



Etnoparenting: Madurase Ethnic Women's Parenting Viewed from the Perspective of Social Status

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ABSTRAK

Pandangan mengenai status sosial berpengaruh besar terhadap individu dalam menentukan kehidupan bermasyarakat, hal ini mempengaruhi persepsi masyarakat dalam bertindak, khususnya masyarakat Madura. Banyak pengolongan status sosial, namun difokuskan pada status sosial golongan kehormatan (Neng/Nyai), ilmu pengetahuan (Guru) dan keturunan (Ibu Rumah Tangga). Perbedaan tersebut akan berdampak pada kehidupan sosial terkecil individu yaitu keluarga. Penelitian ini dilakukan dengan melibatkan subjek perempuan etnis Madura yang memiliki anak usia dini. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk menganalisis pola asuh perempuan etnis madura ditinjau dari status sosial. Model penelitian ini termasuk kategori penelitian kualitatif pendekatan wawancara terpusat (focused interviews). Sumber data, yakni wawancara, dan dokumentasi. Proses analisis, yakni: 1) reduksi data; 2) penyajian data; dan 3) penarikan kesimpulan. Hasil dari penelitian menyatakan bahwa pengasuhan perempuan etnis Madura ditinjau dalam perspektif status sosial. Hasilnya secara konteks unsur keimanan, persamaan ketiga golongan menerapkan parental responsiveness dalam aspek komunikasi yang hangat dan parental demanding dalam aspek intrusiveness, strictness dan arbitrary exercise of power. Dalam konteks memberikan pendidikan, golongan kehormatan menerapkan parental responsiveness melakukan komunikasi secara hangat, golongan ilmu pengetahuan menerapkan parental demanding dalam aspek restrictiveness, demandingness dan strictness, golongan keturunan menerapkan parental demanding dalam aspek intrusiveness. Dalam konteks memenuhi kebutuhan dasar yakni fisiologis, rasa aman, rasa memiliki dan kasih sayang, penghargaan dan aktualisasi diri, golongan kehormatan, ilmu pengetahuan dan keturunan menerapkan parental responsiveness dari komunikasi yang hangat sehingga menciptakan kelekatan.

ABSTRACT

Views regarding social status have a big influence on individuals in determining their social life, this influences people's perceptions of how they act, especially Madurese people. There are many classifications of social status, but it is focused on the social status of honor (Neng/Nyai), knowledge (Teacher) and heredity (Housewife). These differences will have an impact on the individual's smallest social life, namely the family. This research was conducted involving Madurese ethnic female subjects who had early childhood. The aim of this research is to analyze the parenting patterns of Madurese ethnic women in terms of social status. This research model is included in the qualitative research category with a focused interview approach. Data sources, namely interviews and documentation. The analysis process, namely: 1) data reduction; 2) data presentation; and 3) drawing conclusions. The results of the research state that the upbringing of Madurese ethnic women is viewed from the perspective of social status. The results in the context of the element of faith, the similarities between the three groups apply parental responsiveness in the aspect of warm communication and parental demandingness in the aspect of intrusiveness, strictness and arbitrary exercise of power. In the context of providing education, the honor group applies parental responsiveness in warm communication, the science group applies parental demandingness in the aspects of restrictiveness, demandingness and strictness, the hereditary group applies parental demandingness in the aspect of intrusiveness.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Every society has its own views related to giving status to women, as well as the Madurese ethnicity. The view of social status has a major influence on individuals in determining social life, in this case affecting people's perceptions in acting (Abroriy, 2020; Firmiana et al., 2016). Social status is a social situation that always undergoes changes through social processes. Social status in culture is given to men and women there is no difference, but there is a basis for determination, namely in five layers, namely based on the size of wealth, power, honor, science and descent (Assa'idi, 2021; Ridwan, 2018). Based on these groups, it turns out to have an impact on the social life of individuals, in this case the smallest social life, namely the family. The social unit, namely the family, is known as part of the smallest unit of a society consisting of a family head and several family members who live together under one roof and are interdependent. The family becomes the first learning of individuals to conduct social interactions and develop an attitude. So that a role is needed that can understand and help meet individual needs in acting in society through parenting. In culture, there are different ways of parenting, which sometimes become differentiators or special characteristics in certain cultures, in this case based on literature sources that differences in parenting in each tribe in Indonesia are influenced by factors, such as customs, habits, and so on (Perbowosari, 2018; Satrianingrum & Setyawati, 2021). This pattern has been passed down from generation to generation and has an impact on the way parenting is sustainable in a particular culture. The concept and practice of parenting based on the value system adopted in a culture within a society is called ethnoparenting (Kim & Choi, 2020; Sadovoy & Ovchinnikov, 2021). The diversity in each culture is an interesting thing to learn about what kind of values are emphasized in each culture.

Ethnoparenting can be defined as the existence of parenting, education, and childcare based on the value system adopted by a group of people in an area that has teachings about values and practices that should be fulfilled. Ethnoparenting as a concept and practice in the care of children based on local culture, traditions, values, philosophies and customs in indigenous areas and or based on certain ethnicities. Indonesian ethnoparenting contains four main elements, namely Godhead, human identity, concern for nature and the environment, as well as mutual cooperation and community involvement in childcare (Andriani & Rachmawati, 2022; Patrikakou, 2016). In the ethnoparenting model, efforts have begun to help children grow with awareness and tolerance of cultural diversity. Every region and even every community group has a unique parenting pattern that is even implemented based on local wisdom. It cannot be denied that beliefs, knowledge and culture based on parenting are embodied in a particular region. The existence of ethnoparenting has a formulation model in it in the form of a value system and parenting based on seven cultural elements of a region, including beliefs, values, parents' perspectives, culture, habits, experiences, and life patterns.

The Madurese tribe is one of the ethnic groups in the world that has distinctive characteristics, both in terms of nature, behavior, language, religion, beliefs, self-esteem, work ethic, social interaction, including parenting in children. Madura with parenting has an interesting way (Effendy, 2017; Muslihati, 2014). There are several backgrounds of family/mother care in Madurese society that affect the care of children, first, self-care, namely the child is brought while working so that the child is cared for while working. Second, children are entrusted to grandparents/relatives. The third is entrusted to an older sister. The fourth is given a babysitter. However, the concept of parenting itself is the process of maintaining and providing needs for children so that the physical, emotional, social and intellectual development of children from infancy to adulthood is fulfilled.

Nowadays, the development of times when parents feel unable/feel difficult to divide their time due to conditions/unwillingness to take care of children, make choices by giving care to the closest family (including older siblings), grandparents, adoptive parents, foster parents, or institutions such as orphanages. In this case, Madurese in caregiving mostly entrusted to the closest family when the child was young, because the parents were left to migrate (Fatimah, 2017; Muslihati, 2014). Caregiving in Madura itself is still under women's control. This condition has created an interest in exploring the research study more deeply, what the actual role of appropriate parenting is while maintaining the benefits of both parties.

The dialectic of teaching and culture in Madurese women can be traced in research. Madurese society is known as an entity that is attached and thick and fanatical about religious teachings. Previous study state Madurese society still views women as part of the family that must be protected, nurtured, and as a struggle for men to foster self-esteem in front of the community (Abroriy, 2020). Education for Madurese women is important, but still within a relatively limited scope. This is based on the principle that women should be educated within a strict scope. Where every educational process is known by the parents. The family does not provide freedom for women to learn more widely except within the scope of pesantren and the nuclear family. Madura places women in a sacred space and separate from the realm of men (Arrovia, 2021; Sulasteri et al., 2020). This dimension shows that space is translated as a part between traditions based on religious teachings and cultural dialectics in society. Responding to previous research

studies which stated that women have an important space and are treated specially, but this does not seem to be the case. Further study is needed to straighten out the meaning of women's position in the family, especially "treatment" so that it will be clear that women's role is indeed important in the family.

In Madurese society, parenting patterns are more controlled by women, however, according to community assumptions, there are differences in how children are raised according to social status. Social status is a person's social position in a group and society. Social status is a social condition that is always changing through social processes. Social processes occur because of social interaction. Social interaction is defined as a dynamic reciprocal relationship involving relationships between individuals, between human groups, and between humans and human groups (Kiggins, 2020; Samerkhanova & Imzharova, 2018). Classification based on descent is divided into two, namely the descendants of members of the king or nobility will occupy the top layer, but the descendants of the people will occupy the lower layer. The novelty of this research is that it focuses on parenting patterns where there are differences based on social status. It will be studied more deeply and it will be interesting to see what differences or similarities there are in parenting patterns. The aim of this research is to analyze the parenting patterns of Madurese ethnic women in terms of social status.

2. METHOD

This study used qualitative descriptive approach, which allows researcher to explain the phenomena being interviewed (Seixas et al., 2018). This study involved some mothers who have children aged 0-6 years old, have one social status (Neng/ teacher/ housewife) in Bangkalan Regency. The selection of subjects was carried out purposively according to the character of the subject under study based on social status including honor, knowledge and descent. Each social status was represented by 5 mothers. In order to gather information, researcher used in depth-interviews and documentation. The study used semi structure interviews (Ambarwati, 2022). In addition, the documentation technique used to support data during interview process. It stated that parenting consist of two dimmensions: parental responsiveness and parental demanding. The interview guideline was showed in Table 1.

Table 1. Interview Guideline

No.	Parental Dimmension	Question
1	Parental Responsiveness	1. What form of love do you give to your child? 2. How do you communicate with your child? 3. How attached are you to your child? Is there another figure who is more 4. Attached to your child?
2	Parental Demanding	1. How do you give limits to your child? 2. How do you expect your child? 3. How do you make your child obey you? 4. Do you often use punishment to get your child to obey the rules?

In this study, the data analysis was the flow of the analysis process, namely: 1) Data reduction is the process of selecting, simplifying, abstracting and transforming "rough" data that emerges from written notes in the field. 2) Data Presentation is a set of information arranged to give the possibility of drawing conclusions in the form of graphs, or charts. 3) Drawing conclusions is the process of looking for meaning, noting regularities, patterns, explanations, possible configurations, causal flows and propositions from the overall picture of both descriptive and reflective notes that have been made previously on the chart.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Result

Parental Responsiveness/Warmth

This form of parenting emphasizes more on how the response of parents, namely mothers who deliberately organize themselves to be in line, support and respect the interests and demands of their children. A more responsive / warm attitude is applied here. In the social status of the honor class, namely *nyai / Neng*. In the answer, it is given reinforcement by RM that the subject does not want his child to experience the same thing as he will limit the needs and experiences that children want to know and get. According to RM, when the limitation is given without proper and clear reasons, it is very painful so that envy grows, which is actually a form of behavior that violates Islamic law. According to the subjects AR and RM, they stated that when opportunities and experiences are given to children while still monitoring, it will

make children more trusting and open to what they do, and that is where parents can understand what their children's interests and talents are. In addition, it encourages children to be able to move freely according to their age needs. In the social status of the knowledge group, namely teachers. During the interview SF said that "SF in his closeness feels less, because SF finds it difficult to divide his time. The child is mostly held by his grandmother. When we get together, there is an agenda to go out for a walk. If you ask happy, yes the child is happy. But in this case I still feel that there is no closeness that can be said to be close."

On the status of the descent group, namely housewives. During an interview with R, she said that the parenting that has been applied so far is "More or less I take from the parenting that has been exemplified by my grandmother, from childhood to junior high school I was raised by my grandmother and then boarded. In communicating with my children, I usually do it after school or during meals." In his answer, F revealed in the interview that so far the parenting that has been applied is as follows. "I follow my parents, especially with regard to disciplining, there are some strictnesses that can be applied in parenting." The answers from R and F tell us that there are some things in the old parenting that need to be applied, while in communication it is necessary to pay attention to the child's condition and feelings, so that there are no obstacles in the process.

Parental Demanding/Control

This form of parenting shows that there are demands on children made by parents as part of supervision, enforcement of discipline and do not hesitate to give punishment if their children do not comply. In other words, parents behave as control. In the social status of the honor class, namely *nyai / Neng*. Seeing the answers from AR and RM in providing treatment is still under safe control, there is no form of demand that leads to protracted punishment, but more emphasis on giving assertiveness and also understanding earlier so that the attitude and control can be accepted. The answer from SF and RK is that they apply more of a demanding attitude, a strict attitude and intervene because there are external motivating factors so that they act especially when teaching. In the status of hereditary groups, namely housewives. During the interview, R said that the parenting that had parenting patterns that I get from various sources. I follow famous parenting figures, I adopt what is good and suitable to apply to my child. For example, I allow my child to play climbing trees and many of my neighbors say how come the child is not forbidden to climb. As a parent I also continue to supervise and control my child when playing, I give my child the opportunity to play what he likes like climbing the tree, maybe one day he will grow up to be a rock climbing athlete, no one knows. In addition, I require my child to be good at religion and behavior. In terms of school activities, my child participates in *tahfidz* activities and *alhamdulillahnya* there is no refusal to participate in these activities.

In the answer F revealed in the interview, so far the parenting that has been applied is as follows: "Like my answer earlier, I follow my parents' parenting patterns, such as disciplining my child. I also control my child because my child has a high curiosity, so when he hears his friend say something he has never heard, he immediately asks me "ma what does this mean" well most of what he asks are dirty words so I get angry. That's why I prohibit him from playing outside, it's better for his friends to play at my house. So, I can monitor directly. My child once said dirty words to me but if this one is because of imitating from cellphones, from there I am stricter when children play cellphones, I limit them when playing cellphones and even if they play cellphones, I only give them YouTube kids. Whether they want to or not, whether they like it or not, they can only see YouTube kids and play games, and even then there are hours".

Discussion

Women in the Eyes of Madurese Family

Getting to know the family in Madura can start from the settlement pattern known as the *taneyan lanjang* pattern, which is a social unit in Madura described in one large yard with houses made in a row in an elongated yard (Dores, 2020; Fathorrahman, 2018). The group living in *taneyan lanjang* is a married couple living together with the parents of the female party. *Taneyan lanjang* is built by families for married daughters, while married sons will live with the wife's parents or in-laws. *Tanean lanjang* and the honor of Madurese women. In terms of benefits, there may be a view that Madurese women are very privileged and even facilities are still prepared until the new family level, so there is no worry because there is still a guarantee of protection from the family, for the woman. However, from a woman's point of view, she wants to be independent from her nuclear family when she has a family (Calzada et al., 2015; Muslihati, 2014). The community still holds old cultural customs related to the position of women, because it is also a measure of male self-esteem, namely fathers who have the responsibility of raising and protecting their daughters and ensuring that their families will still be in a safe condition. This condition will be different when the married man works and migrates, then asks the wife (woman) to accompany him, then the father's position will be

defeated by the position of the husband who has full rights in making decisions for his woman (Fitriyah, 2020; Kurniawan & Fatmawati, 2019).

In the family, girls get protective attention from both parents, they always get strict supervision from both parents. Even though the girl has worked, they still get supervision from the family, especially parents (Fatimah, 2017; Ritonga, 2022). Madurese women are highly dignified, and under the "power" of men. The system and structure of Madurese society conditions women to have great dependence on men. The strong protection of Madurese women is often felt as a form of suppression of rights, restriction of space in expressing desires, feelings and actions (Abroriy, 2020; Sugiarti, 2009). The position of women in Madura is as described in religious interpretations, tending to be fanatical and accepting if it is said by religious leaders who are considered the absolute truth. Religion is often misused as a tool to control behavior and attitudes and actions that will be taken to legalize violations of women's human rights.

Parenting in Madura

The position of women in Madura has been discussed above, that until a woman is married, she is still the responsibility of her family and also her husband. As when women who follow their husbands migrate and become pregnant. So that's when women are allowed to return to their hometowns to take care of their pregnancies until they give birth and become a burden on their parents. After giving birth, the woman usually stays for a while before being called back to accompany her husband. Children can be taken overseas or left behind based on the decision of the man (husband). Most babies who are taken to migrate, when the child is 3 years old, will be returned to the village and become the responsibility of grandparents or relatives in the village to care for them. If the baby is left to migrate, the full rights will be the responsibility of grandparents or relatives in the village to care for him (Agustin et al., 2021; Djazilan & Darmawan, 2021).

There are underlying reasons why parents leave the care of their children to grandparents or relatives in the village, namely the first is busy working overseas so they are worried that their children will receive less attention and be less well cared. Psychologically, parents are calmer when their children receive protection, attention and care from grandparents or relatives in the village. Secondly, based on the element of faith, Madurese are religious people so they want their children to get religious education from an early age. Madurese parenting is more about prioritizing religious teachings in children. In the view of religion, the Prophet Muhammad SAW has set an example to teach children faith, morals (Saugi, 2020; Supendi et al., 2020). Children in Madura must know religion as a foundation in performing worship, especially the five daily prayers. Religious teachings are very important to be taught from an early age. Religious knowledge for Madurese people is important to be instilled from an early age. Religion is important to be instilled to avoid religious knowledge that deviates from Islamic teachings. Religious teachings carried out by parents and grandparents or relatives in the village who care for them by giving examples to children in the form of examples of performing five daily prayers in the mosque.

As for the reason why children are applied permissive parenting patterns (pampering), providing free opportunities with no restrictions so that children tend to act freely in trying until they find their limits. Parenting in Madura shows that all wishes from infancy to toddlerhood are almost the majority fulfilled, because Madurese people have a belief that this applied thing will produce several attitudes. There are no restrictions when children play, and gathering with other relatives instills attitudes such as trust in others, and friendliness in socializing (Hanifah et al., 2021; Juhari, 2016). Permissive parenting, which has a tendency to pamper, such as fulfilling all wishes, slowly changes, parenting tends to be harsher (authoritarian), namely children are emphasized on high discipline, rules that are obeyed and make it difficult for children to avoid these rules (Fikriyyah et al., 2022; Hamidah & Putra, E., 2021). In this case, the rules slowly began to be given to children. Namely, the form of the rule is the obligation to learn to recite the Koran regularly in the musholla and attend congregational prayers in the musholla or mosque. This is part of ethnoparenting carried out by parents, namely educating children based on the value system adopted by a group of people in an area that has teachings about values and practices that should be fulfilled (Bender & Beller, 2018; Kurniawan & Fatmawati, 2019). In its implementation, parents, grandparents or relatives try to shape their identity as adults, while instilling habits of helpfulness and self-reliance. This is in line with the implementation of ethnoparenting containing four elements, namely divinity, human identity, care, mutual cooperation and community involvement in childcare (Nirwana & Irmayanti, 2022).

Madurese Parenting Based on Social Status

Discussing social status, Madura itself divides the social status of the community layers, namely 1) *Oreng kene'* is a layer of society that usually works as farmers, fishermen, craftsmen and people who do not have jobs; 2) *pongga* is a normal working person, especially in government offices; and 3) *perjaji* is a person who works in the top layer. Social status based on the religious community environment, namely 1)

keyae, which is a person known as a religious leader (ulama) because he has a lot of Islamic knowledge; 2) *bindarah*, which is a person who has completed education in a boarding school and has a lot of knowledge or enough but not equivalent to the knowledge of *keyae*; 3) *santré*, which is a person who is studying religion in a boarding school; and 4) *banne santré*, which is a person who has never studied religious knowledge in a boarding school. Madurese people have a measure of good behavior in social interactions that is humble (andhap asor) (Arrovia, 2021; Dewi, 2018; Josa & Aguado, 2021). This requires politeness, politeness, respect and other noble values that must be possessed by Madurese. So for the Madurese, the person is not judged from the outside but the heart as the expression beautiful heart, noble behavior. In social life, Madurese people actually emphasize living in harmony. The suggestion to help each other and the importance of social solidarity are also highly emphasized such as the expression *gu' teggu' sabbu'* or *song-osong lombung*, which means the same as responsibility or mutual cooperation.

Parenting based on social status in the context of the element of faith there is no difference either from the class of honor, knowledge or descent, namely madurese women as parents want their children to get religious education from an early age. Even in this case they both do parental responsiveness, namely warm communication to make compromises related to religious teaching. In the parental demandingness that parents do to children to still be able to meet behavioral standards, which do not come out of religious sharia (Hartanto & Yuliani, 2019; Wardhani et al., 2022). In the descent group in matters of religious teaching they also carry out intrusiveness, strictness and arbitrary exercise of power with good intentions so as not to trivialize religion. This arises because of the teaching of previous parents and is considered good to keep applying, the point is related to the element of faith, the three groups do not play games in instilling good and appropriate teachings based on religious law.

In the context of providing honor group education, there is no demand for their children to be ranked or number one, which emphasizes the needs to be achieved. Seeing this condition reminds him of when he was a child who was too restricted and regulated to be bad for his development, and this does not want to be repeated in his child. In the science group, namely teachers, where there are external demands that have the view that the teacher is the only source that is considered trustworthy and perfect in science, getting a moral burden in educating children which ultimately has an impact on their own children (Garcia & Mukhopadhyay, 2019; Muslihata, 2014). There is a form of restriction, namely restrictiveness, which is sometimes carried out by parents without realizing that the science group restricts a lot of movement and demands to be able to meet standards that are sometimes beyond their abilities in order to provide definite standards from society. Even strictness related to study hours, children are not given the opportunity to give choices and are asked to obey everything that has become the rules of the game from parents. The hereditary group is more intrusive, so there is a lot of intervention in children's activities.

In the context of meeting basic needs, namely physiological, security, belonging and affection, appreciation and self-actualization, the three groups apply parental responsiveness well. The honor and science groups both try to be good parents for children by providing warmth by teaching them to give love and empathy when together with friends and family. The establishment of communication begins with good efforts from parents regarding the needs of children. In the honor group, women (mothers) must be busy in managing the boarding school and caring for students, but social-emotional closeness is still well established. In the descent group, being a good parent still applies old parenting, and creates warmth and attachment to children. Suggestions that can be given to parents, especially women of Madurese ethnicity, in implementing parenting can better adapt to the needs of children, both aspects of parental responsiveness and parental demanding. Maintain the application of elements of faith in the application of religious education from an early age.

4. CONCLUSION

This study examines the parenting of ethnic Madurese women from the perspective of social status, namely the honor, knowledge and descent groups. In the context of the elements of faith, the three groups both apply parental responsiveness in the aspect of warm communication and also parental demanding in the aspects of intrusiveness, strictness and arbitrary exercise of power. In the context of providing education, the honor group applies parental responsiveness in warm communication, the science group applies parental demanding in aspects of restrictiveness, demandingness and strictness, the descent group applies parental demanding in aspects of intrusiveness. In the context of meeting basic needs, namely physiological, a sense of security, a sense of belonging and affection, appreciation and self-actualization, groups of honor, science and descent apply parental responsiveness from warm communication so as to create attachment.

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