

# **BLATER CHARISMA IN BUILDING RELIGIOSITY: AN EFFORT TO MAINTAIN FAMILY IMAGE IN SAMPANG MADURA DISTRICT**

**Shidqi Ahyani**

UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang  
shidqiahyani@uin-malang.ac.id

**Abstract:** In the life of Madurese society, Blater is a social group that becomes a community leader with courage, physical immunity, and a high kharim so that the community respects it. This research is field research with a qualitative approach. Data collection methods are carried out through interviews, observation, and documentation. The data obtained was analyzed to find research conclusions. The results showed that, first, in the formation of the Blater family, two ways are known, namely the charisma of the Blater in building religiosity in Disanah Village, Sampang Madura Regency, by earning a living for the wife's children and choosing a mate. Second, efforts to maintain the family image of the Blater community in Disanah Village, Sampang Madura Regency, are made using two methods, namely physical and non-physical protection.

**Keywords:** The Blaters, Religiosity, Family

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## Introduction

In terms of terms, the word Blater can be interpreted as a local strongman or local champion, and for people unfamiliar with the language of Blater, people usually refer to it as (local strongmen) who are respected and have a high position in society.<sup>1</sup> A blater is mainly known among the people of West Madura, specifically in the Sampang and Bangkalan areas. This figure refers to a strong person in the village who has influence and can provide physical safety “protection” to the community.<sup>2</sup> Economically, a Blater has no fixed income but can meet his family's daily needs as "*language spoken andi' semenggu tade' semenggu*" (have goods a week and run out also a week). This situation makes a community dependent on family circumstances, which is reflected in community life, and the first and foremost education of community members is obtained in the family environment.

Forming a family is the most basic thing to obtain happiness, although there are sides that do not make sense because they are based on customary law. The formation of the family begins with the selection of a partner, the proposal or engagement process, which has its priorities in sorting and choosing *sandherena pate* (life partner), considering that the family is *bentalla pate* (the foundation of death). For example, looking for a life partner requires prioritizing someone who has much *bucho empai'* (rectangle)<sup>3</sup> and marries their children before adulthood or even in the womb. Apart from what religion has recommended in choosing a life partner, the Madurese community has its meaning regarding finding a fiancé, namely the continuity of regeneration, which becomes a standard principle in community life.

For the Madurese community, marriage is the process after the proposal is reached, and marriage is the beginning of forming a family. The existence of a marriage is always signaled by holding a wedding reception and the Madurese community considers that the reception

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<sup>1</sup> Zulfatul Laily, *Eksistensi Blater Bagi Masyarakat Desa Katol, Kecamatan Geger, Kabupaten Bangkalan*. (Jurnal Publique 2020), 1-20.

<sup>2</sup> Abdur Rozaki, *Menabur Kharisma Menuai Knasa; Kiprah Kiai dan Blater Sebagai Rejim Kembar di Madura* (Yogyakarta; Pustaka Marwa, 2004), 9

<sup>3</sup> *Bucho empai'* means having wealth, a handsome face, coming from a respectable family, and being a good spiritual Muslim.

has become a tradition that is required for someone who wants to do a marriage contract (marriage), with the hope that everyone knows about the marriage. For the Blater family, the wedding reception is held after holding a *remo* or *to'otok*, which is specific to their community.<sup>4</sup>

Madurese society views the institution of marriage as not only limited to the union between a man and a woman, but marriage functions as a manifestation of masculinity because in the customs of Madurese society, mainly when a marriage occurs, a man (husband) goes home or stays at his wife's house. Therefore, the husband must guard and protect his wife from all actions that harass the family. In addition, it is also to eliminate the public perception of the word *ta' kalake'* (less typical maleness).<sup>5</sup>

Maintaining a family is the beginning of the responsibility and commitment between a man and a woman that is pronounced in a marriage contract (*mitsaqon gholidzan*). One Madurese poet, Zawawi Imron, found the phrase, "I was married by a penghulu, witnessed by many people, and by fulfilling religious regulations. So anyone who disturbs my wife is insulting my religion as well as trampling on my head".<sup>6</sup>

The act of harassing someone else's wife is not only seen as an act that lowers the husband's self-esteem but is also seen as breaking social rules. In this case, the husband is embarrassed because he is considered to have failed to protect his wife, and the husband's family is embarrassed because they are deemed to have failed to choose a good son-in-law. In contrast, the wife's family is embarrassed because they are considered to have failed to educate their children. Therefore, it is understandable why carok receives support from the family or community. Carok conflicts are caused by harassment of family dignity because a husband has been given the obligation to protect his wife since his stay at his in-laws' house. A person is said to be a Blater if he

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<sup>4</sup> Interview with H. Junaidi, Disanah Village, Sreseh District, Sampang Regency, Madura (01-08-2022)

<sup>5</sup> Interview with H. Ansori, Disanah Village, Sreseh District, Sampang Regency, Madura (01-08-2022)

<sup>6</sup> Latif Wiyata, *Konflik Kekerasan dan Harga Diri Orang Madura*, (yogyakarta: LKIS: 2002), 173.

has *bangsah* (friendly or brotherly relations with others) and *bagus tengkanah* (good character). However, some Madurese Blater families have a different understanding of forming and maintaining a family. They prioritize family continuity and harmony, such as resolving conflicts peacefully and setting a good example for family members.

From the preliminary explanation, the researcher wants to reveal 1) the charisma of the Blater in building religiosity and 2) the efforts to maintain the family image of the Blater community. The research conducted is inseparable from previous research. Previous research was used as comparison material, and there was a reduction in studies to maximize research results. The results of earlier studies used by researchers as a comparison include:

*First*, the research conducted by Zulfatul Laily.<sup>7</sup> This research focuses on the social problems of Madurese society. Despite having a vast population, the Madurese are still in a marginalized position. Social issues are common in a society dominated by various ethnicities and cultures. The native Madurese culture is famous for the cattle race, which later became the central icon on the island of Madura. This research does not explain anything related to the family but talks a lot about the Madurese society. *Second*, research conducted by Anggara Reudy Ferdita focuses on the use of cow race culture as one of the communication tools of the Blaters in Madura.<sup>8</sup> The point is to inform you during the planting season when it starts to rain, at a time when other media such as TV, radio, and print media are still rare. This study does not explain anything related to the family but focuses on the use of cow race culture. *Third*, research conducted by Ita Nur Andriana.<sup>9</sup> The short story Blater is one of the short stories that reveals the distinctive character of the Madurese. This Madurese character can

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<sup>7</sup> Zulfatul Laily. *Eksistensi Blater Bagi Masyarakat Desa Katol, Kecamatan Gegger, Kabupaten Bangkalan*. (Jurnal Publique 2020). 1-20.

<sup>8</sup> Anggara Reudy Ferdita, *Komunikasi Kaum Blater Dalam Mempertahankan Tradisi Madura*. (Malang: Prodi Ilmu Komunikasi dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Muhammadiyah 2014)

<sup>9</sup> Ita Nur Andriana *Karakter Orang Madura Dalam Kumpulan Cerpen "Mata Blater" Karya Mahwi Air Tawar* (Jember: Program Studi Pendidikan Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia Jurusan Pendidikan Bahasa dan Seni Universitas Jember 2012)

turn negative if the environmental conditions are not conducive, which can encourage them to engage in various deviant and extreme behaviors. The focus of this research discusses the expression of the Madurese character. This research does not explain anything related to the family, but it talks a lot about the typical character of the Madurese.

The focus of this research is to find out about the charisma of the Blaters in building religiosity and efforts to maintain the family image in the Blater community in Sampang Madura Regency. The purpose of this study is to find out about the charisma of the Blaters in building religiosity and efforts to maintain the family image for the Blater Community in Disanah Village, Sampang Madura Regency.

This research uses a qualitative approach, which means that the data obtained is not based on numbers but comes from interviews, field notes, personal documents, and other official documents. The orientation of this qualitative research is to explain the empirical reality behind the phenomenon holistically and narratively. Therefore, using qualitative methods in this study accommodates empirical reality and existing theory and accountability.<sup>10</sup> In this study, the authors chose a location in Disanah Village, Sampang Madura Regency.

The researcher selected research informants using a purposive sampling technique. The informants chosen by the researcher are the Blaters in Disanah Village, Sampang Madura Regency, who hold valid information about the Blaters. This is based on the consideration that the informant is the one who holds the key to the Blaters' charisma in building religiosity: efforts to maintain the family image applied at the research location.

The data collection technique used by researchers comprises three techniques: in-depth interviews, participant observation, and document studies.<sup>11</sup> The data that has been obtained from the informants is then analyzed singly. At this stage, researchers reviewed all the data that had been collected from observations, interviews, and

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<sup>10</sup> Abdulkadir Muhammad, *Hukum Dan Penelitian Hukum*, (Bandung: Citra Aditya Bakti, 2004), 54

<sup>11</sup> Nana Syaodih Sukmadinata, *Metode Penelitian Pendidikan* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2007), 220.

document reviews using data analysis methods based on Miles & Haberman's point of view, namely interactive model analysis, data analysis, and data collection activities carried out simultaneously, with the following mechanism: 1). data collection, 2). Data reduction, 3). Data representation, and 4). conclusion or verification.

## Result and Discussion

Blater, in the view of the Bangkalan people, is a person who can create conditions in an area. Meanwhile, in the Indonesian dictionary, it is said that a blater is someone who is easy to get along with, friendly to everyone, and helps many people in trouble.<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile, in the view of the Sampang community, Blater is a strong person in Madura, both physically and spiritually, and is usually known to have invulnerability and *kanuragan*.<sup>13</sup> A blater can gather followers and men, and his power depends not only on his ability to manage violence but also on the men he has.<sup>14</sup>

One of the Blater traditions is *carok*. This tradition is the most basic that the Madurese community has carried out in solving problems. When their pride is harassed by others, it must be paid with their lives, namely *carok*. *Carok* is a Madurese tradition as well as the identity and characteristics of the Madurese people, who are often identified with violence. As the proverb often said by Madurese people, "*Ango'an Pote Tolang Etembeng Poteah Mata*" (better to die than to endure shame) or "*Lokana dheging can ejai 'tape lokana ateh ta' can ejai' kajebe acar*" (the wound of the flesh can be sewn but the wound of the heart cannot be sewn except by *carok*). That shows self-esteem for Madurese people is very expensive. Therefore, the community gives a predicate or title name for people who like to do *carok* with the call Blater people.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Muh Syamsuddin, *Elit Lokal Madura: Sisi Kehidupan Kaum Blater*. (Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan 2015), 157-182.

<sup>13</sup> Interview with H. Junaidi, Disanah Village, Sreseh District, Sampang Regency, Madura (01-08-2022)

<sup>14</sup> Rozaki, Abdur. *Menabur Karisma, Menuai Kuasa*. (Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD, 2021), 115

<sup>15</sup> Interview with H. Junaidi, Disanah Village, Sreseh District, Sampang Regency, Madura (01-08-2022)

## The Charisma of the Blaters in Building Religiosity in Disanah Village Sampang Madura Regency

### Childhood Education

Zakiah Daradjat said that parents are the primary and first educators for their children because it is from them that children first receive education. Thus, the first form of education is found in family life.<sup>16</sup> In the Blater community, family formation starts early, such as educating and sending children to school to prepare for maturity and the future of children when they grow up. That is what Mat Nahe, one of the Blater people in Disanah Village, said as follows:

*“Tang anak empak (4) mong le omor 7 taon epangajih kabbi ka langgher epasakolah SD, mong le lulus SD epamondhuk malle taoh ngajih, malle taoh hukom aghemah, soalah mong reng madbureh tak taoh ngajih tak taoh hukum jiah padenah Aib Keluarga”* (My four (4) children are taught the Qur'an at the elementary school Musolla when they are 7 years old, and when they graduate from elementary school, they study at the hut to know the Qur'an and religious law. If the Madurese do not know the Qur'an, they do not know the law, which is a disgrace to the family.)<sup>17</sup>

At the same time, Mat Nahe, one of the Blaters in Disanah Village, said:

*“Sebenderah epangajih ben epamondhuk jiah sepaling penting malle taoh ngajih Al-Qur'an, soalah jiah se enilai bhik masyarakat, mong mole deri pondhuk biasanah pasaa'an ngajih derusan ka spiker, ngajih derusan jiah ekening bhik masyarakat mong tak taoh ngajih yeh todus. Mong ken karo ngajih ketab jiah nomor due' sepenting letaoh hukum agemah. Deddih mong tak taoh ngajih Al-Qur'an bhen tak taoh hukom aghemah, todus dbek masyarakat, mangkanah sengkok ngoca' Aib keluarga”* (Being told to recite the Qur'an and boarding at a pesantren is the most

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<sup>16</sup> Zakiah Daradjat, *Peranan Agama dalam Kesehatan Mental* (Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1973), 35

<sup>17</sup> Interview with Mat Nahe, Disanah Village, Sreseh District, Sampang Regency, Madura (05-08-2022)

important thing so that you know how to recite the Qur'an because that is what is judged by the community, when you return from the pesantren, usually in the month of Ramadan, you recite the Tadarrusan Qur'an to the spiker, the community hears the recitation of the Qur'an if you don't know how to recite the Qur'an, you are ashamed. The important thing is to understand the religious law, so if you don't know how to recite the Qur'an and don't know the religious law, you are ashamed of the community; that's why I call it a family disgrace.)<sup>18</sup>

Hasbi Ash-Shiddiqiy said that religious duties are nurtured continuously until the child reaches adulthood so that religious feelings in his soul are genuinely ingrained.<sup>19</sup> Apart from educating and sending children to school, Blater families also prepare children to become good members of society. That is as explained by Mr. Jupri below:

*"Epamondhuk bhen epasakolah jiah benni ken karo terro penterah ben terro andik ah lakoh, ken malle andik akhlak, norok dbek ocak nah ghurub, reng tuah, bhen akhlak dbek masyarakat, senampak manabi ajhelen neng masyarakat tak dhesbbeledes, amit mong ajhelen e adbe'nah oreng."* (Being educated in pesantren and in school is not only to be smart and have a job; it is also to have morals, to follow what the teacher says, both parents and morals towards society, which are more visible when walking in society, excuse me when walking in front of people.)<sup>20</sup> Djaka, Cs. said that in ethical education, habits and actions are essential (practice).<sup>21</sup>

At the same time Jupri added his explanation:

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<sup>18</sup> Interview with Mat Nahe, Disanah Village, Sreseh District, Sampang Regency, Madura (05-08-2022)

<sup>19</sup> Hasbi ash-Shiddiqiy, *Teuku Mubammad Zulfikar*, (Sinar Darussalam, Nomor 65, YPD. Darussalam), 33

<sup>20</sup> Interview with Mr. Jupri, Disanah Village, Sreseh District, Sampang Regency, Madura (06-08-2022)

<sup>21</sup> Djaka Cs, *Rangkuman Ilmu Mendidik*, Jilid I, Cet. 7, (Jakarta: Toko Buku Mutiara, tt). 6.



*“Kabbhi reng madbureh ajbegeh dbek Bbeleh otabeh tamoi, paleng senneng mong moinamoi bhen etamoih, yeh mong bedeh tamoi enga’ epakaluarah kabbi essenah roma, mong bedeng tenggeng yeh tenggeng se epakaluar, mong jbegung yeh jebegung sepakaluar, sebedenah kakanan e roma, kadheng ghik nyare agbi kakanan e luar.”* (All Madurese people maintain family or guest relationships. Most are happy to visit and be visited, yes, if there are guests as if all the contents of the house are released. If there is cassava, cassava is served, and if there is corn, corn is served. As rough as the food in the house, sometimes they still look for food outside.)<sup>22</sup>

So, we can understand that in building religiosity, Blater introduces and invites children and other family members into religious life. The form is to respect teachers, parents, and the environment (community) by always maintaining relationships, especially families, by maintaining silaturrahmi.

### **Earning a Living for Wife and Child**

Fathers, as husbands of wives and children, act as breadwinners, educators, protectors, and providers of security, as heads of families, as members of their social groups, and as members of the community from their environment. In connection with this, H. Junaidi, one of the Blater people in Disanah Village, Sreseh District, Sampang Regency Madura, said:

*“Biasanah mong ken orang madureh jiah mayoritas ghi’ e kontrol bhik reng tuanah, tak langsung eleppas, ekontrol ejellingih odi’nah anak nah, sukses pah enjek, mong sukses baru eleppas, mong tak sukses ghik epandu bhik reng tuah dhueknah, lebbi- lebbi masalah ekonomi mong anaknah ghik tak cokop biasanah ghik ebentob, ebhentob dalam segi ekonomi esoro mukka usaba, atau nerrosaghi usabanah reng tuanah, alakoh tambhek atau sabe dan lain sebagainya.”* (Usually, most Madurese people are still controlled by their parents, not immediately released, controlled to see their children's lives, successful or not, and if

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<sup>22</sup> Interview with Mr. Jupri, Disanah Village, Sreseh District, Sampang Regency, Madura (06-08-2022)

successful, then released. If not successful, they are still guided by both parents, especially economic problems. If their children are not fulfilled, they are usually assisted, assisted in terms of the economy, told to open a business, or continue their parents' business, work in ponds or rice fields, and so on.)<sup>23</sup>

At the same time, H. Junaidi, one of the Blater people in Disanah Village, Sreseh District, Sampang Regency Madura, explained: *"Orang tuana mong ghitak mampu abentob anaknahe delem ekonomi kabennyak e soro merantau, benni ken karo neng indonesia bahkan sampek dhek luar negri, ben biasanahe kabennyana orang madureh jiah ajualan sate neng Indonesia Khususah neng jebeh, atau mayoritas ekonomi kebebe jiah ekuasahe reng madureh."* (If parents are unable to help their children economically, most are told to migrate, not only within Indonesia but even abroad. Usually, most Madurese sell satay in Indonesia, especially in Java, or the majority of the lower economy is controlled by Madurese.)<sup>24</sup>

H. Junaidi also added:

*"Orang madhureh selemareh akaluarga olle setaonan atau lebbi pokoknahe andik anak sittonganlah bengal merantau dhek luar negri marghenah ekonomi tak nyokobhin, alakoh dhek luar negri sampek on taonan, bhen biasanahe lebedeh keluarga se anampung, mong hasel se alakoh, akereman dhek klurganahe sebedeh emadhureh, atau melleh tana tambhek sabe misalah, bhen anaknahe epatorok dhek embanah atau dhek tantretanahe, mong le tekahajbet apah se ekareh engak melleh sabe bhik tambhek misalah baru mole, mong ghitak sukses se ekareh biasanahe tak kerah mole. Mong merantau dhek jhebehe biasanahe mong lenyaman lakonah nettep e jebeh, mole paleng setaon 2 kaleh, areh rajeh (idul fitri bhen idul adha), yeh, bedeh kejyah se epatorok anaknahe dhek embanah, epasakolah ekampungah. mong lerajeh eghibeh dhek jebeh, ken kejadian seengak jiah*

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<sup>23</sup> Interview with H. Junaidi, Disanah Village, Sreseh District, Sampang Regency, Madura (02-08-2022)

<sup>24</sup> Interview with H. Junaidi, Disanah Village, Sreseh District, Sampang Regency, Madura (02-08-2022)

*diddhi.*” (Madurese people who have a family can be 1 (one) year or more anyway have one child, dare to migrate abroad because the economy is still insufficient, work abroad (TKI) for years, and usually have a family that accommodates, when they get the results of their work, send to their families in Madura, or buy land, ponds, rice fields, for example. Their children are entrusted to their grandmothers or relatives; if they have succeeded in their aspirations, such as buying rice fields and ponds, they will return home; if they have not succeeded, they usually will not return home; if they migrate to Java, generally if they are successful, they will stay in Java, returning home at most once a year, on holidays (Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha) yes, some children are entrusted to their grandmothers, sent to school in their village when they grow up, they are taken to Java, but this is very rare.)<sup>25</sup>

Added again by H. Junaidi:

*‘Mong binib jiah kewejibah lakenah, karo a ngurus roma, ngurusin anaknah, yeh kadheng nolongin lakenah engak angarek e sabe, alakoh kiyah ken setak rek berrek. Masalah ekonomi mong bapak embhuk nah alakoh tapeh ghitak cokop kiyah. Yeh, anaknah pagghun soro alakoh kiyah, ken jiah pelean kedue’ reng madbureh riab paleng angko dbe’ pendidikan mong ghi’ bedeeh se ekakanah, tetep pelean pertama soro mondruk pelean ke due’ sekolah.’* (If the wife is her husband's obligation, taking care of her children, yes, sometimes helping her husband like working in the fields, working too but not heavily, economic problems if the father and mother both work but still need to be fulfilled. Yes, the child is still told to work, too, but that is the second choice. Madurese people are most optimistic about education; if there is still something to eat, the

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<sup>25</sup> Interview with H. Junaidi, Disanah Village, Sresih District, Sampang Regency, Madura (02-08-2022)

first choice is to go to boarding school, and the second choice is school.)<sup>26</sup>

In this regard, Zakiah Daradjat said that how the father does his daily work affects how his children work. The father is the main helper, especially for large children, both boys and girls.<sup>27</sup> So, we can understand that earning a living for children and wife for family formation for the Blater community is: *First*, the father, as the head of the family, acts as a breadwinner, educator, protector, and giver of security, as a member of his social group and as a member of the community from his environment. *Second*, the wife and mother of her children have a role in taking care of the household; as a caregiver and educator of her children, the mother can act as an additional breadwinner in her family. *Third*, children can also act as breadwinners for the family, but the main task of children is to be educated.

### **The Culture of Arranged Marriage**

In some regions, mate selection is an interesting issue that must receive attention. In each area, various traditions or myths serve as household life guidelines. One is in the Blater Family, especially for Blater people; finding a life partner is a way to get benefits in a family that can be achieved.

The culture of arranged marriage in the Blater family is very popular, not only among the Blater family but also in Madurese society, which preserves this culture. This is in accordance with the words of the Prophet Muhammad in the narration of Abu Dawud: "From Abu Hurairah said: Rasulullah SAW said: The consent of the orphan girl is asked of her. If she is silent, then that is her permission; if she refuses, then it should not be forced" (HR. Ahmad, Abu Dawud, an-Nasa'i and at-Turmudzi).<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Interview with H. Junaidi, Disanah Village, Sreseh District, Sampang Regency, Madura (02-08-2022)

<sup>27</sup> Zakiah Daradjat, *Peranan Agama dalam Kesehatan Mental*, (Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1973), 35

<sup>28</sup> Muhammad Abd al-A ziz a l-Khalid i, *Sunan Abu Dawud Juz III*, 97

As explained by Busar, one of the Blater people in Disanah Village below:

*“Ejudhu aghi bhik keluarga malle tak elang sabeleen, bhen le taob bibit bobotah calonah, mong pelenah reng tuah jiah bhideh bhik pelenah dhibi’, mong pelenah reng tuah jiah kabennyaaan langgbeng. soalah mong bedeh masalah delem keluarganah reng tuah tak kerah lepas, pasteh aberrik solusi, melarat se aceraiyah, soalah oreng setlong, todus dbek masyarakat mong sampek acerrai, mong pelenah dhibik le peccaknah reng sekaduek, reng tuah jarang se rok noro’ab urusannah, masalah cinta jiah deteng mong le mareh mantan.”* (Matches with relatives so as not to lose family ties, and already knows the origin of the candidate, if the choice of parents is different from their own choice if the choice of parents is lasting primarily because if there is a problem in the family, parents will not let go, they will provide a solution, it is difficult to divorce, because it is one family, shame to the community if it gets divorced, if the choice itself is up to the husband and wife, parents rarely want to interfere, the problem of love will bloom after marriage.)<sup>29</sup>

H. Fawaid, the son of one of the Blater people in Disanah Village, Sresih District, Sampang Regency Madura, explained:

*“Mong tang keluarga kabbi ejuduaghi, termasuk sengkok yeh ejuduaghi kiyah, sampek andik anak empa’ (4) soalah mong pelenah reng tuah jiah tak kerah kleroh soalah tadbek reng tuah nyungka aghi anaknah dbek jhureng, bhen pole nyamanah mong andik masalah deri sekenik misalah tak andik se akakanah tak todus semintaah dbek reng tuah, napa pole masalah rajeh, tak todus se curbatah dbek reng tuah.”* (In my family, everything was arranged, including me, until I had four children. The parents' choice will not be wrong because no parents are plunging into the abyss. It is also good if problems start from the smallest, such as needing more food. You are not

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<sup>29</sup> Interview with Mr. Busar, Disanah Village, Sresih District, Sampang Regency, Madura (06-08-2022)

ashamed to ask your parents, let alone significant issues. You are not embarrassed to confide in your parents.)<sup>30</sup>

So, we can understand that one of the matchmaking cultures carried out by the Blater families is being matched by their parents. Most children accept the match because the principle is that no parent plunges into the abyss. The form of matchmaking tradition in the Blater family is matchmaking between close relatives, matchmaking at an early age. Both matchmaking forms are still carried out because the Blater family believes they must carry out and preserve every existing tradition. Then, there is a tradition of arranged marriages that occurs in their children, and then they pass on the tradition of arranged marriages from generation to generation.

### ***Bucho Empa'* (Rectangle)**

Forming a family that is *sakinah mawaddah wa rahmah* is the dream of every Muslim in the family. To achieve this, it is necessary to consider many things when determining the right person to be a life partner. In an effort to form a *sakinah mawaddah wa rahmah* family, the Madurese community has a strategy, namely *bucho empa'* (rectangle), which is the standard measure in finding a life partner.

*First, begus pola tengkanah* (having good manners), such as understanding reasonable worship procedures and respecting in-laws and relatives with good manners. Illustrates the existence of a social structure, namely individual and inter-individual relationships, and how a person has good patterns of interaction to gain trust. *Second, bagus ropanah* (beautiful or handsome). *Third, sogi* (rich or many possessions) means that it is easy to provide for the family so that they can fulfill all their needs. *Fourth*, the origin of descent means that their understanding of the origin of descent lies in the blood of descendants, namely, *aeng ning* (clear water), which indicates that the person has good blood, and *aeng lekko* (dirty water), which suggests that the person has lousy blood or *deging* (rotten meat or some leprosy).

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<sup>30</sup> Interview with H. Fawaid, Disanah Village, Sreseh District, Sampang Regency, Madura (01-09-2022)

Based on information obtained from informants, rotten meat is caused by their ancestors who swore an oath because they did not take the rights of others. For example, Budi took his neighbor's property but did not admit his actions after being reprimanded by the owner. To convince the owner, Budi swore that if it were true that he had taken his neighbor's property, he would be in danger for seven generations. The oath made by Budi was not just said but also an oath to cut a black chicken, and the person who swore was covered with a shroud.<sup>31</sup> Madurese people believe that lousy blood offspring is caused by the actions of their ancestors who took oaths.<sup>32</sup>

In other cases, arranged marriages are chosen with the consideration of *bucho empa'* because this is by the following words of the Prophet:

تُنكح المرأة لأربع: لمالها، ولنسبها، ولجمالها، ولدينها. فاظفر بذات الدين،  
تربت يداك.

Meaning: A woman is married for four things: (1) her wealth, (2) her offspring, (3) her beauty, and (4) her religion. So choose the one with the best religion, and you will be fortunate.” (HR Bukhari, Muslim, Abu Dawud, an-Nasai, and Ibn Majah).<sup>33</sup>

## Name Count

*Bucho empa'* (rectangle) and the letter count of the couple's names are standard measures in finding a life partner. The explanation of the selection of a mate according to the count of names owned by the prospective partner is believed to influence the relationship. That is as explained by H. Zainuddin below:

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<sup>31</sup> This oath is similar to the Pocong oath, used to prove and convince that prejudice or conjecture is wrong and true. The oath of cutting the black chicken is more likely to make the perpetrator of the oath who lied rot and die within five days.

<sup>32</sup> Interview with H. Zainuddin, Disanah Village, Sresch District, Sampang Regency, Madura (01-09-2022)

<sup>33</sup> Syihabuddin bin Ahmad Az-Zubaidi, *Mukhtasharah Shahih Bukhari*, (Kairo : Maktabah At- Taufiqiyah, tt), 494

*“Persoalan judul riyah deri etonganah nyamah artenah huruf-huruf kabbi se e nyetong ban se e jumlah deri hasel lebbinah se e nyanggui nyongngu’ begus enje’e, se dheddi patogen deri paleng jumlah huruf se ebetedh nyama”* (The issue of this mate looks at the count of names, meaning that the letters are all counted and added up from the difference between the two taken to see whether it is good or bad; the benchmark of the two is the one with the most numbers in the count of names.)<sup>34</sup>

For example, Adi calculates the sum of his name with Romlah, his potential partner. After the calculation, Adi's value is 10, while Romlah's is 20. Therefore, the benchmark is Romlah, which determines the nature of their connection. Here is an explanation of the results of calculating these names:

**Figure 1 Name Calculation Results in Matchmaking**

No	Relationship Description
0	Break up
1	Love each other
2	Not compatible
3	Not meant to be
4	Love triangle
5	Soulmate
6	Hate but love
7	Hate
8	Break up
9	Love each other
10	Harmful
11	Just a fling
12	Last love
13	Success
14	Glorious love

The calculation of names is intended to solidify one's choice, then the partner's name is calculated based on the Arabic alphabet

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<sup>34</sup> Interview with H. Zainuddin, Disanah Village, Sresch District, Sampang Regency, Madura (01-09-2022)



letters, each carrying a numerical value, and mathematically computed to determine the compatibility between the two partners. The public understands that a name influences a person according to their birth date. This name calculation is performed by community figures considered knowledgeable in the field. The strength of the name calculation is based on knowledge gained through dreams (*elmo kotekah*).<sup>35</sup>

The calculation of names is similar to the prophecy of Prophet Muhammad regarding the Persian Emperor's death on Tuesday, the 10th of Jumadil Awwal, in the seventh year of the Hijri calendar.<sup>36</sup> Choosing a partner allows the community to assess someone who can achieve welfare after marriage. In Madurese society, there are two alternatives for matchmaking: *bucho empal* (rectangle) and name calculation. Both are based on customary rules passed down by the elders of Madura Island.

Islamic law and customary law regarding partner choice are both rules that guide society toward achieving happiness after marriage. The difference between the two lies in the sources of these rules. Substantially, the customary method of choosing a partner in Madurese society is consistent with Islamic law. It can be seen in selecting a partner according to Islamic law, which prioritizes religion. In customary law, there is also an emphasis on good behavior, which involves proper worship practices and showing respect to our in-laws.

### **Efforts to Maintain Family Reputation among the Blater Community in Disanah Village Sampang Regency Madura**

Family is the most valuable and fundamental aspect of life in society. In addition to providing a socially acceptable means for sexual relations, as individuals cannot engage in sexual relations without the bond of marriage, it also fosters a sense of social responsibility within the community. This explanation is reflected in the statement by H. Sulton, who mentioned that:

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<sup>35</sup> Elmo kotekah is knowledge obtained while sleeping or dreaming, passed down by elders who possess supernatural powers.

<sup>36</sup> Toha Yahya Omar, *Ilmu Dakwah*, (Jakarta: Wijaya, 1967), 97

*“Orang abineh reah mon e jelling deri faktor biologis reah mabenya’ keturunan, mon e jelling deri faktor sosial reah nombuagin sefat kedewasaanah ban tanggungjawab anak se asallah ta’ a toro’ oca’ bisa ngerteh de’ ka bede’ enah orang tuah.”* (From a biological perspective, married individuals contribute to increasing regeneration, while from a social perspective, marriage fosters maturity and responsibility. Children who previously disobeyed their parents may come to understand and appreciate their parents’ presence.)<sup>37</sup>

For example, before marriage, A was a naughty child who often wasted money and disobeyed his parents. However, after getting married, he gradually abandoned his previous habits as he developed a sense of responsibility toward his wife. He began to build his family while also considering the needs of others, such as sharing a portion of his income with his younger siblings, who were still in school.

The manifestation of responsibility arises from perceptions beyond the senses, nurtured by demonstrative love within the family. In the Madurese community, one of the gravest offenses, deemed unforgivable, is interfering with another man's wife. To restore the dignity of a family that has been dishonored, the resolution typically involves:

### **Physical Protection (Carok)**

Three types of actions lead to carok among the Blater people, as stated by Ansori:

*“Bede’h tello cara orang a carok reah, settong abela bineh, kedua abela dunnyah, ketiga abela barga diri. Sepaleng sarah cong ta’ marah bineh eganggu orang, iye mon sengko’ panggun se acarok tape mon etemmo moso tang mata dibi’. Mon dari ka oca’ orang gi’ etorot cong kecuali gelle rimah.”* (There are three reasons people engage in carok: first, to defend their wife; second, to protect their property; and third, to defend their honor. The most unforgivable act is when someone's wife is disturbed. As for me, I would still resort to

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<sup>37</sup> Interview with H. Sulton, Disanah Village, Sreseh District, Sampang Regency, Madura (01-07-2022)

*carok*, but only if I witnessed it with my own eyes. If it's based on hearsay, I would let it go unless proven true.)<sup>38</sup>

This aligns with H. Junaidi's statement that the most unforgivable offense for the *Blater* people is interfering with someone else's wife.

*"Oreng kalerob reah cong bedeh kenangab artenab sa kalean du kale bisah e saporah tepe je' sampe' a ganggu de' ka embu'en anak mon sampe' e ganggu ade' saporanab cong."* (Everyone makes mistakes, and there is room for forgiveness—once or twice, it can still be forgiven. However, never disturb someone else's wife. If that happens, there's no room for forgiveness, cong.)<sup>39</sup>

This proverb serves as a reference for the act of *carok*. All the *carok* cases studied, as well as other *carok* incidents in Madura, always stem from feelings of shame or humiliation experienced by the perpetrator due to others disrespecting their honor. For the Madurese people, honor encompasses dignity and self-worth, which is perceived as an insult when treated inhumanely or dishonorably.<sup>40</sup>

### Non-Physical or Mental Protection (*Songai Rajeh*)

Ansori as one of the Madurese Blater said:

*"Sekabbinah oreng bine' se e kabin bi' sengko' cong koduh ende' e kabin biddu' mon ta' ende' e kabin bi' ruwah cong ang'o'an ta' e kabinah. Polanab repot cong a jegah oreng bine' ruwah, iye mo sengko' bisa ajegah ta' beden dibi' tape belum tantoh bineh gelle ruwah bisa a jegah bedenah dhibi'. Contonab: sengkok tepa'engeh a jelanan kan sapa taoh ne'bine' gelle ruwah maen serong bi' reng lake' laen ban sapa taoh bedeh aganggu saompamanab epate'eh, deddih ang'o'an tehngateah oreng reah cong."* (Every wife I marry, my dear, must agree to a *biddua'* marriage.

<sup>38</sup> Interview with Mr. Ansori, Disanah Village, Sresih District, Sampang Regency, Madura (01-07-2022)

<sup>39</sup> Interview with H. Junaidi, Disanah Village, Sresih District, Sampang Regency, Madura (01-08-2022)

<sup>40</sup> A. Latief Wiyata. *Carok: Konflik Kekerasan dan Harga Diri Orang Madura*. (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2002), 170

If she doesn't want to marry that way, it's better not to marry her. It isn't easy, my dear, to look after a woman. While I can control myself, it's not sure that a wife can always guard herself.)<sup>41</sup>

To maintain and protect both parties from undesirable situations, a wife must be willing to marry through *biddua'* (marriage with a special prayer).<sup>42</sup> This way, the wife will not dare to commit immoral acts or cheat on someone else before a divorce is granted and another marriage is established.

The ability of the Blater people to protect their families is different from defending themselves, such as their cautiousness in fulfilling responsibilities to anticipate things that have not yet occurred. In addition, they also allow space for agreements on how to show respect and provide input to each other as husband and wife, especially during emotional moments. It is unnecessary to respond to someone when they are emotional, as they may be unable to think clearly. That is as expressed by Mr. Ansori, one of the Blater people from Madura, as follows:

*"De' iyeh cong, mon terror ta' a pogpageh lakeh bineh reah kodub bedeh kesapaden cong, saompamanah lakenah tepa'ngaeh lessob ajiah je' langsung e ca' koca'eh ajiah kodub e torot cong mon parlo reng lake' gelle' a ruwah Tanya agi mareh ngakan yeh otabe e pecet cong deddih reng lake' gelle' ruwah seneng mon ngatela' bineh enga' jiah. Bideh mon oreng bine' cong mon labileh reng bine' reah tepa'nggeh ngamo' ajiah kodub e gina agi baru deggi' mon la peggeleh lamareh baru koca'eh, mon e koca'eh tepa'nggeh ngamo' ruwah cong mental". Penjelasan Om. Ansori dengan nada serius."*  
(Here's the thing, my dear: if you don't want to argue between husband and wife, there must be an agreement. For example, don't immediately scold the husband if he is tired. You should

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<sup>41</sup> Interview with Mr. Ansori, Disanah Village, Sresih District, Sampang Regency, Madura (01-07-2022)

<sup>42</sup> *Nikah biddua'* is a marriage in which a woman is married by granting (bestowing supernatural power) to a *kyai*. A wife can use this power if danger threatens her and becomes a disaster (such as illness) if she engages in immoral acts.

let it go, and if needed, ask if he has eaten or offer him a massage so that he feels happy seeing his wife act like that. It's different with the wife, my dear. If the wife is angry, she should be left alone. Only after her anger has passed should you speak to her. If you talk to her while she's furious, it won't lead to anything good.)<sup>43</sup>

A living environment is a scope and a space where a process occurs, binding material and spiritual elements together. This process involves human behavior and is governed by it. As long as space and process relate to the interactions between humans and their culture, they are called the socio-cultural environment.<sup>44</sup>

In line with the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI), Law No. 1 of 1974 on Marriage also outlines the protection of wives in receiving support. This is stated in Article 33 and Article 34, Paragraph 1, which require that husband and wife must love one another, respect each other, remain faithful, and provide physical and emotional support.<sup>45</sup> *Songai Rajeh* is one of the methods and efforts by husband and wife to build a family that is *Sakinah, Mawaddah, Warahmah* (a family based on mutual trust between husband and wife).

## Conclusion

The researcher concluded several essential points based on research conducted in Disanah Village regarding the Blater family. *First*, the charisma of the Blater community in building religiosity is reflected in their various efforts, such as earning a livelihood for the family. They highly value the responsibility of meeting the needs of their children and wives. Additionally, when choosing a partner, they still prioritize existing traditions, such as the matchmaking culture, the concept of *bucho empa'* (rectangle), and name calculations. Although these practices

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<sup>43</sup> Interview with Mr. Ansori, Disanah Village, Sresih District, Sampang Regency, Madura (01-07-2022)

<sup>44</sup> Soerjono Soekanto, *Sosilogi Keluarga Tentang Ihwal Keluarga Remaja Dan Anak*, (Jakarta: PT Reineka Cipta, 2004), 3

<sup>45</sup> Undang-Undang Nomor 1 Tahun 1974 Pasal 33 Tentang Perkawinan

do not contradict Islamic law, the local community considers them part of the ideal family values passed down by the village elders, highlighting the strong influence of tradition in their daily lives. *Second*, the Blater community also strives to maintain the family image within their community through two approaches: physical and non-physical protection. Physical protection is often manifested through carok, a response to the humiliation of one's honor. It shows how seriously they take the protection of family dignity. On the other hand, non-physical protection shields the wife from external threats while fostering mutual trust between husband and wife. This trust becomes crucial, especially when the husband is not home, to maintain their relationship. Thus, the traditions and values upheld by the Blater community in Disana Village reflect religiosity and strengthen the social and familial structure of their society.

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