

***Sarung* Tradition of Madurese Woman at Annuqayah Islamic Boarding School in Digital Era**

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Abstract

Throughout Madura, each region has its tradition. Due to the uniqueness of Islamic boarding schools, Madurese women are identical to sarung. In this digital era, Madurese Islamic cosmopolitanism is still applied in Madura, one of the cosmopolitanism is sarung tradition. Santriwati or alumni of *santriwati* still wear *sarung* in their daily activities, although there are many modern skirts or dresses in digital era. Sarung tradition is used in this research to describe the reconstruction and transformation of Madurese Islamic Cosmopolitanism in the digital era. The objectives of this research are (1) to describe the transformation of sarung tradition of Madurese women at Annuqayah Islamic Boarding School in digital era (2) to explain the reconstruction of sarung tradition of Madurese women in digital era (3) to know the data description of sarung tradition of Madurese women at Annuqayah Islamic Boarding School in digital era. This kind of research is a qualitative approach, the object of this research is the Madurese women at Annuqayah Boarding School. The Respondents in this study amounted to 100 respondents; 50 santriwati and 50 santriwati alumni of Annuqayah. The Data collection methods are interviews, observation, and documentation. Based on the results of the study, it was found that santriwati still wear sarung in the pesantren environment, while alumni rarely wear sarung due to different environments. The sarung tradition has undergone a transformation, it has changed from the way it is worn in the digital era. Therefore, the sarung tradition requires a reconstruction.

Keywords: *sarung* tradition; Madurese women; digital era

Introduction

Indonesia is an archipelago city with many varieties of ethnic, tribe, culture, religion, tradition and costum.¹ One of the regions which has unique cultural characteristics is Madura. Madura is an island located in east Java and has four regencies. Madurese people are a nomadic tribe which spread a lot in Indonesian region.

The majority of the Madurese community, almost 100% are Muslim.² Madurese people are known as obedient servants to Islam. It is also supported by the existence of many *pesantren* built in Madura. They will send their children to *pesantren* and become *santri* for some years. But for children who did not want to stay at *pesantren*, at least they go reciting to a prayer house every night. Most women will stay and recite at *pesantren* because it is safer than at home.

Cosmopolitan is a world-view that is global/cosmos. In a global sense, Cosmopolitanism means a world-view across borders, cultures, races, religion, and so

¹ Muhtar Wahyudi, dkk., *Buku Madura: Masyarakat, Budaya, Media, Dan Politik* (Bangkalan: Puskakom Publik, 2015), 25.

² Wahyudi, dkk., 80

on.³ In this case, the *sarung* tradition is included in Islamic cosmopolitanism in the Madura area, which means that one of the Madurese Islamic cosmopolitanism that is still worldwide today is the *sarung* tradition.

Netty said that Madurese women are tough and independent.⁴ They are also good at preserving *sarung* tradition. In Madura, *sarung* is not only worn by man but also the woman. *Sarung* became their main clothes at home even when they went to a market. Netty also said that Madurese woman is a simple woman because they wear *sarung* in their daily. Their fashion is also simple and the most important one is the clothes covering the genitals.

Transformation is always related to changes in society from a simpler society to a more modern society because the transformation process is always monumental. Social transformation can occur intentionally and is desired by the community. Social transformation shows a change, the process of different social characteristics in a certain time.⁵ Transformation is interrelated with reconstruction. Reconstruction is the compilation or repetition.⁶ Thus, reconstruction is a re-formation or rearrangement to restore the real thing, which was originally not true to be true.

All previous studies explained about the tradition and culture of Madura. Damajanti's research focused on exploring how the sarong culture occurs in Indonesia, exactly in Madura.⁷ The other research, Suradi's research, suggested pesantren to do transformation to improve the education quality in the global era.⁸ Apart from that, Humaini's research focuses on how Madurese people position *sarung* and how the impact of religious understanding on the patterns and ways of dressing for the daily life of the Madurese community.⁹ This research is different from the previous studies, this research focuses on the reconstruction and transformation of *sarung* tradition in digital era.

Annuqayah Boarding School was built in 1887 located in Guluk-Guluk Sumenep Madura.¹⁰ Annuqayah has many areas, one of them is Lubangsa Putri. The *santriwati* of Lubangsa Putri come from various regions, some are from outside Madura and most of them are from Madura. Due to the uniqueness of Islamic boarding School, Madurese women are identical to *sarung*. In this digital era, *sarung* began to be eroded by skirt and dress. It happens because of the development of fashion in this digital era. Many modern clothes are created from different styles and it is designed to make people confident to wear it in the digital era, even if they missed their traditional clothes like *sarung* as the Madurese women wear. This research has three research objectives; 1) to describe the transformation of *sarung* tradition of Madurese women at Annuqayah Islamic Boarding School in digital era, 2) to explain the reconstruction of *sarung* tradition of Madurese women in digital era, 3) to know the data description of *sarung* tradition of Madurese women at Annuqayah Islamic Boarding School in digital era.

³ M. SISWANTO, "Gagasan Islam Kosmopolitan Abdurrahman Wahid Terhadap Konteks Sosial Keagamaan Di Indonesia" (Jakarta, Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah, 2020), 45.

⁴ Wahyudi, dkk., *Buku Madura: Masyarakat, Budaya, Media, Dan Politik*, 106.

⁵ Prof. Dr. Hartono Humaini, "Simbolisasi Sarung Sebagai Komunikasi Kultural Masyarakat Madura" (Yogyakarta, Gajah Mada University), accessed October 31, 2022, http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/home/detail_pencarian/56395.

⁶ Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, Kedua (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1989).

⁷ Maria Nala Damajanti, "Budaya Bersarung Masyarakat Kontemporer" 11, no. 01 (2022): 3.

⁸ A. Suradi, "Transformation Of Pesantren Traditions In Face The Globalization Era," *Nadwa: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 12, no. 1 (June 22, 2018): 28, <https://doi.org/10.21580/nw.2018.12.1.2464>.

⁹ Humaini, "Simbolisasi Sarung Sebagai Komunikasi Kultural Masyarakat Madura," 7.

¹⁰ Sri Riani Wulandari, the leader of Baramij At-Tarbiyah Wat-Ta'lim Islamic School of Annuqayah Lubangsa Putri, direct interview at Annuqayah Lubangsa Putri (28th September 2022)

Methods

This research is descriptive research with a qualitative approach. The type of this research is a field research where the researchers plunged into the research location to explore various kinds of data about the application of *sarung* tradition of Madurese Women at Annuqayah Boarding School in digital era. The descriptive qualitative research used in this research means to get more information about *sarung* tradition of Madurese women at Annuqayah Boarding School in the digital era comprehensively. In addition, this research will reveal the reconstruction and transformation of one of the Madurese Islamic cosmopolitanism that is the *sarung* tradition at Annuqayah Boarding School in digital era.

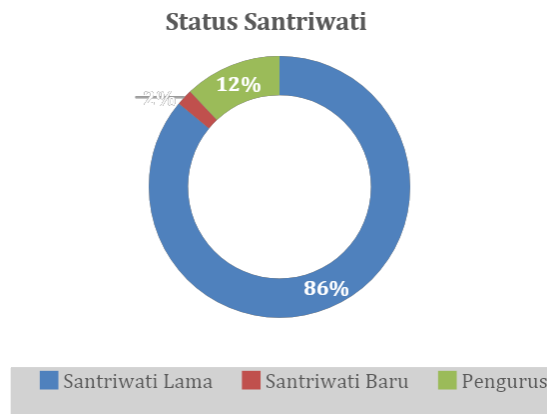
The research of reconstruction and transformation of *sarung* tradition of Madurese women was applied at Annuqayah Islamic Boarding School, especially Lubangsa Putri. As a data source, the *santriwati* was chosen because it is appropriate with the research objective that is to explore how the *sarung* tradition is applied at Annuqayah Boarding School in digital era and how the reconstruction and transformation of it. In this case, some of the *santriwati* of Annuqayah Boarding School were the Madurese women. The primary data used in this research is madurese *santriwati* and alumni of madurese *santriwati*. The Respondents in this study amounted to 100 respondents; 50 *santriwati* who are still living in Annuqayah, and 50 alumni who are outside the pesantren environment. The secondary data of this research was interview, observation, and documentation.

Results

The Data Description of The Respondents

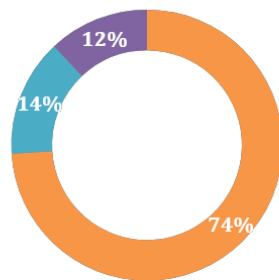
The total respondents taken from the *santriwati* of Lubangsa Putri at Annuqayah Islamic Boarding School is 100 *santriwati*. The respondents consist of 50 *santriwati* and 50 alumni of *santriwati* as shown in the diagram below:

Figure 1
The Diagram of *Santriwati*



Based on the diagram above, the *santriwati* consists of old *santriwati*, new *santriwati*, and the supervisor. The old *santriwati* are 43, the new *santriwati* is 1, and the supervisors are 6. Thus, there are 50 *santriwati* would be the respondents in this research.

Figure 2
 The Diagram of *Santriwati* Alumni
 Status Alumni *Santriwati*



The *santriwati* alumni status is also divided into 3 parts, the same as the status of *santriwati*. The status is learner, worker and married. The students are 37, the workers are 7, and the married people are 6. Thus, the *santriwati* alumni would be the respondents in this research are 50 people.

The transformation of *sarung* tradition of Madurese women at Annuqayah Islamic Boarding School in digital era

The *santriwati* of Annuqayah Islamic Boarding School said that *sarung* is the most comfortable clothes to wear at home. *Sarung* was considered as the custom of Madurese women. They wore *sarung* for doing worship or prayer. Madurese women considered *sarung* as the holy clothes to wear for praying. They also wore *sarung* for taking bath at the river or washing some clothes sometimes. They recognized that *sarung* is a form of love for their tradition as Madurese women. The *santriwati* alumni of Annuqayah Islamic Boarding School stated that this custom (*sarung*) was the habit at the environment of Annuqayah Lubangsa Putri. However, there are a few *santriwati* wore *sarung* beyond their *aurat*, such as wearing *sarung* only up to the calves not to the feet. It is shown in the figure 3 below. Then, in this case *sarung* has a negative transformation.

Figure 3
 The Picture of Wearing the Wrong *Sarung*¹¹



The *santriwati* alumni who worked outside Madura said that they only wore *sarung* for taking prayer or taking bath, besides they wore skirts or pants because they stayed in the city. By the development of digital era, there were many fashion style of clothes. It became the reason why the *santriwati* alumni seldom wear *sarung* in their daily lives. They thought that *sarung* was not a modern clothes.

¹¹ The picture was taken on Wednesday, 28th September 2022 at Annuqayah Lubangsa Putri 15.21 WIB.

The reconstruction of *sarung* tradition of Madurese women at Annuqayah Islamic Boarding School in digital era

Madurese women had been wearing *sarung* since old times until now. *Sarung* is synonymous with Muslim in Indonesia, it also became one of the important clothes in the Islamic tradition. In the figure 4 showed the *sarung* tradition. There was a woman who sell traditional food wore a *sarung*. The picture quality was bad and looked so old. It proved that *sarung* became the legendary clothes which is still a tradition up to this day.

Figure 4
The picture of old *sarung* tradition¹²



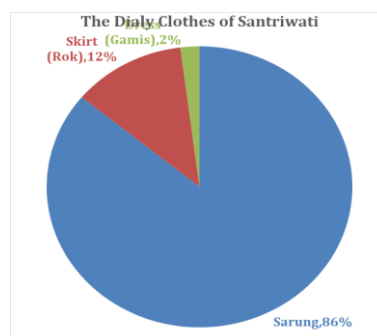
Based on the alumni's responses, they said *sarung* still deserved to wear because the motive always upgraded. Preserving the *sarung* tradition is a must for Madurese women because it is a special characteristics of *santriwati*, especially in Madura. *Sarung* is the tradition of Madurese women. Even one said, if *santriwati* did not wear *sarung*, it means she was not Madurese women. In short, most of alumni still treat the *sarung* tradition well. One of the *santriwati* of Annuqayah Lubangsa Putri said:¹³

“Regarding the use of *sarung* at this time or in the modern era, I think it is still appropriate to wear it, moreover *santri* is identical to *sarung* where in their daily activities the clothes often worn is *sarung*, especially in the Madura area. Related to the role of the *santri* who contributed to the independence of Indonesia, it becomes a reinforcement that we (*sarung*) are able to fight the trousers, suit and tie, namely colonialism.”

The data description of *Sarung* Tradition of Madurese women at Annuqayah Islamic Boarding School in digital era

The daily clothes often worn by Madurese women are *sarung*, skirt and dress (*gamis*). There are two data description of *sarung* tradition of Madurese women, they are the data gotten from *santriwati* and *santriwati* alumni as it is shown in the diagram below:

Figure 5
The Diagram of *Sarung* Tradition of *Santriwati* in Islamic Boarding School

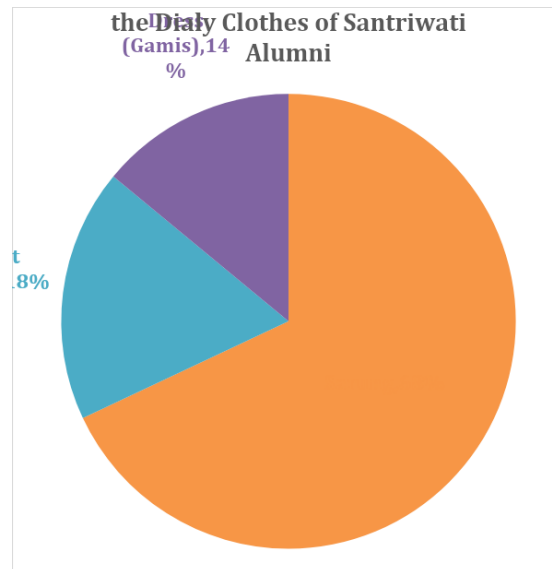


¹² Wahyudi, dkk., *Buku Madura: Masyarakat, Budaya, Media, Dan Politik*, 52.

¹³ Emeliyatus Sholehah, alumni of Annuqayah Lubangsa Putri, indirect interview via google form (29th September 2022)

Based on the diagram above, the clothes often worn by *santriwati* at Annuqayah Islamic Boarding School consist of *sarung*, skirt, and dress. Out of the 50 *santriwati* who wear *sarung* are 43, skirt are 6, and dress are 1 *santriwati*.

Figure 6
The Diagram of *Sarung* of *Santriwati* Alumni in The Environment



The clothes often worn by the *santriwati* alumni in their environment are *sarung*, skirt, and dress. There were 34 *santriwati* alumni out of 50 who wore *sarung*, 9 *santriwati* alumni who wore skirt, and 7 *santriwati* alumni who wore dress.

Discussion

In the digital era, *sarung* is still appropriate to wear in daily life. It is proven by the diagram of daily clothes worn by *santriwati* and *santriwati* alumni in figure 4 and 5. Although *sarung* has rivals, they are skirt and dress (*gamis*), the tradition of *sarung* is still very attached to the Madurese women, especially *santriwati*. The tradition of *sarung* has existed since ancient times, both for Madurese women or Madurese men. Madurese women stated that *sarung* is the most comfortable one to wear in Madura environment. Moreover, *santriwati* are required to wear *sarung* in daily life, such as when they are going to pray. It is the same as research conducted by Damanjati shows that *sarung* become part of the daily clothing of local people, including for traditional events, religious rituals to wedding, it is a collective communication practice that marks their existence.¹⁴

Madurese people is known as overseas territory. Rozi stated that Madurese People known as intrepid, hard-tempered, like challenges, and nomad figure.¹⁵ Some of *santriwati* alumni of Annuqayah Islamic Boarding School who worked outside Madura said that they only wear *sarung* for praying or taking bath. Besides they wear skirt or pants because they stay in the city or urban area and lack of confidence to wear *sarung* even though *sarung* is the tradition of Madurese people. Some countries import and export clothes each other as the development of digital era. Some *santriwati* alumni said that *sarung* was not a modern clothes. Therefore, there are still some of them had lost the *santriwati* value, like wearing pants.

¹⁴ Damajanti, "Budaya Bersarung Masyarakat Kontemporer," 3.

¹⁵ Wahyudi, dkk., *Buku Madura: Masyarakat, Budaya, Media, Dan Politik*, 136.

In essence, culture or tradition is a source of community values that in its embodiment shape mental attitudes and pattern of human thought. Tradition has a big role in encouraging the development of society in a positive purpose, provided that it must be able to maintain its relevance in the thought change and challenges. Therefore, Madurese people must preserve the tradition.¹⁶

The tradition of *sarung* is still applied nowadays. There are still many *santriwati* and *santriwati* alumni who wear *sarung* in their daily lives. Related with it, Humaini's research shows that the tradition of wearing a *sarung* is condensed in Madura, and even *sarung* were found not only in religious rituals, in their daily life and society put on *sarung*. Everything is as it is based by a strong understanding of the religion which the construction of boarding schools. In addition, they wear *sarung* because the habit of boarding school.¹⁷

In the digital era, the *sarung* tradition has undergone a transformation, it had changed from the way it is worn. The use of *sarung* in Annuqayah Islamic Boarding School (Lubangsa Putri) is different from the usual use of *sarung*. The use of *santriwati sarung* in Annuqayah Lubangsa Putri is similar to the way of male *santri* wear *sarung*. Madurese women usually wear *sarung* with 1 fold. It is different with Annuqayah *santriwati* in Lubangsa Putri, they wore *sarung* with 2 fold as like as male *santri*. Another transformation of the *sarung* tradition is showing off the aurat when wearing a *sarung*. The use of *sarung* that should cover the aurat, it shows off the calves nowadays.

The transformation of the bad *sarung* tradition requires a reconstruction. reconstruction is a re-formation or rearrangement to restore the real thing, which was originally not true to be true. the use of *sarung* which is rarely worn by *santriwati* alumni because different environments with *santriwati* can be reconstructed. The reason of *santriwati* alumni prefer to wear skirt, pant, or dress is because of the modern style of clothes in this digital era. They thought that *sarung* is out of date. In this case, reconstruction is needed to keep the *sarung* tradition. Here are some reconstructions:

1. Increase the variety of *sarung* motifs

The variations of *sarung* motif must follow the current modern era and follow the trend. The more modern the variation of the *sarung* motif, the more people will wear *sarung*.

2. Wear *sarung* according to the *Syar'i*

According to Koentjaraningrat Cultural change is a process of shifting, subtracting, adding, and developing elements in a culture. In simple terms, cultural change is a dynamic that occurs as a result of clashes between different cultural elements. *Santriwati* as a learner in Islamic boarding school should be the polite woman and wear clothes well. By the transformation in digital era-based on alumnis respons, many *santriwati* wear *sarung* deviate from syar'ie. They wear it shorter than before (like usual). Based on the Hadist:¹⁸

Malik and Abu Dawud narrated that the "sarong" of a believer should reach to the middle of the knee. That it is not sinful for the one who wears the sheath so that it covers between the calf and the ankle, while the one who covers under it will go to hell.

From the Hadist above, its forbidden for muslim to wear *sarung* too long and too short. They should wear as the skirt and appear politely.

¹⁶ Mohammad Hefni, *Islam Madura - Sebuah Studi Konstruktivisme Strukturalis Tentang Relasi Islam Pesantren Dan Islam Kampung Di Sumenep Madura* (Malang: Literasi Nusantara, 2019), 190.

¹⁷ Humaini, "Simbolisasi Sarung Sebagai Komunikasi Kultural Masyarakat Madura," 7.

¹⁸ Isham Musa Hadi, *Terjemah Kitab Bulughul Maram*, Amman (Yordania, n.d.), 564.

Conclusion

Cosmopolitan is a world-view that is global/cosmos. *Sarung* as the tradition of Madurese people still treated to wear. Annuqayah Boarding School was built in 1887 located in Guluk-Guluk Sumenep Madura and Lubangsa Putri became the object because it has many *santriwati* and alumni. In digital era, many factors which have possibility to change a culture or tradition. Where in this era has so much improve about fashion and technology. *Sarung* is one of Madurese tradition and worldwide. Madurese women had been wearing *sarung* since old times until now specially *santriwati*. There are some transformations of *sarung* tradition in Annuqayah Lubangsa Putri; they wear *sarung* shorten than before. To treat the tradition, there are some reconstructions of *sarung* tradition; wear *sarung* according to the *syar'ie* and choosing the newest or modern motive to stay confident and preserving the tradition. In summary, *sarung* still became the tradition or main clothes of Madurese woman specially *santriwati*.

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