, 2019) Hence, although education discourse has become a rather classical theme, but academic discussion about education must be conducted as the real effort to respond contemporary education issues which is getting more varied (Suyadi et al., 2020a).

Terminologically, education means the activity of learning conducted by people continuously from one generation to the next generation, in which the learning activity is performed in the form of training, instruction, or research activity (Muhid, 2020; Zou'bi, 2015). If we refer to this definition, the articulation of education activity, literally, does not need to be comprehended formally like enacting tiered class that emphasizes to guidance, accompaniment, and coaching activity. Regardless of that, education can also be performed independently or it is popular with the term of autodidact. In terms of education in Indonesia, education has several agglomerations and areas, one of them are Islamic-based education (Farahani & salehi, 2013; Lubis et al., 2010).

A little bit different with the common definition of education, that Islamic education is comprehended as an activity or teaching and learning process that brings Islamic principles into the main foundation or basis. The Islamic principles meant refer to the base or the main source of Islam, in this case, it is al-Qur'an and Hadith. In Islamic education system, al-Qur'an and Hadith are inseparable parts. Both of them are prime heirlooms and the supreme cores of Islamic teachings (Suyadi et al., 2020b). Al-Qur'an and Hadith do not only hold position as the symbol of Islamic sacrality but it is also as a set of values, teachings, and life guidance that contains universal vision, one of them is the vision of education. On the practical field, the vision of education in al-Qur'an and Hadith is translated into several values. There are at least three imperative aspects which are, so far, believed as Islamic education values, these are; *i'tiqodiyah*, *khuluqiyah*, dan terakhir adalah *amaliyah* (Nurhayati, 2019).

According to the etymological definition, *i'tiqodiyah* means that Islamic education is concerned with the discipline of *aqidah* (creed), that means containing articulation of creed, heart, and beliefs. Concretely, *i'tiqodiyah* can be an explanation regarding the dimension of Islamic education, such as belief in Allah, His Angels, predestination, and Judgement day. In addition to that, *i'tiqodiyah* also contains the conceptual explanation of oneness of God such as the concept of Allah's attributes and Dzats of Allah. Therefore, understanding *i'tiqodiyah* as the part of Islamic education values considers learning process that it does not only hold the vision of intellectual capability reinforcement, material mastery, skill, and competency but also has to be able to internalize faith values and monotheism into individual collectivity and subjectivity, so that on its summit, it can build awareness, the deep confirmation of self-faith toward the existence of God, and comprehensive cosmological life. In simple, the education of *i'tiqodiyah* necessitates the production of students who have firm and fervent beliefs, so that, by the firm belief, their soul does not undergo spiritual emptiness (Farahani & Salehi, 2013).

If education of *i'tiqodiyah* is meant as belief-oriented learning toward the emergence of tremendous power, it is certainly different from *khuluqiyah*. In the realm of Islamic education, the term of *khuluqiyah* refers to a learning which gives attention to ethic and personality (Tolchah, 2015). Besides, *khuluqiyah* aspect literally discusses morals or moral ethics comprehensively, whether vertical ethics concerning the relationship order between humanity and God or horizontal ethics containing the learning ethics in the context of human-nature relationship. Through *khuluqiyah* aspect, education articulation does not only consider intellectuality but it is also closely related to character development and social sensitivity.

In addition to the above-mentioned values, there is another significant value in Islamic education, that is *amaliyah* values. If *i'tiqodiyah* means that education is oriented toward faith, while *khuluqiyah* is closely related to gentility and ethics, so *amaliyah* values of Islamic education refer to the values of universality which is directly related to daily life (Nurhayati, 2019b). The concept of *amaliyah* contains a very essential articulation since it directly correlates to human's daily activity whether domestic activity such as the ethic of spouse, the ethic of children toward parents, or public activity such as social interaction, behaviour, and all sorts of attitude and behaviour which are oriented to reverence and advocacy toward virtue and majesty to other fellow creatures.

The crucial question right now is that, if Islamic education requires the fulfillment of three values, *i'tiqodiyah*, *khuluqiyah*, and *amaliyah* values, so, in what perspective does the values of tradition and culture in Madura have role and function to form education? Whereas both tradition and culture have heterogeneous domain and definition with the concept of Islam as the part of beliefs. Tradition and culture are profane and dynamic social reality, while Islam as a religion is transcendent and normative. Culture has flexible law that necessitates the change from time to time, while religion contains the law of absolute truth and static law. Related to the crucial question, before discussing more the relationship between the tradition and culture of Madura and the formation of Islam-based religious education, the dimension of Madurese culture will firstly be discussed thoroughly. It is crucial to be explained to provide the comprehension toward the role and function of Madurese culture on the social construction of Islamic education in the local region.

## Madura in the Perspective of Tradition and Culture

Geographically, Madura is an archipelagic region whose location is right at the north of Java Island whose coordinates are approximately 7° south latitude, and between 112° and 114° east longitude. It is called archipelago because, topographically, Madura is surrounded by sea. At the north of Madura, it faces to the waters of Kalimantan Island, while at the south of Madura, it faces to the waters of Java Sea. As an archipelagic region, Madura has small islands around it. According to the latest data, there are at least 156 islands, 48 are inhabited islands, and the rest are not. Interestingly, almost all islands are dispersed at the east of Madura, which is the administrative region of Sumenep regency. Because its status is as archipelagic region, so it is reasonable that the locals' livelihood relies on sailing, especially locals who stay at coastal area. In addition to that, most of them work as salt farmer, salt that is laid across the coast of Sampang, Pamekasan, dan Sumenep (Abdurrahman, 1988).

If we refer to Hubb De Jonge's statement, according to ecological typology, Madura can be grouped into two poles, these are West Madura and East Madura. West Madura is a region covering Bangkalan and Sampang regency. While East Madura is a region covering Sumenep and Pamekasan regency (De Jonge, 1989, p. 21). However, it needs to be highlighted, that, although Hubb De Jonge divided Madura into two different poles, it is not comprehended straightaway as the emergence of basic difference of social structure and system between these two. Because, generally, whether West Madura and East Madura has the same cultural and traditional construction, which equally base culture and tradition on two values at once, these are traditional values and religious values (Dzulkarnain, 2017, p. 7).

In terms of religion, the thick symbol of religiosity among the Madurese community is clearly reflected in the existence of *pesantren* (Islamic Boarding School) which is widespread in many areas of Madura (See table 1).

**Table 1.** Number of Pesantrens in Madura Sorted by Regencies 2019

No	Regency	Number of Pesantrens
1	Bangkalan	114
2	Sampang	352
3	Pamekasan	231
4	Sumenep	230
<b>Total</b>		<b>927</b>

In the religious aspect, the culture of Madurese people's religiosity is comprehensively reflected in their social attitude and behavior which have great reverence and avowal toward religious symbol (Bruinessen, 1995). Several religious symbols, such as boarding school, *kyai* (knowledgeable people), and community organization of Islam *Nahdhatul Ulama* (NU), are religious symbols that, so far, are not only able to perform their central roles and functions but also transmit a great impact toward the organization and continuity of all Madurese people's social life (Agus Purnomo, 2014, p. 8). Whether in the sociocultural aspect, education, religion, or even in the most taboo realm, that is politics. In education sector, the influence of religious values toward teaching and learning process in Madura is decidedly reflected in the emergence of boarding school. Even now the tradition of education in Madura is more dominated by boarding school-based learning than most formal learning (Syarif & Hannan, 2020). Likewise, in political sector, the influence of religious values can be found in a political role of boarding school and *kyai*. In reference to a study conducted by Abdul Rozaki (2004), he discovered a finding that political dynamic and ascendancy contestation in Madura is more dominated and controlled by *kyai* and their ascendancy networking. Adopting Michel Foucault's words, that boarding school and *kyai* are the areas of social discursive, the places where the social structure and system of Madurese people are produced and reproduced, so that they become the structure of norm followed by them collectively (Foucault, 1980).

Meanwhile, in the aspect of traditionalism, Madurese culture is recognized by the emergence of class hierarchy such as the system of feudalism and patriarchy (Moh Hefni, 2009). In the system of feudalism, the hierarchical pattern of Madurese people is symbolized by the model of restricted centralistic ascendancy and the superiority of local elite group. The local elite group meant references to two influential social classes in Madura, *kyai* and *blater* (Salam, 2015). The term of *kyai* refers to charismatic figures of Islam in Madura who have high social class and the forceful authority holder in boarding school as well. How superior the position of *kyai* and boarding school in the culture of Madurese people is, so that many people utter that both *kyai* and boarding school are as king miniature and small kingdom in Madura island (Abdullah, 2007). As for the term of *blater*, it refers to the emergence of local heroes who have capability and power to condition people. In many regions of Madura, the feudalism of *blater* is generally formed by their social modality which rests on repressive and intimidative ways such as *carok*, etcetera. Interestingly, in several circumstances, both symbols of feudalism are known that those frequently strike up a conspiracy to produce and reproduce ascendancy in Madura (Pribadi, 2013, 2015, 2018, 2020).

If feudalism has more tendency to be influenced by the ascendancy element and *kyai's* religion and *blater*, so it is in contrast to patriarchy. In patriarchy, the traditionalist culture of Madurese people is formed by hegemonic factor of ascendancy in the name of gender, that is the masculinism group domination toward feminism group which subsequently produces discriminatory practices and injustices in a lot of social lines, whether in domestic sector or in public sector. In domestic sector, the system of patriarchy is symbolized by the hierarchical relationship between husband and wife that more emphasizes on males' lineage. In this context, the male (husband) holds more forceful authority, the female (wife) simultaneously follows what the male (husband) instructs (Nurmila, 2015). While in public sector, patriarchal system is represented by the emergence of females' social behavior and movement restriction in public. Whether in economic sector, education sector, and even in political sector (Faiz, 2013; Hannan, 2016). In the culture of Madurese people, all concerning patriarchy is classified rather sensitive since it involves the existence of women. The restriction of roles and behaviors toward women is not solely due to tradition demands, but it is also due to identity and moral. Women are the symbols of self-respectability and family respectability, therefore their existence has to be protected. The restriction toward them is not meant to reduce their rights and freedoms, but it is more intended to protect and take care of their reputation and family. Sociologically, patriarchal values and systems, and the feudalism of

Madurese people can be found explicitly on their local proverb, *buppa', babhu', ghuruh, ratoh*, which contains meaning father, mother, teacher, and government/king. Philosophically, the proverb is the reflection of hierarchical system of Madurese people which positions men on a highest social class, while women are far under men's social class (Hannan, 2018).

If we take a look at the above explanations, it is no question of excluding Madurese culture from the two values above. Even in a rapid technological development which gets more sophisticated and advanced as it is today, traditionalist and religious values still become inseparable part. For Madurese people, religious values and ancestral heritage are the emergence of local custom which do not only represent self-identity that should be kept, looked after, and maintained from time to time but also a set of righteousness of values whose function is as a life guidance, even as the education medium toward local citizens. Therefore, it is rational that there are many varieties of tradition and culture of the locals which remain prevented and maintained well. One of traditions which remains today is the cultural tradition of *dhâmmong*, a tradition whose function is to invoke rain in Madurese people's circles which has been being performed for ages for generation to generation. The further explanation of *dhâmmong* tradition ritual will be discussed thoroughly in the following subtopics.

### **Dhâmmong as One of Traditions and Cultures in Madura**

Conceptually, the terminology of culture means the result of activity and the creation of human's common sense such as belief, art, and customs. In the perspective of anthropology, culture contains the articulation of overall knowledge as social being which is employed to comprehend its surroundings and its social that becomes the guidance of the way to have attitude, behavior, and act (Marzali, 2017). In addition to those definitions, culture is also comprehended as the result of work, sense, creation which is based on will. As a work, sense, and creation, culture is identical to thought and common sense. Hence, the term of culture is frequently identified with the emergence or existence of human as the one and only creature in the earth who can produce culture. In line with the category of culture, that is traditional ritual of *dhâmmong*, a distinctive cultural product of Madura which has been maintained for ages and performed hereditarily for generation to generation.

Genealogically, traditional ritual of *dhâmmong* is one of kinds of local customs which purely bears from the reality of regional authenticity of Madurese people. The emergence of *dhâmmong* tradition has been known and occurred for a long time ago, even before Islam spread in Madura. Besides, the tradition of *dhâmmong* is allegedly ancestral heritage that has been occurred since the time of Hindu-Budha, then it had acculturation process and change as Islam was spread to the Madurese archipelago. The acculturation process occurred through the internalization of Islamic values, especially in the area of practice and performance. However, although *dhâmmong* went through acculturation process with Islamic teachings, it did not reduce the purpose and the authentic sense, that is as a ritual to obtain welfare, blessing, and to express gratitude to God of the universe. In the practical domain, this tradition can be found in all regions of Madura, whether in Pamekasan, Sampang, Bangkalan, or even in several archipelagic regions of Sumenep. Interestingly, although this tradition is commonly applied in many regions of Madura, the implementation of *dhâmmong* ritual is performed in relatively variant ritual, in which each region has distinctive pattern and way to execute. Hence, it is understandable that, in the implementation, the ritual tradition of *dhâmmong* has distinctive sense as well. There are at least three purposes of *dhâmmong* tradition, these are; (1) to invoke rain to The One and Only God; (2) to invoke welfare and blessing; (3) to express gratitude to The Creator for the gift and livelihood that they obtained from their work, whether farming or sailing. Generally, this ritual is known as earth offering or it is popular with the term *nyadran* (Kiai Rahmat, Interview, Mei 2019).

As invoking rain, the ritual of *dhâmmong* tradition is performed at certain times, especially when undergoing a water scarcity phenomenon caused by a long dry season that has a terrible impact on the life of the locals who work as farmer. In Madura itself, several regions are very susceptible to undergo a water crisis, it is caused by the typical weather in Madura which is relatively different with the weather in other regions of Java island, in which the dry season in Madura is much longer than the rainy season is. The atmosphere of the weather directly impacts toward Madurese people's social life, especially who live in highland area. Moreover, the ground texture in Madura is dominated by chalky soil, Therefore, when a long dry season comes the soil turns barren, arid, hot, and water supply gets scarce. (Siddiq, 2019) Therefore, due to the geographical condition, it is reasonable that the ritual of *dhâmmong* tradition is frequently performed as to invoke rain that is mostly found in Madura, especially in a region which is very susceptible to undergo a water crisis.

In addition to invoking rain, the ritual of *dhâmmong* tradition also contains the sense of invoking welfare and blessing. Due to this purpose, the ritual of *dhâmmong* tradition is also considered as thanksgiving (*slametan*). Terminologically, thanks giving (*slametan*) is a ritual to commemorate an event

or a special day which is conducted to pray for blessing, gift, affection to God in order to obtain life goodness, whether in the world or in the hereafter. In addition to that, the performance of *slametan* ritual tradition through *dhâmmong* also contains the purpose of reverence and *wasilah* (mediator) to ancestors and predecessors. By striking up *wasilah* and performing reverence to descents, they believe that those will be mediators or bridges that transmit them to goodness and blessing. (Kyai Muhammad, Interview, 28 April 2019) In order to the ritual performance runs solemnly and devoutly, *dhâmmong* ritual is conducted at burial ground of predecessors that is believed as their descents. In relation to thanksgiving (*slametan*) through *dhâmmong*, Geertz stated that, *slametan* in Javanese culture contains mystical unity purpose and social unity purpose. As mystical unity, the traditional religious ceremony of *dhâmmong* possesses mystical and hidden element such as belief in the presence of local ancestor spirits. While social unity possesses the purpose of the presence of community involvement so that it has strategic function in empowering the cohesion and social integration of people.

In addition to the two meanings, the ritual of *dhâmmong* also contains the purpose of expressing gratitude to The Creature for the gift and livelihood that they obtained from their work, whether farming or sailing. For Madurese people, in such meaning, *dhâmmong* is also termed *tasyakuran* that terminologically connotes the sense of gratitude or thank to God for the gift given (Kyai Taufik, Interview, Mei 2019). Generally, the ritual of *dhâmmong* in the form of *tasyakkuran* is performed in postharvest periods. It contains the symbol of expressing gratitude for a lot of income and profit they earned from farm activities. In this ritual, people generally bring some of their harvests to be served to a congregation or a society when an event takes place. In its practice, the ritual of *tasyakkuran* is performed by society after harvesting and it is attended by all societies living in the area. They believe, that through *tasyakuran* ceremony, their obtained livelihood will be superior, lawful, and in the next year, it will be more plentiful and greater (Kyai Sulahe, Interview, 19 April 2019).

If it is observed more thoroughly, although the three meanings of *dhâmmong ritual* contain different meaning, yet those essentially necessitate equal spirit, that is worship to The One and Only God through a mystical or unseen ritual activity. This ritual genuinely does not only exist in Madura but it is commonly found in many regions in Java as well. Even the ritual of *dhâmmong* is likely the emergence of tradition which is come from Javanese people's habit. Moreover, as what is comprehended, there is a close resemblance between religious ritual existed in Java and religious ritual existed in Madura. Sociologically, the similarity can be found in their religious typology which is equally completed by traditional religious ritual, especially which comes from ancestral heritage or ancestor. It is caused by the Islamic character of both that is excessively dominated by values and teachings of cultural Islam, like Clifford Gerts' statement, that it is called as the syncretism of Islam, that is the unity of faith ritual which comes from two different beliefs; these are Islam and ritual culture of Hindu-Buddhist.

The interesting thing in the ritual ceremony of *dhâmmong* tradition in Madura is the performance process or the ritual ceremony of *dhâmmong* itself. Like other religious rituals, *dhâmmong* has several rules which have to be obeyed and conducted carefully in order to the ritual conducted is accepted by The One and Only God. In its performance, the process of *dhâmmong* rituals started by praying to someone who is considered having *karomah* (dignity) like to prophets, *waliyullah* in the archipelago, *kyai*, and the last is to ancestors or forefathers. This part has essential function since it is a mediator to obtain blessing and wish in order to the ritual performed can be accepted. After reciting the opening pray, this ritual is followed by reciting some certain verses in al-Qu'ran, reciting *shalawat* (salutation) to prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him). Lastly, the performers read together some particular recitations which are known as compulsory *amaliyah* in *dhâmmong ritual*. This ritual is conducted by circumambulating the village that involves people around the village. In addition to containing worship ritual through prayers, *dhâmmong* also contains worship through distributing a particular food, that is wet food such as *lémbur* (the traditional food of Madura which is made with special ingredients; grated coconut and palm sugar). When the ritual of *dhâmmong* is performed, societies or congregations are prohibited doing activity that causes environmental damage.

### **Islamic Values in the Tradition of Dhâmmong**

As what are explained in the previous points, that Madura, as an archipelagic region, has many kinds of traditions and cultures that reflect the local custom values of the people. Sociologically, the local custom values of Madura are in the construction of their social system and structure which are enormously close to religious values. Hence, it is reasonable that every construction of culture and tradition in Madura always holds value and religious moral message with the entire symbolization (Mahfud, 2019). Likewise the ritual of *dhâmmong*, as one of typical cultures and traditions of Madura, *dhâmmong ritual* possesses various religious moral messages as the representation of religious symbol and value, which have been taking root greatly in the reality of Madurese people's life.

If we analyze thoroughly, Islamic religious values in *dhâmmong ritual* can be found in several aspects. Two of them are *amaliyah* aspect that embraces recitations in rituals, and in a serving food served at the ritual procession (*slametan*). In *amaliyah* aspect, the religious values of *dhâmmong* tradition can be discovered in a practice and recitation which contain the salutation upon the prophet Muhammad, praise and glorification toward The One and Only God. In *dhâmmong* ritual, reciting *shalawat* (salutation) upon the Prophet and praise toward God are compulsory recitations. Without the recitations, *dhâmmong* ritual is believed that it will not be accepted, so that the procession will get meaningless. It also becomes the distinction between thanksgiving ritual of *dhâmmong* and non-Islamic thanksgiving ritual. While in the aspect of serving food, Islamic values in *dhâmmong* ritual can be found on the kinds of food which symbolically contain the message of preach and religious morality. For instance, in *dhâmmong* ritual is served *apem* traditional food, the term of *apem* is a loanword of *afwun* (Arabic) whose sense is to forgive. It symbolizes that the ritual performance of *dhâmmong* is a spiritual event of invoking apology and repentance toward God (Kyai Taufik, Interview, Mei 2019). Hence, in *dhâmmong* ritual, people are suggested to utter *istighfar* (a sentence of seeking forgiveness from Allah) for the purpose of purifying themselves from sins and mistakes, so that the prayers sent to God can be accepted. In Islamic theology, uttering *istighfar* in the tradition of *dhâmmong* comprises harmonization with Islamic teachings and prophet's *sunna* (habitual practice of prophet), which instruct Muslims to always repent toward God.

Furthermore, in addition to *apem*, another local traditional food is *sarabih*. Etymologically, this term possesses articulation 'sa' (one) and 'rabhi' (God) which mean one God or one belief. Philosophically, *sarabih* is a symbol representing *dhâmmong* as the unity of the people who have the same belief to submit their life thoroughly toward Allah. Hence, in its practice, *dhâmmong ritual* should be based on the attempt to get closer only toward Allah by obeying Allah's commands and keep away from Allah's prohibitions. One of prohibitions which should be avoided in the ritual of *dhâmmong* is having attitude or behavior that tends to damage the environment such as fire, cutting trees, and other bad behaviors that cause harm or degradation towards the ecosystem and the environmental sustainability and nature. If it is linked with the theology of Islamic teachings, the behaviors strike up a strong harmonization with Islamic teachings and values in which one of them is spreading universal kindness, whether vertical kindness which is directly connected to God, or horizontal kindness that is closely connected with contributing advantage toward nature and environment, especially fellow creatures. Due to the characteristic, Islamic values in *dhâmmong ritual* is utilized as a medium of empowering Islamic education value in Madurese people's circles (Kyai Sulahe, Interview, 19 April 2019; Kyai Taufik, Interview, Mei 2019).

### **The Social Construction of Islamic Education through the Internalization of Ritual Values of Dhâmmong Tradition**

Theoretically, the fundamental thesis of social construction theory states that every social reality, in this case is *dhâmmong* tradition, is formed by the interpretation and comprehension of individuals upon social reality around them (Gahral Adian, 2005). Social construction is seen as a cognitive work of individuals in achieving everything around them, then they themselves build their own interpretation by connecting reality with what themselves knew. Hence, according to Peter L. Berger, the process of social construction in interpreting and forming a reality indeed has close correlation with the concept of reality and knowledge. The concept of reality connotes a social entity that is outside of individuals, while knowledge is a cognitive side that comes from individual subjectivity and awareness. The relationship between reality and knowledge is not in the sense of compelling and negating with each other but in dialectic pattern, that is called by the process of trialectics. Trialectics means the activity of dialectic through three processes, one of them is known as internalization (Berger, 1967).

Theoretically, internalization is a process in which individuals attempt to adapt or habituate to the construction of social values system outside of themselves. In other words, internalization is a step in which individuals or communities absorb all of values and norms, then it is followed by self-appreciation and implemented in daily life (Martindale, 1964). If it is linked with this discourse, the process of internalization is considering the adaptation of Madurese people's behavior towards religious teachings which are applied in the area. One of the religious teachings meant is a set of Islamic values in the ritual of *dhâmmong*, whether in the aspect of *amaliyah* or in the aspect of *ufubudiyah*. In this case, *dhâmmong* ritual that is an objective reality in the form of local tradition and culture of Madurese people also performs its strategic roles and functions in constructing and empowering religious education in Madura. The crucial question is that, in what perspective do Islamic values of *dhâmmong* tradition perform the strategic roles and functions in constructing Islamic education in Madura?

Conceptually, Islamic education is comprehended as the activity or process of teaching and learning that utilize Islamic principles as the main foundation or basis, in which the implementation of



Islamic education gives a great attention to three aspects, these are; *i'tiqodiyah*, *khuluqiyah*, dan *amaliyah*. In *i'tiqodiyah* aspect, Islamic education is closely related to the dimension of *aqidah*, faith, heart, belief. It means that education has to create individuals or communities who have deep and fervent belief level or quality, so that through faith, their piety remains firm. If it is linked to this discourse, *i'tiqodiyah* aspect indeed possesses similarity with the aspect of *amaliyah* of *dhâmmong* tradition in which one of them invites people to continuously repent and submit themselves thoroughly toward The One and Only God. Symbolically, the *i'tiqodiyah* value of Islamic education in *dhâmmong* tradition is represented by serving (*sarabih*) food, which possesses articulation 'sa' (one) and 'rabhi' (God) which mean one God or one belief (monotheism/*tawhîd*) (Kyai Taufik, Interview, Mei 2019).

Meanwhile, in *khuluqiyah*, Islamic education is closely related to a learning content which is connected with ethical areas such as behavior, attitude, speech, morals, and the manner of saying or speaking (Bakar, 2017). Therefore, a lot of social life activities regarding nobleness of attitude, behavior, and character, whether in vertical area or in horizontal area, are Islamic education principles. If the concept of *khuluqiyah* is put into the discourse of *dhâmmong* tradition, we will discover a pretty close similarity. The similarity can be found at least in one of *amaliyah* of *dhâmmong* ritual, that is suggestion to always build self goodness and purity by repenting proactively, apologizing toward God for the sins and mistakes committed. Symbolically, the *khuluqiyah* values of Islamic education in the ritual of *dhâmmong* tradition can be discovered in one of serving traditional food, that is *apem*. In the culture of Madurese people, the term of *apem* is a loanword of Arabic, *afwun*, whose sense is to forgive.

Furthermore, the last value in Islamic education is *amaliyah*, which is conceptually based on the overall values related to daily behavior (Solichin, 2007). If it is linked with the focus of this study, the value of *amaliyah* in Islamic education have the same relevance to the ritual of *dhâmmong* tradition. The similarity is wholly in a spirit of their teachings which forbid people or congregations to do activity or behavior that potentially causes damage or harm toward environmental sustainability and nature. In addition to that, the *amaliyah* dimension of Islamic-based learning in *dhâmmong* tradition is also reflected on religious ritual activity which contain the importance of behaving generously and charitably towards fellow creatures. For Madurese people, generosity and charity is believed that those can bring goodness and prevent calamity. Therefore, through the behavior, their life will be full of blessings, whether in the world or in the hereafter.

## CONCLUSIONS

As an archipelagic region, Madura is known as a region that has local custom values, in which it is clearly described on the number of its traditions and regional cultures that exist in their daily social life all of this time. One of plenty of traditions and cultures in Madura that maintains up to the present is the ritual of *dhâmmong* tradition. In the culture of Madurese people, the ritual of *dhâmmong* has a lot of meanings, however, as a general rule, it is identical to invoking rain. Like other traditions in Madura, in general, the tradition of *dhâmmong* does not only contain ancestral heritage values, but also contains the moral values and moral message of religious. Therefore, its emergence has harmony with Islamic education. Theologically, the congruity between the ritual tradition of *dhâmmong* and the spirit of Islamic education can be seen from three things; 1) Islamic education has a great attention towards the values of *i'tiqodiyah*. *I'tiqodiyah* values are comprehended as a learning process which orients to faith confirmation toward God's existence such as creed and piety. These values have a similarity to the ritual of *dhâmmong* tradition, which contains invitation to people to continually repent and convince themselves totally to the strength and power of The One and Only God; 2) *Khuluqiyah* values; Islamic education has care toward character like ethic, behaviour, attitude, speech, morals, and temperament. If it is correlated with *dhâmmong* tradition, the value of *khuluqiyah* is symbolized to the food of *apem* which philosophically contains teachings in order to people constantly invoke forgiveness from The One and Only God. By seeking forgiveness, soul will get clean from sins, so that it may keep temperament and character away from all badness; 3) *Amaliyah* values; Islamic education has a great attention towards the emergence of positive attitude, whether attitude which correlates with God or relates with environment. In the ritual of *dhâmmong*, *amaliyah* values are described clearly in the ritual of earth offering. Philosophically, earth offering in *dhâmmong* tradition has two purposes, these are to be grateful for the gift given, and to be generous and philanthropic to always share goodness and usefulness with other people

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