

***Roma Toah*: Social Construction of Inheritance Division of The Bangkalan Madura Community**

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ABSTRACT

Applying Islamic law within the framework of social culture is never complete for research. Certain social entities understand Islamic law, originating from revelation to produce unique legal products. *Roma Toah* inheritance in Madurese society is a division of inheritance intended for all heirs without being based on the individual principle as in Islamic inheritance law in general. This study aims to understand the construction of social, cultural, and religious inheritance of *Roma Toah* in the people of West Madura, who are known to be firm in upholding their religious teachings. This study uses a qualitative method approach using a socio-legal approach. This study uses social construction analysis so that the meaning of the inheritance of *Roma Toah* can be well understood. This research resulted in the following findings; first, the legacy of *Roma Toah* survives based on the local wisdom of the Madurese community, based on two aspects that align with Islamic values; maintaining family ties intact and family economic resilience. Second, by using social construction analysis based on three phases; externalization, objectification, and internalization, the *Roma Toah* inheritance is built on a harmonious blend of culture, social, and religion through the legitimacy of traditionalist Madurese Ulama so that it is considered a system that does not conflict with Islamic values in maintaining family and economic integrity.

Keywords: Inheritance; *Roma Toah*; Kinship; Inheritance of the People of West Madura.

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INTRODUCTION

There was an interesting statement by Kuntowijoyo about Madura when he researched the northern island of Java. "Madura is unique" (Kuntowijoyo, 2002). The word unique shows a separate meaning, form, and type (Nasional, 2008). The uniqueness lies in the values, culture, beliefs, and social structures essential in how the Madurese sees the world. One of the uniqueness of Madura is the practice of inheriting *Roma Toah*, which is the culture of the people. This inheritance reflects the family system, which is the philosophy of the Madurese people.

The life philosophy of the Madurese, "*rampak naong, banyan korong*" means shady and shady (Zubairi, 2013), becomes the basis of behavior and attitudes in deciding the actions of the Madurese people. That is, the attitude of nurturing and caring for each other towards family ties is the main thing—predominantly female family members. The existence of disturbing behavior from outsiders toward family members is considered a disturbance to the whole family (Takdir, 2018).

This perspective reflects in various aspects of Madurese community life. For example, the transfer of wealth between generations (inheritance) in the Madurese community is more like *rampak naong* than referring to their religion, Islam. If in Surah An-Nisa's verse 11, boys get two shares of girls, while in Madura, a woman gets more shares than boys. Even in the *Roma Toah* inheritance, Madurese women are privileged to occupy the *Roma Toah* building.

The Madurese, seen from the shape of the *tanean lanjheng* house, is described as a religious society. The Musalla in every house is not only used as a center for religious rituals but also as a place to solve various problems of daily life led by a kyai or cleric' (Hipni & Nahidloh, 2015; Rochana, 2012). The spirit of religion is the basis of the solution to every problem in the Madurese community. However, the Madurese prefers the traditional model of transferring wealth between generations, which takes precedence.

The form of inheritance of *Roma Toah* is the result of a combination of culture and Islamic law. This combination produces a collective inheritance model that is not based on individual principles as in Islamic inheritance. The combination between should (*das sollen*) and the practice of Islamic law in society (*das sein*) is a never-ending study. It is because life's problems are constantly developing, while the source of Islamic law has finished its descent process. Ngatawi Al-Zastrouw (2017) sees this combination as a natural model for developing Indonesian Islamic law. Even Muhammad Mutawalli, the combination of adat and Islamic law, has been practiced in the legal life of Indonesian society (Mutawali, 2022; Syaikh et al., 2023). Moreover, studying the relationship between Islamic law and human rights has a broader scope (Mukharrom & Abdi, 2023).

This research is interesting because it seeks to reveal the legal facts behind the romanticism of Islamic law and living law. By understanding the legal facts behind the phenomenon of the *Roma Toah* inheritance practice, the ratio legis or

model of law formation by Madurese people can understand. Therefore, in this study, we focus on two main issues. First, how is the division of inheritance of *Roma Toah* in the traditions of the Madurese people? Second, how is the social construction of the values contained therein?

METHODS

This type of research is qualitative research with a socio-legal approach. The socio-legal research approach departs from the awareness that law resides in an ever-evolving world culture, so studying social sciences becomes necessary in this research. The Socio-legal model is a multidisciplinary research model. It means that legal research does not look at the law from its normative perspective but what is behind it that has never been shown in legal formulations (Banakar, 2019). This study uses social construction analysis to understand the parts that build the reality of *Roma Toah* inheritance in the dialect of the social life of the Madurese people (Berger & Luckmann, 1990).

Social construction theory is the development of phenomenological theory, which was born as a counter-theory to theories in a social paradigm. Especially the theory initiated by Emile Durkheim, this phenomenological theory was originally developed by Max Weber. Although initially, it was a philosophical theory that became the leading theory of philosophical thought by Hegel and Husserl and was continued later by Schulz, which was perfect by Weber. Weber made phenomenological philosophical theory reliable in analyzing social phenomena in society (Syam, 2005).

Social construction theory includes the functional, structural social theory, where this theory sees social reality more as the function of structure in each action. The structural-functional theory assumes that individual actions result from the formation of the structure that surrounds them in their social life. Individual action is like a product that follows the rhythm of the structure (Berger & Luckmann, 1990).

The *Roma Toah* heritage building social construction theory is an analytical tool because it includes social facts. This method determines the cultural and social elements that shape the inheritance of *Roma Toah* in the people of Bangkalan Regency. This method generally has three processes before a social reality becomes real; externalization, objectification, and internalization. These three phases experience a positive dialectic that runs simultaneously in forming the legacy of *Roma Toah*;

Meanwhile, data related to the practice of inheriting *Roma Toah* and its actual meaning, which the Madurese people uphold, is the primary data in this study. Meanwhile, this study's information on Islamic inheritance from books and other sources is secondary data.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Madura Culture

The culture of the Madurese people is inseparable from religion as the value that underlies their outlook on life. According to the Madurese, religion is a fundamental way of life and an identity. Obedience to religion has become the identity of the Madurese people. The traditional Madurese reflects clothing models such as *samper* (long cloth, usually used as a lower cover for women), *kebaya*, *burqo'* (veil) for women, *sarong* (sarong), and *songko'* (cap) for men. -men have become a symbol of Islam in the countryside (Rifai, 2006). Even in every Madurese house building, there is a prayer room that not only functions as a place of worship but also as a place to solve various life problems.

In addition to religion as the life identity of the Madurese people, *malo* is a situation that the Madurese highly avoids. In simple terms, *malo* is similar to the meaning of shame in Indonesian—however, the word shame is interpreted in Madurese with the word *todus*. The difference between *malo* and shame, *todus* lies in the cause of the shame. Feelings of fear of being reproached or afraid of being found out to have disgrace (Al-Muqaddam, 2015) caused by other people who deny or do not recognize their capacity so that the self-esteem in question feels humiliated, and feels *tada' ajhina*, (Wiyata, 2013). Causing a feeling of *malo* to a Madurese can lead to counter-actions demanding the return of the Madurese's *ajhina*.

The Madurese people very much avoid the feeling of *malo* concerning the individual and the family. Feelings of *Malo* in the Madurese community usually involve violations against the honor of wives, children, especially daughters, and inheritance issues. Violations of these three things have resulted in very harsh prosecutions from the Madurese. The Madurese consider it a despicable act, losing face, dignity, honor, rights, and self-esteem (Rifai, 2006). Violations of fell *malo* is considered *otang rassah* repaid in full with *nyerra rassa*.

Efforts to demand repayment of debts incurred to individuals and Madurese families become a "duty" with all family members. The strong kinship ties of the Madurese community generate this sense of togetherness. One family member gets *malo*, so all other family members also feel the same *malo*. The strength of family ties in the Madurese community observes from the *tanean lanjheng* settlement model in the Madurese community. The housing order in the *tanean lanjheng* concept describes a strong and harmonious family (Sari et al., 2022).

The strong ties of the Madurese community allow for mutual love and care between family members. Every behavior of family members directs to maintain adherence and respect for individuals who must be respected. Those held in high esteem by the Madurese are reflected in the *adegium bu pa guru rato*. Madurese must respect their mothers, fathers (parents), teachers, and rulers (Hefni, 2007).

Actions that do not respect their faults are considered disrespectful of *adhet*, manners, or manners.

However, of the three individuals, the teacher is ranked first as someone Madura must respect. The teacher or kyai is a person who is highly obeyed and respected by the community because he is a symbol of religious authority in Madura. Following and obeying the kyai is considered obedient to religion. The position of the kyai is that the Madurese family always maintains good relations with the kyai. The Madurese people always preserve this message to their children and grandchildren. A Kyai-Santri bond relationship further strengthens the obedience of the Madurese community to kyai.

Ulama' or kyai in Madurese society are religious authorities, and various problems of Madurese people complain to Kyai (Hannan & Abdillah, 2019). Regarding religious, social, cultural, and political issues and even naming a baby, Madurese often asks a kyai for blessings. That is, the clergy have a vital position in the life of the Madurese people.

Distribution of inheritance Roma Toah

Such socio-cultural conditions of the Madurese people influence their inheritance distribution model. The transfer of wealth between generations in Madura reflects the patterns and views of the Madurese people's lives. That is a lifestyle that upholds a strong family life. Adegium *rampak naong bringin Korong* became the underlying part of the property transfer.

In the tradition of the Madurese people, there are three forms of distribution of assets; The first is the distribution of Sangkolan inheritance. Second, the division of inheritance of *Roma Toah* and thirdly, the distribution of inheritance, which refers to Islamic law the distribution of inheritance in Islamic law, is carried out if the two divisions of *sangkolan* inheritance and *Roma Toah* inheritance are not carrying first when the parents are still alive (Hipni & Karim, 2019).

The division of inheritance of *Roma Toah*, which is the focus of this research, is the transfer of wealth from the previous generation (parents) to the next generation (children, grandchildren). The *Roma Toah* heir does not position one of the heirs as the inherited house and land owner. Allotments of houses and land are allocated to all heirs. It means that all descendants of the inheritor have the right to use the inherited house. Mukminah expressed This kind of model "*olle ngennengin ben mabeccek keng lok olle ajuel*" (you are welcome to occupy and repair but not allowed to sell or change hands) to other people who are not heirs.

Even though the *Roma Toah* does not assign to one of the heirs, the parents appoint one of the heirs as *pamolean* or who occupies the *Roma Toah*. The heirs who occupy the *Roma Toah* are usually daughters. There are two reasons for girls to become *pamoleans*. First, girls are considered more capable of bidding on their parents. Second, the culture of the Madurese community is women who take care

of household life. By appointing a daughter as a *pamolean*, other family members do not feel ashamed to be a mole visiting the *pamolean's* house. It is as expressed by Ansori "*sopajeh lok todus mon taretan lekek mole, jalanh ngakan ka depor*" (so that the brothers do not feel embarrassed when they come home and go straight to the kitchen to eat). It is different when boys become *pamolean*. If a son becomes an automatic polisher, his wife or in-laws inherits the household. This condition makes us feel embarrassed to go home often. In this case, women have a unique position, as respect for the people of Madura, womenfolk in their social life (Bukido et al., 2022).

The Social Construction of The Legacy of *Roma Toah*

The Madurese, in general, have strong religious ties. The practice of inheriting *Roma Toah*, which some people see as contrary to Islam, needs to be seen by looking at their understanding of the practice of inheriting *Roma Toah* that they do. Because the attitude of not understanding something can lead to fatal mistakes in responding to a fact, in this case, a comprehensive understanding of the Bangkalan people's perspective on the practice of *Roma Toah* is required.

As a unique entity, the Madurese is a dynamic community in all its social actions. Sociological-anthropological reading to analyze some of the elements that build the formation of the *Roma Toah* inheritance model is necessary to pay attention. Epistemological analysis of the *Roma Toah* inheritance model needs as a basis or foothold to capture meaning. It can then analyze it from the point of view of Islamic law. Thus the Istimbat process is expected to produce the right legal product.

Efforts to analyze the construction of *Roma Toah* in the realm of social action require the concept of social science to understand it. The Sociological-anthropological analysis of *Roma Toah's* used to parse and understand social action to produce a causal explanation of social action in society and its consequences (Syam, 2010). Waris *Roma Toah*, as a social action, is a legal phenomenon that lives in the life of the Madurese people. For the public to get meaning, the writer must "keep his distance" to not fall into individual tendencies and produce less meaningful results.

In order to understand how the social construction of *Roma Toah* inheritance in Madurese society, it is necessary to analyze the elements of this ancestral inheritance by using three processes of the formation of social reality. In the concept of social construction, there is a process of forming social reality; externalization, objectification, and internalization. These three phases experience a positive dialectic that runs simultaneously in shaping the inheritance of *Roma Toah* in the people of Bangkalan, Madura.

Externalization: Moments of Self-Adaptation

Externalization is the initial process of the social construction phase of social reality in certain community entities. In this phase, individuals adapt to their socio-cultural aspects (Berger & Luckmann, 1990; Sulaiman, 2016). In this adaptation moment, humans use language and action as a medium to adapt to socio-, cultural, and socially adapted. At this moment, people sometimes do not adapt to their socio-cultural situation. Individual acceptance and acceptance of *Roma Toah* depend on whether or not he can adapt to his socio-cultural environment.

The use of language in everyday life in Madurese society is essential as a symbol of one's attitude towards the other person. The complex character of the Madurese people makes them very sensitive to the choice of words used in communication. Errors in word diction can cause disputes between them. In this extermination moment, a *Pamolean Roma Toah* is required to use excellent and acceptable language to other family members. The ability to communicate well and follow the context of politeness can influence the language used so that extended family members can accept it and prevent *Roma Toah* from becoming *mateh obhur* (torch *kepaten*). It means that the *Roma Toah* are no longer friendly, and the other family members do not want Mo to occupy the *Roma Toah*. It can even lead to disputes between heirs demanding ownership rights to *Roma Toah*. Such conditions can cause the existence of *Roma Toah* as a mandate from parents to be threatened with disappearance. It is the cause of breaking the *silaturrahim* rope between family members.

On the other hand, good verbal language communication is not only imposed on *Pamolean*; other members must also use polite language so that *Pamolean* feels comfortable being caretakers and caring. Often disputes are caused by one of the families not maintaining their communication pattern with the *Pamolean*, so other families will defend the *Pamolean* as having a responsibility to look after the *Roma Toah*. If this condition persists, it will become the seed of division in externalizing *Roma Toah*. So, in conclusion, at this moment, all family members will adjust to the socio-cultural inheritance of *Roma Toah* as a reality initiated by their ancestors or parents. Process failure could have occurred carried out by some family members.

In addition to verbal language, which is the key to successful socio-cultural adjustment during the externalization of the *Roma Toah* inheritance, the language of action of each family member becomes something that needs to show. All actions and behavior of family members are required to represent and describe an attitude of high appreciation and respect among all heirs.

In order to maintain such a culture, all heirs must maintain communication traffic for the sake of the continuity of the *Roma Toah* to remain in harmony, according to what Hatija said, "*satetanan koduh akor jek atokaran*" (siblings must get along well, not fight). There are no privileges for the male lineage or the eldest child. Even though the male line still has the privilege of "managing" in the *Roma*

Toah culture. However, they cannot "arrange" (win themselves) in their actions. In the *Roma Toah* tradition, the male lineage becomes *parembugen* (ask for opinion), a place to consult in all matters related to *Roma Toah* culture. However, language and actions must still be equivalent in describing appreciation and respect as a family bond in one descendant.

When part of the family returns to *Roma Toah*, the attitude of being an outside family (the outside family who are not in *Roma Toah*) must always be adhered to, prioritizing the family who are *Pamoleans*. All household matters are rights handed over to *Pamoleans*. The outrageous attitude towards siblings appointed as *Pamolan* can cause the adaptation process to be disturbed because the family designated as Pamolean must be able to maintain a neutral position and have an open heart in dealing with various characters of other family members who are (*Roma Toah*). The attitude of *pa mappa* wedding is essential for *Pamoleans* to adapt to the socio-culture they are facing. Failure at this moment can cause *Pamolean* to choose to leave the mandate given to maintain and care for the existence of *Roma Toah* as a joint family inheritance. Alternatively, conversely, outside families do not want to return to *Roma Toah*, so the existence and spirit of *Roma Toah* automatically disappear (*mateh obhur*). Such conditions may become disputes because each family still has the right to *Roma Toah*.

The explanation above is a tool used in adaptation to the socio-cultural by various parties involved in *Roma Toah* culture. The adaptation moment in this phase includes two essential processes: adaptation to the holy scriptures and old values that have become the culture of the Bangkalan people. As an entity cannot separate from the surrounding culture, religion, and old cultural values are essential to community life. Therefore, adapting to these two things is critical to understand how *Roma Toah* constructed inheritance in Bangkalan society.

First, adaptation to the holy book or religious sources of the people of Bangkalan (Al-Quran and Hadith) community entity known for its vital religion, their holy book, should have been used as a guide in all actions. Because the existence of religion measures to what extent an action follows the religious scriptures of a particular community. The holy book is a barometer used for the legitimacy of "right" and "wrong" for an act of a religious community.

However, at the level of the Bangkalan people, what is meant by barometer and legitimacy of good and bad deeds, does not directly refer to the Al-Quran and Hadith as their holy books but refers to the opinion of the kyai who are considered capable of translating the meaning and content of sacred religious texts as guidelines. The phrase *bupak babu ghuru rato cakna kaeh*, is a Madurese expression, a teaching that implies people who respect Madurese culture; mothers, fathers, teachers, and the government. The discussion contains other teachings, namely obedience to a kyai. The words *cakna kaeh* (the word kyai) represent this moral message. Even the kyai is considered a reference book in various matters. As expressed by Sayuti, "*Tang ketab jiah keaeh*" (my reference book is kyai).

As is well known, obedience to parents (mother and father) is a teaching from the Al-Quran and Hadith. As the Apostle said (At-Tirmizi, 1996),

يارسول الله من أبر؟ قال : أمك. قال : قلت: ثم من؟ قال : أمك. قال, قلت : ثم من؟ قال : أمك.
قال: قلت , ثم من؟ قال, ثم أباك. ثم الأقرب فالأقرب

“O Messenger, who should I obey first? The Prophet replied, "Your mother." Then, who next? Your mother. And after that? Your mother. Then, I asked again, who next? The Prophet responded, "Then, your father and the person closest to you.”

However, in Madurese society, in general, they prefer *dawuh*. The opinion of a kyai becomes the basis for the legitimacy of their actions. This fact applies to the general public, who do not have sufficient religious knowledge to take directly the primary sources of sacred texts. Those who have the ability sometimes still choose to consult with their teacher or kyai, who have a higher level of knowledge.

Likewise, obedience to teachers has a basis for legitimacy that exists in the scientific tradition of religion (For example, the source of the book which is a reference for interaction procedures between teachers and students, which is the curriculum in Islamic boarding schools, recitation, *imtiḥanan*, routines and madrasas in Bangkalan is media socialization of these teachings so that the legitimacy of a kyai as a reference in the field of religion becomes more vital for the people of Bangkalan.

The legitimacy of the Bangkalan ulama' towards the existence of the *Roma Toah* heirs reflects their opinion. The opinion of some clerics is not concerned with the existence of *Roma Toah* as a transfer of wealth between generations in Bangkalan society, not contradicting Islam, as the religion adhered to by the people of Bangkalan. The opinion of the Madurese scholars who do not question the existence of *Roma Toah* is a strong legitimacy for the survival of *Roma Toah*'s inheritance in Bangkalan.

In addition to the opinion of the Bangkalan ulama' who do not deny the existence of the practice of *Roma Toah* in society verbally, the reality of the life of the Madurese clerics also practices *Roma Toah* inheritance by becoming a *gegenten* (substitute), a substitute as a successor to *Roma Toah* and a place for all heirs and successors of good da'wah to return—taking care of pesantren and other religious matters. Such behavior becomes the legitimacy of the Bangkalan people in maintaining the existence of *Roma Toah* as a cultural field for their extended family.

Such conditions continue so that the reality of *Roma Toah* becomes natural for the community by hearing and witnessing it frequently in various social interactions in their social life. When they visit their sons at Islamic boarding schools, pray to the kyai, and read genealogy at haul events, Madurese people usually touch and hear the reality of the *Roma Toah*. The saying of the people of

Bangkalan, "*sapah se deddi gegenten, sapa se deddih pamolean*" (who will be the replacement), is usually asked by the community when they hear of a kyai dying.

A kyai, besides being a reference for the community both in speech and behavior during this externalization phase, the legitimacy of the scriptures for the practice of *Roma Toah* find in several social values that exist in the inheritance of *Roma Toah*. That is advice to maintain *silaturrahim* rope. As contained in the letter *An-Nisa'* verse 1, "O people, fear your Lord, who created you from one soul. Allah created his partner from himself, and He multiplied men and women from both of them. Fear Allah in whose name we ask one another and (maintain) family relations. Verily, Allah is always guarding and watching over us.

In the friendship of the same descendants in the *Roma Toah* culture, there is a process of mutual strengthening of kinship ties with the transfer of cultural values conveyed in verbal communication by the older ones to the younger ones. Such a process will give birth to a strong family union. Apart from being a characteristic of the Madurese community with strong family ties, the sacred texts of Islam also strongly advocate for the unity of the Muslim Ummah and oblige its adherents to protect it so that it does not divide one another. That is, the behavior of the Bangkalan people in the *Roma Toah* culture has a legitimacy basis from their religion.

The externalization phase above is a process of adjustment to the social values contained in the *Roma Toah* inheritance. In addition to the values described above, the determination of *Roma Toah* inheritance which carries out since the heir is still alive, has a legal ratio in Islam contained in the reference books of the Madurese clerics in giving fatwas and deciding religious issues of the Madurese people. It is discussed and described in the next chapter regarding the analysis of the opinions of Madurese scholars about *Roma Toah*.

In the realm of Madurese culture, the distribution of inheritance of *Roma Toah*, which carry out since the parents or heirs are still alive, is considered an economic "strategy" as well as anticipation if their offspring have a terrible life. For example, there is a divorce for the male heir, who in the Madurese tradition follows and lives at the wife's house, so *Roma Toah* is the destination for settling down. Alternatively, for example, some descendants have no luck in the economic field, so they do not have a place to live. Maka *Roma Toah* is a shelter for those who cannot be economically independent.

In the context of externalization, parents' attention to the economy of their heirs by making their house a joint inheritance (*Roma Toah*) gets a strong basis in Islamic religious teachings (Moesa, 2007). Because Islam is very concerned about its adherents leaving their offspring in a state that is capable in all areas of life and does not become a burden for other people. Thus the legitimacy of the holy book, the process of adjusting the individual to socio-cultural, through the legitimacy of the religious scriptures adopted by the people of Bangkalan, namely Islam, has a strong relevance. Thus, the practice of inheriting *Roma Toah* is a cultural process

of the Bangkalan people carried out consciously, and there is no compulsion to do so.

Second, adjustment to old traditional values. Adjustment to this old tradition has two forms; acceptance and rejection of old living values. The form of acceptance can play an active role in the process that applies to the distribution of *Roma Toah*. The active role of family members who receive can be in the form of participating actively in carrying out and even socializing old traditions that support the existence of *Roma Toah* in the culture of the Bangkalan people.

One form of the attitude of accepting heirs towards the existence of *Roma Toah* inheritance in the reality of Bangkalan Madura life is the behavior of individual adjustments to old traditions. It is directly considered an effort to preserve the values in the *Roma Toah* inheritance. One form of behavior is the habit of the *mole* to *Roma Toah*, carried out on Thursday afternoons or commonly called *amalem jumaten*. This mole habit is a form of looking at parents when the parents are still alive. When a parent has died, like to *tilik*, mole ka *bengkoh toah* (going home to *Roma Toah*). The tradition of going home on Friday night was carried out with families already married by bringing modest gifts. The wife walked before her with a *ter ater* on her head. At the same time, her husband followed her from behind. If the mole habit does not carry out, the sibling who becomes *pamolean* will usually ask about the omission.

The *Mole* on Friday night, carried out by people whose homes are close to *Roma Toah*. However, suppose the house is far away, for example, migrating outside the area. In that case, the *homecoming* tradition is a form of their acceptance of *Roma Toah* as a symbol of strong family ties. According to the Bangkalan people, *Roma Toah* is not only seen as a symbol of family ties but also of deceased parents' existence. So that the tradition of going home on holidays is a time that migrants from Bangkalan highly anticipate because they consider returning home to visit their parents as a form of devotion to their parents.

With the increase in the number of families already getting more significant, mole and homecoming activities are usually filled with activities that illustrate efforts to preserve family ties by carrying out *lir bilir* ancestry (telling genealogy). Preservation of genealogy is done verbally at the mole or mudik momentum. For some families, the family tree of the Madurese people is written in a book that records the distribution of family members in several areas. It is done to preserve the family tree so that it is not forgotten and, at the same time to maintain friendly relations between family members.

In families that have excess economic capacity or families with glorified lineages, for example, *bhuju'*, *kyai*, or people who are prominent figures, one of the momentums to unite families in *Roma Toah* is the haul event of the parents who form the *Roma Toah* for the first time. The form of family acceptance of *Roma Toah* is their active participation as *shahibul hajjah* at the haul event.

In addition to accepting the old tradition, which is considered good, in this phase, some family members do not accept the old traditional values that already exist in the *Roma Toah* culture. The non-acceptance of the *Roma Toah* heirs is in the form of actions promoting disharmony in family ties. There are different forms of action. Depending on the level of rejection of the existence of *Roma Toah*. For example, a very extreme refusal to question and suing their rights is in *Roma Toah*. This action caused the *Roma Toah* to no longer be a unifying family.

In addition to suing and demanding ownership rights in the *Roma Toah*, the community's attitude of rejection can be in the form of "fear" of occupying the *Roma Toah*. Feelings of worry about other family members contesting their rights in the *Roma Toah*, the *Roma* becomes empty, and no one occupies it. Cases like this usually occur in the inheritance of the *Roma Toah* of the ancestors who do not become *Pamolean* or those who care for the *Roma Toah* do not have children or move houses. For those who refuse, he will refuse to be appointed *Pamolean* by the extended family meeting.

Objectification of *Roma Toah*'s Inheritance Value

Objectivation is The second phase in constructing the reality of *Roma Toah*'s inheritance. It is an individual's interaction with the socio-cultural world that surrounds him. This objectivation presupposes two realities between the individual as a social being, with the subjectivity owned and another reality outside the individual. This other reality becomes objective for the individual's self-world and looks different, so an intersubjective relationship forms between the two realities; subjective and objective. The relationship between the two occurs through the process of institutionalization and institutionalization. The process of objectivation to the reality of the inheritance of *Roma Toah* can explain as follows.

First, *Roma Toah* is a building and land as a place to live for people and ancestors (*bhuju'*) considered to have a meaning other than property and place of residence. The people of Bangkalan see the *Roma Toah* as a building with a magical meaning as a legacy from their parents and *bhuju'* because it is a legacy from their parents, a particular interaction model is needed, not the same as treating a home we bought ourselves. Treating *Roma Toah* well is believed to get *sabeb* (*barokah*) for parents or *bhuju'* who leave the house. On the contrary, mistreating *Roma Toah*, causing disputes with other relatives, and committing Disobedience, are believed to result in *tola*, *belet* (karma). *Belet* for a person's life can be a failure in his life. For example, a low economic level, a family that is not harmonious, has unsuccessful offspring, or even suffering from an incurable disease. In short, people who get *belet* will experience a bad life.

The process of meaning obtains through trust in parents and land. Parents are considered as prince *katon* (visible god) by Madurese. As explained above, obedience to parents in the context of diversity has a strong basis of legitimacy from the two sources of Islam, the Al-Quran, and Hadith. The intersubjective process in *Roma Toah* inheritance has a solid logical basis in the culture of the Bangkalan

people, who are known to be firm in upholding their religious principles. When parents decide that their inherited house will be used as a *Roma Toah*, all family members will hold it firmly and see it as a reality that must be maintained. Likewise, when parents have appointed one of the families as *pamolean*, who takes care of the existence of *Roma Toah*, they will respect and obey the parents' decision as a holy order that follows. Disobedience to the order is considered a child who is disobedient to parents.

The same model of interaction is also shown for the legacy of the grandmother, *bhuju'*, in the form of *Roma Toah*. Even the remains of *Roma Toah* left by *bhuju'* receive more sacred treatment than the legacy of their parents. This treatment is because there is an assumption that a *bhuju'* is a person who has sacredness and is considered *wellih* (guardian). Inappropriate treatment of *Roma Toah* or *bhuju'* remains considered we bring about sparrows. We believe that they come more quickly and sometimes in cash. Therefore, treating the *Roma Toah* left by *bhuju'* is more memorable. Apart from the belief that *bhuju'* is a holy person, many family members are already bound by *Roma Toah* so that they are treated more specifically. For example, in procuring haul as the symbol of the mole, it is carried out on a larger scale. It is inseparable from the number of families whose moles are getting bigger.

In addition to the meaning of parents and *bhuju'* as an objective reality with a magical religious meaning so that it has a unique position in the subjective world of the Bangkalan people, land in the culture of the Madurese people is considered to have a unique position. The land is not only considered as a property that has material and economic properties. More than that, the land is considered an entity with a magical value, so special treatment is needed in socializing in it. The belief in prohibiting selling *sangkolan* land to the people believes that Bangkalan will bring difficulties to the economy in the future. In addition, the Bangkalan people believe that land is considered self-identity in the culture of the Bangkalan people. Concrete evidence of the origin of "self" can be found and attached to the person's birthplace. In this case, the *Roma Toah* is a symbol that represents this.

Second, from all the above descriptions in the context of building a reality, this is known as the process of institutionalization. This process is a process of building awareness into action. In the context of the inheritance of *Roma Toah*, the process of building awareness into action takes place in interpreting the meaning of the *Roma Toah* in the Bangkalan community as a legacy from their parents and *bhuju'*. As mentioned above, meaning enters the consciousness realm, then manifests in action. The manifestation of the actions of the Bangkalan people has a legal basis from their religious source.

Third, after awareness of the inheritance of *Roma Toah* is embedded in people's cognition and then becomes active in institutionalization or institutionalization, all the values attached to *Roma Toah* become their guide in their behavior. What they are aware of is what they are doing. Thus, their actions regarding *Roma Toah* have a logical basis, not a reckless act or just joining in. In

the context of *Roma Toah* ancestral inheritance, their acceptance of their parent's decision, preserving the *Roma Toah* inheritance with their family is a logical action and has specific goals for them. However, the shift in knowledge and contact with the modern world influences the logic of Bangkalan society. The *Roma Toah* tradition is experiencing a shift in urban areas.

Fourth, after the reality of *Roma Toah* becomes objective and people's behavior towards *Roma Toah* has undergone a logical conceptual process, then over time, the action is in the form of obedience to the decisions of parents (*Roma Toah* appointed by parents) and ancestors (*Roma Toah* as a legacy from their ancestors). Moreover, all actions that support the solid existence of *Roma Toah* automatically experience institutionalization or the concept of capitalization. It means that all these actions have become part of their daily lives and are institutionalized into habits or habits in the people of Bangkalan. The action has become mechanical and carried out without other conceptual considerations.

The whole process depends on the agent's role in carrying out its function in the awareness, development, and capitalization of the *Roma Toah* inheritance. The more often this process is carried out, the stronger the existence of *Roma Toah* will be. It means that the value and spirit of *Roma Toah*, which is in the form of a symbol of interaction between families, will be carried out more frequently so that automatically instilling awareness, institutionalization, and capitalization will become more robust in the reality of the life of the people of Bangkalan, Madura. The agents referred to in this process are religious authority figures in Bangkalan. In a smaller context, the agent is a kyai whose words the family refers to Kyai, used as a reference for his sayings, usually has teacher ties with the large *Roma Toah* family. Moments of general recitation, recitation at Islamic boarding schools, madrasah, *musalla*, *manaqiban*, *imtihtanan*, *yasinan*, *isra' mi'rajan* are opportunities that clerics commonly use to discuss friendship, obedience to parents, respect for parental legacy, blessings, *kualat* and so on for him, all of which are values contained in the spirit of *Roma Toah*.

In addition to the kyai as an agent in this objectification phase, *oreng seppo* or someone featured in the *Roma Toah* environment because all his words are used as a reference for the *Roma Toah* family, usually the oldest male family member. This role own because, in the *Roma Toah* tradition, the man manages the household even though he is outside the *Roma Toah*. The moment of socialization carried out by this agent is the modic moment on Eid al-Fitr or Idhul Adha. When all family gathers for the homecoming event, this agent conveys the importance of *silaturrahim*, *abilir katoronan*, telling stories about their parents' lives, *bhuju' life*. On that occasion, this agent usually mole to *Roma Toah* if he is not located in *Roma Toah*. Meanwhile, if appointed to be *Pamolean*, then the role of the agent to preserve *Roma Toah* by transforming the cultural values that form the basis for the formation of *Roma Toah* is easier to do. It means that the objectification process can occur whenever a family returns to Rome Toah.

Internalization of *Roma Toah*'s Inheritance Value

After objectifying *Roma Toah* becomes an objective reality to give birth to a process of intersubjective interaction, the following process is the moment of internalization. At the moment, the individual carries out the process of self-identification in his socio-cultural world. In this phase, the individual withdraws social reality, which has experienced objectification, into the individual's subjective world. The objective social reality of *Roma Toah* includes the world of subjective reality. Thus the human self will be identified in the socio-cultural world.

This phase is a moment that occurs. The process of self-identification in the socio-cultural world is the withdrawal of the objective meaning of *Roma Toah* in the person of the family. Automatically this creates a demand to position oneself as part of the *Roma Toah* family, giving rise to a "real" attitude when together with fellow *Roma Toah* families. On the other hand, when we are with other people who are not part of Rome, we can show a different attitude. Such is the tendency of human nature, to tend to unite and group with fellow individuals who have something in common. In the context of *Roma Toah*, family ties make them have a special bond in social interaction and all aspects of life, referring to the family group in *Roma Toah*. Adegium *rampak naong banyan korong* describes a strong, mutually protective bond between families in one bond.

Different attitudes when interacting with outside families, outside families unrelated to a *Roma Toah* family bond. That is, Madurese people have standards of behavior in their social interactions with "other" people. The attitude of *ajegeh tengka*, being careful in behavior, is always put forward to maintain the good name of the extended family. Avoiding the family from *malo* will be put forward in every interaction with the *jeu* family and outsiders. The condition of being hurt physically or to a good name by an outsider (not having family ties) leaves a wound in the extended family if the extended family knows it. Limiting attitudes and being careful with other people who do not belong to the family sphere is necessary to prevent things that damage or harm the person and the family.

The internalization process also occurs in individuals between family members who are in a *Roma Toah* bond. Self-identification arises with an attitude that presupposes being a good family. It is done to embody their role in their status (position) in *Roma Toah*. For example, a person appointed by parents or extended family, such as *Pamolean*, will install a behavior "mirror" to control his interactions with other families. A *Pamolean* must be able to embrace all members of the *Roma Toah* family because an attitude that does not reflect *Pamolean* can result in its existence as *Pamolean* and *Roma Toah*. The planning attitude (easy in terms of communicating) to family, *lemes beuh* (not arrogant), *andhep asor* (polite), and having the attitude *pa mappa pappanah geddeng* it means that a *Pamolean* is "forced" to have an attitude like a banana leaf. He is not limp, quickly changes his opinion and stance, and is also not rigid in attitude. This attitude is then helpful in various matters relating to *Roma Toah*. For example, in dealing with various characters of family members, *Pamolean* will not be easily managed by one of the

family members. Also, do not be rigid in dealing with differences and problems. When a *Pamolean* has an opinion on an issue, he does not force his opinion on others. Pamoleans who have this attitude, say by the people of Bangkalan, are individuals who incapacitate by *Pamolean* and have the appropriate capacity to become Pamoleans.

Furthermore, vice versa, a *Pamolean* who does not have an attitude that reflects a *Pamolean* can cause problems later in the continuity of *Roma Toah*. Other family members may feel uncomfortable, so the coveted family atmosphere, like when both parents were alive, cannot be obtained. Families who return to *Roma Toah* feel no different from visiting other people's homes. If this condition continues for a long time, it will affect the existence of the *Roma Toah* itself. *Roma Toah* rarely gets visits from family members, which can lead to disputes over their rights of *Roma Toah*. Such Pamolean is said to *be lok kaop dedih pamolean* (not worthy of being *Pamolean*).

In addition to the process of internalizing Pamoleans, the *Roma Toah* culture also forces other family members to have attitudes that reflect the outside family. The attitude of *andhep asor*, *taoh ajhinah dhibi'*, and prioritizing politeness prioritize in interactions with fellow families. It primarily interacts with the Pamoleans, the "hosts" at *Roma Toah*. Discrepancies with the value of decency in the family will receive a direct reprimand from other families, especially from the oldest male family with the right to rule in the *Roma Toah* family.

Of all the descriptions about the internalization of the reality of *Roma Toah* in the life of the Bangkalan people, the value of family life (harmony) in one family bond is the starting point for the existence of *Roma Toah* in the extended family of the Bangkalan people. It can see that the harsh reality of Madurese life, the existence of a tradition of acts of violence (*carok*) among families caused by problems with inheritance, makes parents (the makers or first owners of *Roma Toah*) make their place of residence *Roma Toah*. The purpose of its formation was to protect the extended family from things that made family *malos* due to the description of the harsh social conditions of the Madurese people. The results of data mining prove this opinion. The first thing Madurese parents order for their children is a message about harmony, caring, and not conflicting with fellow families.

CONCLUSION

From the explanation above, it can conclude that the legacy of *Roma Toah* survives based on the Madurese community's local wisdom, based on two interrelated aspects; maintaining family ties and the family economy. By using social construction analysis in three phases; externalization, objectification, and internalization, the *Roma Toah* inheritance is built on a harmonious blend of culture, social, and religion through the legitimacy of traditionalist Madurese Ulama, so that it is considered a system that does not conflict with Islamic values in maintaining family and economic integrity.

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