



Peci and Sarung: Madurese Muslim Identity in Kamal, East Java

Muhajirin¹, Afif Muhammad², Mohammad Taufiq Rahman³

¹ Nahdlatul Ulama Islamic Economics College (STEINU) Subang, Indonesia

^{2,3} UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, Indonesia

*Corresponding Author, Email: muhajirinm87@gmail.com

Received: July 2025; Accepted: November 2025; Published: January 2026

Abstract: This study explores how *peci* (traditional cap) and *sarong* are represented as cultural-religious symbols that shape the collective identity of the Muslim Madurese community in Kamal District, Bangkalan, East Java. Using a descriptive qualitative approach and Stuart Hall's theory of representation, the research was conducted through participatory observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. The study employed an emic perspective by immersing the researcher in the everyday life of the Telang Dalem community. Findings reveal that *peci* and *sarong* are more than religious attire; they are symbols of identity transmitted across generations through family traditions, reinforced by the exemplary conduct of local *kiai* (Islamic scholars), and embedded in social-religious practices. These symbols serve as expressions of lived piety and loyalty to the moral authority of *kiai*, while also negotiating between inherited tradition and modern influences. The study concludes that such cultural symbols play a strategic role in preserving local religious identity. Theoretically, it contributes to the anthropology of Islam and identity studies; practically, it offers a model of contextualized religiosity that remains resilient amid social transformation.

Keywords: Cultural symbols; Family tradition; Habitus; Islamic locality; Kiai; Madurese identity; Peci; Religious piety; Representation; Sarong

1. Introduction

Madura is an archipelago with a majority (±97-99%) who are Muslim. Madura shows its Islamic characteristics, especially in the actualization of obedience to the normative teachings of its religion (Wiyata, 2006). Therefore, the Madurese ethnic group as part of the Muslim community in Indonesia is widely known by the public for its Islam, so that the penetration of Islamic teachings is considered relatively successful into the Madurese ethnic community, especially the variables of economic empowerment, educational orientation, and political behavior. Then, certain characteristics emerge that are both distinctive and unique. In its development, the interpretation of normative Islamic teachings among Madurese ethnic groups goes hand in hand with the concrete contextuality of culture that is greatly influenced by the scope of locality and the time series that forms it (Rahman, 1994).

A compromise of values or symbols between religion and local culture produces new forms that are different from the original religion and culture. This process occurs naturally in a society with a strong cultural structure, being passed down from generation to generation. Normative Islamic teachings are interpreted to the Madurese community along with the contextuality of its culture which is greatly influenced by the locality and time that formed it (Rahman, 1994). The same thing was also stated by Dadang Kahmad, that religion will experience a process of adjustment to the culture that has existed since long ago. The entry of Islamic teachings into Madurese society has never been found in its original form in its entirety, which is called fluidity. Fluidity is the flexibility of a particular culture when entering another culture (Kahmad, 2011). This gives the understanding that if a particular culture blends with another culture, it will metamorphose into a new meaning, while making the same symbol biased as a symbol as its origin. This flexibility occurs without being consciously or unconsciously perceived (Kahmad, 2011). Finally, the presence of Islam in a socio-cultural entity becomes an "actual-

cultural movement" that accommodates discussions in every segment of life, the result is that Islam experiences changes even though it is possible on the peripheral side.

Islam as a universal religion that transcends space and time, sometimes meets with various traditions (Akhtar, 2005). When Islam meets local traditions, the face of Islam differs from one place to another. In responding to it, there are two things, namely, first, Islam itself was born as a local product which was then universalized and transcended, so that it later became universal Islam. Second, although it is believed that Islam is a universal, unseen revelation of God, it is ultimately perceived by its adherents according to their experiences, problems, intellectual capacities, cultural systems, and all the diversity of each adherent within their community (Susanto, 2019).

Both need to be aware that on the one hand Islam is universal, as a critique of local culture, and then local culture as a form of wisdom of each adherent in understanding and implementing Islam. In this regard, Shah Waliyullâh al-Dihlawi, an Indian Islamic thinker, put forward the existence of universal Islam and local Islam. The teachings of Tauhid (oneness of God) are universal which must penetrate geographical and cultural boundaries that are non-negotiable. Meanwhile, cultural expressions in the form of traditions, ways of dressing, architecture, literature and others have local content that is not always the same (Susanto, 2019).

Therefore, local traditions greatly enrich the Islamic treasury. Every local tradition is recognized as part of Islamic teachings. Characteristics that are distinctive and unique in the form of human behavior that has experienced many deviations from its original norms. This form can be seen in the form of local traditions that form a conception of reality by accommodating the socio-cultural community or community that it forms (Azra, 1999). The religious expression of the Madurese people remains guided by the Almighty God, as manifested in maintaining relationships with Allah, fellow creatures, and the surrounding environment. As an expression that is inherent in the Madurese community, namely *Asapo's Testimony Pillow Faith* (pillowed with shahadah, covered with faith) (Amrullah, 2015).

Madurese people are a community that is very obedient to the teachings of their religion (Kusuma, 2003). The form of obedience to the creator is in the form of performing prayers, zakat, fasting for the pilgrimage, and so on. If someone is seen as never praying, they will be ridiculed, reprimanded, or face other social sanctions. Meanwhile, obedience in the form of relationships with others is actualized in a behavior of politeness, courtesy, respect, and the noble values of Madurese society (Zubairi, 2013). In general, Islamic teachings are very thick in coloring the culture and civilization of Madurese society (Rifai, 2007). Even people outside the Madurese ethnic group, consider that Madurese people are very faithful, their appreciation of their teachings is deep and their message is broad.

In addition, the men's clothing culture consists of a black peci, while the Madurese women's clothing culture consists of a headscarf or scarf (de Jonge, 1989). Peci is interpreted as a ritual object, lifestyle, and social strata. Therefore, peci as a symbol of Indonesianness has strong historical roots (Kuntowijoyo, 1987). Likewise with the sarong which is a clothing that complements the peci. Rofi said, since long ago the use of sarongs has been a differentiator between non-indigenous people and nobles or priyai. The nobles are considered to have been greatly influenced by Europeans along with the trousers and jackets that developed at that time. While the Europeans, their position is considered to be a colonizing nation (Interview with Rofi, 2020).

As a result, the clothing has become a typical part of social life (Interview with, Manan, 2020). Rifai emphasized that Islamic identity for Madurese is important, so that clothing is used in everyday life (Rifai, 2007). As a legendary Indonesian cultural product in the Malay land, such as peci and sarung have typical dances that are closely related to the socio-anthropological and cultural conditions of community groups. Because culture itself has a coherent system in the form of symbols, such as abstract nouns, songs, music, paintings, and a person's beliefs that are closely related to the concept of epistemology of community knowledge.

As part of the background of this research, the phenomenon of cultural shift in the midst of the rapid flow of globalization is an interesting issue to study, especially in the context of Madurese society. Although foreign culture is now easily accessible through the media and the presence of students from

various regions at Trunojoyo University, Madura, as well as the openness of the region due to the Suramadu Bridge, the Madurese ethnic identity still shows a certain steadfastness. This is reflected, for example, in the continued use of peci and sarong by farmers in Telang Dalem, Kamal. Peci and sarong are not only everyday clothing, but also symbols of religiosity and local identity that are passed down from generation to generation. Through the approach of Stuart Hall's representation theory, this research is directed to examine how these two elements of clothing are constructed and represented as the ethnic identity of the Madurese Muslim community. Thus, the main questions raised in this study are: How are peci and sarong constructed and represented as the local identity of Madurese Muslim society?

2. Research Method

This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach to explore the symbolic meaning of peci and sarong in the religious life of Madurese society in depth (Pathak et al., 2013). This approach was chosen because it is able to capture social dynamics in their entirety, including the motivations, perceptions, and perspectives of society towards religious symbols that have become part of their collective identity. In this context, symbols are not just clothing, but representations of values, beliefs, and even social authority. Therefore, a qualitative approach is not only relevant, but also the most appropriate way to understand the religiosity of society in its local context.

As emphasized by (Rizky Fadilla & Ayu Wulandari, 2023), a qualitative approach requires researchers to be fully present in the social reality being studied. Researchers live directly with the Telang community, Kamal District, Bangkalan, Madura, and actively participate in their activities, from worship, religious studies, social gatherings, to economic and cultural activities. This approach is emic, meaning that it starts from the perspective of the community itself in interpreting the peci and sarong as symbols of religiosity that live in their daily lives.

Data collection was carried out using three main techniques, namely participant observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. Observations were carried out in direct and participatory forms. Researchers not only recorded community behavior, but were also actively involved in their lives, including in religious ritual activities and social gatherings. In the interviews, researchers used a semi-structured and freely guided approach in order to reach various dimensions of the subject's experience. Informants were selected purposively, involving religious figures, traditional figures, cultural figures, traders, farmers, fishermen, and youth who were active in the community. This approach provides space for diverse voices from various social classes, including Oreng Kene, Pongghaba, and Parjaji.

Meanwhile, documentation is used to collect relevant written and visual materials. The documents studied include religious books, local archives, magazines, community records, to informal documents from the community such as invitation letters to religious studies or minutes of farmer group meetings. All data obtained are analyzed interactively following the model (Miles et al., 2019), which includes data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions or verification. Analysis is carried out continuously along with the data collection process to enable researchers to develop thematic categories and draw patterns of meaning hidden in the daily practices of the community.

The research location was focused on Kamal District, Bangkalan Regency, Madura, with researchers residing periodically for several months. Direct involvement in community life allows researchers to build close emotional and intellectual relationships with informants, so that the information obtained is not only superficial, but describes authentic social and spiritual realities. Through this process, the meaning of religiosity is not understood textually, but through symbols that live and breathe in social practices.

Thus, this methodology is designed to support contextual and reflective understanding of the phenomenon of Madurese religious society. Peci and sarong, which in the outside view may only be considered clothing, in the context of this study are treated as an entry point to understand the relationship between religion, culture, and local identity that are continuously negotiated in space and time.

3. Research Results

3.1. Profile of Kamal District, Bangkalan, Madura

Kamal District is located in Bangkalan Regency, which is part of East Java Province, located at the western tip of Madura Island. The area of Kamal District is around 41.4 K with the following details; the area of Tajungan village is around 0.08 km², West Gili 4.80 km², Banyu Ajuh 4.11 km², Kamal 1.14 km², Tanjung Jati 0.40 km², Kebun 3.37 km², East Gili 7.43, Gili Anyar 2.93, Telang 9.72 and Pendabah 7.42. The height above sea level is as follows; Tajungan 10 meters above sea level, West Gili 10 meters above sea level, Banyu Ajuh 18 meters above sea level, Kamal 9 meters above sea level, Tanjung Jati 44 meters above sea level, Kebun 49 meters above sea level, East Gili 16 meters above sea level, Gili Anyar 12 meters above sea level, Telang 8 meters above sea level, and Pendabah 62 meters above sea level. the number of villages/sub-districts is 10 units, the distance from the district capital, namely Bangkalan, is around 18 km, the average rainfall is 20.57 mm, while the population of Kamal sub-district is 49,595 (Admin, 2020).



Figure 1. Kamal sub-district area database, Bangkalan

The population of Kamal sub-district based on gender at the Population and Civil Registry Office in 2021 was 49,595 people, consisting of 24,226 male residents and 25,369 female residents. The highest population density in Kamal sub-district in 2021 reached 14,708 people in the Banyu Ajuh area with 7,146 males and 7,562 females. The lowest population density was in the Gili Barat area with 1,972 people with 985 males and 987 females. The following is a table of the population of Kamal sub-district according to Population and Civil Registry Office data in 2021 (BPS, 2022).

NO	DESA/KEL	JUMLAH			TOTAL
		KK	PENDUDUK		
			L	P	
2001	Kamal	2.378	3.866	4.068	7.934
2002	Banyu Ajuh	4.563	7.146	7.562	14.708
2003	Gili Barat	616	985	987	1.972
2004	Gili Timur	1.483	2.386	2.551	4.937
2005	Gili Anyar	1.155	1.856	1.912	3.768
2006	Telang	814	1.283	1.330	2.613
2007	Pendabah	1.190	2.038	2.172	4.210
2008	Tajungan	746	1.340	1.307	2.647
2009	Kebu	1.405	2.168	2.231	4.399
2010	Tanjung Jari	727	1.158	1.249	2.407
TOTAL		15.077	24.226	25.369	49.595

Table 1. Population Aggregate Data for Kamal District in 2021

As for population data based on age in Kamal sub-district, Bangkalan in 2021, the lowest age group is mostly in Banyu Ajuh village, while the highest old age group is also in Banyu Ajuh village. Meanwhile, the productive age group of 25-29 years is in Banyu Ajuh village, as many as 1,097. However, when viewed as a whole, the number of people at that age group has decreased drastically by 3,827 compared to the age group of 20-24, which is 4,026. This shows a population reduction of 199 people, and continues to decline. This can happen not only due to death but also due to migration

activities that spread throughout Indonesia. Below is a table of population database based on the age structure of the population in Kamal sub-district, Bangkan district, East Java Province (BPS, 2022).

NO	DESA/KEL	STRUKTUR USIA															TOTAL	
		0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70-74		75+
2001	Kamal	409	595	740	767	748	584	461	553	672	656	571	407	310	219	115	127	7.934
2002	Banyu Ajuh	838	1.180	1.257	1.231	1.179	1.097	893	1.147	1.178	1.123	952	800	693	489	287	364	14.708
2003	Gili Barat	126	181	153	158	128	172	162	148	151	149	157	116	84	35	27	25	1.972
2004	Gili Timur	315	415	432	378	350	384	351	410	404	347	359	252	201	125	100	114	4.937
2005	Gili Anyar	261	332	287	318	286	282	289	284	337	266	237	236	156	89	49	59	3.768
2006	Telang	149	182	191	238	216	206	171	199	170	177	215	179	142	85	57	36	2.613
2007	Pendabah	217	374	355	327	311	327	371	381	334	287	264	206	168	108	81	99	4.210
2008	Tajungan	177	249	260	223	214	243	241	202	172	153	144	123	119	59	40	28	2.647
2009	Kebu	217	344	386	355	366	327	271	373	393	344	296	247	215	116	69	80	4.399
2010	Tanjung Jari	124	216	221	200	228	205	138	203	156	169	167	159	84	65	38	34	2.407
	TOTAL	2.833	4.068	4.282	4.195	4.026	3.827	3.348	3.900	3.967	3.671	3.362	2.725	2.172	1.390	863	966	49.595

Table 2. Population Data by Age, Kamal District, 2021

According to BPS, Village Potential Data 2019, the number of elementary schools (SD) under the Ministry of Education and Culture in Kamal District is as follows; There are 1 public elementary school in Tajungan Village, 1 in Gili Barat, 8 in Banyu Ajuh, 4 in Kamal, 2 in Tanjung Jati, 2 in Kebun, 4 in Gili Timur, 1 in Gili Anyar, 2 in Tellang, and 3 in Pendabah, while there is 1 private elementary school in Banyu Ajuh. There is only 1 public elementary school in Banyu Ajuh village. Meanwhile, private elementary schools are spread across each village, namely 2 MI in Tajungan village, 2 in Gili Barat, 1 in Banyu Ajuh, 4 in Kamal, 3 in Tanjung Jati, 4 in Kebun, 4 in Gili Timur, 4 in Gili Anyar, 4 in Tellang, and 2 in Pendabah (BPS, 2022).

Junior High Schools (SMP) are only spread across several villages, namely; public junior high schools in Banyu Ajuh Village 1, Kebun 1, Gili Anyar 1. While private junior high schools are only in Pendabah Village, amounting to one school. Meanwhile, Madrasah Tsanawiyah is not owned by the local government in every village or sub-district in Kamal Bangkalan District. Meanwhile, private MTs are spread across Banyu Ajuh Village, amounting to 2 Madrasahs, Telang 1, and Pendabah 1 Private MTs (BPS, 2022).

In addition, senior high school education (SMA) is only in one village, namely Tellang village, with one state high school. While Madrasah Aliyah, both state and private, is not in all areas of the village or sub-district of Kamal district. As for vocational schools at the same level as SMA, there is one state SMK in Tellang. Likewise, there are only a few academies or universities in Tellang village, with one state university.

NO	DESA/KEL	PENDIDIKAN										TOTAL
		Tidak Sekolah	Tidak Tamat SD	SD	SMP	SMA	D1/D2	D3	S1	S2	S3	
2001	Kamal	2.005	581	1.723	1.174	1.976	16	59	368	30	2	7.934
2002	Banyu Ajuh	3.521	1.080	2.572	1.837	3.690	52	303	1.541	106	6	14.708
2003	Gili Barat	577	139	755	220	252	1	4	23	1	-	1.972
2004	Gili Timur	1.327	378	1.801	583	616	4	28	171	23	6	4.937
2005	Gili Anyar	1.065	290	1.377	397	476	1	25	133	4	-	3.768
2006	Telang	635	225	733	292	389	5	30	258	42	4	2.613
2007	Pendabah	1.189	314	2.153	340	188	3	2	21	-	-	4.210
2008	Tajungan	778	163	869	374	405	3	17	38	-	-	2.647
2009	Kebu	1.195	325	1.770	433	549	2	19	101	5	-	4.399
2010	Tanjung Jari	583	233	490	323	624	7	27	117	3	-	2.407
	TOTAL	#####	3.728	14.243	5.973	9.165	94	514	2.771	214	18	49.595

Table 3. Latest Education Data of Kamal District Residents, 2021

Wiyata stated that Madura is an island that is predominantly inhabited by (±97-99%) are Muslim (Wiyata, 2006). Madurese people are a community that is very obedient to the teachings of their religion (Kusuma, 2003). This obedience is actualized by carrying out prayers, zakat, fasting, pilgrimage, and other forms of obedience or obedience to Allah SWT. While the form of obedience between fellow human beings (hablum minannas) is actualized in a behavior of politeness, courtesy, respect, and other

noble values (Zubairi, 2013). It is common in Madurese society, the existence of a social sanction that is pinned on someone can be in the form of ridicule, sarcasm, sarcasm or reprimand if someone does not carry out one of the worship.

Based on this, Islamic teachings strongly color the culture and civilization of the Madurese people (Rifai, 2007). Therefore, it is very natural that the Madura Islands are inhabited by a relatively large number of Muslims who live in various sub-districts, villages and hamlets. In 2021, Kamal Sub-district itself had a total of 49,227 Muslim residents. This number is divided into 10 villages, namely Kamal village with a Muslim population of 7,901, Banyu Ajuh village with 14,480 Muslim residents, Gili Barat with 1,972 Muslims, Gili Timur village with 4,923 Muslim residents, Gili Anyar village with 3,766 Muslim residents, Telang village with 2,583 Muslim residents, Pendabah village with 4,210 Muslim residents, Tajungan village with 2,647 Muslim residents, Kebun village with 4,393 Muslim residents, and Tanjung Jati village with 2,352 Muslim residents.

NO	DESA/KEL	AGAMA							TOTAL
		Islam	Kristen	Katolik	Hindu	Budha	Kong hucu	Keper cayaan	
2001	Kamal	2.005	581	1.723	1.174	1.976	16	59	7.534
2002	Banyu Ajuh	3.521	1.080	2.572	1.837	3.690	52	303	13.055
2003	Gili Barat	577	139	755	220	252	1	4	1.948
2004	Gili Timur	1.327	378	1.801	583	616	4	28	4.737
2005	Gili Anyar	1.065	290	1.377	397	476	1	25	3.631
2006	Telang	635	225	733	292	389	5	30	2.309
2007	Pendabah	1.189	314	2.153	340	188	3	2	4.189
2008	Tajungan	778	163	869	374	405	3	17	2.609
2009	Kebu	1.195	325	1.770	433	549	2	19	4.293
2010	Tanjung Jari	583	233	490	323	624	7	27	2.287
TOTAL		12.875	3.728	14.243	5.973	9.165	94	514	46.592

Table 4. Data on Religious Adherents of Kamal District Residents in 2021

Meanwhile, the total non-Muslim population was 368 in 2021. The number of non-Muslim residents in Kamal village, namely 24 Christians, 8 Catholics and 1 Hindu, Banyu Ajuh village has 174 Christians, 54 Catholics. Gili Timur village has 13 Christians and 1 Catholic, Gili Anyar village has 2 Christians, Telang village has 28 Christians and 2 Catholics, Kebun village has 5 Christians and 1 Catholic, Tajungan village has 30 Christians, 24 Catholics and 4 Hindus (Disdukcapil, 2021).

3.2. Culture of Peci and Sarong; Identity of Madurese Muslim Society

In the context of identity, the process of its formation often begins at home, or through the inheritance of symbolic values and practices instilled by parents from an early age. In Madurese society, the habit of wearing a peci and sarong is not only taught verbally, but is formed through daily practices, such as the habit of a father wearing a sarong when praying, reciting tahlilan, yasinan, or even relaxing at home. Indirectly, this inheritance creates what Bourdieu calls *habitus*, namely a value structure constructed by social experience and carried throughout an individual's life (Bourdieu, 1977).

The culture of Peci and sarong was introduced since childhood when they first learned to read the Quran at around the age of 6-7 years, according to AB and Anw. Both of them had studied at Islamic boarding schools around the age of adolescence and until adulthood, sarongs remain a tradition of dressing at home after work. The use of sarongs is often distinguished for prayer and other activities (Damajanti, 2022). No wonder, if peci and sarong are typical clothes used by Madurese people in carrying out their daily activities. In this case, Makki said that:

....Madurese people are a society that is fanatical about religion. Since childhood, Madurese people have been taught their fanaticism towards religion "Children's bedtime song "Illallah benta; sajat sapo iman tajung ALLAH gentel sajat" Illallah, Pillow of Faith, Blanket of Faith, Umbrella of God" It means that religious values are inculcated from a young age. In work, "obe sapo angina pillow" is padded with omabak, covered with angina. (Interview with, Makki, 2020).

Madurese society is renowned for its high level of obedience and commitment to religious values. Their devotion to Islam is not only seen in formal religious expressions, but also manifested in oral culture and daily life practices (Salim, 2008). However, religious values that are strongly and

deeply ingrained are not always coherent in practice for the next generation. In the context of modernity and cross-cultural interaction, this Islamic identity undergoes negotiation, especially when faced with new social realities, such as higher education, urbanization, and shifts in work patterns. As other expressions, *"pillow blown by the wind"* (cushioned by the waves, blanketed by the wind), often used by fishermen or nomadic communities to describe the harsh dynamics of life.

In this case too, based on the results of an interview with Mrs. Fatimah, a community leader from Banyuwajuh, said that;

"Since childhood, Madurese children have been introduced to the values of monotheism through distinctive cultural symbols and narratives. One form of expression is the "bedtime song" recited by parents: "Illallah benta; sajat sapo iman tajung Allah gental sajat" which means "Illallah, pillowed with the creed, covered with faith, umbrellaed with Allah, Fatimah, 2025).

This expression is not just a sleeping poem, but a means of transmitting religious values from an early age that parents have long instilled in their children. In a symbolic internalization process, this becomes part of *habitus* Madurese society (Bourdieu, 1990). This expression is a reflection of the religious and cultural identity of the Madurese people which is always negotiated in the work arena and migration. They still bring symbols of faith in a fluctuating life, but with contextual interpretation and adaptation. This has emphasized that identity is not something that is fixed or static, but is fluid and continuous which is negotiated in different spaces and times (Hall, 1990).

In other words, teachings can be said to be doctrines which come from English, namely *doctrine* which means teaching. Therefore, doctrine is better known as absolute teachings that cannot be contradicted. In the popular scientific dictionary, doctrine is interpreted as "the arguments of a teaching". Of course, this meaning is in accordance with reality, that a religious teaching or others have a basis or arguments (Novia, 2008). The same thing is found in KBBI, that doctrine is the teaching or principle of a political, religious school; the establishment of a group of scientific, religious, state experts systematically, especially in the preparation of state policy" (Departemen & Kebudayaan, 1997).

In the family education of Madurese society, parents, especially a father, are the authority holders in the formation of religious, characterful and cultured individuals. The discipline of parents in leading the family is directed at religious education, in which there is a culture of character that must be possessed by family members, especially men. Therefore, a father can play an antagonistic role in order to shape his children to be more characterful and cultured. In this regard, Hamiri stated that;

"...He never hesitates to reprimand his own child, if he is found not wearing a peci and sarong when in the mosque. Usually when Maghrib arrives, children are often warned to wear a peci and sarong when they are going to participate in religious activities, either in the prayer room or at the invitation of the community. Even his son often gets pinched." Bare tak pake peci ka sarung, jhe oleng -jhe-" (You are not wearing a peci and sarong, come on, wear them now)" (Interview with, Himiri, 2020).

This reflects the process of identity construction in the family. Children as the next generation do not only passively accept values, but respond with subtle resistance, reasons of comfort, style, or non-traditional environmental influences. On the other hand, parents act as guardians of values who try to maintain forms of cultural-religious expression through their authority in the private space. Reprimands and corrections are not merely disciplinary actions, but become part of the dynamics of value negotiation, where religious identity is continuously constructed (Bourdieu, 1977).

In practice, parents will direct a child with harsh words to family members, especially boys, even if necessary, giving orders or shouting to family members who forget or are negligent in the habit. It is not surprising that a family member often gets a harsh reprimand just because he does not wear a peci and sarong or one of them when going to *langgar* (prayer room)

This process is a practical form of the term Stuart Hall expressed as *identity as becoming*, namely an identity that is continuously formed and reshaped through social relations, symbolic power, and contestation of meaning (Hall, 1996). In this case, the home and religious spaces such as prayer rooms become an arena for negotiation between old values and new interpretations, between parental discipline and youth expression, between traditional heritage and the challenges of modernity. In

addition, Firdausi said that the formation of ethical and religious behavior in the midst of society cannot be separated from the role of the family and the social environment that are taught to children from an early age (Firdausi, 2023). That is the doctrine that parents teach their children.

In the context of the religious family life of the Madurese people, symbols such as peci and sarung not only function as religious clothing, but also represent family identity that is in touch with religious values. On the other hand, even the use of local identities such as peci and sarung by the Madurese people reflects piety, obedience to local Islamic values, and obedience to customary norms from generation to generation.

Of course, the transmission of these values does not occur automatically and systematically. This identity is always faced with a negotiation process, especially in the relationship between the older and younger generations. In one case, a father was found who consistently reprimanded his child if he was found not wearing a peci and sarong while in the mosque. At dusk, children were often reminded to wear a peci and sarong, both in the prayer room and in community religious activities. The reprimand was sometimes accompanied by light actions, such as pinching, while saying: *"By the way, let's prepare the saree, it's ready!"* (you are not wearing a peci and sarong, come on, put them on now)

In the pattern of religious education for children, Hamiri is very strict if he sees his children not wearing peci and sarong when going to the mosque or madrasah. The reprimand can be a light reprimand to show discipline and obey religious culture. This is as stated by Firdausi, Sahrawi, et al., the formation of ethical and religious behavior in the midst of society cannot be separated from the role of the family and social environment that are taught to children from an early age (Firdausi, 2023). This is in line with Salaman when interviewed, that;

"All traditions or cultures, including in daily activities, still cultivate the peci and sarung, this is nothing other than part of the teachings of their parents, even our ancestors who are Muslims." (Interview with, Salaman, 2020).

In the culture of the Madurese Muslim community, the use of peci is not only a complement to prayer, but has become a very strong symbol of religious and cultural identity (Arifin, 2018). Peci is used in various religious activities, both formal rituals such as prayer, and symbolic activities such as *came to kiai*, *pilgrimage* to the tombs of the saints, to attending social religious activities in the pesantren environment or local communities. Since childhood, Madurese boys are accustomed to always carrying and wearing a peci and sarung, especially when they are about to perform worship. In fact, it is not uncommon for parents to specifically ask about the whereabouts of the peci before their children go to pray.

In this case, the peci and sarung function as a representation of identity attached to the collective norms of society. Without a peci, it can be considered a form of impoliteness or lack of adherence to religion. Therefore, its use is not only required in places of worship, but is also extended to social spaces that are considered sacred, such as when *came to bone teacher* (direct teacher) or when *pilgrimage* to the tombs of ancestors and guardians who are considered sacred. In the local tradition of Madurese society, this behavioral culture is considered a form of respect for Islamic values that were deliberately inherited by parents and ancestors (Koentjaraningrat, 2009).

Likewise, what was experienced by Rofi, who is one of the informants, revealed that the discipline of wearing a peci and sarong culture is not only when praying, but also touches on everyday life. Regarding parental teachings related to the peci and sarong culture, Rofi said that he was once slapped by his parents because he did not obey his parents' orders to wear a peci when having dinner together (Wawancara dengan, Rofi, 2020).

From this personal experience, it can be said to be a reflection of the strong internalization of cultural values in the family environment. The information tells of physical punishment just for not wearing a peci while eating with the family, even though Rofi' himself was still quite young compared to his other siblings (Abidin, 2019). This incident is not merely interpreted as an event of power relations, but only confirms that the peci is a symbol of ethics that is manifested in domestic culture. In addition, the peci can also be read as a moral and religious symbol that is expected to be present in every important moment, including the activity of eating together with a sacred nuance.

This is in line with what Marett said, that all daily activities or activities including eating, sleeping, hunting, and mating can be considered as actions that connect him with God. He argued that activity is a spiritual depth that is developed from important activities towards higher power (Marett, 1933).

However, it cannot be denied by anyone, it has even become an obligation to wear a peci as a form of obedience to both parents. This model of family education is considered common in Madurese culture where the discipline instilled by parents through the authoritative approach of parents is not only experienced by informants, but also by many people in the same environment and community (Interview with, Rofi, 2020).

This phenomenon is not only experienced by one person, but is part of the collective experience of society or the majority of people in the same community (Hidayat, 2020). Likewise, the teachings of parents to their children about the use of sarongs are not much different from peci, which emphasize cultural and religious aspects as the foundation for cultural inheritance from generation to generation. Salaman said that;

"...Our parents in Madura teach their children to wear sarongs and peci, especially when going to study the Koran or pray at the mosque." (Interview with Salaman, 2020).

In the Madurese tradition, parents play a central role in the process of passing on cultural and religious values to their children. One form of this inheritance is manifested through the habit of wearing sarongs and peci, especially when children are about to perform worship, both in the context of congregational prayer at the mosque and when participating in religious study activities. In the narrative of the Madurese community, the culture of sarongs and peci is not just a matter of clothing, but is an expression of *visible piety* (visible piety) which is integrated into the collective identity of the Madurese people.

The elders in Madura do not just convey normative orders, but actively to form their children's habits (habitus) through example and habituation. As a symbol of local identity, the peci and sarung not only mark the individual's religious commitment, but also reflect politeness, respect for holy places, and obedience to the social order respected by the community. This tradition is believed to have been carried out across generations, and is considered part of the teachings of the ancestors who are Muslims (Fakih, 2006).

Moreover, modesty in dressing is highly emphasized in Islamic teachings which is part of an effort to appear neat and clean when approaching God when praying in the mosque. In addition, the peci and sarung are symbols of respect for the mosque as the house of God. The use of these identifies that someone comes to worship with sincere intentions and respects the place.

Although parents sometimes seem strict in enforcing cultural and identity education for their children, behind this attitude lies deep affection. Their firmness is not a form of violence, but rather a form of responsibility and love so that children grow up with a strong understanding of their cultural roots, religious values, and identity. This is usually represented in the form of communication, as Selamat said, that"

"The term 'cong' comes from the word 'kacong', Javanese people usually call 'cung' (kacung) which means boy (kacong: Madurese). According to Selamat, parents usually call their sons 'cong' with a low or high intonation, even though it does not make a child feel disturbed or insulted. This means that the term is a tradition of affection that is given to their children so that a child feels close to both parents. This is not the case if someone else calls him, even a close friend. The term 'cong' said to people outside the nuclear family can cause long-term problems. This is because the term used for other people has a different meaning from the original which has the definition of a boy. Even though it still has the same meaning, if someone else calls it, it will be considered an insult or considered to be lowering self-esteem." (Interview with, Selamat, 2020).

This is a reflection that Madurese society maintains and reproduces social identity through language combined with cultural norms and values mark respect in family and community relationships (Geertz, 1973). In relation to cultural symbols other Like peci and sarung, the use of the term "cong" acts as a medium of social communication that strengthens cultural ties and emphasizes the boundaries of respect in society (Hall, 1990).

In the Madurese Islamic tradition, the kiai is not only a spiritual leader, but also an authoritative figure in the construction of religious values and lifestyle. The teachings and example of the kiai are important factors in the formation and negotiation of cultural identity. In many ways, the kiai's peci and sarung culture is a form of example for students and society (Dhofier, 1994).

Kiai has a strategic role and strong influence in the community environment in Madura. In addition, the kiai is the main authority holder in the life of the Madurese community in various fields, including politics. In the context of domestic politics, most Madurese people follow the choice of the kiai without having to know much. In the social context, the kiai also occupies a high class which is then positioned as a central figure in society. As a central figure in society, the Kiai is seen as having high insight and spiritual values. There is also high moral authority which is shown through daily life behavior (Syamsuddin, 2019).

In this case, the researcher has interviewed important informants who said that;

"..Obedience to the kiai is an absolute thing for the Madurese, if not .. yes who do we want to follow?. While the kiai are the heirs of the prophets who can save and guide us in the affairs of this world and the afterlife. "(Interview with, Makki, 2024).

This reflects that the kiai occupies a very central position in the social and religious construction of society as an authoritative figure who is not only a teacher of religious knowledge, but also a symbol of morality, guardian of tradition, and guide to the lives of the people. Expressions such as *"Obedience to the kiai is an absolute must for Madurese people"* reflects the existence of hierarchical relations that are collectively accepted and culturally inherited between generations (Dhofier, 1982).

Obedience to the kiai, is not only seen as respect for a religious teacher, but also as a form of obedience to the Islamic values taught. So it is not surprising, if the kiai is considered to be able to save his followers and guide them in worldly and afterlife affairs. Kiai is also known as a cultural broker who is able to articulate cultural values, especially in relation to religious practices to the community. In addition, he is a place to confide in, ask questions and ask for advice, even as a figure who is asked for advice, even as a figure who is asked for medicine for illness. As Hamiri said, that;

"..the exemplary role model of the kiai is a source or reference for the Madurese community. He gave an example that the kiai used to use peci and sarung as their main clothing, which were not only used when praying or other religious activities, but peci and sarung were used in everyday life, whether in ponds, rice fields, or other routine work, especially when relaxing at home." (Interview with, Hamiri, 2020).

In the socio-religious life of the Madurese community, the kiai not only functions as a teacher of religious knowledge, but also as a source of ethical and cultural role models. The kiai's role model is the main reference in various aspects of people's lives, including in terms of appearance, lifestyle, and how to dress. An informant said that "the kiai used to use peci and sarung as their main clothing, not only for prayer or religious activities, but also for daily activities such as farming, working in fish ponds, or when relaxing at home.

The culture of wearing the peci and sarung which is maintained by the kiai in a non-ritual context creates a new meaning that *symbol* religious is not limited to the space of worship, but also penetrates the profane space of community life. From a cultural perspective, this is a form *performative identity* where religious symbols are consistently displayed as part of *habitual piety* (down-to-earth piety). In an effort to emulate the kiai, society also makes this fashion culture a moral and social standard in public and domestic spaces (Dhofier, 1994).

Kiai is a person who is respected and respected, and is used as a role model by the community. Thus, in politics, Kiai plays an important role in channeling community aspirations. both directly and indirectly, the point is not asking, it is also the center of political relations. because many people follow Kiai in determining their choice of both candidate leaders and political parties (Syamsuddin, 2019). As Husni said;

"The kiai is a role model for the Madurese community. What is said, ordered, even what is used by the kiai can be an example for the Madurese community. Indirectly, the culture of using songkok and sarung by the kiai becomes a legal product for the community to follow what a kiai does. The use of songkok is intended

to cover the hair of the head, while the sarung is used to cover the genitals from the navel to the knees for men. Finally, the obedience of the community is shown by wearing clothes like those used by the kiai, both when praying with the intention of covering the genitals and tidying up the hair so as not to hinder the prostrating members. So the use of songkok when performing prayers is an obligation for the Madurese community, because if we do not obey the teachings of the kiai, our prayers will seem imperfect. " (Interview with, Husni, 2020).

In this case, the kiai has a special position as *role model* which is obeyed culturally and spiritually in the realm of religious social construction. What is said, ordered, even worn by a kiai is not only seen as a personal practice, but has a normative weight that can shape the collective consciousness of society. Thus, the authority of the kiai goes beyond the institutional boundaries of religion; he becomes the center of social legitimacy as well as a symbol of the morals of society (Dhofier, 1994).

The culture of peci and sarung within the circle of kiai, which was initially rooted in the need for worship such as covering the genitals and maintaining modesty, has now experienced an expansion of meaning to form a kind of...*cultural legal products*. For the Madurese people, emulating the kiai in dressing is not only about following aesthetics, but also as a form of symbolic participation in the structure of obedience. The use of a peci is interpreted as tidying up the hair so that it does not block the place of prostration, while the sarung is used to cover the male genitalia from the navel to the knees, as a valid requirement for prayer (Aris & Syukron, 2020).

The teachings and habits of the kiai are then internalized into collective habits of society, even imperative. In the understanding of local society, the implementation of prayers that are not accompanied by the use of peci and sarung will be considered less than perfect, because it is considered not in accordance with the example of the kiai. This shows that the forms of exemplary behavior of the kiai have culturally become *living norm* or norms of life that have a strong influence on the religious practices of society (van Bruinessen, 1995).

Kiai becomes a role model for the majority of local Madurese ethnic groups in various purposes such as; trade, agriculture, and so on. Therefore, kiai can be one of the causes of indirect cultural construction, such as the peci and sarung culture. A kiai has a great influence on the identity of the Madurese community. Von Glasersfeld stated in Bakhtiar, Knowledge is formed by a person's structure when interacting with their environment (Bakhtiar, 1997). Maki said that; "*Whether the kiai wears a peci and sarung or not, then the community will follow him.*" (Interview with, Makki, 2020).

In the context of Madurese society, kiai are not only seen as religious figures, but also as centers of socio-cultural references that develop in Madura. What the kiai wears, whether in formal, semi-formal religious agendas, or in their daily lives, has a big influence on how society forms and displays its identity. In fact, at some point, society follows or abandons a certain symbolic form (such as peci and sarung) based on the habits of the kiai they respect.

This indicates that religious symbols such as peci and sarung are not solely based on textual doctrine, but rather on social practices constructed through role models. In other words, cultural norms are formed more through *habitual imitation* namely the imitation of authoritative customs rather than through formal legal knowledge and understanding (Asad, 1993). Therefore, the kiai becomes an important actor in the process of internalizing symbols, where his daily actions, both those carried out in the worship space and the profane space, contain normative power that has broad implications.

The Muslim community of Madura, the role of the kiai occupies a central position, both in religious, social and cultural affairs so that the kiai becomes a role model whose credibility and spiritual capital are recognized and followed by the wider community. The great trust in the kiai has given birth to a form of collective loyalty from the community to the kiai, so it is very natural that at every moment the kiai has a special position (privilege) that is legitimized by the community. In this case, the researcher interviewed one of the informants who said that:

"..Every farmer has a teacher/kiai (ghuru tolang), be it his/her own guidance teacher or his/her children's teacher or hereditary teacher. Every time there is a harvest, some of the crops will be donated to the ghuru tolang even though the distance is far or near. This activity will mobilize the village neighbors to participate in the annual charity. The committee is appointed by the village elders to prepare farmer data, the ghuru

to be visited, transportation costs, transportation and so on. The departure will be arranged by the committee appointed by the village elders. In turns, residents will be directed to the ghuru tolang of the farmers according to the capacity provided by the farmers." (Interview with, Hamiri).

In this case, it reflects that the relationship between farmers and kiai or what is often called *ghuru tolang* has a symbolic and spiritual depth that is deeply rooted in religious patron-client relations. Ghuru tolang refers to a charismatic kiai who has guided, educated and fostered directly or a hereditary teacher who is spiritually considered to play a role in the blessings of life and harvest (Dhofier, 2011).

Process *collective ritual* which reshapes the religious identity as well as the social identity of farmers as part of the Madurese Islamic community, is an articulation of values such as *tahdduts ibn ni'mah* (giving favors through charity), *blessing*, And *bor nto* the ulama, all of which are culturally inherited by parents and reproduced through the figure of the kiai as a role model (van Bruinessen, 1995).

This practice also allows it to be read as a strategy of farmers in strengthening their social position through symbolic relationships with spiritual figures who have moral authority. By maintaining this culture, Madurese society not only expresses Islamic values, but strengthens social cohesion and renews commitment to the teachings taught by the kiai in order to strengthen the culture of local Islamic identity (Hall, 1996). As Hamiri said, that;

"..Here, the kiai are highly respected and held in high esteem wherever they are, and wherever they are. Basically, any matter must be with the kiai, especially religious matters, everything is absolutely handed over to the kiai. The kiai's doctrine is very strong, so that society cannot be separated from the role of the kiai, sometimes even in political matters." (Interview with, Hamiri, 2020).

In the context of Madurese society, the existence of kiai not only occupies a central position in the religious realm, but also becomes the main reference in various aspects of social, cultural, and even political life. Kiai are respected and upheld wherever they are, without being hindered by geographical distances.

The strong respect for the kiai is not only based on their position as religious leaders or figures, but also on their success in disciplining discourse and forming social consensus through the teachings and examples exemplified by the kiai. In Gramscian terms, the position of the kiai as a central figure can be read as a form *cultural hegemony* where its authority can be voluntarily accepted by the wider community because it is considered the highest moral and spiritual representation (Gramsci, 2020).

In Madurese society, a strong and deeply rooted social structure has indirectly been formed based on religious patron-client relations, in which the community positions itself as a student, santri, or loyal follower. Even in political matters, the community often waits for the direction and instructions of the kiai as a form of *social ijtihad*. This is a reflection that the authority of the kiai has gone beyond the boundaries of the pesantren institution and become an integral part of the community's decision-making system (Fealy, 2008a).

Thus, the position of the kiai is not just a spiritual leader, but also a strategic actor in the process of forming the collective identity of the Madurese community. Because whatever is worn, said, and practiced by the kiai becomes a moral basis that is binding and obeyed.

The strength of the doctrine and influence of this kiai means that the Madurese people are not only...*religious*, but *religion through kiai*, as an extension of the local Islamic tradition that lives and continues to be reproduced throughout time (van Bruinessen, 1993). Doctrine is a teaching concerning the basis of a religious political school. Doctrine is also the establishment of a group of religious science experts in a systematic way, especially in the preparation of state policy. Doctrine will be binding and only meaningful for the "believing" community and not outside it. The Greek term Theologia is often applied to doctrine (Joachim Wach, 1996).

"..the tradition of Madurese society highly respects the kiai and his descendants. Sungkem (kissing the hand) towards the kiai & his descendants is a strong tradition in Madura, and also community gifts, be it property, will be given. However, there is a type of kiai who is less respected, even though he is still glorified, namely kiai who; a) is political, b) plays with money. As for polygamy, it is not a problem for the Madurese people. Mbah Kholil is also very sacred even though he has many wives." (Interview with, Sugeng, 2020).

In Maduran society, one of the most prominent traditions is the high respect for kiai and dzurriyah (his descendants). This attitude is manifested in the form of symbolic actions such as *prostrate* (kissing the hand), as an expression of respect and spiritual obedience to the figure who is considered to be the heir to the knowledge and blessings of the prophets (Dhofier, 2011). In this context, the kiai is not only positioned as a religious leader, but also as a *value binder* And *guardian of collective morality* in the social life of the community. Therefore, the kiai and his descendants are seen as having a sacred position, which demands special forms of respect. However, there is a social stratification of the kiai, which is influenced by their behavior and position in socio-political life. Madurese society generally gives higher respect to kiai who are considered *sincerely* And *keep your distance* from the world of practical politics and economic transactions. On the other hand, kiai who are too involved in politics or are known to be close to commercial activities, are still respected, but with a more limited degree of nobility (Fealy, 2008b).

Unlike the practice of polygamy, Madurese society tends to accept and understand it as part of Islamic tradition and law, especially if it is carried out by a kiai. This is evident from the high respect still given to great figures such as Shaikhona Kholil Bangkalan, despite his reputation for having many wives. In this context, the morality of a kiai is measured not by the number of his wives, but by the breadth of his knowledge, his piety, and the blessings that are believed to radiate from him (Mahfud, 2019). However, not all views of society are the same regarding the behavior of kiai who are contrary to customs and religion.

In this regard, the researcher obtained the results of an interview with Mr. Sugeng, that the Madurese tradition highly respects the kiai and his descendants. Sungkem (kissing the hand) towards the kiai & his descendants is a strong tradition in Madura, and also the giving of property by the community will given. However, there is a type of kiai who is less respected, although still glorified, namely kiai who; a) is political, b) plays money. As for polygamy, it is not a problem for the Madurese people. Mbah Kholil is also very sacred even though he has many wives (Polygamy). According to Makki, that;

"There is a proverb "ajo helang, jak teroh (don't imitate him if he disappears), let those at the same level be responsible for advising. This term is a form of understanding directed by the community to the guilty kiai. In principle, learning from a kiai must be total and bekhushnudon." (Interview with, Makki, 2020).

This confirms the form of understanding of the Madurese community towards the figure of the kiai who is considered to have high spiritual authority who also remains humane (Wiyata, 2006). In the Islamic tradition of the Madurese community, the position of the kiai is so central that criticism of him is not the domain of ordinary people, but rather handed over to authorities of the same level (de Jonge, 1995). The basic principle of this student and teacher relationship is totality in learning (*good luck*) as well as maintaining good prejudice (*husnuzan*) towards the kiai.

In the Madurese tradition, the exemplary behavior of a kiai in his daily attire can also be actualized in the five daily prayers. Wherever and wherever a kiai is, he often wears a peci to cover his head, as well as a sarong that he often uses to cover his genitals from the navel to the knees. In this case, indirectly the kiai is giving an example to the community in dressing. Finally, the community's obedience is shown by wearing clothes like those worn by the kiai, both when praying with the intention of covering the genitals and tidying up the hair so as not to hinder the prostrating members.

So the use of peci during prayer is an obligation for the Madurese people, because if we do not obey the teachings of the kiai, our prayers will not be perfect (Interview with, Husni, 2020). Therefore, disobedience to the kiai's advice, such as not wearing a peci during prayer, can be perceived as a form of religious uncivilization that can reduce the perfection of worship (Wiyata, 2006). Likewise with daily activities that cannot be separated from the use of peci and sarong or one of them.

In the book Ta'limul Mutaalim explained how to choose a teacher to be a role model; a) must be more pious, namely broad in knowledge b) more wise, namely istiqomah to guard against forbidden things c) and old. Peci and sarung are Islamic teachings that are cultivated by the Madurese community. This form of obedience shows a commitment to maintaining politeness, both in worship and in social life (Ruswandi & Wiyono, 2020). Regarding the ethics of the general public towards kiai, Makki stated that;

“One day, there was a Madurese person who answered the phone that kept ringing repeatedly, finally the phone was answered casually. The person did not know that the caller was a kiai. After finding out, a kiai was the one he was talking to, he apologized and immediately looked for a peci around him. Because he didn't find a peci, he covered his head with his hands while talking.” (Interview with, Kakki, 2020).

This is a reflection of how strong the symbolic relationship between peci and respect and nobility is in the Madurese tradition. In this case, peci becomes a symbol of obedience and ethics in interacting, especially towards authoritative figures such as kiai. In the framework of cultural identity theory, the attitude of covering the head with the hands can refer to a form of politeness, respect that is simply socially produced.

In the lives of Madurese people, the peci not only functions as a fashion accessory, but also as a cultural symbol that plays a role in constructing local identity and legitimacy social. In forming a local identity culture, the approach does not only come from the teachings or doctrines of parents and kiai, furthermore, the construction of local identity culture is produced by religious and social agendas, such as the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, weekly religious studies and so on.

Every religion has a name and a way of worship, praise can also be a differentiator between one religion and another. Almost all religions have a characteristic ritual before the start of worship which aims to remind and call its adherents. This is the identity of the communication pattern between members of religions, even the pattern can be different based on the socio-cultural space that allows differences in religious traditions to be constructed uniquely and beautifully, becoming a beautiful art of communication.

Rachman said that art as one aspect of culture has an important meaning in the life of society. Plato said that art and society cannot be separated, society and art originate from the relationship between humans and their environment (Assegaf, 2007). This shows that the communication patterns of each religion are constructed through the socio-culture in their respective environments, so it is natural that the forms are different. Religious acts are possible to be complex and complicated, even though the act is the act of a person (Joachim Wach, 1996).

In Islam, the pattern of religious communication is always present in every worship, either before or after what is called tarhiman or praise. The practice of this ritual is almost owned by all world religions, as the identity of a particular religion. Praise is not just a call or a sign of the arrival of the time of worship, but is a form of commitment to a devotion to the Almighty. The practice of this ritual in Islam can be in the form of solawatan, the nature of twenty, and other arts of praise. This practice is considered effective in inviting the congregation to feel the presence of God. In this case, Smart stated that Praise to God recited in the opening sentence of worship is often seen as *what for what*. People who worship can hope to be by God's side and are also expected to receive benefits (Smart, 1996).

In Kamal sub-district, Bangkalan regency, there is a Madurese poem which is a religious praise in Madurese language originating from Islamic boarding schools, containing about closeness to God, human obedience to Allah SWT, avoiding sins and the like. According to Ramly, that poem is a learning medium to introduce the pillars of faith, the pillars of Islam, the attributes of Allah and the life of the grave and the afterlife as well as the history of the prophets after death. The method of teaching it is by singing (nadham) reading poems and Madurese language (Ramly, 2018).



Figure 3. Togetherness of Children at the Attaqwa Mosque, Kamal Temple

The picture above is the author's silaturahmi agenda to Kiai Hamiri's house in Candi village, Kamal sub-district. At that time, the author was invited to pray the dhuhur prayer in congregation at the Attaqwa mosque which is near Kiai Hamiri's residence. Upon arrival at the mosque, several children wearing sarongs, koko shirts, and peci, entered the mosque and sat in a circle, chanting praise for fifteen minutes before and after the call to prayer was called, both in the form of praise to the prophet (solawat) and the twenty attributes of Allah. The same thing was stated by Hamiri, that;

"..When the time for prayer comes, the little children are already in the mosque ten minutes before, wearing neat clothes, caps and sarongs to read poetry. They can recite the solawan, the pillars of faith, and so on" (Interview with, Hamiri, 2020).

The peci and sarong worn by the children in the activity are visual symbols of Islamic and Madurese identity. By wearing the clothes, the children represent themselves as part of the Madurese Muslim male community who are devout, polite, and uphold tradition. Not only that, the practice of reading syiiran together before praying shows the formation of a religious habitus that takes place collectively, from an early age.

In this case, Hall stated that identity is also performative, namely the existence of construction through the repetition of social practices in a wider context (Hall, 1990). In practice, children who arrive early at the mosque, dress distinctively, and recite poetry, as a performing (praga) image of the cultural identity they are learning. Through these actions, they not only learn Islamic teachings, but also absorb local cultural values that emphasize the importance of togetherness (*friendly*), respect for tradition, and attachment to religious space.

The children mentioned earlier are at the Attaqwa mosque, domiciled in Candi hamlet, Gili Timur village. This practice also represents the process of cultural reproduction, where the collective identity of the Madurese people is passed on to the next generation through cultural routines and symbols. In this context, the peci and sarung culture becomes a medium for inheriting values, not just ritual accessories, but markers of cultural status that are broadly interpreted in social life.

Thus, the identity used by Madurese children in the quote above is not formed naturally, but is constructed through the interaction between cultural symbols, local institutions (such as mosques), and social practices that are repeated in everyday life. The identity in the form of peci and sarung is fluid, can change, but remains rooted in values that are developed communally in Madurese society.

These children have a strong religious fighting spirit to maintain prayer times. It is possible that their souls and bodies have been formed by religious families and communities. Therefore, it is not surprising that their departure to the mosque is prepared with neat clothes, wearing a peci and sarong and bringing a prayer mat from their respective homes that have been prepared by their parents. In this experience, the researcher knows very well the activities of these children, because they have stayed overnight at the mosque, which turned out that many children stayed overnight at the mosque on Saturday nights, and when dawn approached, tarhiman was read by them while wearing neat clothes, peci and sarong.

In the practice of praise, Rudolf Otto argued that religious voices (*numinous*) not unknown in the high religions. "Worship may have originated from the sacred cries voiced by primitive cults with the aim of inviting the presence of friendly forces and to drive away evil forces. The attitude of takzim or the use of a string of religious words, is a solemn acknowledgment of the presence of God. Gestures, attitudes, and movements have contributed to the development of pantomime and sacred hands, which are universally an important part and ritual (Rasch et al., 2020).

The culture of tarhiman by the community, can only be seen in a few mosques that are still read directly, the rest have used audio media (radio), but it does not reduce its religiosity value. One of the media for religious propagation is Jasmara radio whose frequency is always used in mosques throughout Kamal sub-district, Bangkala district. The radio was founded by KH. Abdul Hamid in Wonokromo, Surabaya, East Java in 1967. The radio is used as a barometer in determining the time of

worship, as well as the time to break the fast and start fasting in the month that is sacred to Muslims, namely the month of Ramadan. The holy verses of the Qur'an and the Prophet's prayers, the tanpo wathon poems, are always played every day before the time of prayer.

In principle, the praise or sacred chanting of religion is a religious tradition that is considered effective in maintaining the spiritual strength of religious communities. In essence, religious communities are subjects who have religious experiences, not individuals, and they need to be considered as the main person responsible for the feelings, thoughts, and actions that shape religion. The touches of these tones can move a person's heart and move him to come to his place of worship (Marret, 1914). So that when worship begins, a person has been freed from the worldly burdens that have been weighing him down.

"..What he did was a ritual routine that was carried out before the worship service began. The next day, the author saw that the praise was not only done directly, but was done by utilizing the praise that was circulating and facilitated by one of the radio stations in the area as a reminder of the time to worship. This was continued to be done every time it was time for worship, as well as at night and morning worship times." (Interview with, Makki, 2020).

Although it is not a core worship, it is considered a complementary or perfecting worship. Of course, the religious tradition of communication art is carried out by religions throughout the world. In this case, Smart also said that the repetitions are part of worship. Although acknowledging that these utterances are not usually considered part of the ritual, it qualifies as a protocol or correct behavior (Clayton & Gladden, 2014).

In addition, something that is no less important is that by continuing to sing this sacred song, not only can we spread the sacred values contained in it, we can also maintain and preserve the traditional cultural heritage based on religion. This is the background to the importance of singing this sacred song as one method of strengthening religious teachings. The term sometimes means two kinds of giving, spiritual and temporal, one meaning 'broadcasting of teachings' or spiritual guidance, and the other meaning 'giving of life' or livelihood assistance (Tachibana, 2021)."

This means that God must be worshipped and adored, this has also been conveyed by various Bible passages: Divine majesty as seen in Isaiah and Job, Christ's transfiguration on the Mount of Olives witnessed by the inner core of His disciples, the majesty of God as the creator God, and the creation of the world by faith from nothing. The natural focus of worship is the numinous holy being us (Smart, 1996).

4. Conclusion

Based on the previous description above, it can be said that this study confirms that peci and sarung are not just clothing attributes, but are cultural-religious symbols that represent the collective identity of the Madurese Muslim community. Peci and sarung are constructed early on through the habitus process in the family, strengthened by the exemplary role of the kiai as a central figure in socio-religious life, and reproduced symbolically in various activities, both ritual and social. This tradition continues to survive even in the current of globalization and cross-regional cultural interactions, showing that Madurese society has a cohesive symbolic system, where culture and religion are integrated in the practical space. The presence of a peci and a sarung is a manifestation of contextual religiosity, deeply rooted in ancestral heritage, and at the same time a statement of identity in public space.

Thus, the contribution of this study lies in the exploration of the relationship between cultural symbols, religious authority, and the formation of ethnic identity in local communities. Theoretically, this study enriches the discourse on cultural representation (Stuart Hall), habitus (Bourdieu), and cultural hegemony (Gramsci) in the context of local Islam in Indonesia. Practically, these findings can serve as a reference for designing strategies to preserve culture and religious education based on locality, especially in areas with significant cultural heritage, such as Madura.

References

- Abidin, Z. (2019). Budaya Religius dalam Keluarga Madura: Antara Otoritas dan Keteladanan. *Jurnal Kebudayaan Islam*, 11(1), 56–68.
- Admin. (2020). *Kecamatan Kamal dalam Angka 2020*.
- Akhtar, S. (2005). *Islam Agama Semua Zaman*. Pustaka Zahra.
- Amrullah, A. (2015). Islam Madura. *Islamuna*, 2(1), 66.
- Arifin, Z. (2018). *Budaya dan Identitas Muslim Madura*. Pustaka Madura.
- Aris, A., & Syukron, S. (2020). Perbandingan Metode Bandongan dan Sorogan dalam Memahami Kitab Safinatunnajah. *TSAQAFATUNA: Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan Islam*, 2(1), 1–10.
- Asad, T. (1993). *Genealogies of religion: Discipline and reasons of power in Christianity and Islam*. Jhu Press.
- Assegaf, A. R. (2007). *Desain Riset Sosial-Keagamaan*. Gama Media.
- Azra, A. (1999). *Pendidikan Islam: Tradisi dan Modernisasi Menuju Milenium Baru*. Logos Wacana Ilmu.
- Bakhtiar, A. (1997). *Filsafat Agama I*. PT. Logos Wacana Ilmu.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford University Press.
- BPS. (2022). *Kabupaten Bangkalan dalam Angka 2022*. http://dispendukcapil.bangkalankab.go.id/po-content/uploads/doc/dkb_2021_01.pdf
- Clayton, R. R., & Gladden, J. W. (2014). *Five The Toward a Sacred Religiosity: of Dimensions Demythologizing Artifact*. 13(2), 135–143.
- Damajanti, M. N. (2022). *Budaya Sarung Masyarakat Kontemporer*.
- de Jonge, H. (1989). *Madura dalam Empat Zaman: Pedagang, Perkembangan Ekonomi dan Islam*. Gramedia.
- de Jonge, H. (1995). The Logic of the Kiai's Authority in Madura. *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde*, 151(2), 292–293.
- Departemen, P., & Kebudayaan. (1997). *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*. Balai Pustaka.
- Dhofier, Z. (1982). *Tradisi pesantren: Studi tentang pandangan hidup kyai*. LP3ES.
- Dhofier, Z. (1994). *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi tentang Pandangan Hidup Kiai*. LP3ES.
- Dhofier, Z. (2011). *Tradisi Pesantren*, cet. VI, Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Disdukcapil. (2021). *Data Agregat Kependudukan Semester I Tahun 2021 Data Agregat Kependudukan Semester I Tahun 2021*. 1, 1–160.
- Fakih, M. (2006). *Analisis Sosial: Proses, Teori dan Aplikasi*. Insist Press.
- Fealy, G. (2008a). Ulama and Politics in Indonesia: A Historical Overview. In G. Fealy & S. White (Eds.), *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia* (pp. 26–28). ISEAS.
- Fealy, G. (2008b). Ulama dan Politik: Keterlibatan dan Ketegangan. In G. Fealy & S. White (Eds.), *Expressing Islam* (pp. 90–92). ISEAS.
- Firdausi, S. (2023). Kopiah dan Sarung: Identitas Pesantren; Histori Perlawanan terhadap Kebudayaan Eropa. *Jurnal Ahamra*, 4(2), 196–197.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures* (Vol. 5019). Basic books.
- Gramsci, A. (2020). Selections from the prison notebooks. In *The applied theatre reader* (pp. 141–142). Routledge.
- Hall, S. (1990). Cultural Identity and Diaspora. In J. Rutherford (Ed.), *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference* (pp. 222–237). Lawrence & Wishart.
- Hall, S. (1996). Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'? In S. Hall & P. du Gay (Eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity* (pp. 4–5). SAGE Publications.

- Hidayat, N. (2020). Identitas Budaya dan Representasi Simbolik di Madura. *Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif*, 14(1), 45–57.
- Joachim Wach. (1996). *Ilmu Perbandingan Agama, Inti dan bentuk pengalaman keagamaan*, (1st ed.). Rajawali Pers.
- Kahmad, D. (2011). *Sosiologi Agama: Potret Agama dalam Dinamika Konflik, Pluralisme dan Modernis*. Pustaka Setia.
- Koentjaraningrat. (2009). *Kebudayaan, Mentalitas, dan Pembangunan*. Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Kuntowijoyo. (1987). *Budaya dan Masyarakat*. Tiara Wacana.
- Kusuma, M. S. (2003). Sopan, Hormat dan Islam: Ciri-Ciri Orang Madura. In Soegianto (Ed.), *Kepercayaan, Magi dan Tradisi dalam Masyarakat Madura* (p. 1). Tapal Kuda.
- Mahfud, C. (2019). *Islam Nusantara dan Konstruksi Identitas*. Pustaka Pelajar.
- Marett, R. R. (1933). *Sacraments of simple folk*.
- Marret, R. R. (1914). *The Threshold of Religion*. Methuen.
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2019). *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*. Sage Publications.
- Novia, W. (2008). *Kamus Ilmiah Populer (Edisi Lengkap): Referensi ilmiah, sains politik, hukum, ekonomi, sosial, & budaya*. Wipres.
- Pathak, V., Jena, B., & Kalra, S. (2013). Qualitative research. *Perspectives in Clinical Research*, 4(3), 192.
- Rahman. (1994). *Kepemimpinan Pendidikan Bagi Perbaikan dan Peningkatan Pengajaran*. Nur Cahaya.
- Adlan, Aidin.
- Ramly, N. (2018). *Katalog Warisan Budaya Takbenda Indonesia 2018*. Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan, Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia.
- Rasch, L. J., Cooper, R. L., Underwood, C., Dillard, W. A., Thiery, A. P., & Fraser, G. J. (2020). Development and regeneration of the crushing dentition in skates (Rajidae). *Developmental Biology*, 466(1–2), 59–72.
- Rifai, M. A. (2007). *Manusia Madura: Pembawaan, Perilaku, Etos Kerja, Penampilan, dan Pandangan Hidupnya seperti dicitrakan Peribahasannya*. Pilar Media.
- Rizky Fadilla, A., & Ayu Wulandari, P. (2023). Literature Review Analisis Data Kualitatif: Tahap Pengumpulan Data. *Mitita Jurnal Penelitian*, 1(No 3), 34–46.
- Ruswandi, Y., & Wiyono, W. (2020). Etika menuntut ilmu dalam Kitab Ta'lim Muta'alim. *Jurnal Komunikasi Islam Dan Kehumasan (JKPI)*, 4(1), 90–100.
- Salim, A. (2008). *Challenging the secular state: The Islamization of law in modern Indonesia*. University of Hawaii Press.
- Smart, N. (1996). *Dimensions of the Sacred: An Anatomy of the World's Beliefs*. University of California Press.
- Susanto. (2019). Islam Pribumi Versus Islam Otentik (Dialektika Islam Universal Dengan Partikularitas Budaya Lokal). *Khazanah*, 17(1).
- Syamsuddin, M. (2019). *History of Madura; Sejarah, Budaya dan Ajaran Luhur Masyarakat Madura*. Araska.
- Tachibana, S. (2021). *The ethics of Buddhism*. Routledge.
- van Bruinessen, M. (1993). *Ulama dan Politik di Indonesia*. Mizan.
- van Bruinessen, M. (1995). *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat*. Mizan.
- Wiyata, A. L. (2006). *Carok: Konflik Kekerasan dan Harga Diri Orang Madura*. LKiS.
- Zubairi, A. D. (2013). *Rahasia Perempuan Madura: Esai-Esai Remeh Seputar Kebudayaan Madura*. Adhapi Asor.



© 2026 by the authors. Submitted for possible open access publication under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY SA) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>).