

## Culture of Education and Gender Relation: A study on goals of education for women in Sasak, Samawa and Mbojo tribes in Nusa Tenggara Barat

Research article

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**Abstract.** This study aims to discuss the main issue of education for women in Sasak, Samawa and Mbojo ethnic families. The academic problem based on idea of this research is the persistence of gender-based inequality that is suspected to originate from cultural practices and misconception religious understanding of women-male relations. These two social entities then influence the pattern of education transferred in a family that can shape gender perspectives and relations. The results showed that the purpose of education for women in the three tribes has similarities, namely to produce ideal women according to their respective local wisdom perspectives, namely women who obey customs, have a knowledge, skills, and economic independence.

### Article history:

**Keywords:** Culture of education, gender relation, education for women.

### Introduction

It is generally agreed that the quality of human resources is closely related to education. The better the quality of education, the better the quality of people. Similarly, the better the quality of people, the better the quality of education produced. One indicator of quality education is education that liberates learners from powerlessness and inability or discrimination; ethnicity, religion, ethnicity, culture, gender and others. In this context, every human being is seen as a potential resource who can contribute ideas in development.

Discriminatory actions that often occur in cross-cultural world are sex-based discrimination, not least in the field of education. This discrimination, which is usually experienced by women, then lead to feminists with various gender theories, namely a new perspective in looking at male-female relations in society (Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1988; Hirschmann, 2008; Smith et al., 2010). In the empirical world, of course, discrimination and gender relations are not exactly the same in different cultural communities (Davies, 2007; Engineer, 1990; Fatimah, 2012; Hermawati, 2007; Khaerani, 2017; Wirata, 2015). This difference may be due to the social system that is built, the values and norms that are taught, as well as the religion and beliefs that are embraced by certain communities (Engineer, 1990; Klingorová & Havlíček, 2015;

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Nurhilaliati, 2017; Schimmel, 2003; Wardatun, 2009).

In Indonesian culture/kinship systems, there are also a variety of male-female relationships that are generally divided into patrilineal, matrilineal and bilateral systems. These kinship systems construct unique patterns, forms, systems and social structures in marriage, inheritance, social relations and behavior. All of the above are taught in family education for generations, and community members that are naturally bound by the values taught by the family/community in the community.

In West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) there are three major tribes, namely *Sasak*, *Samawa*, and *Mbojo* (Sasambo). In general, the kinship system of these three tribes adheres to the patrilineal kinship system. However, in some specific matters (marriage, inheritance, and social) there are significant differences between *Sasak*, *Samawa*, and *Mbojo* (Sasambo) women. Without ignoring these differences, what is a certain fact is that there must be a process of transferring values, norms, doctrines and knowledge carried out by the community/family to 'shape' the image of the ideal woman. What must be underlined is that women's education in Indonesian families is a lifelong education; from birth, childhood, adolescence, adulthood, pre-marriage, post-marriage, and so on. The family, for the majority of Indonesians, is primary, and becomes a reference in many aspects of life. Thus, the focus of this research is to further examine the educational process that takes place in the lives of women in the three tribes in NTB. The educational process referred to here is not the process that occurs in formal institutions, but the process and output of an activity of transferring values, norms, doctrines and knowledge that takes place in the family (informal).

Based on the discourses and empirical situations related to women that occur in the three tribes in NTB that have been described above, the researcher is interested in elaborating the purpose of women's education that takes place in the Sasambo Tribe.

There are two themes related to this research, namely family education and gender relations in Sasambo culture. The subject of the research is the community (family) of the Sasambo tribe. In addition, there are many writings about family education and also gender relations in certain cultures, including, Rahman (2015) offers a concept of gender-based family education. Parents as the axis of the family, ideally should have and convey the duties and roles of each family member in improving family welfare. This conceptual description is carried out by assembling existing concepts in the literature. Chandra (2019) who said that women in a society that has experienced colonization experience double suffering stemming from patriarchal structures and colonial practices. Asyari (2021) also writes about the importance of family institutions in educating children with various *Sasak* tribal wisdom values that are rich in philosophical and socio-cultural values. Wirata (2015) describes the figure of women in *Sasak* tradition and culture through the Kotaragama script, Dewi Rengganis, Megantaka and local wisdom, where women have an honorable place and equal portion with men in rights and obligations, positions and roles based on mutual respect, respect, mutual help and complementarity. Sang (2017) who compared approaches to family education in Chinese and American societies. Jafar et al. (2021) explained that before adopting

the official religion established by the government, the Donggo people practiced a belief called *Makakamba-Makakimbi* which was expressed in the form of offerings called *soji ra sangga* to improve agricultural yields and eradicate pests. This belief shifted after Islam, Catholicism and Protestantism entered the region. Soro (2022) shows that the people of Bima-Dompu use respects to actualize educational values in their social interactions. Applying the importance of this form of respects has become a tradition and characteristic of the community. This is a concrete form of teaching the values of politeness education that is passed down from generation to generation to create a sense of harmony in society. Sofiani & Mufika (2020) examines the gender bias of early childhood education in the family. By referring to *permissive*, *democratic*, and *authoritarian parenting* models, Sofiani concluded that gender bias occurs more in families with authoritarian parenting models (Sofiani & Mufika, 2020).

The writings above have not revealed a holistic picture of education for women carried out in the three tribes in NTB, especially related to educational goals. In addition, the studies conducted are still limited to matters related to each culture such as art, beliefs, knowledge, leadership, and other studies related to women.

## Method

This research is a descriptive qualitative research of phenomenological type to see the cultural reality in education and gender relations. Researchers describe research findings as they are without conceptual presumptions. The main focus is on the meaning of various events, experiences, and status owned by women as research subjects. Data were collected through in-depth interviews, observations, and documentation studies of traditional/cultural leaders, community leaders, and a number of female community members aged at least 18 years.

This research is a multi-case study because it was conducted in three major tribes in NTB that have different characteristics; *Sasak*, *Samawa*, and *Mbojo*. Research on the *Sasak tribe* was conducted in the South Lombok region of *Rambitan village*. Research on the *Samawa tribe* was conducted in the West Sumbawa region of *Taliwang in Rarak Ronges village*, and research on the *Mbojo tribe* was conducted in the Donggo region of *Donggo Kala village*. The choice of location was based on the assumption that these locations are still strong enough to maintain culture and tradition. Determination of research subjects was done by *purposive sampling*, which is based on saturation and sufficiency of data and answering research questions.

Data analysis was carried out through the inductive method, namely concluding special cases obtained from field findings and constructing field findings in general theories. Data validity was carried out with extended observation, data triangulation, and peer discussion. The extension of observation was carried out when the data collected could not answer all research questions completely. Triangulation in this study is source triangulation, which is matching data from one source with another source. Meanwhile, peer discussion is discussing research findings with colleagues who have knowledge of the theme of this research.

## Results

### Culture and social systems of the Sasak, Samawa, and Mbojo tribes (Sasambo)

The Sasak tribe is an ethnic group that inhabits Lombok Island and uses the Sasak language as their mother tongue. Quoting Kendra Clegg, Jamaluddin writes that the Sasak tribe is the indigenous population and the majority ethnic group of the people who inhabit the island of Lombok (Jamaluddin, 2019, p. 1). According to Kraan, the island of Lombok is divided into three regions, namely the northern mountains, the southern mountains, and the central plains. The northern mountains are a volcanic complex culminating in Mount Rinjani (12221 feet). The southern mountains are non-volcanic mountains culminating in Mount Mareje (2350 feet). The central plain stretches from east to west for 56 kilometers. This central region is inhabited by most of Lombok's population (van der Kraan, 2009, pp. 1–2).

The long process of interaction with outsiders has created a distinctive culture in the Sasak tribe. It is said that the Sasak tribe was influenced by Javanese culture (since 14 AD) when Majapahit exerted its influence on the kingdoms in Lombok. Even when the political power of Majapahit ended in Lombok, the dominance of Javanese culture was still visible. This was also due to the spread of Islam in the region by a Javanese scholar, Sunan Prapen (16 AD). In the mid-18th century AD, after the collapse of the Islamic kingdom on Lombok, the master teachers came to perfect Islam by bringing ideas of change from Haramain. This period is the most successful period in Sasak history which further shapes the character of the Sasak people to this day (Jamaluddin, 2019, p. 2). Thus, Islam is a major factor in Lombok society. Even as quoted by Bartholomew, an ethnographer said that "to be Sasak is to be Muslim" (Bartholomey, 2001, p. 86).

Wahyudin, quoting Sabirin, said that historically Sasak society recognizes three social stratifications based on closeness to the king and the king's family. The ningrat or *perwangse* group occupies the highest stratum (first class nobility), then followed by the *triwangse* group (second class nobility) as the middle stratum, and finally the *jajar karang* group (third class nobility) as the lowest stratum. The first two strata are called *permenak* or *menak* (Wahyudin, 2018, p. 56). This distinction of social strata is a legacy of the Hindu kingdom with its caste system that once occupied the Lombok region. Today, the influence of this sorting of society can still be seen in the title of nobility and the traditional marriage procession that must be followed. The rest, the differences in social strata are not too strict, because the community has recognized the discourse of equality that places humans equally in social life.

Still according to Wahyudin, the value system in Sasak culture consists of three layers, namely the deepest layer as the basic/philosophical values, the second layer as the moral support layer, and the third layer as the applicative symbol of the first and second layers. In the first layer, there is an *overlapping value* that motivates the Sasak tribe to become human beings who are appropriate (right), obedient, paku (diligent), solah (good), and soleh (pious, peaceful). In the second layer, there is the *value of maliq* (prohibition, should not) and *merang* (the spirit of doing good and positive). While in the third layer there is the value of collective practices to build common good such as *sangkep* (deliberation) and others. In this third layer, there are *krame* (norms) and *awig-awig* (rules), which consist of *titi krame*, *base krame*,

and *aji krame*. Where *titi krame* regulates the procedures for *midang* (visiting a girlfriend) and *betemue* (visiting a friend), *base krame* regulates gestures and how to speak in an *orderly-tapsila* (polite) manner. While *aji krame* is the price of honor carried out in the wedding procession (*sorong sera haji krame*) (Wahyudin, 2018, pp. 55–56).

The Samawa tribe or *Tau Samawa* is an ethnic group that inhabits the western region of Sumbawa Island, with boundaries to the north bordering the Flores Sea and Teluk Saleh, to the east bordering Dompu Regency, to the south bordering the Indian Ocean, and to the west bordering West Sumbawa Regency. The Samawa tribe uses *Basa Samawa* with various dialects (*Samawa*, Baturotok, Batulante, Lunyuk, Taliwang, Jereweh and Tongo) as their mother tongue (Times & Hyperlocal, n.d.). Agus Talino and Manggaukang Raba, write that the ancestors of *Tau Samawa* came from various tribes that came to Sumbawa from various parts of the archipelago. Sumbawa is a representation of ethnic assimilation in the archipelago complete with cultural acculturation. Hasan Muarif Ambary argues that the local ethnic groups in NTB are Sasak and Mbojo. Sumbawa, Dompu and others are their sub-ethnic groups. (Kalimati, 2005, p. 40).

Citing various sources, Kalimati explains the meaning of the word *Samawa* which can be seen from a sociological and philosophical perspective. Sociologically, *Samawa* comes from the word *sammawa* which means the meeting between west and east, north and south, referring to the conception that the *Samawa tribe* comes from various parts of the country. Others argue that the word *Samawa* means to give something, namely that if someone visits or is a guest in the house of a Sumbawa person with a souvenir, then the Sumbawa person will give something in another form worth or more in quantity when the guest returns home. Philosophically, *Samawa* means something high, meaning that Sumbawa people really keep their self-esteem as high as the sky. Another opinion states that *Samawa* stands for *Samawati wal ard* which means heaven and earth, because *tau Samawa* is a believer in the heavenly religion. For the local community, it means "both bring" and "both down". "sama-sama bawa" means the influence of ethnic migrants who still maintain the original culture of their ancestors even though they have become an integral part of the Sumbawa tribe. "Sama bawah" means the reluctance to give appreciation to others who have more achievements (Kalimati, 2005, pp. 41–42).

The establishment of Kabupaten Sumbawa Barat was based on the fact that the distance of control between the government center of Kabupaten Sumbawa Besar and the people of West Sumbawa was very far, resulting in slow government services to the community, slowly equitable development, slow efforts to improve human resources, and so forth. For this reason, community leaders in West Sumbawa immediately came up with the idea of establishing West Sumbawa Regency. The idea was then socialized to all components of the community in the sub-districts of Sekongkang, Jereweh, Taliwang, Brang Rea, Seteluk, West Alas, Alas, and Utan Rhee in a meeting attended by community representatives from the 8 (eight) sub-districts on 10 March 2000. At that meeting, the establishment of Kabupaten Sumbawa Barat was declared, and at the same time the Committee for the Establishment of Kabupaten Sumbawa Barat (KPKSB) was formed, whose

management accommodated representatives of the eight sub-districts (Wikipedia, 2022).

The following long excerpt describes *Tau Samawa's* outlook and philosophy of life:

The people of Sumbawa have the *Krik selamat* worldview that the goal of life is to achieve happiness in this world and the hereafter. This means that true happiness comes from the gift of salvation from God, the creator of the universe. The life philosophy of tau sama is *to/no to ke boat*, which means knowing, skillful, clever, aware of the obligations in life. If the opposite happens, it is considered a failure in carrying out life obligations. Thus failing to reach *krik selamat*.....*Tau Samawa* are generally very good at maintaining their self- esteem. People who cannot maintain their self-esteem are called *no kangila* (no shame). the word *ila* is highly upheld by the people of Sumbawa. Shame is a manifestation of an assessment of a dignified person which gives rise to the reluctance of Sumbawa people to do work that they consider inappropriate and undignified, such as manual labor, begging, taking care of work that is usually done by women for men. In addition, failing to get married, failing to make the pilgrimage, wearing shabby clothes when leaving the house and feeling bad when said to be poor are an integral part of the understanding of *no kangila*. Related to this, there is the expression *kangila rara kagampang bola, kangila rara kagampang sugih*, feeling ashamed to be called poor, it is better to cover up by pretending to be rich. (Kalimati, 2005, pp. 42–44)

Rarak Ronges is one of the villages located in Brang Rea Sub-district, West Sumbawa Regency. The geographical condition of Rarak Ronges Village, which is located in the mountains, makes it a remote village and the difficult access road is the main obstacle to developing the potential of the village. Rarak Ronges village is famous as a coffee-producing village in West Sumbawa. Rarak Ronges robusta coffee is even recognized as one of the highest quality coffees in the world by the Rainforest Alliance, an independent American assessment and export certificate issuer (Kabarnrtb, 2017).

Sriani, who is the head of the area, explained that in Rarak Ronges, the majority of people are coffee farmers, although the results are still minimal due to constraints on maintenance. Because coffee is harvested only once a year and because there are disturbances such as monkeys and the like, some residents took the initiative in addition to coffee farming to also try planting corn, because currently corn planting has increased by almost 80% from 10%. The community was encouraged to plant corn because of an increase in education, namely the very expensive cost of education. If they only rely on substandard agricultural products, how can they pay for their children's education later. So here the community began to realize to plant corn twice if there are those who can plant corn twice a year, with an alternating system of rice and corn. There is a large area of rice fields here but there is a shortage of water and so on. Related to this information, the head of the KSB Agriculture Office said that Rarak Ronges was made the center of the 2022

agro-tourism *pilot project*. So apart from being a place to enjoy coffee, this place is also used as an orchard tourist spot (Admin, 2021).

The Mbojo tribe or *Dou Mbojo* is an ethnic group that inhabits the central and eastern parts of Sumbawa Island, namely Dompu Regency, Bima Regency, and Bima City, with *nggahi Mbojo* as their mother tongue. Geographically, the area inhabited by the *Mbojo tribe* borders Sumbawa Besar district to the west, the Sape Strait to the east, the Flores Sea to the north, and the Indonesian Ocean to the south.

Historically, the *dou Mbojo* are divided into two groups, namely the indigenous population and the immigrant population. The indigenous group is called *Dou Donggo* (Tajib, 1995, p. 32). Hilir Ismail distinguishes Bima people into *Dou Donggo*, *Dou Mbojo*, and migrants. *Dou Donggo* is the longest occupant of Bima compared to the other tribes. They are considered the original inhabitants of Bima. The *Donggo* people live in mountainous areas in the highlands that are far from the coastal areas. *Dou Donggo* has different customs, culture and language from other Bima people. *Dou Donggo* itself is territorially divided into two, namely *dou Donggo Ele* (East) which now inhabits Wawo Tengah sub-district (Kuta, Teta, Sambori, arlawi, Kalodu, Kadi, and Kaboro) and *Dou Donggo Ipa* which now inhabits *Donggo* sub-district. While *dou Mbojo*, is a mixture of *Dou Mbojo* with Makassarese and Bugis people because of the relationship that has been well established since the royal period. The migrants are *Dou Malaju* (Malays) and *Dou Ara* (Arabs) who used to come to *Dana Mbojo* to trade and broadcast Islam. Besides Malays and Arabs, other migrants who became Bima people were Chinese, Javanese, Madurese, Flores, Moluccans, Timorese, and others (Ismail, 2004, pp. 14–19).

Aksa explained that *Donggo* is the name of a sub-ethnic group that occupied the Bima region, long before the formation of the sultanate. *Dou Donggo* is the prototype of a plural society, upholding the value of tolerance based on deep-rooted religious moderation. *Dou Labo* and *Donggo* are an illustration of religious diversity and a place where Islam, Catholicism and Protestantism flourish. In terms of customs, *Dou Donggo* is actually not much different from other Bima people. However, in terms of language, some *Dou Donggo* still use the original *Dou Donggo* language as a means of daily communication. Throughout their history, the existence of the *Donggo* people has been viewed as other (or othered) by the Bima people (*Dou Mbojo*). This explains that the existence of *Dou Donggo* is still seen as another person who is not the same (*Dou makalai, hampa ma kalai hela*) as *Dou Mbojo* (Aksa, 2021).

The *Mbojo tribe* recognizes several social stratifications, because before the sultanate period, Bima was a former royal territory. This social stratification still exists today, although it is no longer as strong as it used to be. There are four stratifications known in the *Mbojo* tribe, namely *Ruma* for the descendants of the sultan with the titles *Ruma Sangaji* (male) and *Ruma Paduka* (consort of the sultan), *Ama Ka'u* (male descendant) and *Ina Ka'u* (female descendant); *Rato* for the descendants of *RumaBicara* (Prime Minister), both male and female descendants with the title *Ko'o*; *Uba* for the descendants of *Gelarang*, the title *Uba* is given to men and *Ina* for women; and *Ama* for the descendants of ordinary people (M. F. Rahman, 2009, pp. 48–49). The fading of differences between the social stratification of the *Mbojo*

community, according to Maryam et al. is due to several factors: the revocation of property rights to land that was once widely owned by the nobles, advances in education that affect changes in community position, marriage between the nobles and the people, and the increasingly widespread democratic process (Salahuddin et al., 2013, pp. 39–40).

Religiously, the Mbojo tribe is generally a community that lives in a social religious environment where the majority adheres to Islam. *Dou Mbojo* are devout followers of Islam. The dominance of Islam in Bima began when the sultanate of Bima was established (July 5, 1640 AD) and ran the government based on Islamic law. In Bima society, Islam developed from a structural area to a cultural area, from the religion of the priyayi to the religion of the people. Islam that developed in Bima entered through the trade network between kingdoms in the eastern region such as Tallo, Gowa, Bone and Luwu. That is why in the early days, Islam only existed on the coast, and then spread to various corners and inland (Jurdi, 2010, pp. 1–2)

Before the entry and development of Islam, the people of Bima adhered to the beliefs of *Makakamba* (radiating light) and *Makakimbi* (sparkling light and heartbeat). *Makakamba* is synonymous with dynamism, as it is believed that objects have supernatural powers (good and evil). Objects that have good supernatural powers must be cared for and maintained such as kris, spears, gemstones, springs, fertile soil, and lush trees. *Makakimbi* is synonymous with animism, as it is believed that every object has a spirit or soul. *Makakimbi* teachings worship spirits that reside in dense forests, river, boulder, mountains, and even the seashore. To establish a harmonious relationship with the spirits, *Toho ra Dore* (prayer) is carried out by preparing *Soji* (offerings) (Malingi, 2022, pp. 41–43).

### **The purpose of education for women in the Sasambo family system**

Every educational activity, both formal and non-formal, certainly has a goal that becomes the direction of the implementation of these educational activities. This is also the case with education that is carried out in every family. Although not systematically planned, like formal education, every family must have long-term hopes and ideals for their children which then guide the education process in the family. Education for women in every family also has goals, which may be different from education for men. The specificity of education for women can also be seen in the family education of the Sasambo tribe.

Education for women in *Sasak*, *Samawa* and *Mbojo* families has the same goal, which is to produce an ideal woman who is the pride of the family and the dream of men. The definition of this ideal refers to certain criteria that are considered good by each community. Some of these criteria are the same and some are different. Thus, the ideal according to the three communities is different. The definition of the ideal woman is important because, according to researchers, it will greatly affect the purpose of the education that is implemented. Furthermore, to see further the expectations of education for women in the family in the three tribal communities, the following data can be followed.

Mamiq Raba and amaq Yusril said that the ideal woman according to the *Sasak* community in Rembitan in general is one who has an equal social status with

the man who wants to marry her; she looks beautiful; can weave; can look for firewood; can cook; can take food to the rice fields where her husband works; can take care of the house; can mingle with her social environment; can draw water; can find grass for cows. The most preferred criterion in selecting women is those with the same social status. If you choose a woman whose social status is below that of the man concerned, it will affect the price that must be paid to the woman. The price status level of the Sasak community in Rembitan is divided into prices of 33, 66, 99, or 100. In addition, it will also affect the title of nobility given to its descendants. The demand for equality of social status is more emphasized to the noble women. If this rule is violated, namely marrying a man not of equal social status, then they are not allowed to return to their family home (Mamiq Raba and Amaq Yusril, Rembitan, interview, July 31, 2022).

The criteria of social status and beauty, of course, cannot be possessed by all women. Therefore, what is sought through the process of women's education in a family is character building and teaching skills that are in accordance with agreed customary norms. Referring to the ideal figure of a woman expected by a family and desired by every man, the education process is directed primarily at how children and young women can weave, can take care of the household, can cook, can look for firewood, can draw water, and can deliver food to the rice fields/gardens, and can support the family economy (Amaq Yusril, Rembitan, interview, July 31, 2022).

Departing from the purpose of education whose reach is only related to domestic affairs, women and the majority of Sasak people in Rembitan do not care much about formal education. Because according to them, why they go to school because the president, governor, regent, sub-district head and so on already exist. The same goes for women, because their place is at home and doing their main duties. According to Yusril, there are less than ten scholars in Rembitan today. The families of mamiq Raba and mamiq... (the current head of the sub-district) were the first to bring about change and have an awareness of the importance of education. According to amaq and inaq Yusril, the Sasak community of Rembitan considers that there is no certainty that will be obtained in relation to education (school). The important thing is how one can earn economically. If it can be earned, there is no need for high school, it is enough to be able to read and count (no wonder, for example, that many children from the Sade area are found as seller at Kuta beach). This assumption may be one of the reasons why the rate of early marriage in this area is so high (Yusril, Rembitan, interview, August 1, 2022).

The Sasak community in Rembitan, especially women, do not really care about education and seem to be a backward society in civilization, according to mamiq Raba, this happened because it was influenced by Dutch colonialism which limited or even prohibited indigenous people from attending school / getting an education. Letting alone in the general public, the nobility did not care about formal education. According to amaq Yusril, he and his family, nowadays, are gradually changing people's views regarding the importance of formal education and not to be too fanatical about social status, for example he married a person from outside Rembitan who does not have an equal social status. In addition, his

family does not use the title *mamiq* but uses the title *amaq* (Mamiq Raba, Rembitan, interview July 31, 2022).

According to one of the Rembitan youth, L. Muhammad Aprian, the main purpose of the education provided to the Rembitan community in general is the birth of community members who adhere to customary norms. It can be said that *adat* is the most important thing, even overriding religious rules. In Rembitan, a person is judged based on their adherence to *adat*. This is why most men choose a woman from Rembitan as their life partner, because they understand each other's customs. According to him, *adat* in Rembitan requires women who can work in the fields, take care of livestock, can take care of the household, have good *adat*, and have skills such as cooking and weaving (L. Muhammad Aprian, Rembitan, interview August 19, 2022).

Based on the opinions of the data sources above, the researcher concluded that the purpose of education for the *Sasak* community in Rembitan is to produce women who can be responsible in carrying out their duties and obligations as wives, housewives, and community members in accordance with applicable customary norms.

The *Samawa* tribe in Rarak Ronges also have criteria regarding the ideal woman. According to Rohana (24), based on her parents' teachings: "The ideal woman is an educated woman. The higher a woman's education, the more respected she will be and the more expensive the dowry she will receive. Even if the woman does not work outside the home, the important thing is that she is educated. It is unacceptable for a Sumbawa woman or Sumbawa people in general to get married before completing one level of education. In addition, the ideal woman is one who keeps her social life; has good manners, especially towards parents and elders; has clear and respectable descent and origins, so it is preferable to marry someone from the same village and the same Sumbawa; has a good social status such as already working / civil servant, here often education is defeated by career, there is no need to continue education to a higher level, the important thing is to get a job / civil servant; skilled in taking care of the household. Even though the woman has a career outside the home, she will be talked about if she cannot take care of the household; can maintain her appearance but still have weight, not to be said *Karing Gaya* or no content". (Rohana, Mataram, Interview, August 5, 2022).

Regarding the ideal woman, Nisa also said that: "parents are looking for someone who is well-established. Fathers look more for behavior and morals. Boys are asked to look for a woman who can take care of their parents, especially their mother, in their old age. Who can get along with parents and family. In addition, it is preferred to look for women who do not come from outside the area because they do not want to be far away. for the problem of arranged marriages in this village is still strong because the ornamentation is still within the family...." (Nisa, Rarak Ronges, interview, August 2, 2022).

According to Rina, the purpose of education for Rarak women can be differentiated based on the place. Education obtained through formal educational institutions is aimed at obtaining employment, especially as civil servants. Meanwhile, education provided in the family environment aims to enable women to

take care of the household, carry out their duties and obligations as wives, mothers, and good citizens. As a wife, a woman must respect and treat her husband well and be able to serve all of his needs. As mothers, women must be able to raise, teach and educate and be role models for their children in the future. Set an example of good education. Women must also be able to maintain good manners, have good speech, and take care of themselves. The ideal woman according to most Rarak people is one who is already working. But for her, she wants to be a good housewife, be a role model for her children and have skills in doing household chores (Rina, Rarak Ronges, interview, August 2, 2022).

The results of interviews with several research subjects show that the purpose of education for women in *Samawa* families in Rarak Ronges is to obtain and complete the highest formal education according to the parents' ability, so that with this education women become economically independent by obtaining jobs, especially as civil servants. In addition to obtaining education and employment, the purpose of education for women is to have high manners both in the family and in relationships, and to be able to carry out their duties and obligations as wives, housewives, mothers of their children, and good citizens.

Furthermore, for the *Mbojo* community in Donggo Kala, the purpose of education for women can be assessed from the high attention of parents in Donggo towards the education of their children, both girls and boys. According to Mahatir (41), a teacher and youth leader in Kala: "Our children have to go to university, they have to be graduates. We parents may not finish elementary school, junior high school, or high school, but our children must have a university degree. In Donggo, children's education is highly valued. Parents are competing to send their children to school or college. Almost in every house there are children who have graduated. There must even be one child with a degree in one house. Here, there are no children who finish high school who are not told to continue their studies, except for those who do not want to or who choose to work such as becoming soldiers and policemen, especially the boys" (Mahatir, Donggo Kala, interview, May 5, 2022).

According to a Kala community leader, Adhar (56) who also has four daughters, "the purpose of education for boys and girls is different, where education is given to women so that they have knowledge that is useful for life, especially for themselves, especially in the future. More specifically, so that daughters have knowledge in running their daily lives, namely knowledge that is useful for themselves, families, maybe even for households as ordered by the prophet, there are three things that will be brought to death by their parents, the first point is one of them is a useful child, a pious child, and a pious child means having a broad child, especially religious knowledge of life. The daughter will not always live alone. Of course, in time they will marry, so that knowledge will be applied in their lives as households, communities, and families. That is our goal in educating this daughter, which is to have a lot of knowledge and broad knowledge" (Adhar, Donggo Kala, interview, May 6, 2022).

When asked whether educating girls is more emphasized than educating boys, Adhar said there is no difference. "...Because if you refer to the statements of the Qur'an and Sunnah, there is no difference in terms of educating children. It's just

that in dealing with girls and boys, of course there are many differences, called men, if women are a bit lighter, because girls are mostly at home. In other matters such as finances, for example, boys are certainly more utilized by boys, and we as parents are sure that those portions are also slightly more utilized by boys than girls, because women are a little frugal. But it goes back to the individual. Personally, I equip all my children with the same knowledge. Because we still want our children to be good. Not because our children are girls, then we educate them differently. But clearly in my case it's a bit easier to educate, teach, and give advice to girls than boys. As for my children, they are honestly children who make me proud. Not because of the boys, ihwan (mentioning the child's name) beats his younger siblings. He is an outgoing boy for me" (Adhar, DonggoKala, *telephone interview, August 27, 2022*).

In Adhar's opinion, "But it would be even better if boys are equipped with a lot of knowledge because boys have a lot of time to play outside and so on. But for girls, especially in eastern Indonesia, girls spend more time at home. Although in reality there are also many women who are outside. But most of our habits in eastern Indonesia are that women are more at home. Now it has shifted somewhat. In the 50s, 60s, 80s, almost 80% were at home. But now with the times, the development of technology and so on, women also take a little time to take part in improving their knowledge, careers and so on" (Adhar, Donggo Kala, *telephone interview, August 27, 2022*).

In Donggo Kala there is no difference in the rights of boys and girls to education. According to Abidin (53): "Boys and girls are the same, they are our children, there is no difference in treatment for them, they are all the same, they have the same right to learn, they have the same right to go to school, to higher education. We, the parents, support the children, we pay for their schooling, as much as they want to go to university. Now is not the time for children not to go to school. We fully encourage and strive so that children can go to high school, can study until they get a bachelor's degree" (Abidin, Donggo Kala, *interview, May 7, 2022*).

The purpose of education for women in Mbojo families in Donggo Kala, therefore, is to pursue and obtain the highest formal education possible, so that with the provision of knowledge women have good morals and knowledge that is useful for their personal lives in the future, both in relation to God, themselves, their spouses, families, and communities. Thankfully, with the knowledge capital from formal education, women can get a job. In addition, the purpose of education is also directed at mastering skills that are considered to belong to women, such as taking care of themselves, taking care of their husbands, taking care of children, and households.

## Discussions

Based on the data above, it is known that the purpose of education given to women in the families of the three tribes in NTB is the same, namely to become good men and women in the context of their respective local wisdom. The author considers that a good man and woman according to the Sasak community in Rembitan is one who can carry out the provisions agreed upon by local customs.

Meanwhile, good men and women according to the *Samawa community* in Rarak Ronges have similarities with good men and women according to the *Mbojo community* in Donggo Kala, namely adherence to manners derived from Islamic teachings.

The *Sasak community* in Rembitan, proposes the main requirement that a woman must have, namely being able to maintain manners in the midst of socialization, this is in line with the contents of the Kotaragama Manuscript which illustrates that women are figures who are awarded a high position in everyday life: *Hana wong ngistri hangucap- ucap lan wong lanang ngika halunus, Tanana halane rarasane. Yes, the wong wadong hika, hala sisya pangucap. Then the man would not like it, coming to the pala karta. Punang ngistri kawratana, katiban sabda 3000. Sinakolan bojo tan sajana haran.* This stanza illustrates that women must maintain their speech in their daily relationships, especially when dealing with men. Because if this rule is violated, the behavior and speech of the woman will cause dislike from men, who can then report it to the court (Wirata, 2016, pp. 264–269).

Furthermore, a good woman in the perception and perspective of the *Sasak community* in Rembitan is one who is able to realize herself in accordance with customary propriety, namely a woman who has independence and ability that manifests in the figure of a woman who can weave, can do household chores, can work to take care of property, and serve family needs.

The weaving skills required for women in this region can be considered as a demand that is quite burdensome for women on the one hand, and on the other hand, it can also be a social capital that can bring economic benefits to women themselves. Learning to weave until becoming skilled is not an easy job, because it must go through a fairly grueling stage, starting from spinning cotton to spinning yarn which requires women to sit for hours in their weaving equipment.

Weaving for the indigenous *Sasak people* is an ancestral heritage from thousands of years ago, which is made a mandatory activity for women, because expertise in weaving is a sign of whether the woman is mature and ready for a household. However, assessing the maturity of today's women with the indicator of weaving skills can be said to be unfair to them, considering the advancement of science and information technology that requires a practical, efficient and effective life. On the other hand, weaving can also be a source of income for women, because the cloth produced from this activity can be sold as a source of income for women.

Weaving and several demands on women in the context of the *Rembitan community* position women in a situation that in gender studies is called a *double burden*. Women have a very heavy burden and must undergo it just to get the title of an ideal, good, and perfect woman according to the judgment of society. This is where post-colonial feminism studies can be seen to be true, that women, especially those in developing countries, bear a heavier burden of oppression than women in developed countries, because in addition to experiencing gender-based oppression, women also experience ethnic and religious-based oppression. The mentality of society that produces oppression in the physical aspect, knowledge,

values and the wrong perspective towards women needs to be corrected (Mufidah Ch., 2010, p. 48).

In addition to adherence to traditional values and the demand for women to master other skills, there is an urgent issue that needs attention, namely how to make the Rembitan community, especially women, aware of the importance of education. Economic independence coupled with a strong scientific base is far better than having only one of them. The *Sasak* tribe in Rembitan should begin to change the *mindset* that women do not need to go to school, let alone high school, as long as they can read, count and become wives/women who can take care of the household. Educated women are actually needed to give birth, educate, and prepare their children to become quality generations.

The description of *Sasak* women found by Wirata (2015, pp. 261–272) that the figure of women in *Sasak* tradition and culture in the Kotaragama script, Dewi Rengganis, Megantaka and local wisdom, where women get a place of honor and an equal portion with men in rights and obligations, positions and roles based on mutual respect, respect, mutual help and complementarity, is not fully proven in the Rembitan community. The researcher considers that respecting and protecting women for the Rembitan community is not "freeing" women to express themselves such as pursuing the highest education possible, and considers that a respectable woman is one who "stays" at home to do all household chores and so on related. This is counter-productive to *kompas.com*'s statement regarding the strengths of *Sasak* women who are described as multitasking, because they support the family economy, become guardians of tradition, and performers of art. All the advantages that exist in these women should not stop only in the scope of the Rembitan area and not also to be exploited for certain interests. They should be helped to spread their wings and develop without being blocked by primordial reasons. Women should be empowered, not tricked in the name of economic independence, while at the same time they are being employed.

For the *Samawa* tribe in Rarak Ronges, the purpose of education for women is to develop women capacity who have high manners in their relationships. Adab is an important thing that every member of society needs to have, including women. For the *Samawa* community, adab is a measuring tool and indicator to assess whether someone has a good personality or not, and will certainly determine their acceptance in society. Such is the importance of adab that it was found that all research subjects said that a good woman is one who has good adab and behavior towards others. This finding can be matched with the statement related to the material that is most strictly taught to girls is adab to elders.

In addition to the issue of manners, women are also required to go to school as high as men. According to several subjects studied, the necessity to go to school is in order to prepare women who have economic independence. The main target is to work in the government sector, namely as civil servants in the education sector, in the health sector, in the government sector and so on. If you already have a job / civil servant, the necessity to go to school as high as before is no longer prioritized. That is, if the person concerned is accepted as an ASN after graduating from high school, it is enough to get there, because that alone is enough to make

women have a high bargaining position in society. This finding has relevance to the character of the *Samawa* people who must have a culture of shame if they do not have a respected social status. Civil servants are seen as a prestige and are the goal of most people.

Talino and Raba quoted by Kalimati explain that, the goal that the *Samawa* people in general want to achieve is *Krik selamat*. The goal of life is to obtain happiness in this world and the hereafter. The Sumbawa people's philosophy of life is *to/no to ke boat*, and it means knowing, being skilled, clever, aware of the obligations in life. If the opposite happens, it is considered a failure in carrying out life obligations. Thus failing to reach *krik selamat*. *Tau Samawa* are generally very good at maintaining their self-esteem. People who cannot maintain their self-esteem are called *no kangila* (no shame) (Kalimati, 2005, pp. 42–43).

The word *ila* is highly upheld by the people of Sumbawa. Shame is a manifestation of the valuation of a dignified person which gives rise to the reluctance of Sumbawa people to work that they consider inappropriate and undignified, such as manual labor, begging, taking care of work which is usually done by women for men. In addition, failing to get married, failing to make the pilgrimage, wearing shabby clothes when leaving the house and feeling bad when said to be poor are an integral part of the understanding of *no kangila*. Related to this, there is the expression of *kangila rara kagampang bola, kangila rara kagampang sugih*, feeling ashamed to be called poor, it is better to cover up by pretending to be rich (Kalimati, 2005, pp. 42–43). This is also where the *Pina Ila Do Bilen Desa* advice is applied, which provides limitations to the community, including women, to be able to maintain manners and ethics overseas that will not embarrass the family and community.

After matters of manners, higher education and employment, women must also have skills, especially those related to maintaining their appearance and beauty, and taking care of household chores. As in the Rembitan community, Rarak also holds the view that a good and ideal woman is one who incorporates all of these aspects. Even when they have fulfilled their adab, education and occupation, they are still talked about by their neighbors as not taking proper care of the home and family. Ironically, the scorn comes from fellow women, who also experience the same burden. So, the problem of the burden borne by women is not just a social burden but a psychological burden as well. Faqih considers that socially, men and women are often differentiated, the impact of which is the inequality of male-female relations in society. One form of inequality is that women bear a heavier work (*double burden*) (Fakih, 1996, pp. 45–49).

Meanwhile, among the people of Sumbawa, the expression *tau salaki balemar, tau sawai basowan*, which means men carry and women uphold, describes the workload and the amount of goods that must be carried by men and women. The expression shows that the luggage and workload of men are heavier than the goods carried and the burden borne by women. *Tau sawai enti pamongka, tau salaki enti rangala* refers to the division of tasks between men and women in *Samawa* society. The expression implies that women work in the kitchen for cooking and men work plowing the fields. This is also counterproductive to the

reality faced by women who sometimes also enter the world of work that is traditionally men's work, such as working in the fields or in other public sectors.

The Mbojo tribe in Donggo Kala, like the Sasak and Samawa tribes, also have goals in educating their daughters. The main goal of education is to pursue and obtain the highest formal education possible, so that with the provision of knowledge, women have good morals and knowledge that is useful for their personal lives in the future, both in relation to God, themselves, their spouses, families, and communities. Thankfully, with the knowledge capital from formal education, women can get a job. In addition, the purpose of education is also directed at mastering skills which are considered to belong to women, such as taking care of themselves, taking care of their husbands, taking care of children, and households.

Juxtaposing these educational objectives with the educational objectives listed in the National Education System Law (2003), There are similarities in the aspects of knowledge, spirituality, noble character, independence, and skills. The purpose of education set out in the law is to develop the potential of students to become human beings who are faithful and devoted to God Almighty, have noble character, are healthy, knowledgeable, capable, creative, independent, and become democratic and responsible citizens. Although the main goal of education for women is to have knowledge and noble character, Mbojo women are also required to have the ability and skills to carry out work that is considered to be the duty and responsibility of women, namely being a good wife by serving all the needs of her husband, being a good mother by taking care of and educating her children, being a good housewife by taking care of housework, and being a good family and community member. With all these demands, women are still required to maintain and care for their beauty and present themselves in order to please their husbands and others.

The demands on women in the three tribes are further strengthened by advice such as *Maja labo Dahu* for the Mbojo tribe, *pina ila do bilan desa* for the Samawa tribe, and *must taok dirik* or *jagak dirik* for the Sasak tribe. In addition to being social capital that is always given by parents when their children are about to step out of the house, these advice can also place women in a fence that cannot be crossed. *Pina Ila Do Bilan Desa*, *Harus Taok Dirik*, and *Maja Labo Dahu*, may not have any meaning for people outside the three tribes, but for the Sasak, Samawa, and Mbojo tribes, these sentences become "lucky" sentences that have a very deep meaning and become a reference norm in behavior.

Comparing the position of men and women in relation to these traditional demands, it seems that the demands on women are much heavier than those on men, for example, women must have more shame than men: Shame if they can't take care of themselves properly; shame if they can't take care of their children and husband properly; shame if they can't manage their household affairs properly. Why is that? Because it has been pegged that women are the honor of the family. If women are good and able to maintain their honor, then the honor of the family will be upheld. In this case, Islam calls "*al-mar'ah imad al-bilad*", women are the pillars of the State (Mardiyana, 2017; Shihab, 2007, p. 253). In the context of Islamic

education, it is also said that mothers/women are the first madrasah that will provide the foundation of creed, morals, worship and so on in children's education (Abdul, 2020; Anabella et al., 2022; Nurhayati & Syahrizal, 2017).

At the societal level, it is believed that values develop and are fostered around the family (Brenner, 1986, p. 22). The relationship between parents and children is a natural one. According to Tiffany, for children, family is not just relatives or people who share the same blood and have the same DNA, but family is the only place for children to take refuge and defend themselves from harm. They may only be able to judge what is scary or not, not what is good and bad. Children will be able to think good and bad depending on the upbringing or guidance of the family, which is the smallest and the closest environment. (Tiffany, 2017).

## Conclusion

The purpose of education for women in Sasambo tribal families is similar, namely to produce good and ideal women based on the perspective of their respective local wisdom. For the Sasak tribe in Rembitan, a good woman is the one who is able to realize herself in accordance with customary propriety, namely a woman who has independence and ability that manifests in the figure of a woman who can weave, can do household chores, can work to take care of property, and serve the needs of the family. For the Samawa tribe in Rarak Ronges, adab is a measuring tool and indicator to assess whether a woman has a good personality or not. In order to prepare women who have economic independence, they go to school as high as possible. For the Mbojo tribe in Donggo Kala, a good and ideal woman is one who pursues and obtains the highest formal education opportunity, so that with the provision of knowledge, women have good morals and knowledge that is useful for their lives, both in their relationship with God, themselves, their spouses, families, and communities. With the knowledge sufficiency from formal education, women hope to get a job, in addition to the skills that are considered women's property, such as taking care of themselves, taking care of their husbands, taking care of children, and households.

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