

**MADURESE ISLAMIC PREACHER PERCEPTION
ABOUT EARLY MATCHMAKING:
Phenomenology Study in Pamekasan and Sumenep, East Java Province**

Mohammad Rifa'i

Sunan Ampel State Islamic University Surabaya
kangrifairasyid@gmail.com

Abstract: Madurese people are known as people who have a habit of pairing children at an early age, and some are even toddlers or babies still in the womb who have been booked for matchmaking. Early matchmaking in Madura is one of the causes of early marriage, and then it causes school dropouts. It needs attention from an influential person in the people, one of which is Islamic preacher (*da'i*). The *da'i* perception of these social realities is important so that they can provide understanding to the Madurese people about the early matchmaking well. This study aims to answer: (1) how is Madura *da'i* perception about early matchmaking, and (2) how is the typology of Madura *da'i* on early matchmaking. To achieve these objectives, the author uses qualitative-field methods by collecting data through observation, interviews, and documentation. While for data analysis, the author uses the phenomenology theory. The result of this study: Madura *da'i* perceives early matchmaking as *i'tikad* (effort) that is an effort of parents who need to protect and worry about their children. Madura *da'i* also perceives that early matchmaking in Madura contains values of Islam; those are: (a) minimizing of approaching adultery, (b) inviting to follow sunnah, and (c) inviting to keep the family relationship. Besides that, there are two typologies of Madura *da'i* about early matchmaking; the first type is *da'i* who agrees to early matchmaking; the second type is *da'i* who disagrees with early matchmaking. They agree with early matchmaking as long as it does not end in early marriage. Otherwise, they do not agree if early matchmaking results in early marriages, and considering early marriages that do not lead to marriages sometimes causes hostility between families. The type of *da'i* who refuses is more suggesting that children are directed to the world of education first before being charged with the thinking of matchmaking or marriage.

Keywords: Perception, Islamic preacher; early matchmaking

Abstrak: Orang Madura dikenal sebagai orang yang memiliki kebiasaan menjodohkan anak sejak usia dini, bahkan ada yang balita atau bayi yang masih dalam kandungan yang sudah dipesankan untuk dijodohkan. Perjodohan dini di Madura merupakan salah satu penyebab terjadinya pernikahan dini, yang kemudian menyebabkan putus sekolah. Perlu perhatian dari orang yang berpengaruh di masyarakat, salah satunya adalah pendakwah Islam (*da'i*). Persepsi *da'i* atas realitas sosial tersebut penting dilakukan agar dapat memberikan pemahaman kepada masyarakat Madura tentang perjodohan sejak dini dengan baik. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjawab: (1) Bagaimana persepsi *da'i* Madura tentang perjodohan dini, dan (2) Bagaimana tipologi *da'i* Madura pada perjodohan awal. Untuk mencapai tujuan tersebut, penulis menggunakan metode lapangan kualitatif dengan pengumpulan data melalui observasi, wawancara, dan dokumentasi. Sedangkan untuk analisis datanya, penulis menggunakan teori fenomenologi. Hasil penelitian ini: *da'i* Madura mempersepsikan perjodohan dini sebagai *i'tikad* (upaya) yaitu upaya orang tua yang perlu melindungi dan mengkhawatirkan anaknya. *Da'i*

Madura juga memandang bahwa perjodohan awal di Madura mengandung nilai-nilai Islam, yaitu: (a) meminimalkan mendekati zina, (b) mengajak mengikuti sunnah, dan (c) mengajak menjaga hubungan kekeluargaan. Selain itu, ada dua tipologi *da'i* Madura tentang perjodohan dini; tipe pertama adalah *da'i* yang setuju untuk perjodohan awal; tipe kedua adalah *da'i* yang tidak setuju dengan perjodohan awal. Mereka setuju perjodohan dini selama tidak berakhir dengan pernikahan dini. Sebaliknya, mereka tidak setuju jika perjodohan dini menghasilkan pernikahan dini, dan mengingat pernikahan dini yang tidak mengarah pada pernikahan terkadang menyebabkan permusuhan antar keluarga. Jenis *da'i* yang menolak lebih menganjurkan agar anak diarahkan ke dunia pendidikan terlebih dahulu sebelum dituntut dengan pemikiran perjodohan atau pernikahan.

Kata kunci: Persepsi, pendakwah Islam, perjodohan dini.

A. Introduction

Choosing a life partner is one of important decision that will be taken by a person for his/her life, because to achieve a great marriage, it needs a selecting of right partner, and then it is expected that the next journey of their life will be easier to pass. But, sometimes, on its process, they find some problems. These problems make them will be careful and establish criteria first before they really choose their life partner. In certain communities, the issues of selecting of a life partner are very often connected with certain religions, beliefs, customs, and cultures.

In process of intercultural communication, we expected equality in experience and perception about selecting of life partner. But different cultural lives tend to introduce us to different experiences, so that it brings us to different perception. There are three elements of social-culture having big influence to perception; those are belief system, value, point of view, world view and social organization.¹

A marriage is not just individual problem, but it also involves two groups of kinship, where is by the united two individuals in the marriage bond, two groups of kinship unite too. So, in Indonesian, marriage or matchmaking does not just become arrangement of the bride, but it become arrangement of two families. In Madura, a marriage is held generally on matchmaking. Most of children from Madura family are matched by their parents. This phenomenon was being culture and tradition which is considered ordinary in the Madura community. It was called by *abhekanan*.² *Abhekanan* is the process of binding two humans of different sex, teenagers or children (early matchmaking) in a bond similar to engagement.³

This phenomenon is a hereditary habit in Madurese. They make it as one of tradition that must be followed by every single child (son/daughter). The children who don't follow this tradition will get social punishment, because they are considered out of applicable norms, rules, etc.⁴ In early matchmaking context, on many cases, there are some cases ending to marriage (early marriage or not), and there are some cases—due to certain factors—not ending to marriage. In Madura tradition, not all the matched children take a marriage directly. They will just marry after five, seven or even ten years in *abhekanan* status.⁵ In certain areas of Madura, there is a tradition where the children are an early age, and some are even toddlers or babies still in the womb have

¹ Deddy Mulyana, *Ilmu Komunikasi* (Bandung: Remaja Rosda Karya, 2003), 23.

² H. J Wibowo, Ambar Andrianto et al. *Tatakrama Suku Bangsa Madura* (Yogyakarta: Badan Pengembangan Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Diputi Bidang Pelestarian dan Pengembangan Budaya Balai Kajian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional Yogyakarta Proyek Pemanfaatan Kebudayaan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, 2002), 90.

³ Dardiri Zubari, *Rahasia Perempuan Madura* (Surabaya, Al-Afkar Press, 2013), 78.

⁴ Septi Karisyati, "Tradisi *Bhekal Eko-akoaghi* (Perjodohan Sejak dalam Kandungan) di Desa Sana Laok, Kecamatan Waru, Pamekasan, Madura dalam Perspektif Hukum Adat dan Hukum Islam." Skripsi (Yogyakarta: Fakultas Syariah dan Hukum UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2014), 68.

⁵⁵ Dardiri Zubari, *Rahasia*, 80.

been booked for a matchmaking. This matchmaking is held by fellow relatives or close neighbors. This tradition is still existing till now.

In Islamic view, this early matchmaking can be said not breaking up the rules, because there is no one reason (*dalil*) in Quran or Hadith talking about the age limit of matchmaking or marriage.⁶ Nevertheless, the issues of early matchmaking need getting attention from Indonesian, especially from *da'i* (Islamic preacher) who should call people in goodness, call people to better life.

In communication process, a communicator (*da'i*) will be success, if he can show his *source credibility*. It means; he becomes source credibility for communicant (*mad'u*). Communicant credibility to communicator is determined by communicator expertise in doing his job/duty. In doing his mission, a *da'i* should perceive proportionally in spreading Islam. A *da'i* should perceive people without forcing his will. A *da'i* here should look at the social wisdom and able to manage the existing conflict to be social energy for common interest. Ethos and credibility of *da'i* become the importance factor in social-culture life of society. With considering local culture, da'wa can run well and reduce potential conflict.⁷

The phenomena of early matchmaking in Madura become challenge for *da'i* to answer social symptom which keep changing every time. As running time, it will come some new perception from *da'i* to invite and provide understanding to Madurese about this early matchmaking.

B. Research Methods

Researcher uses descriptive-qualitative, that is to understand cases or phenomena which had by research subject, such as behavior, perception, motivation, action, etc, holistically. Because this research able to analyze social reality in detail. This research also uses sociological approach with phenomenological theory. This research is held Madura, especially Pamekasan and Sumenep. It starts in November 2018 and finishes in May 2019.

Research subject is chosen directly by researcher. Research subject is based on researcher needs which able to provide information as objectives of this research. Research subject are especially some *da'i* or preacher who heading the Islamic boarding school in Pamekasan and Sumenep, they are:

1. KH. Muhammad Musleh Adnan, S.Ag. (Head of Karang Anyar Islamic Boarding School, Blumbungan and vice-head Da'wa institution of Nahdatul Ulama Pamekasan)
2. KH. Muhammad Basthami Tibyan, M.Pd.I (Head of Da'wa Bureau of Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School from Pegantenan-Pamekasan)
3. Ust. Hasan Asari, S.HI (Vice-head of Nurul Halim Islamic Boarding School Sotabar and Advisory Board of Nahdlatul Ulama Pasean-Pamekasan)
4. Ust. Ach. Bahrudin Habibi (Organizator of Miftahul Ulum Islamic Boarding School Panyeppeen-Pamekasan)
5. KH. Muhammad Unais Ali Hisyam (Head of Ahlus Sunnah wal Jama'ah Islamic Boarding School Ambunten-Sumenep)
6. KH. Ja'far Shodiq, MM. (Head Public relations of Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School-Sumenep)
7. Ust. Dr. Mohammad Fattah Syamsuddin, Lc., MA. (Dean of the Da'wa Faculty of Institute Dirosat Islamiyah Al-Amien Prenduan-Sumenep)
8. Ust. Muhammad 'Aisyi Qusairi (Vice-head of Ad-Dliyaw at-Thalibin Islamic Boarding School, Ambunten Sumenep)

Some *da'is* above are asked their perception about the early matchmaking, such as factors and personal view for additional information.

⁶ Septi Karisyati, *Tradisi Bhekal.....*, 3.

⁷ Nia Kurniati Syam, *Kearifan Dakwah dan Konflik Sosial* (Prosiding Seminar Nasional Penelitian dan PKM Sosial, Ekonomi dan Humaniora: Fakultas Dakwah Universitas Islam Bandung, 2014), 118-119

C. Discussion

1. Concept of Perception

To understand concept of perception, researcher describes some definitions according to experts; John R. Wenburg and William W. Wilmot said that perception able to define as the way of organism in providing a meaning.⁸ Rudolph F Verderber said that perception is process to interperate sensory information.⁹ Brian Fellows also said that perception is the possible process the organism receiving and analyze information.¹⁰ J. Cohen define perception as visible knowledge about what is in the outside.¹¹

Philip Goodacre and Jennifer Follers said that perception is mental process used for knowing stimulation.¹² This thought was supported by Joseph A. DeVito that perception is process making us realize how stimulation influence our sense.¹³

Some definition from experts above, we can take conclude that perception is interpretation process of information or the meaning which we take from human or environment, such as behavior, action, habit, etc.

Kenneth K. Sereno and Edward M. Bodaken,¹⁴ also Judy C. Pearson and Paul E. Nelson,¹⁵ said that perception consist of three activities: selection, organization, and interpretation. Selection is consisting of sensation and attention. Organization can be defined as "put a stimulation to other stimulation, till it become the united meaning."¹⁶ Three steps of perception (selection, organization and interpretation) can't be differed easily, when a step ends and when a next step starts.

The importance step of perception is interpreting information we get from one of or more our sense. We can't interpret the meaning of a object directly, but we interpret the meaning of information we believe representing of the object. So, the information we get from perception is not information about the real object, but it is how the object looked.¹⁷

Everyone has a different view of the reality around them. Here are some important principles regarding perception:¹⁸

a. Perception is based on Experience

Patterns of human behavior occur based on their perceptions of the (social) reality that has been learned. The way we work and judge what work is good for us depends on what our culture has taught us about these things.

In the West in general, as well as in most parts of Indonesia, belching after eating is rude behavior, even in Sweden a guest who belchs after eating can make the hostess faint. While in Arabia, China, Japan and Fiji, as well as Aceh and in West Sumatra, belching is even recommended because it signifies food acceptance and meal satisfaction.

b. Perception is Selective

Our attention to a stimulus is the main factor that determines our selectivity over the stimulus. This attention is influenced by internal and external factors. Internal factors that influence attention in the form of biological factors (hunger, thirst, and so on); physiological factors (tall, short, fat, thin, healthy, tired, poor vision or hearing, disability and so on); and socio-cultural factors such as gender, religion, level of education, occupation, income, role, social status, past experience, habits and even psychological factors such as will, motivation, hope, anger,

⁸ Deddy Mulyana, *Ilmu Komunikasi: Suatu Pengantar* (Bandung: Rosda, 2016), 180.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Joseph A. DeVito, *Komunikasi Antarmanusia* (Jakarta: Professional Books, 1997), 75

¹⁴ Deddy Mulyana, *Ilmu Komunikasi.....* h. 181.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 182.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 191

sadness, and so on. The greater the differences between these aspects in individuals, the greater the difference in their perception of reality. Furthermore, external factors that affect attention are perceived object attributes in the form of movement, intensity, contrast, novelty, and repetition of the perceived object.

A moving object certainly attracts more attention than a stationary object. That's why we prefer television as a moving picture rather than a comic as a still image. Stimuli whose intensity is prominent will also attract attention. Someone who has the loudest voice, the fattest body, the darkest skin or the most beautiful face will attract our attention. People or objects whose appearance is different from the others and all the recurring events are clearly more potential for us to pay attention.

c. Perception is Conjecture

The process of perception that is conjectural allows us to interpret an object with a more complete meaning from any point of view. Because complete information is never available, conjectures are needed to make conclusions based on incomplete information. We must fill in the blank spaces to complete the picture and provide the missing information. Thus, perception is also the process of organizing available information, placing the details that we know in certain organizational schemes that enable us to obtain more general meaning.

d. Perception is Evaluative

Perception is a psychological cognitive process in humans that reflects attitudes, beliefs, values and expectations to interpret the object of perception. Thus, perception is personal and subjective. Andrea L. Rich said that "perception basically represents the physical and psychological state of the individual and unexpectedly shows the absolute characteristics and qualities of the object being perceived."

Carls Rogers said, "the individual reacts to the world he/she experiences and interprets it and thus this perceptual world, for the individual is reality." According to him, humans do not react to absolute reality but to our perception of that reality. Steve Duck, an expert in international relations, states that reality cannot be perceived without going through a unique process and very personal reasons for acting in a social relationship. No one perceives an object without perceiving how good or bad the object is. Harry Helson also said, that we judge stimuli on a personal or subjective scale. When we judge the sociability of others, we use the sociability measure of people we know to reach the adaptation level.

e. Perception is Contextual

Of all the influences in human perception, context is one of the most powerful influences. When we see someone, an object or an event, the context of stimulation greatly influences our cognitive structure, expectations and perceptions. In organizing objects or placing objects in a particular context, humans use the following principles:

First principle: the structure of objects or events based on the principle of similarity or closeness and completeness. Until now experts cannot answer why we are organizing this perceptual. This tendency seems innate. More specifically, we tend to perceive separate stimuli to be related to the extent that the stimuli are close to one another, whether physically close or in time, and similar in shape, size, color or other attributes. In addition to organizing data based on closeness and similarity, we tend to "fill in gaps" and perceive incomplete stimuli or patterns as complete. So, in the context of receiving messages, we tend to complete incomplete messages with parts (conjectures) that seem logical to complete the message. This tendency is very strong. It seems impossible for us not to perceive our physical and social environment in this way.

Second principle: we tend to perceive a stimulus or event consisting of the object and its background. In everyday life we usually make a distinction between figures (focus) and the background, such as when we watch skyscrapers against the background of small buildings around them, the sky behind and above them; or a singer in action on the stage with the background of the band players who accompanied him/her.

2. Concept of *Da'i*

Literally, word of *da'i* come from Arabic language; *isim fa'il mudzakkar* (name of masculine subject) that is the man calling or inviting. While terminologically, al-Bayanuni said; *da'i* is man to communicate, educate, implement, and internalize of Islamic teachings.¹⁹

In communication science, *da'i* is called communicator (who deliver message to other). Because preaching (*da'wa*) can be through writing, oral, deeds, then Islamic writers, Islamic preachers, recitation teachers, administrators of Islamic orphanages, etc and can be called by *da'i*.²⁰ Ideally, *da'i* is a believer who makes Islam his religion, the Qur'an as a guide, the Prophet Muhammad Rasulullah SAW as his leader and role model. He really practices it in his behavior and life journey, and then he conveys Islam which includes creed (aqidah), sharia, and morals to all humans.²¹

a. *Da'i* Qualifications

- 1) Generally, *da'i* is every adult Muslim (*mukallaf*). The obligation of *da'wa* has been attached to them in accordance with their respective abilities as a realization of the Prophet's order to convey Islam to all people even though one verse.
- 2) Specially, *da'i* is a Muslim who has specialized in the field of Islam (*mutakhashish*), namely the ulama and so on.²²

In detail al-Bayanuni was quoted by Moh. Ali Aziz, in the book *Da'wa* gives the following *da'i* requirements:

- a) Having deep faith in what will be preached/delivered
- b) Establish close relationships with *da'wa* partners
- c) Having knowledge and insight about what was preached/ delivered
- d) His knowledge is consistent with his actions (*istiqamah*)
- e) Having a sharp sensitivity
- f) Be wise in taking methods
- g) His behavior is commendable
- h) Be kind with Muslims
- i) Covering up other people's ugliness
- j) Joining the community if it is considered good for *da'wa* and stay away if it is not profitable.
- k) Help one another, consult one another and advise one another with fellow *da'i*.²³

Al-Habib 'Abdullah bin' Alawi al-Haddad described the typology of preachers in terms of science and charity or between the fatwa and their behavior:

- a) *Da'i* who masters the religion, his behavior is accordance with his knowledge, and he sincerely teaches and invites others to follow his *da'wa*.
- b) *Da'i* who masters the religion, his behavior is in accordance with his knowledge, but he was reluctant to teach his knowledge to the people. If his reluctance is due to his miserly nature or deliberately hiding it, then he is sinful. But if he leaves the *da'wa* because he is busy carrying out other religious obligations, while there are still other *da'i* (ulama) who teach, then he is not sinful.
- c) *Da'i* who have the depth of religious knowledge, he teach their knowledge to the people, but his behavior is not in accordance with his knowledge. This type of *da'i* wants to be famous quickly, assuming *da'wa* is more important than exemplary. He is likened to giving clothes to others, while he is naked
- d) *Da'i* who has the depth of religious knowledge, but he does not run the knowledge he has and he is also reluctant to teach his knowledge to others. Worldly desires over him like treasures, thrones, popularity and so on.

¹⁹ Muhammad Al-Bayanuni Abdul al-Fath, *al-Madkhal Ila 'Ilmi al-Da'wah*, (Beirut: Risalah Publisher, 2001), 40

²⁰ Moh. Ali Aziz, *Ilmu Dakwah* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2017), 186

²¹ *Ibid.* 187.

²² *Ibid.* 186.

²³ *Ibid.* 188.

- e) *Da'i* who has the depth of religious knowledge, but he does not run the knowledge he has and he is also reluctant to teach his knowledge to other people. Instead, it spreads error and mixes right and wrong. His error was followed by many people even across generations behind him.²⁴

3. Early Matchmaking and Marriage in Islam

Generally, matchmaking is one of step before marriage. This matchmaking can be held since two persons (man and woman who will be matched) are still in the womb or still babies or children or in adult.²⁵ The matchmaking for man or woman when they are still children or babies what is then called by early matchmaking. Simply, early matchmaking is matchmaking in young children who are not medically and psychologically mature.

The matchmaking (*perjodohan*) according to the Big Indonesian Dictionary (*kbbi*) is briefly explained as coming from the word 'mate' which means a person who is suitable to be a husband or wife.²⁶ In Wikipedia, it is explained that the matchmaking are a type of marriage bond where the groom and the bride are chosen by a third party and not by each other.²⁷

The matchmaking, anthropologically, is one of the cultural tools through which humans reach marriage. The matchmaking is the starting door for two different people who know each other. In Islam, the matchmaking is often translated in the language of "*khitbah*". However, not infrequently this match is interpreted as marriage itself. The reason; the matchmaking is different from the process of getting to know each other. In the matchmaking, there is a mutual agreement (*akad*) between one person to another. The matchmaking or *khitbah* has the meaning of demand.²⁸ That is the agreement between the man and woman to get married within a specified period of time.

Khitbah in the term *fiqh* is one of the steps that are praised and recommended by the Prophet Muhammad.²⁹ *Khitbah* is seen merely as a promise to get married.³⁰ *Khitbah* is recommended to know clearly the character and behavior of the prospective spouse so that they can put life in peace, which is filled with a sense of love, satisfaction, happiness and peace of life.³¹

Marriage through the matchmaking has happened since ancient times. In the time of the Prophet also happened. 'Aisha who was still a child at that time was matched for marriage and was married by Abu Bakr to Muhammad. In Islam, a Muslim who is going to marry a Muslimah, he should propose first because it is possible that she is being married to by someone else. In this case Islam forbids a Muslim proposing a woman who is purposed by another person.³²

'Abdullah bin 'Umar ra. said:

نهى النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم أن يبيع بعضكم على بيع بعض، ولا يخطب الرجل على خطبة أخيه حتى يترك الخاطب قبله أو يأذن له الخاطب

²⁴ Ibid. 197-198.

²⁵ Dina Tsalist Wildana, "Sakralisasi Abhekan dan Desakralisasi Nikah dalam Perspektif Genderbagi Masyarakat Muslim Madura di Jember," dalam *Prosiding Seminar Nasional & Call for Papers* (Fakultas Keislaman Universitas Trunojoyo, 2016), 212.

²⁶ Tim Penyusun Kamus Pusat Bahasa, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (Jakarta: Pusat Bahasa, 2008), 292.

²⁷ <https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Perjodohan>

²⁸ Djaman Nur, *Fiqh Munakahat* (Semarang: Dina Utama, 1993), 13.

²⁹ Abdul Al-Barraq, *Panduan Lengkap Pernikahan Islami*, (Bandung: Oasis, 2011), 51

³⁰ Fuad Kauma dan Nipah, *Membimbing Istri Mendampingi Suami*, (Yogyakarta: Mitra Pustaka, 1990), h. 36.

³¹ M.Thalib, *Petunjuk Menuju Perkawinan Islam*, (Bandung: Irsyad Baitus Salam, 1995), 66.

³² Yazid Bin Abdul Qadir Jawas, *Hadiah Istimewa Menuju Keluarga Sakinah* (Depok: Pustaka Khazanah Fawaid, 2018), 31.

The Prophet Muhammad forbade someone to buy goods that are being offered (to be bought) by his brother, and forbade someone to propose a woman who has been proposed until the person who proposed to leave or allow her.³³

Matchmaking of children is a very important and never forgotten event in one's life journey, especially in forming and fostering a happy family. For this reason, careful planning is needed in preparing everything such as physical, mental and social economy. The matchmaking will form a marriage or family bond which is the main basic joint for the survival and development of a nation and state society.

In Indonesia, the practice of matchmaking was originally a tradition in each region with all the uniqueness. Parents have power over the marriages of their children, ranging from the selection of a husband or wife pair to the ceremonial arrangement by adhering to cultural values and traditions.³⁴

Koentjaraningrat explained that the marriage system in Indonesia is divided into several types, those are *paksa peksan* system (the parental matching), *magang ngenger* system (a male virgin has dedicated himself to relatives), *triman* system (a man who gets a wife as a gift from one of the royal family environment), *lamaran* system (the men make proposals to the women), *ngunggah-ngunggahi* system (a proposal system where a woman asks for a man).³⁵

Furthermore, marriage in Indonesian comes from the word *hymeneal*, which means to collect. Based on this meaning, a definition can be drawn that marriage is a physical bond between a man and a woman who is not a mahram. The intention that must be prioritized in marriage is to foster a household that is *sakinah mawaddah wa rahmah* based on the guidance of Allah SWT.³⁶

The Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI) says that marriage according to Islamic law is a very strong contract (*akad*), or *mitsaqan ghalizhan*, to obey the commands of Allah SWT. and carrying out it is worship.³⁷ It can be concluded that marriage is the gathering or union of two opposite sex not mahram to build a family based on Sharia rules or regulations. That is, people who are married are required to obey and fulfill the conditions set by Islamic law.³⁸

The following conditions for marriage in Islam:

- a. Marriage must be *halal* according to the Shari'a, that is, marriage must be of the opposite sex who is not *mahram*.
- b. Has a puberty and understanding (*baligh*). People who have not reached puberty are still considered children and are not allowed to get married. Even people who have not been puberty are not subject to the obligation to worship Allah.
- c. *Ijab* and *Kabul*, that is handover from female guardians to the bridegroom.
- d. There is a dowry (*mahar*), which is something that must exist when a marriage is held and this is a shariah that must be fulfilled.
- e. There are two witnesses. *Jumhur ulama* agreed that there were at least five conditions for witnessing marriage, those are Muslim (man), *baligh* and intelligent, free, fair, and able to see.
- f. There is a guardian from the woman's side. It's not a marriage without a guardian (Hadith by Abu Daud).³⁹

Islam strongly encourages marriage, *sunnah muakkadah*. Islam has made legitimate marriage ties based on the Qur'an and Sunnah as the only means of fulfilling the demands of human instincts that are very basic, and the means of fostering an Islamic family. Islamic

³³ Shahih: HR. Al-Bukhari (no. 5142) dan Muslim (no. 1412), dari Sahabat Ibnu 'Umar Ra. Lafazh ini milik al-Bukhari.

³⁴ Clifford Geertz, *Abangan, Santri, Priyayi dalam masyarakat Jawa* (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1989), 69.

³⁵ Koentjaraningrat, *Manusia dan Kebudayaan di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Djembatan, 204), 339.

³⁶ Rizem Aizid, *Bismillah, Kami Menikah: Lima Janji Allah bagi Orang Menikah* (Yogyakarta: Diva Press, 2018), 13-14.

³⁷ Muhammad Amin Suma, *Kawin Beda Agama di Indonesia: Telaah Syariah* (Tangerang: Lentera Hati, 2015), 24.

³⁸ Rizem Aizid, *Bismillah*, 14.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 17-22.

appreciation of the bond of marriage is so great, to the point that the bond is set to be proportional to half the religion.⁴⁰

Anas bin Malik ra. said, "the Prophet Muhammad said:

من تزوج فقد استكمل نصف الإيمان فليترك الله في النصف الباقي

Whoever marries, he has completed half of his faith. And let him fear Allah (*taqwa*) in maintaining the other half.⁴¹

4. Theory of Phenomenology

Phenomenology comes from the Greek, *Phainoai*, which means 'visible' and phenomenon refers to 'that appears'. The historical movement of phenomenology is the philosophical tradition launched in the first half of the 20th century by Edmund Husserl, Martin Heidegger, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Jean-Paul Sartre.

When it is reviewed again, the phenomenology came from *phenomena* which means visible reality. And *logos* which means knowledge. So, phenomenology is a science that is oriented to get an explanation of visible reality. Phenomenology seeks to understand how humans construct important meanings and concepts within an intersubjectivity framework (our understanding of the world is shaped by our relationships with others).

Phenomenology assumes that people actively interpret their experiences and try to understand the world with their personal experiences. The phenomenon that appears is a reflection of reality that cannot stand alone, because it has meaning that requires further interpretation. Phenomenology breaks through phenomena to be able to find out the meaning of the deepest nature of the phenomenon to get its essence.

The purpose of phenomenology, as stated by Husserl, is to study human phenomena without questioning their causes, actual reality, and appearance. Husserl said, "the living world is the basis of meaning that is forgotten by science."⁴² We often interpret life not as it is, but based on theories, certain philosophical reflections, or based on interpretations colored by our interests, life situations, and habits. So, phenomenology calls for *zurück zu de sachen selbst* (back to the objects themselves), namely an effort to rediscover the living world.

The main problem to be explained by this theory is precisely the main problem of social science itself, namely how social life can be formed. Alfred had a theory that was the opposite of Weber's view. Alfred Schutz argues that human action becomes a social relationship when humans give a certain meaning to their actions, and other human beings understand their actions as meaningful.

Subjective understanding of an action is crucial to the continuity of the process of social interaction. Both for actors who give meaning to their own actions and for other parties who will translate and understand it and who will act in accordance with what is intended by the actor.

Schutz specialized his attention to a form of subjectivity which he called inter-subjectivity. This concept refers to the separation of subjective circumstances or simply refers to the dimension of general awareness to the specific awareness of social groups that are mutually integrated. Intersubjectivity that allows social interaction that occurs, depends on knowledge of each other's role gained through personal experience.

Much of Schutz's thinking is centered on an aspect of the social world called world life or the world of everyday life. This is called the intersubjective world. In this intersubjective world people create social reality and are forced by existing social life and by the cultural structure of their ancestral creation. In the world of life there are many aspects of the collective, but there are also personal aspects.

⁴⁰ Yazid Bin Abdul Qadir Jawas, *Hadiah Istimewa* 10.

⁴¹ Hasan: the hadith narrated by al-Ṭabrānī, *Mu'jam al-Awsaṭ* (no.7643,8789). Shaykh al-Albani considered this hadith hasan.

⁴² Ritzer, George and Goodman, Douglas J, *Teori Sosiologi Modern* (Jakarta: Predana Media, 2008), 76.

The meaning of phenomenology is reality, it appears. The phenomenon that appears is a reflection of reality that does not stand alone. Because it has a meaning that requires further interpretation. Phenomenology breaks through phenomena to be able to find out the deepest meaning (essence) of the phenomenon.⁴³

Phenomenology also seeks to reveal the meaning of one's experience. The meaning of something experienced by someone will depend on how people relate to something.⁴⁴ According to Littlejohn and Foss, phenomenology is related to the appearance of an object, event, or condition in our perception. Knowledge comes from conscious experience, in our perception. In this case, phenomenology means letting things come to manifest themselves as they really are. Thus, the meaning arises by allowing the reality/phenomenon/experience to open itself. On the other hand, the meaning appears as a result of the interaction between the subject and the phenomenon experienced.⁴⁵

Below are explained the two main elements of the phenomenological theory as follows:

Firstly, attention to actors. This basic issue concerns methodology. How to get data about social action is as subjective as possible. The use of this method is also intended to reduce the influence of subjectivity which is a source of distortion, reflection and inaccuracy of information. In the view of natural science experts, such a thing is not possible with respect to the object of sociological study. So, it can be said naive if someone thinks that someone will be able to understand the whole behavior of humans, only by directing attention to the behavior that appears concretely. The challenge for social scientists is to understand the meaning of the actions of the actors. If the observer applies his own measurements or theories about the meaning of action, he will not be able to find the same meaning among the actors themselves. He will never discover how social reality is created and how the next action will be carried out in the context of their understanding.

Secondly, focusing on the facts that are important or essential and on a reasonable or natural attitude. The reason is that not all social life symptoms are observable. Therefore, attention must be paid to the important symptoms of everyday human actions and to the proper attitude. The process of forming social facts becomes the center of attention and it certainly does not intend to learn social facts directly. Then phenomenology studies how individuals participate in the process of forming and maintaining social facts that compel them.⁴⁶

5. Madura Da'i Perceptions about Early Matchmaking

Perception is the process of capturing the meaning of social objects and events experienced by someone in their environment. Of course, everyone has a different picture of the reality around him, including the perceptions of *da'i* about the early matchmaking in Pamekasan and Sumenep. Phenomenology seeks to reveal the meaning of one's experience. The meaning of something experienced by someone will depend on how people relate to something. Everyday life in their environment provides something objectively. Every individual is born and developed in a society that has a strong influence on the individual. The influence usually arises from the family or community.

All *da'i* who become informants in this study are *kiai*, teachers (*ustadz*) who live in boarding schools (*pesantren*) that often preach to lecture outside the boarding school, both in rural and urban areas or trusted by the community to care for their children at the boarding school. *Da'i* perception about the occurrence of early matchmaking here arises from the surrounding

⁴³ Margaret M. Poloma, *Sosiologi Kontemporer* (Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 2013), 301-302

⁴⁴ Edgar, Andrew dan Peter Sedgwick, *Key Concept in Cultural Theory* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 273.

⁴⁵ Littlejohn, S.W. and K.A. Foss, *Theories of Human Communication* (Belmont, USA: Thomson Learning Academic Resource Center, 2005), 38.

⁴⁶ Ritzer, George dan Goodman, Douglas J, *Teori Sosiologi*, 84.

community or santri guardians whose children are boarded at the pesantren where the *da'i* is. They ask permission or advice (*dawuh*⁴⁷) to the *da'i* or kiai to matchmaking their children.

The *da'i* take various opinions and views of the public about the occurrence of early matchmaking. Generally, the *da'i* in Pamekasan and Sumenep perceive these views as follows: (1) people have worries and feelings of shame and disgrace (*aib*⁴⁸) if their children, especially their daughters, do not immediately have a life partner (match; *jodoh*). This is done for the sake of caution and safety of children to avoid things that are not desirable. By matchmaking their children at an early age, their worries are reduced; (2) Madura people uphold the values of brotherhood and kinship, so when each relative has a child, they immediately intend to matchmaking their child up, so that his family ties more closely and so that the two families more easily adapt.

According to Littlejohn and Foss, phenomenology is related to the appearance of an object, event, or condition in our perception. Knowledge comes from conscious experience in our perception.⁴⁹ In this case, phenomenology means letting things come to manifest themselves as they really are. Thus, the meaning arises by allowing the reality/phenomenon/experience to open itself. On the other hand, the meaning appears as a result of the interaction between the subject and the experienced phenomenon.

From the results of the interaction of the *da'i* with the community regarding the phenomenon of early matchmaking, then it comes the *da'i* perception of the meaning of the early matchmaking. According to the preachers, this early matchmaking (*abhekalalan*) is interpreted as an effort (*i'tikad*). It means efforts to meet the needs of the factors that cause early matchmaking. It is known that there are various factors that cause of the early matchmaking in Pamekasan and Sumenep, those are the nasabiyah and friendship factors, the fear of negative promiscuity, the fear of not getting a match, and the ownership factor.

Some *da'i* perceive that basically early matchmaking in Pamekasan and Sumenep is a hereditary habit of the surrounding community that is still carried out in social life. They do early matchmaking on the basis of feelings of worry and protective attitude to children. These feelings and attitudes refer to the life experiences of the people of Pamekasan and Sumenep in living their social behavior, for example the case of dating and promiscuity.

The *da'i* said that cases of promiscuity that occurred in Pamekasan and Sumenep caused unrest in the community. Parents are worried that their children will get the wrong relationship, which later can cause disgrace. So, in order to protect the child and so as not to get disgrace from it, they do matchmaking their sons and daughters from close family members (protective attitude).

Generally, the *da'i* perceive that the people of Pamekasan and Sumenep who did an early matchmaking were people who have the same tendency. Namely, both have concerns and both want to protect children and families, both those that arise from nasabiyah or kinship factors, fear of negative relationships, fear of not getting a match, or ownership.

The above factors have a purpose of which are: (a) so that family relationships remain intertwined, not broken and not far away, and property owned by the family does not move to others, (b) so that the children can be monitored so they does not fall into negative relations, (c) so that children are bound and other communities know that the child already has a partner (fiance) till it can prevent others from disturbing or approaching their sons or daughters.

Madura *da'i* also perceive that early matchmaking in Madura will be worthy of da'wa on one side if it carried out in accordance with the guidance of Islam, and on the other weighing the various benefits of da'wa in each step. In choosing a mate, it needs to think about the criteria for a life partner that is optimal for Islamic da'wa. It is also considered the benefits more broadly. In addition to the general criteria as the guidance of Islamic Jurisprudence (*fiqih*), another consideration is whether the choice of matchmaking has optimum benefit implications for da'wa, or just getting benefit for themselves.

⁴⁷ Javanese language

⁴⁸ Indonesia language

⁴⁹ Littlejohn, S.W. and K.A. Foss, *Theories of Human Communication* (Belmont, USA: Thomson Learning Academic Resource Center, 2005), 38.

Da'wa values or Islamic teachings in practice affect the early matchmaking tradition. The influence is more on the relation of girls and boys so that in their relation does not violate the teachings of Islam; that is prohibition of approaching adultery (*zina*). The Pamekasan and Sumenep *da'i* believe that the influence of the values of these religious teachings provide social restrictions on the two person of different sex who are not yet related, such as the matchmaking, fiancé or marriage. This step gives a positive value or the value of da'wa for the community because by matchmaking their children at an early age has upheld the social morals in the community. Da'wa in early matchmaking here is an effort to minimize violations of Islamic teachings, which are related to the prohibition of approaching adultery.

The Word of God in the Qur'an as follows:

وَلَا تَقْرَبُوا الزَّانَةَ إِنَّهُ كَانَ فَاحِشَةً وَسَاءَ سَبِيلًا

And do not approach adultery; indeed adultery is a cruel act and a bad way. (Q.S. al-Isra': 32).

Perception of Madura *da'i* in this study also said that the early matchmaking is one of *sunnah fi'liyah*, that is to refer to marriage of Prophet Muhammad and Aishah. Abu Bakr, Aishah's father matched and married Aishah ra who was still a child at that time with the Prophet Muhammad. After Baligh, then Aishah stayed with the Prophet Muhammad.

The matchmaking is a good tool or mediator for marriage, and marriage is the *sunnah* of the Prophet which is highly recommended to be done.

Rasulullah SAW said:

النَّكَاحُ مِنْ سُنَّتِي فَمَنْ لَمْ يَعْمَلْ بِسُنَّتِي فَلَيْسَ مِنِّي. وَتَزَوَّجُوا فَإِنِّي مُكَاتِرٌ بِكُمْ الْأُمَمَ. وَمَنْ كَانَ ذَا طَوْلٍ فَلْيَنْكِحْ. وَمَنْ لَمْ يَجِدْ فَعَلَيْهِ بِالصِّيَامِ فَإِنَّ الصَّوْمَ لَهُ وَجَاءٌ

Getting married is my *sunnah*. Whoever is reluctant to carry out my *sunnah*, then he is not from my group. Get married! Because in fact I am proud of the large number of you in front of all the Ummah. Whoever has the ability (to get married), then get married. And whoever is not able, he should fast because fasting is a shield for him (from various lusts/*shahwat*).⁵⁰

The matched by parents for their children are one way to be able to marry their children to someone who they think is appropriate and suitable. Likewise, with the case of Abu Bakr who matched Aisha with the prophet Muhammad. That way, it can be said that the value of da'wa contained in early matchmaking here is a suggestion to follow the *sunnah* of the prophet.

In addition, one of the factors for early matchmaking is to maintain the *nasab* (bonding kinship), heredity and wealth. *Nasab* and wealth have their own foundation and determination to carry out religious law, especially in terms of finding a life partner. As the guidance of the Prophet SAW, there are four factors to consider in choosing a partner. As narrated by several narrators (*raawi*) of the hadith below:

عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ تُنْكَهُ الْمَرْأَةُ لِأَرْبَعٍ لِمَالِهَا وَ لِحَسَبِهَا وَ جَمَالِهَا وَلِدِينِهَا فَاطْفَرْ بِذَاتِ الدِّينِ تَرِبَتْ يَدَاكَ

From Abu Hurairah ra., from the Prophet Muhammad SAW said: "The woman was married for four things, because of her wealth, her offspring, her beauty and her religion. Then choose because of her religion, surely you will be lucky."⁵¹

⁵⁰ *Ḥadīth ṣaḥīḥ liḡhayriḥ* by Ibn Mājah (no. 1846) from 'Aishah ra. See genealogy of *al-Aḥādīth al-Ṣaḥīḥah* (no. 2383)

⁵¹ Hadith by al-Bukhārī (no. 5090) *kitāb al-Nikāḥ*, Muslim (no. 1466) *kitāb al-Raḍā'*, Abū Dāwūd (no. 2046) *kitāb al-Nikāḥ*, al-Nasā-i (no. 3230) *kitāb al-Nikāḥ*, Ibn Mājah (no. 1858) *kitāb al-Nikāḥ*, and Aḡmad (no. 9237).

In addition, maintaining the family and brotherhood is something that is very important. Every person is required to maintain the sanctity of *nasab* with noble character, including through early matchmaking. Because it is not easy to preserve *nasab* as a link connecting offspring and preserving kinship and the origin of one's descendants to their ancestors. The Prophet Muhammad and the majority of Arabs knew of their *nasab* up to several generations before. Kinship and brotherhood between them are so strong. Allah made them an example to emulate.

Likewise, the Madurese who uphold the *nasab*, family and brotherhood. These all are protected, one of is by making the match to their children who still have kinship ties. In Madura there is a term called *taneyan lanjheng* (long yard), where there are many long-lined houses, all of which are still related. That happened because the majority of Madurese matched and married their children who still have close relatives.

From the description above, it can be said that the application of Islamic values contained in early match in Madura, especially Pamekasan and Sumenep has given a touch of da'wa directly to the community.

6. Typology of Madura Da'i on Early Matchmaking

The role of the Pamekasan and Sumenep *da'i* has its own social function in the process of spreading Islamic da'wa in the community. So that their attitudes and views become important and influential for people's lives. Perception of Madura *da'i* about early matchmaking provide the different attitudes and views as well. This is reasonable, because the principle of perception is like that, namely because of the existence of socio-cultural factors such as religion, level of education, occupation, income, role, social status, past experience, habits; biological factors, physiological factors and psychological factors. The different attitudes and views of *da'i* rise to the typology of *da'i* on early matchmaking.

Typology of Madura *da'i* on this early matchmaking are formed through the adaptation of the *da'i* with the Quranic texts, hadiths and interpretations of both as well as the social conditions that surround them. Reference or information coming from the Quran and Hadith can be used by *da'i* to perceive and validate that early matchmaking practices formed from a hereditary tradition carried out by the Pamekasan and Sumenep communities can be considered true and do not violate Islamic teachings. Because, every tradition that applies in society must have the basis of their respective legitimacy. All Madura *da'i* agreed on that. As stated by one of the *da'i* in Sumenep, KH. Muhammad Unais Ali Hisham that there is no shar'i provision for the prohibition of early matchmaking in the Qur'an and Hadith. Things that are not forbidden in the Quran and the Hadith are used by Pamekasan and Sumenep *da'i* as a foothold that it is legitimate to have an early matchmaking. The law is *mubah*, meaning that it can or may not be done.

But even though there is no prohibition in religion, the *da'i* do not immediately agree to this early matchmaking. Their views are not intended to oppose religious teachings and the wishes of the people, but rather to the goal of mutual benefit. Because in essence, people want a comfortable and good life for themselves and others, as a value that emphasizes mutual benefit.

Typology of *da'i* here is evaluative, that is to perceive events or phenomena by looking at the good and bad sides. From this, two types of *da'i* emerge from the phenomena of early matchmaking in Pamekasan and Sumenep as follows:

The first type is the some *da'is* who agree or accept early matchmaking. They agreed on early matchmaking based on condition that it does not become the cause of early marriage. Aside from the fact that there are no prohibited provisions in Islam, both originating from the Qur'an and hadith, early matchmaking was held by the Madurese community in fact contain many positive values when viewed from its factors. In early matchmaking, there are efforts to minimize violations of Islamic teachings in the form of a prohibition approaching adultery (*zina*); there are also invitations to follow the sunnah of the prophet; and invitations to safeguard *nasab*, strengthen kinship ties.

The second type, that is the some *da'is* who disagree or reject early matchmaking. The *da'is* who disagree say, even though there is no prohibition on early marriage in Islam, it does not mean that children should be matched at an early age. They suggested that children should be directed to the world of education first before being charged with matchmaking, considering that the matter of partner selection or match should first be known of the character, and knowledge of each child (mature in terms of age, courtesy and science). In addition, they also argue that early matchmaking which ultimately does not end in marriage can cause divisions between families. Relations between the two families are broken.

The typology of the *da'is* in the form of acceptance and rejection of early matchmaking is certainly not out of their experience and background. Here is the perception works. *Da'i* who did not agree to the early matchmaking, such as Kiai Musleh Adnan for example, because indeed in the environment where he lived (Blumbungan) had entered a period of transition; from village to city. So the way of thinking of the majority of people in Blumbungan has rarely recommended the early matchmaking. The community there is more direct their children to continue their education, at least graduating from high school before going on to an engagement or marriage.

While for *da'i* who agrees or accepts early match, the writer takes the example of Kiai Basthami Tibyan. He strongly agrees to early match as long as it suits the situation and conditions, it is not coercive and has good goals. This typology arises because of the many brothers/sisters in his family were matched in early age, even though only he was not in early matchmaking.

Perception is also contextual. This means that the perception that arises is placed in a particular context; the *da'is* tend to perceive events that consist of objects and their backgrounds. Typology of *da'i* above is reasonable considering that every community has different needs. To get the goal of this, so it allowed in its implementation, with the exception while not to the contrary to the rules of Islamic law.

It can be concluded that the typology of Maduraese *da'i* to early matchmaking can be seen from the two view or actions that arise from them; to agree and to disagree; to accept and to reject. This view of agreeing and disagreeing is taken according to the conditions based on the perspective of each *da'i*. That is to agree if early matchmaking does not end in early marriage. Conversely, do not agree if the early matchmaking leads to early marriage.

D. Conclusion

Based on the presentation and analysis of research data regarding perception of Madura *da'i* about early matchmaking (phenomenological studies in Pamekasan and Sumenep), it can be concluded as follows:

1. The *da'i* interpret early matchmaking as an effort (*i'tikad*). That is an effort of the form of protection and concern for parents of children. Based on perception of Madura *da'i*, there are several factors that influence the occurrence of this early matchmaking; those are the nasabiyah and friendship factor, the fear factor of negative association, and the ownership factor. The *da'is* also perceive that early matchmaking in Madura contains the values of Islamic teachings (*da'wa*). The value of *da'wa* among them are (a) efforts to minimize violations of Islamic teachings in the form of a prohibition on approaching adultery; (b) invitation to follow the sunnah of the prophet; and (c) invitation to maintain the *nasab*, strengthen family relations.
2. Typology of Pamekasan and Sumenep *da'i* for early matchmaking can be seen from their view regarding the phenomena, those are accepting and refusing. They agree with early matchmaking as long as it does not end in early marriage. Otherwise, they do not agree if early matchmaking results in early marriages, and considering about early marriages that do not lead to marriages sometimes causes hostility between families. The type of *da'i* who refuses is more suggesting that children are directed to the world of education first before being charged with the thinking of matchmaking.

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