

THE IMPACT OF THE IDEA OF RANGGA (MASCULINITY) TOWARDS DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN THE MAJA LABO DAHU CULTURE: STUDY OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES EDUCATION

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Received: 08 August 2022 / Approved: 16 November 2022 / Published: 29 December 2022

Abstract: The purpose of the study was to describe the relationship between the idea of Rangga (masculinity) in the Maja Labo Dahu culture of the Bima people based on sociological studies and social education. The approach used in the research is a qualitative approach with ethnographic methods. Data were collected through observation, interviews, and documents. The results showed that several religious doctrines are directly related to preserving the idea of male dominance over women, which in turn allows the formation of a discourse of violence in the Bima Maja Labo Dahu cultural community. The doctrines are related to (1) the meaning of the origin of the creation of women from men and for men; (2) the meaning of Adam's expulsion from heaven caused by women; (3) the meaning of Rangga for men in gender roles as a figure who protects and dominates women; and (4) the meaning of wife beating as something legitimized by community culture. This understanding and meaning tend to position men as a figure who bears the idea of Rangga, masculine, male, which is then legitimized as a protector and dominator of women. Women are controlled, subordinated, and used as property. So that the impact of Rangga's thinking on Maja Labo Dahu Culture not only resulted in women becoming victims of domestic violence but also women were not given ample space to contribute to improving community growth and economy.

Keywords: Maja Labo Dahu Culture, Masculinity, Domestic Violence, Sociology Education, Social Science Education

INTRODUCTION

The ideology of masculinity is constructed in the social life of society (Zevallos, 2013; Suprpto, 2018; Theses et al., 2019; McCreary, 2020; Connell, 2020; Fahrimal & Husna, 2020). Masculinity implies maleness or being a man, which has the meaning of male, strong, mighty, brave, and others (Institute, 2017; McVittie & Goodall, 2017; Solikatun & Kartono, 2020; Ramadhani, 2021). Masculinity is reflected in the attitude and behaviour of a man (Kodriati et al., 2018; Concita et al., 2023). This masculinity ideology is highly upheld in societies that embrace a patriarchal culture (Jewkes et al., 2015; Lim, 2021), including the Bima people, who embrace the philosophy of *maja labo dahu* (shame and fear). *Maja Labo Dahu* has a literal meaning of "shame and fear" to do things that are contrary to the values, norms/laws that apply in society (Statham & Tillie, 2016; Tasrif & Siti Komariah, 2021; Grafiati, 2022; Salam, 2022)—the dominant values and norms in Bima.

To see how the patriarchal system operates in a cultural context and its relationship with domestic violence, the construction of ideas about *rangga* (masculinity) and femininity in the culture of the Bima people who adhere to the philosophy of life "*maja labo dahu*", needs to be dissected through a critical analysis (Zuhrah, 2017). The purpose of the system is to reinforce patriarchal ideology in society. The construction of the idea of *rangga* is adopted mainly from Islamic values, as explicitly recognized by the motto '*adat bersendikan sara, 'sara' bersendikan kitabullah*' (Customs based on shari'ah, shari'ah based on Holly Quran). On closer inspection, this slogan is similar to understanding Islamic Sharia doctrine.

The motto explicitly or implicitly implies that the sharia (law) aspect is the primary and most important thing. Feminists generally deplore the tendency to put too much weight on the legal aspect (sharia), especially considering the position of women as weak parties and tend to be the first to be 'victims' if the application of the law is rigidly implemented. Murata states that Islam and other heavenly religions have the same mainstream style, which refers too much to the sharia or legal approach, and less use of the essence or *ma'rifat* approach in seeing a problem (Sudrajat, 2016; Fathonaddin, 2019).

Based on the sociology and social science education study, *maja Labo Dahu* is a philosophy of life of the Bima People that positively affects the community's character when the Bima Community fully understands its moral messages. *Maja Labo Dahu*, which means "Ashamed with Fear," lexically "Maja" means "Shame", "Labo" means "With" or "And", then "Dahu", which means "Fear". Thus *Maja labo Dahu* means "Shame and Fear". While philosophically, "*Maja Labo Dahu*" means: "Maja", which is conceptualized as a human moral attitude to feel "ashamed" of actions that deviate from or violate the law, both religious law, state law, and socio-cultural ethics that reflect the local wisdom,

of a community (Ilmiawan Mubin, 2018). However, the concept of *Rangga* in Maja Labo Dahu (MLD) culture, plus the concept of *qawwal* (leader), *fu'u mori* (pillar of life), *co'i* (dowry/price), the myth of women's creation, and a simplistic understanding of the concept of nature can encourage and contribute to domestic violence. This is certainly contrary to the MLD frame.

The incident of domestic violence itself occurs because it is triggered by things that are categorized as economic, social, and personal problems. Violence is seen as normal and practiced in domestic life, motivated by legitimate understandings and ideas. Therefore, domestic violence is escalating and repetitive. This study concludes that MLD legitimizes subordination and violence against wives in the household because it is legitimized by religious understanding, understanding of the concept of men as *Rangga* (mighty/masculine), as *qawwal* (leader), as *fu'u mori* (pillar of life), women as property, and the myth of the creation of women which all emphasize the wife as subordination to the husband. The wife's obedience to her husband is a form of worship.

The legal approach requires a figure of power (patriarchate) so that the law can be implemented, while the *ma'rifat* approach requires an approach to the heart (matriarchate) so that it is willing to look inside itself (Wijaya, 2017; Mukminto, 2020; Halizah et al., 2023). The result is that the mainstream of the Islamic world is too heavy on internalizing the nature of the Great God (Jalal - masculine quality) and less on internalizing the nature of the Beautiful God (Jamal - feminine quality). This has altered the yin/yang balance favouring the patriarchal religion's "yang" aspect. Generally, a society that overemphasizes the Great nature of God (masculine), the unreachable God, then the society tends to overemphasize laws or sharia. This is reflected in society's social behaviour, which tends to be harsh, and overemphasizes power and law (Kamalia, 2020; Iwandri, 2023).

However, textual interpretation and tradition are more complex things that can be quickly sorted out from one society to another. Although the basis of religious doctrine is the same, for example, both originate from Islam, it is easy to prove that the variety of local interpretations allows for very varied differences and is not easy to be grouped into one standardized category. This includes how Islamic doctrine and sharia are interpreted, internalized, practiced, and even married with local traditions in each place, including the culture of the Bima people. **Based on the description of the background above, this research has the following objectives to describe the relationship between the idea of *Rangga* (masculinity) in the Maja Labo Dahu culture of the Bima people based on sociological studies and social education.**

METHODS

This research is a classroom action research (CAR) study. This research is a type of classroom action research (CAR). This research design uses an experimental research design. This research is a type of classroom action research (Azizah, 2021). Classroom action research (CAR) is a reflective The approach used in this research is a qualitative approach with the ethnographic method. Qualitative research intends to understand the phenomenon experienced by the research subject, such as behaviour, perceptions, actions, and others. The method used in this research is ethnographic. The ethnographic method is an overall study of culture that aims to describe culture more deeply regarding the traditions carried out and the community's outlook on life. According to Spradley, ethnography is a knowledge-building that includes research techniques, ethnographic theory, and various descriptions. Ethnography is meant to build a systematic understanding of human culture from the perspective of people who have studied that culture. Data were collected through observation, in-depth interviews, and documents.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Based on the results of the research, there are at least four religious doctrines understood by Bima people that are related to the preservation of the ideology of *Rangga* (Bimanese language), which means masculinity, male dominance, and at a later stage, allow the formation of acts of violence in the *Maja Labo Dahu* cultural community of Bima people. The doctrines in question are those related to (1) understanding the origins of the creation of women based on the study of sociology and social science education; (2) the meaning of the expulsion of Adam from heaven based on the study of sociology education and social science education; (3) socialization of gender roles based on studies of sociology education and social science education; and (4) the meaning of wife beating based on studies of sociology education and social science education. The four doctrines the Bima people understand are analyzed in the following discussion.

Understanding the Origin of the Creation of Women Based on The Study of Sociology and Social Science Education

The results show that the creation of women is for men because men were created first. The understanding of Eve's creation comes from the myths developed in the community. This myth is difficult to separate from the belief in religious values adopted by the community. Feminists point out that some myths cannot be rejected because they have become part of the beliefs of various religions (Nafsi, 2016; Nuraini, 2019; Kjellgren, 2021). The *Maja labo dahu* culture of the Bima

people believes Eve, as the first woman, was created from Adam's (male) rib. It turns out that this understanding comes from a hadith whose validity can be trusted, namely the hadith narrated by Bukhari and Muslims, which states that "women were created from Adam's crooked ribs; they will break if you try to straighten them." Through this hadith, the Prophet likens women to ribs that men cannot treat according to their wishes. Although the hadith does not explicitly state that the woman is Eve - because the word Eve itself is not in the text of the hadith - it is widely accepted in the *maja labo dahu* culture of Bima people that the woman is Eve. This is also plausible and consistent with general Islamic doctrine. Moreover, the name "Eve" here is none other than "Eva" in the Old Testament story. In other words, this myth belongs to the ordinary religions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

However, what is more important is that it has become a theological doctrine and is believed by the Bima people to be a reality. This theological conception can have implications for psychological, social, cultural, and political aspects that are misogynistic, looking down on women. This kind of understanding, according to Mulia, has broad implications for social life, including the creation of marginalized, subordinate, and stereotypical views of women. Women are seen as secondary beings whose presence is as complements and servants of men (Sumiarti, 2017). Understanding that Eve was created from Adam's ribs and women were created from men's ribs leads to the conclusion that women were created from men and for men (Fadlillah, 2019; Saleh, 2018; Maesaroh, 2022). The understanding that Eve was created from Adam's rib also gives birth to another interpretation that women are like ribs. As we know, ribs are bent and stiff but fragile (Yahya & Zainuddin, 2021; Majid, 2023). In addition, this understanding gives birth to another interpretation that women belong to men or are the property of men. So, through this myth of women's origins, Bima people understand that women are created from the ribs of men, and for men, they are hard and challenging to straighten because they break easily. Therefore, her approach and handling must be wise and gentle.

If analyzed further, the interpretation and understanding of the above hadith may depend on the context. Textually, the hadith means that women are created from the ribs of men, so the content of this hadith seems to harass women who are identified with creatures that are bent and hard (Imamuddin et al., 2021; Wulandari, 2023). Moreover, if it is linked to another hadith that emphasizes that whoever believes in Allah and the Hereafter, then be kind to women, this hadith implies that men should not be abusive or violent to women. Men can benefit from women without violence because they can complement their shortcomings. This means that complementing and understanding each other's differences can avoid acts of violence that can damage household harmony.

The Qur'an does not explain that women were created from Adam's rib. Therefore, the notion that women were created from a rib is questionable, as it is not in line with Qur'anic verses such as QS An-Nisa' (4):1; Al-Mu'minun (23):12-14) that are often referred to when talking about the origin of human beings. Is this a distorted understanding of the religious values derived from the Qur'an and hadith? About this understanding, the author is more inclined to state that the hadith of the Prophet, stating that women were created from Adam's rib, is a figure of speech. It implies that men should treat women with kindness and gentleness, right wrongs wisely, avoid violence, love each other, complement each other, and understand each other's differences and shortcomings. In other words, the hadith about women being created from a crooked rib conveys that men must be careful and wise in straightening or correcting women's mistakes, just like straightening a crooked bone. If not careful, it can result in the bone breaking. It can result in resistance and violence in domestic life if not wise.

Thus, the hadith about the creation of women from ribs is not a misogynistic hadith but a hadith that loves and elevates the dignity of women. This hadith symbolizes that men should be kind and wise in dealing with women. This aligns with men considered superior to women, namely having the ability, capacity, and wise attitude in relations with women (wives). This implies a power relationship that can control women. Haryatmoko states that power as a discourse regime can reach, penetrate, and control individuals up to the most intimate pleasures (Haryatmoko, 2013). For example, being beautiful, handsome, muscular, and macho is a discourse of power.

Furthermore, following the above description, it can be understood that in the *Maja Labo Dahu* culture of the Bima people, religious sacred texts are interpreted to reinforce patriarchal tendencies in various aspects of life, including in the household context. The perspective that understands women as the second sex that is secondary to men - due to their origins that are not independent but originate from men - automatically facilitates the embedding of cultural assumptions that demean women and further legitimize men's control and domination over women in general, and more specifically wives as their life partners. Although without realizing it, the interpretation may have deviated from its original context or been deliberately highlighted as a "weapon" that benefits the male status quo. More specifically, this becomes a justification for husbands when dealing with women who become their wives by displaying the ideology of the buffalo to dominate and subjugate women (wives).

The Meaning of Adam's Expulsion from Heaven Based on the Study of Sociology Education and Social Science Education

Still related to the story of Adam and Eve above, in the *Maja Labo Dahu* culture of the Bima people, it is generally understood that Adam (as) was expelled from heaven due to the actions of Eve, his wife, who was first influenced by the whisper of the devil (QS. al-A'raf, 7: 20-22) to eat the fruit

forbidden by Allah, namely the fruit that many understand as the fruit of *huldi* (eternal, immortal). They are forbidden to approach the tree, let alone to eat the fruit. This understanding implies that women are, by nature, fragile creatures of faith and stance, easily tempted, even seducers, and close to the devil. Therefore, it is recommended to be careful with women. These stereotypes led to another stereotype that most of the inhabitants of hell are women (Mulia, 2004; Mulia, 2007b). This stereotype further leads to misogyny, a negative attitude toward women, and looking down on them. Therefore, it is recommended not to get too close to women and not listen to their opinions to avoid being dragged into hell.

Through this understanding, the view is born that women are easily influenced and empowered creatures. With this logic, it is customary to limit the space for women to move. Women in the *Maja Labo Dahu* culture of Bima are prohibited from leaving the house without a *mahram*, walking alone, and not going out at night. In addition, the prohibition of leaving the house alone is driven by fear for women's safety and security. Therefore, it is emphasized that women should stay at home to care for the household, look after the children, and serve their husbands. Women do not need to attend high school because they eventually return to the kitchen. Women are also restricted and even forbidden to be active in the community because they could interfere with household affairs (Mulia, 2004; Mulia, 2007b; Supriyono, 2019; Mulka et al., 2022). Through such means, women are controlled and kept from being empowered, from being seduced and tempted so that no one feels harmed, and not many become victims.

Of course, the story of the origin of the creation of Eve as the first woman and the story of Adam's expulsion due to Eve's mistake in being seduced by Satan do not belong to the *Maja Labo Dahu* cultural community alone but to the Islamic community and the heavenly religious community in general. It is more important to underline here that the doctrinal religious implications that may arise because of and by the concept are real matters and concern the position of women in society. In the *Maja Labo Dahu* culture of the Bima people, it is ultimately believed that men can control women, and husbands control wives, thus allowing husbands (men) to commit acts of violence against their wives. This interpretation leads to the understanding that religion justifies husbands to beat their wives to warn, educate and punish their wives so that they do not do deviant things. This has resulted in the *Maja Labo Dahu* culture of the Bima people -the values of *Maja Labo Dahu* stem from the teachings of Islam, *adat* (custom) based on *sara'* (shari'ah), and *are* based on *kitabullah* (Holly Quran) -that men may beat women if they make mistakes and deviate (*ncemba*).

Socialization of Gender Roles Based on the Study of Sociology Education and Social Science Education

Starting from the distinction between the sexes, the differentiation of roles between men and women is one of the most important fundamental aspects underlying almost all cultures. Socialization to these roles usually begins at an early age and is carried out at different levels and in different ways from one culture to another. In the *Maja Labo Dahu* culture of Bima, boys are educated and required to be *Rangga* (masculine, male, mighty, strong, not weak, not whiny, and not effeminate). Men must be able to subdue and control women, not be trampled by women. Boys are educated and prepared to be a leader for women, the household, and the wider community.

On the other hand, women are educated and taught to be gentle in speech and behaviour, motherly, good at cooking, not to fight, obedient, and not tomboyish. Girls should not act and behave like boys, and boys should not act like girls. Boys who act and behave like girls are considered to degrade the dignity and honour of men. This instills gender values in children, including how to dress, talk, sit, etc.

The deviation from these cultural expectations is of particular significance. Men who cannot perform the cultural expectations of how a man should behave and act are called *sara site* (behave and act like a woman). In contrast, a woman is called *sara mone* if she exhibits traits and abilities similar to a man's. Such women are praised and admired. Perhaps this can be interpreted as a hidden cultural assumption that 'maleness' is higher or better than 'femaleness,' so women who achieve this quality are admired and praised. However, such a woman is still considered a violation of nature, and men are usually reluctant or afraid to enter into a romantic relationship with her, let alone a marriage. Dating or marrying a *sara mone* woman carries the risk of "colonizing" the husband, thus bringing shame to his image as a man in the eyes of society.

In contrast, a woman who marries a *sara siwe* man is less questionable. In Bima's *maja labo dahu* culture, masculinity (*rangga*, maleness) is much more valued and valuable than femininity (femaleness). So how can this be interpreted further as a feature of the *maja labo dahu* culture of the Bima people? According to the context of terminology, *Rangga* (masculinity), meaning superiority, and femininity, meaning inferiority, are dialectical and contradictory concepts. Fakihi, referring to Susan Harding's "The Science Question in Feminism" and Vandana Siva's "Staying Alive", writes that femininity and masculinity are two different and contradictory ideologies. For Harding and Siva, femininity is an ideology of peace, safety, love, and togetherness. Masculinity is characterized by competition, domination, exploitation, and oppression. Thus, in principle, femininity is not necessarily exclusive to women, and masculinity is not necessarily exclusive to men. In reality, many

women have and embrace the ideology of *rangga* (masculinity); conversely, many men also have and embrace the ideology of femininity.

According to Siva, the impact of this principle of masculinity is violence against people with low incomes and women, destruction of nature and the environment, and destruction of other nonrational knowledge systems. In the process, masculinity succeeds in dominating and hegemonizing the weak. In this regard, Drianus state that masculinity is a configuration within and contributes to constructing the gender order. He said that being a man or a woman is not an inherent concept but a configuration between self and society that shapes identity and relationships (Drianus, 2019). In a society based on religion and strong traditions, such as the *maja labo dahu* culture of the Bima people, the ambiguity of gender roles is certainly avoided and disliked. Furthermore, with the basis and emphasis on sharia or law, the tendency towards masculinity seems to encourage violence because with violence, the law can be implemented, and the results are seen immediately.

Sociocultural aspects of society, including rigid religious understandings, produce desirable images of masculinity and women (Hayati et al., 2014; Jewkes et al., 2015). The subject automatically internalizes this sociocultural construction and forms a social structure. It is as if a mutual agreement exists between subjects in a societal context to determine a single image of masculinity that outperforms and negates other types.

Regarding violence, it remains a question whether psychological and physical sanctions by husbands against wives in the Maja Labo Dahu culture of the Bima people result from the prominence of masculinity. One thing is clear, however, that to survive the atrocities of patriarchal culture, says Millett, women had better act feminine; otherwise, they may be subjected to various cruel and barbarian practices (Tong, 2013). There seems to be relevance to Millet's statement with the findings in this study that acts of violence will be more numerous and violent experienced by the wife if the wife resists the husband. The research results show that several victims accept their husband's harsh treatment patiently and consider it a natural that they must experience as a wife.

This kind of thing is a wife's obedience to her husband. The wife is prohibited from leaving the house if there is a commotion. Older adults tell wives not to resist or run away from home even if they are tortured to death. Thus, it is as if the emphasis on masculinity, in this case, is reinforced by religious doctrine regarding a wife's "obedience" to her husband, where wives are ideally asked to be patient and accept their husband's violence with resignation. Accepting the husband's harsh and cruel treatment implies that the wife allows the husband to beat and abuse her.

It cannot be denied that there are some biological differences between men and women, and there are various gender roles in various cultures worldwide. Therefore, sex cannot be used to

determine gender roles. Bashin states that if only biology determined our roles, then every woman in the world should already be cooking, washing, and sewing. Still, that is not the case, as most professional cooks, washers, and sewers are men. In other words, gender roles are socially constructed according to the demands of a particular culture. Oakley, one of the first feminists to use the concept of gender, stated as follows: gender is a cultural issue (Oakley, 2016). She referred to the social classification of men as masculine and women as feminine. As male or female, a person can be judged by their biological aspects. However, masculine or feminine cannot be judged in the same way or by the same criteria- the criteria differ in time and place. The fixed nature of sex must still be recognized, and so must the impermanent nature of gender. Oakley concludes that gender has no biological origin and that the relationship between sex and gender is unnatural.

In other words, in some instances, biological male superiority and female inferiority have been masked by social and cultural male superiority and female inferiority. As cited by Bashin, Aristotle mentions the principle of active men and passive women. A woman is a dead man, one who has no soul. In his view, women's biological inferiority also results in inferior capacity, their ability to think and thus make decisions. Because men are superior and women are inferior, men are born to rule, and women are born to be ruled. Men's courage is shown through leadership, while women's characteristics are through obedience. Buchbinder emphasizes that this patriarchal structure does not only victimize women but men as well (Buchbinder, 2012). The inequality of this structure is not only seen from the binary opposition, men oppressing and women victims of oppression. This kind of structure harms both women and men. However, not all men are harmed or benefited, but only a few.

With this interpretation, gender-based violence may be triggered by the assumption that men and women have different social functions and roles. Women are considered inferior, with weak emotional traits and characters; on the contrary, men are strong, powerful, rational, and so on. Furthermore, gender-based violence reflects the patriarchal system that develops in society. In addition, women's inferiority is also exploited by male aggressiveness. That is, because men are aggressive, women appear weak. Indeed, the results of psychological research as written by Maccoby and Jacklin consistently find differences in the level of aggressiveness between men and women because men have the hormone testosterone; men are more aggressive than women; likewise, when the hormone is injected into women, and animals, they behave aggressively like men. This may drive men to commit violent acts against women or their wives.

This inferiority of women allows men to dominate and control them, and it is as if women are also co-opted to be dominated and controlled by men. El Saadawi stated that a woman's passive or

permissive manner is not a woman's natural character but a big task for her community. It is socially constructed. This can be said to be a 'social disease'. The social disease in question, according to Dorothy Dinnerstein, develops into the need for men to control women and for women to be controlled by men. Women are always looking for men who can control themselves, and in sexual relations, they will try to satisfy men.

In contrast, their satisfaction is not considered or ignored. This condition runs in the circle of women's lives as seen in the world of facts. A daughter will learn how her mother acts and speaks, how her mother faces her father, and is treated by her father. All of this is recorded and re-expressed in her later life. Some of the above thoughts are consistent with the findings of this research, where the responses of women (wives) and men (husbands) in some cases of domestic violence are a reflection of what they see from their own eyes. Because men are superior and women are inferior, men are born to rule, and women are born to be ruled. Men's courage is shown through leadership, while women's characteristics are through obedience. Buchbinder emphasizes that this patriarchal structure does not only victimize women but men as well. The inequality of this structure is not only seen from the binary opposition, with men oppressing and women victims of oppression (Buchbinder, 2012). This kind of structure harms both women and men. However, not all men are harmed or benefited, but only a few.

The Meaning of Wife Beating Based on the Study of Sociology Education and Social Science Education

Another doctrine taken from religious sacred texts and directly related to the focus of discussion in this study is regarding "wife beating". Wife beating by husbands is based on QS Annisa's verse 34, which is interpreted literally - even though a word or sentence can also have a symbolic meaning - that wives who commit *nusyuz* (defiance) must be advised, separated from bed, and beaten. Although some disagree with spanking, for those who agree, this verse is interpreted as the wife must submit and obey the husband. If not, the husband has the right to hit her.

The logic of the above interpretation is that the husband takes three stages, namely advising (initial stage, mild); if he cannot be advised, the husband separates the bed (second stage, moderate); if it cannot be done by separating the bed, then the husband beats (third stage, severe). If the man is not a leader in the household who occupies a higher position than the wife, the husband can't carry out these three stages. The husband's leadership is more clearly seen at the end of the verse, which uses the word "obey": "Then if they obey you, then do not look for ways to trouble them." The use of the word "obey", which has a similar meaning to the word "loyal", "obey", shows that there is a hierarchical relationship, a structural relationship between husband and wife. Thus, male leadership

in the household, as explicitly stated in QS An Nisa' Verse 34, is normative, not textual. Even so, husbands, as leaders, are not expected to lead in an authoritarian manner, ignoring the opinions and considerations of their wives.

The issue here is, what kind of beating should the husband do? The Bima people interpret the beating (*dharaba*, which means "hit") referred to in verse as a physical beating because the first and second stages are non-physical and light; of course, the third is physical and heavier than the previous two stages. The third stage is the beating stage, so the wife stops defiance (*ncemba*). As mentioned earlier, beatings against wives who are *nusyuz* (*ncemba*, insubordinate) are an effort to provide "education". Mufassirs such as Ar Razi and Ath Thabari agree with the explanation of the verse referred to as a husband must carry out several stages in dealing with a *ncemba* wife, namely giving advice, bed separation, and beating. However, they noted that the beating that is justified is a beating that is not painful, does not injure, does not break bones, and does not damage the face. The informant stated, "*aina nduku kaipi, ipina bune ha'a kanggia*" (Bimanese language that means "do not hit hard, the hardness is like being bitten by ants"). In short, beatings are allowed, but they are light, and avoiding them is better.

However, as evident from what happened in the cases reviewed here, "painless" beating is challenging to define. The word "hit" itself implies something painful. "Let alone being hit, just pinching hurts," said the informant. Although at the level of the *mufassir* (interpreter), *tuan guru* (master of Islamic teacher), and *kiai* (cleric), it is stated that beating a wife is justified. It is a beating that is not painful. The layperson can understand it differently that beating is a natural, painful beating, which can deter the wife. Non-painful hitting cannot have a deterrent effect on the wife, so what is the difference between the first and second stages? One of the informants, Yad, in this study, emphasized this.

This is a form of distorted interpretation and understanding in the *maja labo dahu* culture of the Bima people, so that wife beating is considered normal. Because they feel justified by religious teachings and authorized by custom and society, husbands are not ashamed and afraid and do not feel guilty about doing so. Some husbands admitted that they were reluctant to beat their wives, even considering the act something "shameful" (which should be avoided in the context of *Maja Labo Dahu*). But in reality, they do it anyway, arguing that it would be even more embarrassing if their wives were "*da mbalu*" (meaning, wives who are stubborn and cannot be told or advised).

It is even more complicated if the beating is done arbitrarily or without consideration, except as an emotional outburst or even a drunken state, as seen in several cases in this study. For example, Nasar (54 years old) beat his wife (and children) for the simple reason that "there are many things in

this house that make me angry". Nasar wants everything in his house to go according to his taste, from big to minor things. If it is not done to his liking, he feels he has the right to get angry and resort to beatings. This is, of course, an arbitrary act to force things to suit his taste. If we look at why it is permissible to beat one's wife, as taught in religious texts, is this kind of thing also worthy of theological justification? Moreover, cases of beating carried out in a drunken condition are very pronounced efforts to justify or justify that are out of place by using religious pretexts.

The results of research like this were also revealed by Meiyenti, who examined violence against women in the household in Minangkabau, where violence against women was caused by a wrong interpretation of religious values, namely that the husband is a lord who must be obeyed (Meiyenti, 1999). There is an assertion that between religious understanding and noble cultural values constructed in the *maja labo dahu* culture, there is still a distance to reality, resulting in violence against women, especially in the household context. This occurs because of the interpretation of sacred religious texts and traditions that are understood as one-sided, namely leaning towards interpretations that favour male domination, which has implications for preserving the patriarchal system in society. Initially assumed to be "education" in the religious context, Beating becomes very thinly demarcated from "violence" itself. This makes it difficult to distinguish between them and provide a clear and firm social reward or sanction so that events that should not have happened do not recur and the perpetrators are deterred.

CONCLUSION

The results showed that several religious doctrines are directly related to preserving the idea of male dominance over women, which in turn allows the formation of a discourse of violence in the Bima Maja Labo Dahu cultural community. The doctrines are related to (1) the meaning of the origin of the creation of women from men and for men; (2) the meaning of Adam's expulsion from heaven caused by women; (3) the meaning of Rangka for men in gender roles as a figure who protects and dominates women; and (4) the meaning of wife beating as something legitimized by community culture. This understanding and meaning tend to position men as a figure who bears the idea of Rangka, masculine, male, which is then legitimized as a protector and dominator of women. Women are controlled, subordinated, and used as property.

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