DISCOURSE OF IDEAL MUSLIM FAMILY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: REIFICATION AND ADAPTATION

Kusmana, Tantan Hermansyah
UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta
kusmana@uinjkt.ac.id; tantan.hermansah@uinjkt.ac.id

Received: 02.10.2019 Revised: 03.11.2019 Accepted: 04.12.2019

ABSTRACT

Islam has a strong commitment to form an ideal family for its people. It is reflected in the effort of Muslim scholars to formulate it from time to time. Muslim practices and their scholars’ conceptualization of it have been contributing to the foundation of Islamic civilization. Using a descriptive-analytic method and sociological perspective, this study tries to answer the question of how Muslims scholars formulate the concept of ideal Muslim family in the modern context? The study finds that the concept of ideal Muslim family has been contextualized poorly since it was formulated in the middle age. Furthermore, in its theoretical level, it turns out to be reificated. It actualized in the form of norm and system of family which are well maintained through various institutions that are inherent in the Muslim community. Referring to the cases in Indonesia and Malaysia in modern time, this process of reification experiences socio-cultural dynamics, with common picture of nurturing the traditional concept of it.

Keywords: Qur’an, Family, Community, Reification, Adaptation, Dynamics

© 2019 by Advance Scientific Research. This is an open-access article under the CC BY license (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/) DOI:

Introduction

In many traditions, the concept of family has been fostered by sources of experience, and of normative inspiration, as well as sources of imagination. The source of experience can consist of habits or customs and something referred to in sociology as social practices. Social practices, here, refer to actions and sayings that are used in family life, ranging from nomination, marriage, family life, divorce, division of roles, problems after divorce, inheritance, polygamy, etc. Sources of customs are part of social practices that focus on a number of important social practices, and sometimes ceremonies.

The normative sources can also refer to customs, but they generally refer to state laws and regulations, and sources of religion (the Qur’an and Sunnah), and religious teachings. Finally, sources of imagination may refers to the works of Muslim scholars who constructs Islamic teachings by deducing religious normative sources, blended with secular regulation sources, and their reflection over muslim practices. The teachings of religion are confined to the products of ulama’s ijihad. Legal privileges are carried out by someone called a cleric who makes legal deductions from religious sources. The result can be Islamic jurisprudence or Islamic teachings. In the cultural context, if the results of ijihad or legal norms are taken, then it becomes binding for the followers of the school of thought. While in the context of nation states, such as Indonesia and Malaysia, the results of the legal agreement are reformulated into points which are then formally processed by legislative organizations, and then promulgated into government regulations. After all the processes are complete, the results of jurisprudence and legislations are binding for every Muslim citizen.

Family is a sociological unit that has its own problems and dynamics. As a sociological unit that has its own system, sometimes these dynamics and problems are quite different from other sociological units such as community and society. Therefore, as an entity, the role and function of the family in the life of wider community (humanity) becomes very important. Although there is a small part of the human race that does not implement this practice, the importance of sociological units in human life in general cannot be rejected.

Each entity has its own concept of family. The concepts are constructed in such a way as to fulfill various conditions, such as conforming to the main values, customs, and a number of other applicable values. Every concept that is built must represent the entity, era, and needs. Family concept is no exception. In addition to paying attention to sociological, psychological, and cultural aspect, the concept of family can be seen also as a manifestation of its ideal concept.

The family which consists of (at a minimum) husband and wife, is a unit bound by rules, provisions, and values that apply in their time. Therefore, it is not surprising if there are different practical forms in family entities. However, every family entity has similarities in all of these differences, for example, the existence of a structure referred to as the head of the family and family members, there are rules for relationships between family members, and so on. The basis and value of family relationships can be very diverse. Every age can display different patterns and relationships. There are family ties

1 Quoted from Herien Puspitawati, Family Concepts and Theory (IPB Press: 2013) “As the smallest unit in society, families have an obligation to meet the needs of family members which include physical needs (eating and drinking), psychological (love/care), spiritual/religious needs, and so on. The purpose of forming a family is to create happiness and prosperity for family members, as well as to preserve the descent and culture of a nation. A prosperous family is defined as a family formed based on a legitimate marriage, capable of fulfilling physical and mental needs that are proper, devoted to the Almighty God and has harmonious, and balanced relationships between family members, and between families and their communities and environment (Landis 1989; BKKBN 1992).”

2 Even families are an integral part of development. In Law Number 52, 2009 concerning Population Development and Family Development: Chapter II; Third Part, Article 4 Paragraph (2), that family development aims to improve family quality so that a sense of security, peace and hope for a better future in realizing birth welfare and inner happiness.


based on customs, agreements, and on religion. Islam as a teachings and guidance is a binder of family institutions for muslims.

The Qur’an informs various narratives regarding family. QS. al-Tawbah: 71 calls men and women of faith to be helpful one another.⁵ The Qur’an in three places - QS Al Ahzab / 33: 7; QS. al-Nisa / 4: 154, and QS. al-Nisa / 4: 21 - describes the relation of marriage as mitsaqan ghalizan (strong promise). In these three verses, administrative and social functions of marriage are gathered together.⁶ This is because to make an agreement between legal subjects must be strong, a number of pre-conditions must be fulfilled such as a record, witnesses, and a dowry other than the two legal subjects themselves, namely the bride and groom (male and female). Furthermore, as a whole model of relations between two parties or more requires an agreement that is of legal dimension. That is how Islam regulates family institutions. Islam not only gives more attention to the institution, but also places it in a glorifying position.

If it is examined more generally, the family in the Islamic perspective is explained through functional relationships. For example, the subject of a husband, wife, father, mother, or child is connected to a functional relationship, then attached it to a number of obligations and rights. For each of these functions, Allah promises a reply to every act.

This article is the result of a review of the dynamics of the concept of Muslim families that are associated with the meaning and social practice of the Ummah on the concept. This study begins with the hypothesis that “the Islamic Ummah has carried out a process of reification of the concept of family, and the phenomenon that appears to date has only been a phenomenon of adaptation to the various developments that have emerged?”

Method

This study uses a descriptive-analytic method, describing the collected data in certain categorical units of analysis. In so doing, literature review and discussion with experts were applied. In literature review, a number of works are examined to describe what have been written by other scholars relating the concept of ideal Muslim family. In this step, we identify the works of Indonesian and Malaysian scholars. In addition, we also review books or articles written by scholars published in these two countries. Other documents circulating in Islamic community organizations in Indonesia such as Nahdatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah and Persatuan Islam (Persis), and in the Ministry of Religious Affairs were also consulted. Similarly, the similar sources in Malaysia such as the Islamic religious organization Perstuan Malaysia Ulama (PUM) and the Malaysian Islamic-University Study Academy (API-UM), were also examined.

Several discussions with experts were carried out to identify the dynamic conceptualization of ideal Muslim family. In doing so, we use Habermas idea of critical discussion. He shows the model of sharing knowledge to emancipate through what he calls “intersubjective dialogue”. In this “intersubjective dialogue”, each party has a capacity (considered) equal. That way, this equality has made the emancipation room opened. The emancipated subject can cover the parties involved in the dialogue process.

Furthermore, observation and discussion with a number of experts in Indonesia or in Malaysia were applied to accumulate the needed data. Several respondents representing three major organizations: NU, Muhammadiyah, and Persis- and Ministry of Religious affairs were also consulted. While observations were carried out in six Islamic boarding schools, namely: Al-Mujahidin Islamic Boarding School Barito Kuala South Kalimantan, Darul Amien South Kalimantan, Mutuibrary Aceh, Takengon Central Aceh M’iyarul Ulum al-Aziyayah, Roudothul Mutaa’im, Bonang Sarangan, Central Java Demak, and Al-Hidayah Islamic Boarding School, Grobogan Central Java. They were chosen because they represented educational institutions which were randomly selected. In addition, they were also considered as education institutions which still strongly held the traditional education system.

Literature Review

There are two types of previous studies on the issue of Muslim family: first, guide book, and second, research works. Arifki Budia Warman explains that this kind of publication illustrates household and family issues based on the normative teachings of Islam. They use popular language which is easy to understand.⁷ The books that are included in this category are: 40 Tips for Fostering Ideal Households,⁸ Keys to the Integrity of Households,⁹ Sakinah Families,¹⁰ Happy Households and Their Problems,¹¹ Marriage Gifts,¹² Family Three Gold Series (The Golden Triangle of Family ) “Youth Tips Entering the Gate of Happy Families and Being Wise Parents”,¹³ Ideal Age for

---

⁵ "The believers, men and women are Auliya’ (helpers, supporters, friends, protectors) of one another; they enjoin [on the people] al-Ma’ruf (i.e. Islamic monotheism and all that Islam orders one to do), and forbid [people] from al-Muskar (i.e. polytheism and disbelief of all kinds, and all that Islam has forbidden); they perform as-Salāt (iqamah as-salāt), and give zakāt and obey Allah and His Messenger. Allah will have His Mercy on them. Surely Allah is All-Mighty, All-Wise." (QS: 9: 71)


⁹ Siti Nazar Bakry, Kunci Keutuhan Rumah-Tangga (Keluarga yang Sakinah), Jakarta: Pedoman Ilmu Jaya, 1993.


DISCOURSE OF IDEAL MUSLIM FAMILY IN SOUTH ASIA:

Marriage: An Effort to Realize a Peaceful Family "14 Love, Marriage and Sexual Relations,"15 and A Happy Family in Islam.16 In general, these publications have discussed two major themes, marriage, and family life. Substantially, they emphasize how the writers nurtured and fostered the concept of ideal Muslim family as had been formulated by previous scholars. It can be seen in terms of obligations for each spouse. Abdul Qadir Djelani explains that Husbands’ obligations include: 1) leading, maintaining, and being responsible for the family; 2) sufficient for economic needs 3) meeting biological needs; 4) and doing good relationships. While wives’ obligations include: 1) obeying God and husband, 2) maintaining self-respect; 3) serving the husband’s biological needs well; 4) and taking care of the household.17

The second type of publication about Muslim families is research work, done by researchers in general, and by university researchers in particular. Modernity influences family practice in three ways: number of family members inclines towards nuclear family, role of family members, and the increasing independence of the family.18 For example, Faturrochman’s study finds that children get the opportunity to receive better education today, due to the small number of family members. Accordingly, children today have bigger possibility to receive needed financial as well as other resources quite fairly.19 However, these modern influences donot change radically the fundamental concept of family where traditional values and practices are still maintained. Yasmin Binghalih’s,20 Suad Joseph’s21,22 Toto Suharto’s22, and Muhammad Hafizuddin Thani’s23 study find that patriarchal values still operate in the present family of Arab Muslim communities where men are prioritized over women, the father as the head of family, and the mother as the housewife.24 Some other studies confirms the importance of the application of modern values and system in family life. Rahma Bourqia’s and Rustina’s researches confirm that family education plays importance role in preparing a new generation today, in addition to formal education.25 Reginal Kansil, et al.’s work encourages families to pay attention to more democratic patterns of communication to train children in many things. These skills are needed in life in modern times.26 Andik Wahyu Muqayyidin’s, and Burqia’s research inform that the discourse and practice of feminism and gender sensitivity add a number of alternatives to interpret the status and role of family members in the modern era.27 Similarly, but in a different tone, Mufidah’s work discusses gender issues in family life theologically, arguing that religious sources in Islam provide the theological foundation to enable Muslims to implement Islamic gender equality in family life.28 Mohd Roslan Mohd Nor’s study finds that Muslim couples must respect marriage as part of divine orders. Accordingly every spouse is pleased to respect for every member of the family.29 Similar point is also found by Fealey and Hooker. They note the efforts of a number of scholars who tried to form a harmonious family concept with the term “Sakinah Family.” The family was characterized as a family blessed by God, and was able to maintain feelings of love between family members so that the family had feelings about security, calm, and happiness in an effort to achieve prosperity, calm, and happiness in the world and the hereafter.30

Another publication written by Harun Ar-Rasyid Hj. Tuskan (2003) identifies characteristics of good wife, and explains as follows: 1. Obey Allah and his Apostle; and 2. Obey her husband. Externally, the wife as a representation of Muslim women is also a citizen. Muslim women are also members of the nation and state, in this case the nation and state of Malaysia. They have womb and with it they can give birth to a new generation. Norsaleha Mohd, Abdul Halim Tamuri and Salke Amat explain that “Women are a part of this nation. They are the most important element in a nation because they are the first institution that gave birth to the younger generation.” Because of this, Mat Samat Abdurrahman

32 Salleh, Tamuri & Amat, Wanita Isu-Isu dan Pemerkasaan Hak, p. 17.

---

17 See. Abdul Qadir Djelani, Keluarga Sakinah...Pp. 104-143.
20 Yasmin Binghalih, Family Dynamics Between Arab Muslim Parents, Western Parents and Their Bi-Ethnic Children, Thesis. (California State University, 2007).
24 Yasmin Binghalih, Family Dynamics Between Arab Muslim Parents —, p. 3 and 13.
asserts that husbands must respect their wives adequately, with the principle of respect, cooperation and mutual help.\textsuperscript{33} Another work written by Raiahan Abdullah discusses polygamy issue in Malaysia. She explains that in Malaysia, the government controls the implementation of polygamy permits. The government makes sure that in its implementation does not occur discrimination, and violence against one party in the family, especially for women. This point is part of the Malaysian Government’s efforts to improve the quality of family life, and in particular how to improve women’s dignity.\textsuperscript{34}

**Southeast Asia: Context of Discourse**

The term of Southeast Asian is a term that emerged in the modern period after World War II which was externally determined and was later accepted to refer to the regional territories of a number of nation states as we know them today.\textsuperscript{35} Southeast Asia includes the great Indochina peninsula and the vast archipelago that was once known as the East Indies. Within this region there are states of Burma, Brunei Darussalam, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and the Philippines. Islam is the religion of two-fifths of the people in the region, most of them living on the Malay Peninsula, the Malay Archipelago, and on the island of Mindana, the Philippines. Indonesia is the only largest Muslim country in the world, with a population of 212 million. Two thirds of Malaysia’s 25 million residents are Muslim today. Muslim traders who landed in Indonesia in the 7th century discovered centuries of Hindu-Buddhist civilization. There had been communities that were well organized and developed in the Indonesian archipelago since the 7th century BC. Southeast Asia always has close economic and social relations with the Indian subcontinent. The oldest Hindu artwork in Indonesia dates from the 3rd century AD. During the 9th century, Hinduism and Buddhism were practiced as palace religions. The combination of two religions continued until the rise of Islam in the 14th century. Reflecting all religious changes at the court level, ordinary people adopted parts of each new religion as an additional layer of their basic beliefs as natives. Islam might tie its followers together stronger than other religions found in Southeast Asia. This has implications for the strong influence on culture, social, political, and economic in the areas where it is spread. From the 15th century to the 17th century Sunni Islam was widespread, coming from the Middle East through India.\textsuperscript{36}

In general, most Muslim communities in Southeast Asia are Sunni Muslims from Syafi’i schools with remnants of Sufi influence in religious ceremonies, and strong adherence to mystical traditions. Before the colonial impact, Southeast Asia did not have an official organization of ‘ulama’ or any other Muslim religious leaders. Therefore, there is no state control over religious affairs as in the Middle East and in India. In contrast, Islam is organized around individual teachers and saints on a local scale. While these teachers adhere to the sharia law code, local schools are independent of each other. The justice system in Indonesia is based on Romano-Dutch law. This system consists of the Supreme Court in Jakarta, which is the last court of appeal; High courts located in the main cities of Java, Sumatra, Sulawesi, Kalimantan, Bali, Maluku and Papua, which handle appeals of more than 250 district courts. There are four judicial chambers (general, religious, military and administrative), each with a court.

The legal field in Malaysia is as complex as most other cultural and social heritage, with several interrelated traditions. Those who concern the Malay population are Islamic, Customary or customary law, and British colonial influence. Since 1963, Malaysia has maintained a quasi-democratic parliamentary political system that includes regular elections and moderate political diversity, but also there are some restrictions on civil liberties, including a ban on public discussion about sensitive issues. In Malaysia, the legal system is based on British general law. The Malaysian constitution which is the highest law of the country stipulates that the federation’s judicial authority will be given to two High Courts, one in Peninsular Malaysia and the other in East Malaysia, and also in subordinate courts.

The concept of an ideal family in Southeast Asia shows an interesting phenomenon, because it has factual irony. On the one hand, women or wives as important parts of the family have a positive and visible place in society compared to the phenomenon of women/wives in other geographical parts of the world. Apart from differences in the category of education further, women/wives in Southeast Asia have strong visions in public spaces, in workplaces, fields, schools, and in other public places. On the other hand, they have certain problems in their rights, positions and opportunities compared to their partners - men/husbands. This phenomenon is quite strong in Malaysia.\textsuperscript{37}

If it is traced more deeply, it will be found that the root of the problem of that irony lies in how the ideal Muslim family concept is formulated and confronted with discourses and practices of values and systems of modernity. Modernity offers a number of understandings and practices that are not entirely the same as values and systems of traditional pattern. The source of inspiration for the concept of an ideal Muslim family in Malaysia is also inseparable from this problem. In general, Islamic religious understandings in Malaysia are the same as Islamic religious understanding in Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia, Brunei, and Thailand with the majority Muslim province (Fatani), namely the majority of Shafi’i faiths in figh and affiliated to Sunnah wa al-jama’ah’s school of religion. Regarding the ideal family concept, it is understandable that the concept is built in the framework of family concept which is based on Sya’fi’i with the possibility of expanding its acceptability tolerance within the framework of understanding three other religious school priests - Hanafi, Malikhi and Hanbali. In this family concept, the concept of an ideal Muslim family rests on the policies that have been built by medieval scholars. An interesting space for further discussion is the fact that the concept is the construct of the concept of an ideal Muslim family that does not adequately incorporate various situations, understandings, new practices born after the concept of the ideal family has well established. As an illustration, like other Southeast Asian countries, Malaysia faces gender issues and gender inequality problems.\textsuperscript{38}

**Typology of Families in Indonesia and Malaysia**

Although the religious understandings of Indonesian and Malaysian Muslims are the same in general, namely Sya’fi’i in figh and affiliated to Sunnah wa al-jama’ah or al-Asyari in


\textsuperscript{34} Abdullah, Wanita Isu-Isu dan Pemeriksaan Hak, p. 92.

\textsuperscript{35} Nicholas Tarling, Nation States and States in Southeast Asia, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. viii.


\textsuperscript{38} Fealy and Hooker (compiler and editor), Voices of Islam in Southeast Asia... , p. 273.
theology, in practice Muslims in both countries have differences. The most basic difference lies on the fact that Indonesian government regulate only some religious life including family problems. Indonesian Muslim communities still have ample space to practice their religious teachings, including in families. On the contrary, in Malaysia, the state regulates the whole religious life of its citizens included in family affairs. In family matters, the state only adheres to the Sunni Islamic model and regulates all matters in the perspective of the Imam Shafi’i and the Ashari theology with the adaptation of modern administration.

As an illustration, in the implementation of polygamy, Muslims in Indonesia, even though the state has issued certain restrictions to withstand the widespread practice of polygamy, Indonesian Muslims still have freedom compared to Muslims in Malaysia. This is because new sanctions can be imposed on a limited basis in Indonesia, namely in the form of reprimand to dismissal from the position if the polygamous husband is sued by his first wife. This point can only be applied to citizens who are civil servants. For Muslim citizens in general, they tend to follow the opinions of religious leaders where religious leaders often rely on Imam Madhab’s opinion rather than Codification of Islamic Law. While in Malaysia, the state has arranged all family affairs. Polygamous husbands, for example, must register their polygamy intentions in the religious affairs office, and the entire administrative process must be under state supervision through the religious affairs office. If the husband of polygamy violates, like he is carrying out the second wife's marriage or more outside the territory of the country of Malaysia, then the state has the right to process it legally. The husband can end up in the prisoner, or instead, he has to pay a substitute, certain amount that the state had determined.

In general, the current typology of Muslim families in Indonesia and Malaysia can be briefly described as in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO</th>
<th>VARIABLE</th>
<th>INDONESIA</th>
<th>MALAYSIA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Conceptualization</td>
<td>The concept of ideal family generally refers to the classical books. The state began to issue about in 1971.</td>
<td>Since independence (1957) the state has issued a construction on Malaysian families; This policy has been nurtured since then, and the state enjoys as as the sole agency in family dynamics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Practical values</td>
<td>The state gives amply room and opportunity to societies to exercise them. (such as religious organizations and educational institutions)</td>
<td>The state manages them through layered instruments, although there are different forms of policy between states.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Marriage System</td>
<td>The state actively administers it</td>
<td>The state actively and progressively administers it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pre Marriage</td>
<td>Dating, introduction to each other, and khitbah.</td>
<td>Dating, introduction to each other, khitbah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Households</td>
<td>The state provides pre-marital courses but the implementation is less effective, because the state does not require prospective male and female to take part in a household “course”.</td>
<td>Prospective couples must take a family course for 2 days (8 modules).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Divorce</td>
<td>Liberal: each party is authorized to exercise divorce.</td>
<td>On the one hand, the right to divorce is still under the control of husband.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Number of Children</td>
<td>There are efforts to control through the Family Planning (KB) program.</td>
<td>There are no restrictions, let alone the citizens of the Malay nation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Waris (inheritance)</td>
<td>Submitted to the religious system with local customs (the concept of inheritance and gono-gini[shared property]). The state only regulates when citizens have disputes and intend to ask the state as an arbitrator.</td>
<td>Submitted to religious office with supervision from the state</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table above shows that in general the concept of Muslim families in the two countries in the perspective of continuity and change (sustainability and change) has been implemented more to maintain aspects of sustainability rather than to accommodate aspects of change. This can happen because the nature of the family itself is so protective, and it can also be happening like that because of other things such as religious beliefs. Religious teachings about it have been established and completed after being formulated in classical times and matured in the middle ages. In the next sub-chapters, the process and implications of the continuity and change process will be discussed.

Reification of the Concept of Ideal Muslim Family

Each community of Muslims has its own concept of family. Concepts like these are constructed to meet various conditions, such as conforming to the main values, customs, and a number of other applicable values. Every concept that is built must represent the demand of community, era, and needs. Family concept is no exception. In addition to paying attention to sociological, psychological, and cultural aspect, etc., the concept of family is also a manifestation of its ideal form.39 The family which consists of (at a minimum) husband and wife, is a unit which is bound by rules, provisions, and values that apply in their time. Therefore, it is not surprising that we find different practical forms in family entities. But all these differences, each family entity has similarities, for example the existence of a structure in which there are so-called family heads and family members, there are rules of relations between family members, and so forth.40

The basis and value of family relationships can be very diverse. Every age can display different patterns and relationships. There are family ties based on customs, agreements, and religion. Islam as a teaching and guide to the life of Muslims makes it a binding institution for the family. Islam as a teaching of everyday life is at the same time the basis of the relationships in the smallest unit of Muslim groups, family. In the Qur'an, the fellowship unit between men and women or family is mentioned in various narratives. On QS. al-Tawbah 71, the norm of unity appears in the phrase a man of faith and a woman of faith must be a helper to one another.41

While the social act of marriage that Allah has mentioned as mitsaqan ghalizan (strong promise) is used three times in the Qur'an such as QS al-Ahzab / 33: 7, QS. al-Nisa / 4: 154, and QS. al-Nisa / 4: 21. In the three verses above, administrative and social functions are gathered together. Because to make an agreement between legal subjects strong, a number of pre-conditions must be fulfilled. The Qur'an informs that there are witnesses, and a dowry besides the two legal subjects themselves, namely the bride and groom (male and female).42 Furthermore, as a whole model of relations between two parties or more requires an agreement that is of legal dimension. That is how Islam regulates family institutions. Islam not only gives more attention to the institution, but also places it in a glorifying position.

If it is examined more generally, the family in the Islamic concept is explained through functional relationships. For example, the subject of a husband, wife, father, mother, and child subject, are connected in a functional relationship which is then attached to a number of obligations and rights. Each of these functions, Allah promises a reply to the culprit.

Meanwhile, the study of Muslim families experienced quite “strange” dynamics. Islam as texts, ideas, interpretations, and the concept of action are not as intense as their interests and needs. Islam is enforced by individuals who bind themselves to one particular unit of law. These legal units include: family, community, community and Islamic state. The discourse on Islam focuses more on the state and society (as well as a little about community). Whereas family issues, which incidentally are the main pillars of the community and the Islamic community are neglected in scientific discussions and research.

Why discussing the Islamic family is important today? The answer is clear, like in other traditions, Islam has also the concept of family. Like in other traditions, Islam has also a strict view on family matters. Family in Islam can only be built on fulfilling the requirements and processes of formal and legitimate engagement. The bond appears and is presented in a social space called community. As an illustration, if a man and woman fulfill the age requirements and agree to live a family life, then both must first formally bind themselves, marked by a specific religious ceremony, and administered by an agency, in the case of Indonesia and Malaysia by the state. As a basic structure, every Muslim who fulfills his requirements (age, property, readiness, and religion), he must go through this official process without being negotiable, for the purpose of the sustainability of Muslims and humanity. Included in the details of this official process is the husband must pronounce the qabul (statement of bond with special conditions) with his (prospective) wife. Without this process, the qabul is invalid, and the couple can not be declared as husband and wife. At this point, the business becomes longer. Because ijab qabul was followed by other conditions such as guardians, witnesses, and dowry. In other words, being a family begins with a variety of processes where some conditions of existence cannot be negated.

After being declared legitimate, the couple who have become a family must implement or practice the family concept. Here, the problem about Muslim family life begins. Whether adopting the customs that apply in the environment of residence, or running what is embodied in the doctrine, or adapting between the values contained in the doctrine with the needs of the issue and the present reality. Doctrinally, new family partners are informed with a number of systems, values and principles in

41 (QS. 9: 71) Translation of the Meanings of The Noble Qur'an in the English Language, ... p. 256.
living a family life starting from how to foster happy family life to how couples can solve the problems they face with religious tendencies to maintain the ark of family life. Islam does not encourage solitude if all conditions have been fulfilled. If the problems they face are considered to be no longer reconciled, there is a system for solving problems, a proposal for divorce. But the religion places this alternative as something that is not liked, because of the large implications of the divorce for all family members, especially children. 43

In fact, new Muslim families also often informed by other practices from other religious traditions in terms of family customs or practices. Both also face their own family life, in which they are often situated to make certain acceptance and adaptation towards alternative family systems, values, and principles. A deeper reality about all fulfillment of prerequisites and implementation of something is subjected to adequate processes of law. Nothing happens just like that, all of them have terms and processes. The face of traditional family values does not always meet the demands of reality on the historical trajectory. In other words, the problem of the concept of an ideal Muslim family has long experienced a reification process. Reification is a process that is inherent in the form of exchange. For exchange to occur, something must be turned into a commodity. 44 Thus, Reification can be done if “anything” is made into objects, or is blocked. If it has been blocked, the exchange process will be done easily.

Commodity is a form of a structure. It is maintained according to its interests. This is where the process of educating relations between humans and something else happens. It then undergoes a process of reification. Included in the context of the occurrence of commodification are ideas. Previously abstract ideas can now be transformed into things that become commodities that are ready to be exchanged. In the exchange process then, the object produces added value. For some people, value added is not always an economic income. It can also be meant as problems of position, power, and so on. So is the concept of ideal Muslim family. In history, this concept has been practiced for a long time without any significant change. It has undergone a frozen reification process and has become a statue. The nature of the statue is an object that is already historical and cannot be changed in shape, yet it can be traded for different purposes. It can be petrified in an intrinsic and metaphorical sense.

A statue needs to be present in life with functions for: (1) symbols of civilization at certain times. For example statues in Borobudur temple, are symbols as well as markers of civilization at that time; (2) a tether or marker of the history of an entity. Where there is a statue, the history of the community is represented and embedded in it. Madrasas, pesantren, and possibly mosques and majlis taklim (religious group), for the Indonesian context, become institutions that contribute to “perpetuate” the family statue. The monolithic learning model causes critical power to decrease or lack of power. When the critical space is not blocked, the exchange process will be done easily. “anything” is made into objects, or is blocked. If it has been blocked, the exchange process will be done easily.

Source of Family Values

Field research conducted in Indonesia and Malaysia in the last quarter of 2018 confirms that Islam already has a basic basis for family in Southeast Asia including in Indonesia and Malaysia. In other words, the concepts and practices regarding Muslimes families are retained in various books that have long been written by scholars. The books of Fiqh and collections of Hadiths written and codified by the scholars were then taught to the santri (student) and the community through religious education institutions, as well as religious ceremonial institutions. Through a monologue, the teacher sits reading the existing text and has long been used as teaching material, then the students listen to the results of the reading. They are taught to take part in the application of repetition teaching methods exactly as their teacher reads them. This process continues up until today. Santri who learn about family are invited to translate the concepts and practices written in the book according to what comes out of the teacher’s mouth. There is no discursive method for understanding the text. Even if something is poorly understood, the teacher gives other meanings very limited and lacks imagination.

On the other hand, Muslim societies get more monotonous teachings about family. They listened to lectures from clerics, scholars, or teachers who taught about how to build ideal families in accordance with the instructions of Islam. The religious experts conveyed religious messages about ideal Muslim families based more on religious sources and Islamic religious books written by medieval scholars. And the best way they do it is to refer to books or scientific arteries that are written out of the wisdom of the teachings formulated in the middle period.

43 The purpose of its existence is not negotiable, such as witnesses, dowry, and guardians (for virgins). While what can be negotiated is the amount of the dowry, the witness figure, and the guardian’s subject.

44 Reification or process of imposition.
The repetition model of the ideal Muslim family concept is also fostered by state social policies and practices that are in line with the views of classical scholars. This is understandable, because in general the state plays a role by considering the general tendencies of its people. In addition, they are also very concerned with the social order and national unity. Therefore, it is not surprising that a number of government policies and programs such as the concept of sakinah family, and family planning in Indonesia, and happy families like “my home is paradise” (home sweet home) in Malaysia are no different from the views of these classical scholars. In Malaysia even countries with a classical view take a progressive role in family affairs. All this leads to the process of repetition of understanding and implementing systems, values, and family principles. In short, all these processes reinforce the reification process assumption of the ideal Muslim family concept.

If traced further, we will find that the arguments of scholars and the number of respondents who were interviewed were based on a closed understanding of the text about Muslim families. As a result, they find it difficult to appreciate the present conditions that can add to and improve their household concepts. On average, they feel more comfortable maintaining their traditional wisdom.

However, Islamic scholars and thinkers were not totally open to development. They used one of the analysis tools that made it possible to appreciate the development of the times by applying the principle of analysis of Qiyas. Qiyas (analogoy) is one of the methods of Islamic law, especially in the discipline of Ushul Fiqh. In qiyas, reality is defined as criteria, not types. For example, if during the Prophet’s time people ate wheat and Indonesians ate rice, how to calculate the zakat fitrah exemplified by using wheat? So to make it easier, it is eliminated wheat to rice with the reason that both have the same function in human life: material used as staple food. Likewise with family issues. Some informants said that for things that are not normatively present, Qiyas can be used as a legal basis.

The Reification Process of the Muslim Family Concept

Using the framework of Lukacs’ reification theory, we can explain that in the scientific system of production and practical life carried out by the Muslim community, family position is a representation of commodities. In Lukacs’s commodity, the relationship between people is the basis of the building of human character. Finally, relations themselves become the process of producing (a) product. In the family system, the form of product inherent in the relationship lies in the power of father or husband: he is the only way of looking at managing the household ark.

In order to maintain power over the family institution, all things that have the potential to degrade that power will be excluded or eliminated. One of the things that can maintain it is the meaning of family values itself. In other words, the relationship between family members in the institutional unit is first framed in a single relationship, where the father or husband is the only role holder in the dynamization of institution.

The public roles played by the father/husband subject and the domestic roles played by the wife are increasingly legitimate collectively because of the ideal family concept that undergoes a process of normativisation. As a commodity, the family cannot escape from consumptive entanglements. This consumption can be present for various reasons. On behalf of family harmonization, or on the basis of values produced by religious science institutions. Consummativism is not natural. It is strengthened or firmly attached to institutional power. The stronger the institution, the more it can be directed to meet certain interests - including consumerism. How the family reification process takes place can be explained by many theories, including exchange theory, and rational choice theory. While the stages towards reification can also be explained through the theory of critical discourse. Theory of this exchange explains that social processes regulate relationships between individuals and groups. In this need, referring to the Blau Exchange Theory (1918-2002), social exchange directs behavior and underlies social relations to social change. Social exchanges in the context of the family occurs in a variety of institutions in the community. Institutions, like their nature, will always carry out “coercion” to protect their interests. Coercion is maintained by a system of knowledge that is produced and replicated continuously. Because it lasted very long, those who attended later did not feel the imposition. In E. Durkheim (1858-1917) language, this was called social fact. That is what happens to family concepts and practices. Unfortunately, Muslim scientists “forget” or deliberately do not build clear and measurable indicators in each session or period of time. So that the hermeneutics of family definition undergoes a process of becoming a social fact, which in this case is institutionalized by religion without clear indicators. This situation then becomes a single reference for Muslim families. If the repetition process continues, over time it will form a pattern of production. This pattern of knowledge production then became what was mentioned by Anthony Giddens as structuring. These patterns then form "perceptions of truth" to the next generation. The easiest term to find is when the propositions are often found in the field, “the teachings are like that”.

In the context of the conceptualization of Muslim families, the process of exchanging ideas occurs not at the level of substance. However, what happens is a system of family ideas whose peak experiences is a process of structuring. That is, the latest generation does not try to reflect critically on the concept offered. Even in some cases it tends to be considered a final interpretation.

From here, then the reification process occurs by getting stronger when the concepts that were originally offered are transformed as teachings. The change from offer to teaching which is later institutionalized made the concept of the Muslim Family experience a process of reification. Essentialist thought calls it as “Sakinah Family”.

The concept of an ideal Muslim family is briefly described in terms of “Sakinah Family”. This sakinah family is based, among others, on QS An-Nisa: 19 and Ar-Rum: 21. However, the process of translating the ideal concept from the Sakinah Family experiences fundamental axiological problems. For example, referring to the Director General Decree of Islamic Community Guidance and Hajj Affairs, Republic of Indonesia Ministry of Religion Number: D / 71/1999 concerning Implementation Guidelines for Sakinah Family Development, especially in Chapter III Article 3 stated: “Sakinah Family is a family that is nurtured on legitimate marriage, capable of fulfilling spiritual and material needs in a proper and balanced manner, encompassed by an atmosphere of love between family members and their environment in harmony, concord and being able to practice, appreciate and deepen the values of faith, piety and noble character.”

To clarify how these texts contribute to the reification process which can be explained using the Teeun Van Dijk (1985) approach which in his theory contains text elements, social cognition, and social contexts. Text is a narrative that appears as a reference or articulation of mastery of a knowledge. Social Cognition is all things that give meaning to a context which in practice starts to get influence from various things. Whereas the Social Context is the background of an event, narrative, or reality that occurs.

To simplify the interaction of the three elements of theory with reality, we can see them in the following table of matrix:
The Matrix of Reification Process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO</th>
<th>THEORY ELEMENTS</th>
<th>REALITY</th>
<th>RESULTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Text</td>
<td>Nash listed in the Qur'an and Hadith and other references that address family issues</td>
<td>It is the production of science which has undergone a process of cultural reproduction so many times that it is increasingly regarded as the only truth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Social Cognition</td>
<td>Understanding of decision makers, intellectuals, and community leaders who have influence on policy making, Intellectual relations between these interpreters and previous scholars or intellectuals,</td>
<td>Knowledge that has limited space. When the thoughts of the thinkers/intellectuals/figures of his time, greatly influenced the quality of his era. That way, what is thought, or written at that time is very likely influenced by circumstances and needs at that time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Social Context</td>
<td>Explanation of the social, economic, and cultural conditions when the initial discourse and practice of family was born after the era of the Prophet Muhammad. Life, the environment, and the conclusions about this Muslim family were born.</td>
<td>Clarity is needed to re-understand the existing texts. It is then discussed within the present context.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the perspective of Van Dijk's (1985) critical analysis, we can assume that Islamic religious sources, especially the Qur'an can be seen as the main text of the theory, they are bound by two other theories - social cognition, and social context. Text in the context of Muslim society is understood as a process of religious reasoning as explained in the introduction and producing the results of early ijtihad which is then fostered through the reproductive process from generation to generation. The results of understanding always fall on one or more: generic meaning or initial meaning, and the extended or restricted meanings. The concept of family in Islam is built from the text of religious sources, the Qur'an which is supported by other religious sources, hadith or sunnah and works of reason. History informs that the meaning of the text after the meaning of the initial text is dominated by the meaning of the initial text. It happened like that because concept of family which was the product of ijtihad in the early history of Islam is still considered to be relevant today, on hand hand. On the other hand, it is because of the difficulty of deconstructing the concept of ideal Muslim family as it has been reified.

Intellectualism in every era determines the quality of social cognition and social context. Literature and field studies both in Indonesia and in Malaysia, both government institutions, religion, universities, community organizations, and individual scholars generally cannot escape from the process of reproduction of the concept of ideal Muslim family that was formulated in the early days of Islam. This can be seen from the laws or government regulations produced in Indonesia and Malaysia which have been taking the model of Imam Syafi'i’s fiqih. The same thing was done by thinkers or scholars in these two countries. In other words, the social cognition of modern society in Indonesia and in Malaysia still cannot escape from the strong shadow of the early period of social cognition where the production of the concept of ideal family has been produced. This means that in general, for more than 13 centuries the concept of an ideal family still maintains its conventional conception.

Furthermore, the change in modern and disruptive social context has overtaken the existing ideal family concept with an onslaught that does not care about traditional wisdom, sometimes respects autocracy, but often ignores it. Disruptive situations like these make existing authority including the family authority corrected severely. Every authority including parents, or partners need additional ammunition, both insight, skill or network to be able to follow and overcome this in rapidly changing era. The concept of ideal families in Indonesia and Malaysia, as well as in many other countries faces the toughest challenges of the moment, namely the era of globalization, or the millennium. Extensions and restrictions on conventional family concepts need to be done. The problem is, instead of looking for alternative ideal family concepts, many agencies, and institutions re-foster the concept of a traditional ideal family and impose it to be applicable in a context that has changed a lot. In other words the reification of the concept of family confronts contemporary Muslim societies in many geographies including in Indonesia and in Malaysia with difficulties in overcoming various problems that arise.

Implications of Socio-Culture-Economy of Reifying the Concept of the Ideal Muslim Family

For Muslims in various sociological-cultural-economic segmentations linking every action to religious dogma and norms can be seen as a reasonableness and even a necessity. The social action that is interpreted in a Weberian manner is still associated with the demands of the dogma. Although there is a space of interpretation concerning the quality of its actions, but substantially, some Muslims have the same awareness of the meaning of these actions.

Therefore, concepts that were born, present and exist in religious communities - although there are more institutional - are very important for the daily lives of Muslims. Weber himself has asserted that “ideas are a reflection of material (especially economic) interests, that material interests determine ideology” (Ritzer, 2010: 26). So, it become clear how the conception of the Ideal Muslim Family experienced reification because in the ideas conceptualized in the abstract contained ideological interests of the “ruler” of the family itself. Referring to the results of interviews with sources related to the source of family values, the six interviewees explained that Islam already had a basic basis for family. The concepts and practices regarding Muslim families are listed in various books that have long been written by scholars. Students learn about it from these books, and Muslim societies learn the same subject either from those who were trained in pesantrens (madrasah), or from similar references that were used by the students of religious education institutions.

Teaching this subject is held in two ways: monologue and discussion. Through a monologue, the teacher sits reading the existing text that has long been used as teaching material, and the students (santri) listen to him or her. The students are taught to follow what is taught through repetition exactly as the teacher reads it. This process continues. Santri who learn about family are invited to translate the concepts and practices written in the book according to what comes out of the teacher's mouth. There is no discursive method for understanding the text. Even if something is not understood, the teacher gives a very limited meaning.
Whereas people get teaching about family is far more monotonous. They listen to lectures from clerics, scholars, or teachers who teach about how to make or strive for the creation of an ideal family in accordance with the instructions of Allah and his Messenger, reflected in the maqasid sharia. When asked about the Muslim family text in the book then it is related to the present condition, the average answer is the same. Islam has legal instruments that can be used to explain current conditions: Qiyas. It can be a way for Muslim clerics in Indonesia or in Malaysia to build arguments on how the concept of family will be implemented. However, if we see the evidence, the Qiyas process does not touch the substance of the message that the text wants to convey. In fact, this qiyas process tends to strengthen existing reaffirmation efforts.

Adaptation of the Ideal Muslim Family Concept

There are changes to improve the quality of family life that occur everywhere, but these changes are still only supplementary and even natural adaptations. For example, on the one hand, government policies and facilities are available both in relation to food and drink, clothing, shelter, and the environment in which families live have undergone much better change. On the other hand, the family agency has undergone many changes both in terms of education achieved, family decisions at a more mature age, and regulations that protect and sanction family agencies have made many significant changes. All these supplementary and natural changes have not been followed by changes in production in understanding new texts that are more relevant to the demand of times. Some of these efforts emerged, such as family trust, happy family, family planning, and family maslahah. The Sakinah family or often also termed the Keluarga Samara (Sakinah, Mawaddah, and Rahmah families) was initiated both by Islamic community organizations and countries in Indonesia.

In Indonesia, a number of female scholars or scholars have written articles or books on gender and family issues: Siti Musdah Mulia, Huzaimah Tahido Yanggo, Siti Ruhaini, Zaetunah Subhan, Zakiyah Derajat, and many others. Institutions of Muslim social movements such as the traditionalist Community Organization (Nahdatul Ulama (NU) and the modernist mass organization Muhammadiyah have formulated concepts and hopes about ideal families in Islam. The concept of Muhammadiyah about the Sakinah Family Mawaddah wa Rahmah and the concept of the family Masalah NU shows the importance of family to community organizations in Indonesia. NU imagines that families are 'happy, prosperous, and obedient families'. The family is characterized by family institutions that hold the values of piety, natural happiness, good temperament and interaction, piety, natural happiness, good temperament and interaction, and prosperity. Female scholars use these values in their construction of the ideal Muslim family as an alternative to the Western ideal family concept.

In Malaysia, the concept of ideal family was also constructed by various social movements and religious movements and various groups of scholars including their female clerics. State religious institutions such as the Islamic Understanding Institute (IKIM) spread ideas like 'Rahmah Syurgaku' (Home, Sweet Home) as their efforts to shape the identity of happy Muslim families in the face of the growth of secular societies. Muslim feminist groups such as Sisters in Islam also participated in creating alternative meanings about women and families in Malaysia. Islamic social movements such as Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia see that Muslim families are happy to determine that men and women get aspirations to achieve happiness and blessing from Allah.

As part of a society that lives in modern times, all government institutions, Islamic social movement organizations, Muslim activists and scholars participate in the formulation of the meaning of a happy Muslim family. They construct the concept of family ideally based on the main religious sources contextualized in the context of contemporary Indonesian and Malaysian society. Efforts to re-understand and reinterpret only begin with efforts to criticize religious sources. Religious sources are located as a source of inspiration for Muslims (Interpreters) to explore values or systems that can be imitated in everyday life. The value or system can also be further constructed through the process of codification and legislation as described.

Religious sources in Islam consist of 3 sources: the Qur’an, Sunnah, and Intellect. Al-Qur’an is a divine revelation revealed by Allah through the angel Gabriel to the Prophet Muhammad. Divine verses were revealed to the Prophet Muhammad, part by part for more than 20 years to complete 30 juz, which later was organized in the fixed order which is starting from Surat al-Fatihah, and ending with Surat al-Nas. This collection of revelations was gathered together in the time of the Caliphate of Abu Bakr, then copied into several copies and distributed to several important cities in the time of Uthman bin Affan’s Caliphate. Since then, the same process has been repeated along with the spread of Islam throughout the world until now.

In Indonesian context, the Ministry of Religion is responsible for taking on this generic task and coordinating with the Pentashih al-Qur’an Institute in Saudi Arabia. While the Sunnah or Hadith can be defined as the words, deeds, and provisions of the Prophet Muhammad, which were collected through a process of codification, and used by the scholars as a source of the second source of religion. Hadith functions as explanation, breakdown, or replacement of certain previous Islamic precepts which were considered necessary to be criticized. The strategic position of Hadith entered a new phase after Imam Syafi’i (d, 204 H) in his al-Risalah raised its position to the second place after the Qur’an. Therefore the scholars refer to Hadith or Sunnah to explore values, norms, systems, or social practices to be used as a support or inspiration in constructing a religious view. The third one, reason is placed as the third source of religion after the Qur’an and Hadith or Sunnah. Its utilization must be in the fences of two previous religious sources. Intellect functions limitedly for most scholars through the application of qiyas, istishab, istislah, and masalah al-mursalah. All legal privileges with reason are limited application of reasoning. There is only one way that has a more flexible function of reason, namely Mashalih al-Mursalah. Although Mashalih al-Mursalah has been criticized and fenced off by the ulamas, it must not conflict with the Qur’an and the Sunnah. But, along with the times that have changed so massively, large, and quickly, the urgency of the Al-Mursalah paradigm has become stronger day by day. Therefore, the idea of using reason freely for the benefit of humankind in general and Muslims in particular is to play an important and strategic role for the development of understanding Islamic teachings and Islamic thought now and in the future. In fact, there are some who call Mashalih al-Mursalah an Islamic positivism. Regardless of that assumption, Mashalih al-Mursalah was also used by some scholars to reconstruct and adapt the concept of an ideal Muslim family in more flexible ways. For example, some scholars tried to think more scientifically, more constructively, more in accordance with the needs of the times, on family issues and problems that seem to clash with the values of modernity. It’s just that the strong traditional family concept makes efforts to modernize the family concept still limited. The existing concept of ideal Muslim family is still too strong to be penetrated. New adaptation can be done only by rationalizing the understanding of classical family concepts, and extension of the dimensions of family concepts to accommodate urgent new needs, such as participation in modern education, adaptation to modern ways of daily life and to new facilities that help us to simplify and accelerate in doing things.
Conclusion
From the discussion above, this study finds the concept of family in Southeast Asia, particularly in Indonesia and Malaysia, has been contextualized poorly since it was formulated in the middle age. The concept of family itself was initially formulated within the strong frame of Sharia or Islamic law, later on the concept of family managed to have its established substance in this Shari'a nuance. Muslim scholars and clerics in Indonesia and Malaysia instead of reforming the concept, they generally find themselves enough by nurturing the existing concept without any radical effort to revisit it. In other words, it turns out to be reificated. It actualized in the form of norm and system of family which are well maintained through various institutions that are inherent in the Muslim community. Referring to the cases in Indonesia and Malaysia in modern time, this process of reification experiences socio-cultural dynamics, with common picture of nurturing the traditional concept of it.

In the case of the concept of family, Islamic teachings seems to have internal problem, that is reification in the form of being trapped in preferring normative ideal substance of the concept of family, and at the same time, in the form of being trapped in neglecting actual and real practices and calllenges faced by Muslim families. The reification process that is present surrounding this functions as a form of exchange between commodities. The concept of family turned out to be an end product which can be exchanged. Unfortunately, the commodity of the concept of family has been circulated among muslim societies on for a very long time since the medieval period. Therefore, this problem then becomes more complex where contemporary Muslim families are expected to refer to the sources of teachings or values of the ideal family which have been reificated. With this understanding, there is an urgent need for Muslim scholars and clerics to build a critical method to refute the reificated concept of family in the form of normative ideal. This is step important because Muslims in contemporary time are struggling to be able to raise and nurture family life better in the midst of the existing lees responsive concept of family available.

References