

Islamic values in "Bhupa' Bhabbhu' Ghuru Rato" on The Madurese Mondok (Boarding) Tradition

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Abstract

This research aims to explore the meaning of religiosity and cultural compliance of *Bhupa' Bhabbhu' Ghuru Rato* in Madurese society. This culture is the values, guidelines, norms of life that are believed by the community for generations. In the context of communication studies, tradition and culture become an interesting research phenomenon. Islam and culture are inseparable. This research uses the ethnographic method of communication in the community of Brambang Hamlet, Sumenep, which has a tradition of Islamic boarding school (*Pondok Pesantren*). This research reveals that the meaning of the value of religiosity and *Bhuppa'-Bhabbhu'-Ghuru-Rato* obedience of each individual community varies based on their respective experiences and perspectives obtained from the symbolic interaction process. Nevertheless, all informants in this study agreed that the *mondok* tradition is important to be preserved in order to teach and develop the values of religiosity and obedience.

Keywords: Bhuppa'-Bhabbhu'-Ghuru-Rato obedience, Islamic Bording School, Madura, Religiosity values, Symbolic Interaction

Introduction:

The Madurese tribe is one of the tribes in Indonesia that is quite thick with a variety of traditions and cultures that are still preserved today. This culture and tradition contributes greatly to the social system of the community. This is because, in a culture, there are values, guidelines, norms of life that become a single standard of life and are built and trusted by the community for generations since time immemorial (Kriyantono & McKenna, 2017; Setiawan, 2018; Setyaningrum & Diah, 2018;

Yoga, 2019 in Bahesa & Nurudin, 2021). Apart from being a guide to norms and values, culture is also often the cultural identity of a group or tribe in Indonesia. According to Kholis & Kurnia (2021), this cultural identity develops based on group identities that form a characteristic of a culture that the group embraces and has a perception of the same meaning and values.

When talking about the Madurese tribe, the cultural identity that is very attached to the tribe is about the

thick teachings of Islam. This is because the majority of the population of Madura Island adheres to Islam. Not only that, for the Madurese, Islam is not only a reference for social life, but also as an ethnic identity of Madura itself, (Hefni, 2007). Madura as one of the ethnic groups in Indonesia also has a variety of concepts of life order, literary values, norms, and various local wisdom phenomena, which are converted into a distinctive Madurese cultural concept with well-known religious characteristics or characters (Effendy, 2021). Religion can become a cultural identity, because religion also contributes to the development of cultural values, where both of them become a unity that coexists through processes such as assimilation, accommodation, and acculturation. Islam and culture are inseparable. God Almighty has said that the spread of Islam by prophets and apostles always uses the culture of a people in order to provide a clearer explanation. (Surah Ibrahim: 4). This is manifested in the Madurese people, where religion is integrated into their life and culture through the principle of *abanthal syahadat asapo' iman*" (cushioned by shahada, covered by faith). Based on this, a tradition of *mondok* was born among the Madurese community which is still running today. This tradition can also be said as a manifestation of the character of religiosity of the Madurese people.

Mondok or getting religious education in *pesantren* (Islamic school boarding) is one of the activities that is very strong in Madurese society. The purpose of this boarding activity is none other than to explore religious knowledge. As mentioned earlier, Islam for Madurese people is not only a guideline for life, both in this world and the hereafter, but also a cultural identity, so they believe that by sending their children to boarding school, they not only get religious provisions but also as an initial step in the formation of membership in the social structure. Madurese people believe that religious knowledge is the most important knowledge above worldly knowledge. Not only that, the purpose of going to boarding school or getting a deeper religious education is

none other than to get a social identity in the religious field.

Hefni (2007) mentions that a person's membership in this Madurese ethnic group is largely determined by the ownership of Islamic identity in that person. This is also illustrated by the phenomenon of obedience and loyalty carried out by the Madurese community towards a *kiai*, where they strongly maintain the custom of courtesy or *andhab asor*. In the social structure, *kiai* is a person who has an important role for the Madurese community which makes him very respected. They are very submissive and obedient to the orders of the *kiai*, especially if a *kiai* is a high-ranking official in the Islamic boarding school (*Pondok pesantren*).

Another reason why Madurese people are very obedient and submissive to *kiai* is because they consider that *kiai* is a symbol of closeness to the sanctity of Islam, *kiai* is a worldly and *ukhrawi* leader or God's representative (Hefni, 2007). Also, in the Madurese community system, *kiai* is considered a teacher who is also tasked with spreading religious knowledge to the community, so this is also related to a value of obedience constructed by Madurese society through the slogan *Bhuppa'-Bhabbhu'-Ghuru-Rato*.

These values of religiosity and obedience are then tried to be built from previous generations to the current generation through the tradition of *mondok*, where when *mondok*, children not only learn religious knowledge but also they are taught to serve (*ngabdhi*) towards a *kiai*. In fact, the most interesting thing about the Madurese *mondok* tradition is that parents will be willing to release their children to boarding school at an age that is often still very early.

In tradition or culture, including the *mondok* tradition, communication becomes a unity that cannot be separated in it. Through communication, we can carry out activities or work together with other community members to achieve common goals (Mulyana, 2016). This of course also has an effect on forming a culture, where culture arises based on traditions that were previously communicated either directly or indirectly from

generation to generation by every member of society in a particular social structure. Through the communication process, a person can certainly also estimate the values adopted based on the groups they have entered. This is conceptualized based on the symbols shown in a group.

Susanne K. Langer in Mulyana (2016) states that one of the basic human needs is the need for symbolization or the use of symbols. The superiority of humans over other creatures is that humans are animal symbolicum, (Kriyantono, 2019). Thus, the researcher considers that in the *mondok* tradition carried out by Madurese people, it also builds a symbolic interaction and ultimately creates a shared value meaning for each member of the community regarding the value of religiosity and even obedience which is finally inherent in Madurese society. This can be proven based on the symbolization of the information exchange carried out from the previous generation to the next generation in maintaining and carrying out the *mondok* tradition itself. One of the symbolizations built in it is the concept of the value of religiosity and obedience of *Bhuppa'-Bhabbu'-Ghuru-Rato*.

Symbolic interaction regarding the value of *Bhuppa'-Bhabbu'-Ghuru-Rato* obedience is built through the communication process between parents and children, where Madurese parents always teach to always obey the four pillars namely *bhuppa'* (father), *bhabbu'* (mother), *ghuru* (teacher/*kiai*), and *rato* (government). The meaning of these values in the Madurese *mondok* tradition can of course also be seen directly in one of the areas in Sumenep Regency, Madura. The area is Brambang Hamlet, which is one of the areas with the distinctiveness of the *santri* (Islamic students) community.

Therefore, based on the above phenomenon, this research has a problem formulation, namely how does the community interpret the value of Islamic and obedience to *Bhuppa'-Bhabbu'-Ghuru-Rato* which is built through the process of symbolic interaction between *santri* and non-*santri* communities in the *mondok* tradition in Brambang Hamlet, Sumenep Regency, Madura? Thus,

researchers try to explore the process of meaning that may occur in each individual community regarding a *mondok* tradition in Madura, where in the tradition there are certainly some differences in meaning regarding the construction of religiosity and obedience values contained therein.

Research Method:

The type of methodology used in this research is using qualitative methodology. Methodology itself is a study of how the techniques of the research process are carried out (Kriyantono, 2024). By using qualitative methodology, this research seeks to emphasize empathy and dialectical interaction between the researcher and the informants selected in the study in order to construct the reality under study.

The type of research used in this research is using a communication ethnography study, which the researcher categorizes this research as a conventional macro ethnographic research. This is because this research seeks to examine and describe a culture in one particular community, namely the Madurese community regarding the symbolic interaction process carried out in interpreting a value contained in the *mondok* tradition. Data collection techniques used in this study are using in-depth interviews, participant observation, and documentation. With the research sample, namely the Brambang Hamlet Community, both *santri* and non *santri*.

Results and Discussion:

Symbolic Interaction s

Becker et al (1961) in Mulyana (2012) state that symbolic interaction is a perspective that also seeks to understand human behavior based on the subject's point of view. This means that human behavior must be interpreted and seen as a process where individuals will shape and regulate their behavior by considering what others expect as opponents of their interactions. In the symbolic interaction process, there are several basic premises. Quoted from West & Turner (2008), Mead put forward basic ideas regarding his famous symbolic interaction which are as follows:

a. *Mind*

Mind is defined by Mead as an ability to develop thoughts through interactions with other humans to use symbols that can ultimately be socially shared. Through thought, language can also be created and used as a significant symbol that can bring meaning and be interpreted by many people. Therefore, in an interaction, language is very important between one person and another in starting the communication process.

b. *Self*

Mead defines self as an ability to reflect oneself from the perspective of others, (Adli & Anshori, 2021). The self-reflection referred to here is the ability of individuals to implicate the power possessed by labels on self-concept and behavior, so that later it will have an effect that refers to the expectations of others for the actions taken by individuals, (Haliemah, 2016 in Adli & Anshori, 2021). Mead also mentioned that through language, an individual can make himself a subject or object either for himself or others. If a person becomes a subject he will act something, while if he becomes an object he will observe himself in action (Adli & Anshori, 2021).

c. *Society*

According to Mead, society is a component in the basic idea of symbolic interaction which plays a very important role in shaping thought and self. Mead in Adli & Anshori, (2021), states that society means a process that precedes the mind and self, where this society reflects a set of organized responses taken by individuals as objects and influences them by providing opportunities through self-criticism to control themselves. In a society, thoughts about values and norms that basically regulate human life also begin to form based on a community's response to a certain situation that is taken together based on these circumstances, (Mead in Haliemah, 2016).

Bhuppa'-Bhabbhu'-Ghuru-Rato

This concept is a construction of the collective life of Madurese society and has been going on for a relatively long period, (Hefni, 2007). Initially, this

concept emerged from the social life of the Madurese community, which later became a power structure and at the same time structured the social life of the community itself (*structuring structure*), also as a structured power this concept is also structured by the social world among the Madurese community (*structured structure*), (Hefni, 2007) These values of obedience include obedience to parents, namely *bhuppa'* (father) and *bhabbhu'* (mother). The placement of the word *bhuppa'* earlier than *bhabbhu'* is also influenced by religio-cultural factors, which consider the structural obligations and position of the father himself. In Madurese society, this kinship structure is the easiest line to trace (Hefni, 2007). The next structure contained in the concept of *Bhuppa'-Bhabbhu'-Ghuru-Rato* is the placement of *ghuru* (teacher). Teachers for the Madurese community are not only limited to teaching teachers in schools, but also ulama or kiai who participate in teaching religious sciences. The title of kiai among the Madurese community can not only be obtained based on achievements, but also comes from lineage. Kiai is considered a symbol of the sanctity of Islam. This is the reason why Madurese people often realize this form of respect in the form of both moral and material support. An example of material support is common in the *sowan* tradition, which is visiting the kiai's residence (*dhalem*). In this case, the community will usually bring souvenirs in the form of money or other goods (Hefni, 2007).

The last structure in the *Bhuppa'-Bhabbhu'-Ghuru-Rato* concept is the *rato*, where in this case the *rato* is defined as the formal leader. In the value of obedience to *rato*, Madurese society creates a broader range of categories such as politeness and respect for oneself, elders, and people of higher status. Politeness in this principle refers to how an individual knows and follows the rules of intergenerational relationships based on the pangka (frame).

Interpreting the Importance of Mondok for Santri and Non-santri Communities in Brambang Hamlet in Interpreting the Mondok Tradition

In addition to being considered important for fostering the religious values of santri, boarding school activities in Madura are also often considered to have their own prestige value which also allows graduates to gain social identity in the religious field. This is inseparable from the local culture of Madura itself, where religious values are a priority in everyday life. According to Wiyata (2008), Madura is one of the islands with a majority population of approximately 97-98% adhering to Islam and is certainly very unique in showing its Islamic characteristics. Therefore, it is not uncommon for the mondok tradition which is closely related to its religious values to also affect the views of the Madurese community on cottage graduates. Related to this statement, the researcher has analyzed the data which then from the data that has been collected, the researcher gets 3 out of 7 informants agreeing that the alumni of the hut will more easily get social identification from the religious side in the community.

InsyaAllah, the social identity of the students when they leave the boarding school is good. This is evident when they return home, they also become an example for other children to be enthusiastic about going to the mosque, usually when they go out they don't wear a headscarf, now more and more are wearing headscarves. As well as those who usually do not use subtle language with older people, now after leaving the pesantren, their morals and the way they speak to their parents are getting smoother. (Ustad Sufyan, resident of Brambang Hamlet, interview, October 29, 20223).

However, there are different views that were later presented by one of the non-chaperone informants regarding the *privilege* of a santri. According to him, the statement that people who have received education at boarding schools can more easily get a religious identity or social status in the community is if the santri can still practice and be responsible for the knowledge that has been obtained while in the pesantren. Thus, it can be concluded that the non-santri community views that *privilege* also depends on the character and attitude of the santri themselves.

There are times when in some circles or certain community environments it can indeed be a privilege in my opinion, but yes, not all are. Back to my previous answer, it depends on the santri himself, how he applies his religious knowledge in everyday life. Especially if the santri alumni delve further and intend to become a preacher, of course the social status follows. (Rajaka, a young non-scholar, interview, October 30, 2023).

Religious Values and Symbols Contained in the Mondok Tradition

Value is a set of ideas about good, bad, or fair. Basically, this value is transmitted through a form of culture in the form of ideas, norms, beliefs or beliefs, (Liliweri, 2021). Of course, in a culture, value becomes something that is sometimes interpreted differently in a group. Therefore, in order to build a common value, in communication we recognize the concept of symbols, where this symbol then becomes an object that is interpreted together through the process of interaction between members of the group itself. A symbol can be defined as an object, event, sound, or form that is written and then interpreted by humans through language symbolization, (Saifuddin, 2005 in Haris & Amalia, 2018).

In the Madurese mondok tradition, there are several symbols that are interpreted by the community which then builds certain values. Generally, the values associated with this mondok tradition are the values of religiosity. Some informants have different interpretations of the religiosity values contained in the mondok tradition. K.H. Nanang as one of the Brambang community leaders, interprets the value of religiosity in the mondok tradition by looking at the concept of servitude and living destiny in accordance with the creator's decree.

It's simple in my opinion, so how the child later when leaving the cottage he wants to carry out his own destiny, but in a way that is in accordance with what Allah SWT wants. In religion it is actually also simple, humans are required to worship, and humans are also required to be a caliph or leader. Worshiping and being a caliph does not then have to be carried out by him becoming a cleric, but in

the way of his own destiny. For example, if he becomes a laborer, he is also still a servant of Allah and a leader for himself and his family. This means that the students are expected to remain religious after leaving the boarding school. (K.H. Nanang, community leader, interview, October 31, 2023).

The symbols of religiosity described by K.H. Nanang, one of which is about the manners and behavior of students, are also interpreted similarly by Ustad Sufyan. He views the religiosity values contained in the mondok tradition, namely based on the manners and behavior of students in the community. Students who apply the values in the teachings of the boarding school, one of which is a student who can have a direct impact on his environment.

Usually, if I pay attention in this environment, the students when they leave the pesantren usually pray more often in congregation, like to recite the Koran, like to seek knowledge and be devoted to their parents. In fact, many santri then also motivate their environment to be religious. Usually if there are community activities, the students, even without being told, will respond to carry out as long as it is in terms of goodness. (Ustad Sufyan, Brambang resident, interview, October 29, 2023).

Not only in the boarding school environment, the number of people in Brambang Hamlet who pursue boarding school education eventually creates a culture or religious culture in the community. The values of religiosity or spirituality of santri ultimately also influence other non santri communities.

In my opinion, the most important thing that influences the character of Brambang residents is actually the culture of Brambang itself. This means that even though the people of Brambang who do not go to boarding school, there is still a tendency for their religious character to be almost the same. This is because the people here have a strong religious spirit, even feeling uncomfortable, embarrassed if they do things that are not in accordance with religious teachings and norms. Therefore, in my opinion, the culture of the surrounding environment is the most influential. Especially in Brambang, the family ties are very strong, and there are also a lot of religious activities, which is also very influential. (Mr. Suharyono, Brambang resident, interview, October 10, 2023).

Some examples of the implementation of the religiosity values of the Brambang community can also be seen based on documentation of religious activities held by the community there. The documentation below illustrates the Religious Dialogue (Dogma) activity that is routinely carried out by the community, especially men, both the older and younger generations, during Ramadan. In this activity, there will be a lecture and question and answer session, which is filled every day by ustad or kiai in Brambang Hamlet itself. This is routinely carried out by residents of Brambang Hamlet to increase faith and religious knowledge in the Holy Month of Ramadan for both santri and non- santri residents.



Figure 1.1. Religious Dialogue of Teenagers of Darul Muttaqin Brambang Mosque in Ramadan
Source: (Rosatin Nur, 2021).

The spiritual value and religiosity of the people of Brambang Hamlet can also be seen in how parents teach and apply religious knowledge from an early age to their children. Some examples of efforts made by parents to foster the spirit of religiosity

and faith are by enrolling their children in Madrasah Diniyah, or even boarding schools that do not require children to attend dormitories, one example is Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum Tobato.



Figure 1.2. Santri of Darul Ulum Tobato Islamic Boarding School Praying in Congregation
Source: (Sufyannussauri, 2023)

The Value of Obedience "Bhuppa'-Bhabbhu'-Ghuru-Rato" in the Mondok Tradition of Madurese People

Based on the interview data that researchers have obtained regarding the meaning of the value of *Bhuppa'-Bhabbhu'-Ghuru-Rato's* obedience and its relation to the Madurese tradition of boarding school, it can be identified that the overall data on the statements of the informants of the parents of Brambang Hamlet, shows that basically the value of *Bhuppa'-Bhabbhu'-Ghuru-Rato's* obedience is a construction of religious values and then becomes an integral part of Madurese culture inherited through boarding school. This value is closely related to the implementation of religious values,

especially those contained in Surah An-Nisa verse 59. The thing that is highlighted in the verse and its relation to the value of *Bhuppa'-Bhabbhu'-Ghuru-Rato* obedience is about Almighty God's command to obey *ulil amri* (leaders).

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي
الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ فَإِن تَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّوهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ إِن كُنتُمْ
تُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ ءَآخِرِ ۗ ذَلِكَ خَيْرٌ وَأَحْسَنُ تَأْوِيلًا

Meaning: O you who believe, obey Allah and obey His Messenger, and the lawful authority among you. Then if you differ in opinion about anything, then refer it back to Allah (the Quran) and the Messenger (his sunnah), if you truly believe in Allah and the Last Day. That is better (for you) and

more beneficial. Al-Quran Surat An-Nisa Verse 59).

The values of obedience to *Bhuppa'-Bhabbhu'-Ghuru-Rato*, which are also part of the teachings of the mondok tradition, actually have many examples of implementation applied by santri or santri graduates in their daily environment. The mondok tradition is also often a driving factor for children to have adab and character that is more obedient and polite to parents. Based on the results of interviews conducted by researchers, each informant often provides examples of the implementation of the value of *Bhuppa'-Bhabbhu'-Ghuru-Rato* obedience which is quite diverse.

One example of implementation mentioned by one of the informants of this research is about how to *tawadhu* or obey the teacher in order to get the blessing of knowledge in the world.

When I went to boarding school, I also felt new things, especially about the teaching of tawadhu.

For example, tawadhu is respecting the teacher, even if we are right, we must not go against the teacher. But it's true, because if the teacher is sincere in teaching and we respect, surely our knowledge will be blessed. We meet many people around us whose lives may be mediocre but are filled with blessings, it could be because during his life he respected his teachers and parents. (Roufi, a young generation of santri, interview, November 16, 2023).

In addition to the informants' statements, through some documentation data that researchers have collected, researchers also see the ethical tendencies of santri when passing or facing ustad/kiai. In the picture below, several students who are studying at the Darul Ulum Tobato Islamic boarding school are seen doing "songkem" (bowing) to the ustad. This indicates a value, ethics, or manners of politeness and obedience to honor a teacher.



Figure 1.3. Santri Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum Tobato "Nyongkem" to Ustad

Source: (Sufyanussauri, 2023)

The next documentation is a documentation that describes the attitude of a resident of Brambang Hamlet who was welcoming the arrival of a lecturer at the Haul Sheikh Sayyid Ali activity on

November 12, 2023. When the residents crossed paths, it appeared that the citizen's body bowed and kissed the cleric's hand. This indicates the ethics of respect from these residents to a cleric



Figure 1.4. Ethics of Brambang residents when crossing paths with Ulama

One of the residents of Brambang also explained how the implementation of the value of obedience to teachers, especially kiaiKiyai, was carried out by the people of Brambang Hamlet in ancient times. In his explanation, parents used to adhere to the principle of studying with a kiaiKiyai in order to want the blessing of knowledge for their children.

In the past, our society applied this value so strongly that when delivering their sons to the Koran teacher or to school, they would say "kaula nyerra'aghi anak kaula, epabaramma'a bhai pon ca'epon panjhennengan". Secondly, there is no story that parents are conflicted about their children's grades, even not getting a grade or lingering in the pesantren is not a problem for them. (Mr. Suharyono, Brambang resident, interview, November 10, 2023).

Although the mondok tradition is one of the means that also teaches about the values of obedience to *Bhuppa'-Bhabbhu'-Ghuru-Rato*, it cannot be denied that non-churched Madurese people can also implement the teachings or values of obedience. This is because, based on the views of the seven informants, the value is a construction or term that is already common and recommended to be implemented by the Madurese community.

Symbolic Interactionism of the Brambang Hamlet Community in Interpreting the Values Contained in the Mondok Tradition

The interpretation of a concept of value in a particular tradition or culture through the perspective of each member of the community is one of the interesting things to study in order to know and study the transformation of an ethnicity. This view is also expressed by Berreman (1975) quoted from Mulyana (2012), who states that basically an approach that considers the subjective meanings of social actors is one of the best methodologies used to understand contemporary interethnic relations. In this study, the subjective meaning of each community member regarding the values contained in the mondok tradition is then identified using the theory of symbolic interactionism. This is because in the theory of symbolic interactionism, George Harbert Mead seeks to understand human behavior as a cultural reality from the subject's point of view, (Mulyana, 2012). The continuation of the mondok tradition carried out by the people of Brambang Hamlet from generation to the next generation can take place because of the symbolic interaction process between community members. This began when the ancestor of Brambang Hamlet, namely Sheikh Sayyid Ali, spread his da'wah about Islam to his students and grandchildren in Brambang Hamlet. This Islamic Da'wah was the beginning of the process of interpreting the values of religiosity and spirituality built in the hamlet area. In the end, there

was an agreement of the next generations to maintain the values of religiosity brought by the ancestors by carrying out a boarding school activity as a way to deepen religious knowledge. In order to find out how the symbolic interactionism theory is more deeply related to the meaning of the values contained in the Madurese *mondok* tradition, researchers describe it in the concepts and premises of the symbolic interactionism theory by George Harbert Mead, namely as follows.

1. Meaning

According to the theory of symbolic interactionism, every human being acts on the meaning they give to every object or person they interpret, (Griffin, 2006). In this case, it means that humans can freely interpret or interpret every reality including symbols and values in a tradition, because later the meaning will form a construction. This statement, if referring to the research propositions described earlier, can be related to how each member of the Brambang Hamlet community interprets the values of religiosity and obedience to *Bhuppa'-Bhabhu'-Ghuru-Rato* with a variety of meanings but produces an almost similar value construction. One example is, in the santri community, which is a direct part of the *mondok* tradition, mentioning that santri who go to boarding school are closely related to religious values because of course in the hut religious knowledge has become part of it. However, some other non- santri communities mentioned that, in general, santri will definitely be seen as having high religiosity compared to non- santri communities, but they assume that this also cannot be generalized because it is not certain that every santri who leaves the pesantren will remain responsible for practicing their knowledge and religious spiritual values in the community. The difference then does not make the meaning of the value of religiosity in the *mondok* tradition completely different, because in the end, every community, both santri and non- santri, agree that the *mondok* tradition is one of the important things to be implemented in order to teach and develop the value or character of religiosity to children. This is often related to Jane Wanger's view (cited in

Griffin, 2006) which says "*interactionist position that meaning-making is a community project*". Not only that, Mead in Haris & Amalia (2018) views that meaning is the result of social interactions and causal signification of social interactions, not from a stouter mental process which then allows individuals to mentally create a meaning and symbols from learning processes during interactions. In this case, the interaction between every community, both santri and non- santri in Brambang Hamlet.

2. Language

The next premise put forward by Mead in the theory of symbolic interactionism is the negotiation of meaning through the use of language, meaning that a meaning can arise based on interactions carried out between individuals with one another who use language as a means of interaction, (Griffin, 2012). When referring to this statement, one of the factors in the decision between children and parents to choose to carry out the *mondok* tradition is the origin of the process of negotiating meaning through interactions between the two. For example, several informants mentioned that most of the children who chose to *mondok* in Brambang Hamlet were of their own desire, this desire was of course also based on the provision of meanings and values contained in the tradition of *mondok* first by parents, as Ustad Sufyan did to his children. Previously Ustad Sufyan admitted that he first introduced the culture in the cottage to the child, so that in choosing a cottage the child also felt comfortable. From this process, a negotiation of meaning occurs regarding the decision between parents and children to go to boarding school. The next example occurs in the decision made by Mr. Suharyono as a parent who does not send his child to boarding school. The reason why Mr. Suharyono does not send his child to boarding school is none other than based on the character and interests of his child who cannot be forced to board. If we analyze more deeply, the decision process certainly occurs on the basis of negotiation of meaning using certain languages that are mutually expressed by both children and parents in order to produce thoughts that are in line (not boarding). From this

process, symbolic interaction takes place, where according to Adli & Anshori (2021), symbolic interaction is the process of providing information based on meaning and created into language, and used to communicate with others.

In addition to the example above, another example of the use of language in the symbolic interaction process is shown through the use of language levels by santri towards parents. The use of the subtle language "*engghi-bhunten*" by santri who carry out the tradition of *mondok*, then raises a construction and meaning from other community members regarding the adab or behavior of obedience and courtesy of these santri to their elders, where it becomes one example of the implementation of the values of obedience to *Bhuppa'-Bhabbhu'-Ghuru-Rato*.

3. Mind

The next premise of symbolic interaction is about thinking, where basically this premise is closely related to language and meaning. According to Mead, the idea of this thinking premise is how humans have the capacity to take on the role of others (Kriyantono, 2015). This means that as individuals we can also put ourselves in the position of others according to how they act, (Griffin, 2006). In the phenomenon of interpreting the value of religiosity and obedience in the tradition of *mondok* in Brambang Hamlet, based on the data that the researchers have presented previously, it can be seen that non-santri communities in Brambang Hamlet also often follow and show a religious lifestyle like the santri. This is certainly also influenced by the symbolic interaction process regarding the meanings in the *mondok* tradition which then gives rise to religious and spiritual values that are channeled through the language process between each member of the community. In addition, as mentioned by informant Mr. Suharyono, that as a resident who does not go to boarding school, he is very flexible to place himself in the midst of the Brambang Hamlet community, the majority of whom are santri. This concept is also related to the concept of self where symbolic interactionism suggests the self of the

individual with the outside world, (Yohana & Saifulloh, 2019). Thus, the non-student Brambang Hamlet community who reflects themselves in the midst of a community where the majority are graduates of the pesantren is part of the conception of self in this theory.

The self-concept in the phenomenon of the people of Brambang Hamlet is also reflected in the data findings regarding the average resident who chooses to go to boarding school is also influenced by the family background who is also a santri. This can be attributed to the assumption of phenomenological experts who consider that human behavior is not formed or determined by themselves, but rather a result of how they interpret the objects around them, (Mulyana, 2012). Therefore, if it is assumed, people in Brambang Hamlet who decide to go to boarding school are driven by the influence and observation of themselves reflecting their closest environment, namely family. Furthermore, Combs and Syng view that people's perceptions can arise from within themselves, related to how people perceive themselves, while the world where they live is an internal personal matter (Burns, 1979 cited in Mulyana, 2012).

4. Community

The last conception in George Harbert Mead's symbolic interactionism theory is the concept of society. According to this theory, symbolic interaction can take place from a two-way interaction process that forms a way of thinking in individuals where society plays a very important role in shaping this thinking, (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009 in Yohana & Saifulloh, 2028). Thus, the role of society in symbolic interaction is very influential on the individual meaning process of the community. However, symbolic interactionism also believes that interaction is something dynamic and changeable, so that in interpreting a meaning, the individual is also possible to change and differ between one individual and another, (Mulyana, 2012). The process of differences in meaning in the symbolic interaction process is what is then referred to as the process of meaning exchange.

This premise applies as well as to the phenomenon of meaning by each informant of this study who considers that the existence and sustainability of the Madura community's *mondok* tradition in the future can still exist but can also decline. As described in the research proposition above, there are differences in views between the older generation and the younger generation, where the older generation of Brambang Hamlet believes that the *mondok* tradition in the midst of technological developments will continue, while the younger generation believes that in the future many people will often leave the tradition. Both views are neither right nor wrong, because meaning is basically free.

Conclusions:

Through the description that researchers have described in the sub-chapter of the results of data presentation and discussion, researchers can conclude several things that can answer the problem formulation written in the previous section. Some of these conclusions are as follows.

1. Communication in the Madurese *mondok* tradition in Brambang Hamlet is an integral part that cannot be separated from the Madurese culture itself. The symbols and meanings in this *mondok* tradition are communicated by each member of the community who then builds interactions and diverse meanings of the values of the tradition. The symbols in the *mondok* tradition that are often mentioned by the people of Brambang Hamlet, both santri and non-santri, include aspects of religiosity and obedience.
2. The symbolic interactionism approach is used to understand the meaning of the values of religiosity and obedience to *Bhuppa'-Bhabhu'-Ghuru Rato* in the *mondok* tradition of the people of Brambang Hamlet, Sumenep Regency, Madura. From the identification of the theoretical approach, there are several key concepts such as meaning, language, *mind*, and *community* that are also applied to analyze the process of symbolic interaction in building the meaning of the values of the *mondok* tradition.

3. Each individual community interprets the values of the *mondok* tradition based on their own experiences and perspectives. Although there are variations in meaning, the people of Brambang Hamlet, the informants in this study agree that the *mondok* tradition is important to preserve in order to teach and develop the values of religiosity and obedience to children.
4. Language is used as the main tool for the process of negotiating meaning. The decision to board or not is influenced by the process of symbolic interaction and the use of language in negotiations between children and parents.
5. Society has an important role in shaping individual thinking through the process of symbolic interaction. However, interaction basically has a dynamic nature that allows differences in meaning between individuals.
6. The diversity of meanings of values in the *mondok* tradition that emerges based on symbolic interactions between community members is also in line with the *non-western* communication perspective which views religion as one of the most influential foundations in the reality of society.

This understanding provides deep insight into how the tradition of *mondok* in Brambang Hamlet is interpreted, perceived, and carried out by the local community through the lens of symbolic interactionism theory.

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