

RENG LAKE' NORO' RENG BINI' CULTURE IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF ISLAMIC EPISTEMOLOGY AND LOCAL WISDOM

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Abstract

This study examines the cultural practice of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* in Madurese society from the perspectives of Islamic epistemology and local wisdom, particularly in relation to male migration and women's post-marital security. The research employs a qualitative descriptive-analytical method using anthropological, phenomenological, and normative-theological approaches. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with religious leaders, village elders, and families practicing the tradition, supported by document analysis of classical fiqh texts, Qur'anic exegesis, and reputable journal articles. Data analysis involved data reduction, thematic coding, hermeneutic interpretation, and source triangulation. The findings indicate that *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* functions as a cultural-religious strategy to protect women, adapt to male migration, and locally reinterpret the concept of *qiwamah*. This study concludes that Madurese local wisdom operates as a practical form of Islamic epistemology, offering theoretical contributions to Islamic family studies and practical implications for culturally responsive Islamic discourse and family policy.

Keywords: Reng lake' noro' reng bini'; Islamic epistemology; Local wisdom.

INTRODUCTION

The culture of marriage in Madurese society is not just a social practice that is routinely carried out, but a phenomenon that is loaded with religious values, local wisdom, and complex gender negotiations. In the tradition of the Madurese people, the concept of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* is known which literally refers to the relationship between the husband (*Reng Lake'*), wife (*Reng Bini'*), and the tendency of the wife to return or live with the family of origin (*Noro'*). The *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* culture is not only practiced in Madura but can also be found among Madurese people who live outside Madura, especially if the woman's family has a higher social status and the family still maintains the culture well. This phenomenon reflects the pattern of post-marital residency that is not entirely patrilocal or classical matrilineal, but the result of negotiations between Madurese customary law and Islamic teachings as the religion of the majority of the local community. Recent studies show that after marriage, husbands often occupy the wife's home or live close to the wife's family through a matrilineal residency pattern, although the kinship structure remains bilateral and the husband's power over the wife is still dominant in economic aspects and extended family decisions (Sa'dan, 2016).

In the normative perspective of Islamic family fiqh, this practice is often perceived as problematic. Traditionally, after the marriage contract, the responsibility for the wife passes to the husband, which includes household leadership (*qiwamah*), maintenance, and protection. In addition, normative texts such as QS. An-Nisā' verses 34 and 11 are often used as references to affirm the structure of gender relations and inheritance division in Islam. However, the social reality of Madura shows that the practice of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* remains sustainable and socially accepted without being considered contrary to Islamic teachings (Aziz, 2017).

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In the study of family anthropology, the pattern of residence after marriage is an important indicator that reflects gender position and power structures in society. Post-marital residence theory suggests that residencies closer to the wife's family (matrilocal) tend to be related to women's autonomy, while patrilocal residences reinforce patriarchal dominance (Khalil et al., 2024). But in Madura, this pattern appears in a unique form. Although the husband practically lives in the wife's family environment, patriarchal power remains strong, resulting in a complex form of bilateral kinship that simultaneously blends Islamic and local customary norms (Mulyaningsih et al., 2025). This also shows that gender dynamics in the context of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* cannot be understood only through the dichotomy of matrilocal and patrilocal, but must be viewed from how religious norms and customs articulate the roles of men and women after marriage.

This phenomenon is even more interesting when viewed through the lens of Madura male social migration. The tradition of migrating husband is an economic strategy that has long been part of Madura culture. Men migrating for a living not only expand socioeconomic networks, but also affirm the husband's role as the main breadwinner in the traditional Muslim family (Nawiyanto et al., 2024). The practice of husband's migration often puts women in the position of having to decide between following their husbands or staying with their parents' families (Hussain et al., 2023). This decision reflects the uncertainty between the demands of religious norms on the responsibility of husbands and the psychological needs of women to feel safe, social support, and emotional attachment to the family of origin.

The presence of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* raises several critical academic questions. First, how the Madurese people represent the concept of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* as a form of post-marital residency in the framework of Islamic epistemology that emphasizes the position of the family, the responsibility of maintenance and the rights of women in the household. Second, the extent to which male migratory traditions affect the dynamics of husband-wife relationships and women's psychological experiences in the context of patriarchal culture that remains strong. Third, how this practice challenges or strengthens the existing gender structure, especially in terms of women's welfare and autonomy after marriage. The formulation of this problem is important to study because there is still limited research that integrates the study of Islamic culture, migration, gender, and epistemology simultaneously in the realm of family studies and Islamic social anthropology.

The purpose of this study is to unravel the philosophical and social meaning of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* as a representation of Madura family residency in the perspective of Islamic epistemology and local wisdom, as well as to analyze the interaction between the husband's migratory tradition and women's preference to live with their family of origin from the perspective of psychological, social, and religious well-being. This research also seeks to present a new perspective that is critical of traditional gender relations, by showing that the *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* residency pattern is not just the result of customary power, but rather a space for negotiation between patriarchal norms, Islam, and women's psychosocial needs. Thus, this research offers a novelty contribution through the integration of three dimensions, namely religion, culture, and migration, which is rarely discussed holistically in the context of Madura society.

A review of the relevant literature supports the urgency of this research. For example, the study of acculturation between customary law and Islamic law in Madura shows that the practice of matrilocal residency remains overshadowed by the dominance of the husband in the aspects of power and maintenance, thus creating new challenges in fair gender relations in the modern Madurese family (Hefni, 2012; Sa'dan, 2016). Furthermore, research on cultural and traditional relations and gender equality in the practice of marriage guardians in Madura indicates that there is a dynamic of gender transformation that is still developing and facing traditional cultural resistance (Supratiningsih et al., 2024). These findings further strengthen the relevance of the study of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'*, particularly in an effort to understand the socio-cultural mechanisms that influence the choice of post-marriage residency in the midst of religious demands and local wisdom.

Based on the formulation of the problem and conceptual framework, this study develops a hypothesis that the practice of residence of women who tend to stay with their families of origin after marriage is a form of adaptation to the patriarchal structure combined with the tradition of male migration, and mediated by the interpretation of local wisdom and Islamic teachings that emphasize the obligation of sustenance and family security. This hypothesis is also the starting point for placing the phenomenon of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* in a broader theoretical dialogue about gender, religion, and culture in Indonesia.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses an analytical descriptive qualitative method as the main framework to understand the phenomenon of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* in the context of culture, religion, and local wisdom of Madura. The qualitative method was chosen because it was able to reveal the deep meaning of social experiences, gender power relations, and cultural practices that cannot be measured through numbers or statistics alone, but through the narratives, insights, and interpretations of the participants themselves (Lim, 2025).

This research approach is multidisciplinary with the integration of three theoretical and practical perspectives, namely anthropological, phenomenological, and normative theological. An anthropological approach is used to understand cultural practices in a broader social context, diving into the values, norms, and kinship structures of the Madurese people contextually (Kholiyudani & Hipni, 2024). The phenomenological approach is directed to delve into the life experiences and meanings experienced directly by the cultural figures and family members involved (Nisa et al., 2024; Tavakol & Sandars, 2025). Finally, a theological normative approach is used to examine Islamic religious reasoning related to family structure and gender relations, especially based on the study of fiqh texts and classical interpretations related to the obligations of husbands, women, and family norms in Islam (Sugiri & Fithoroini, 2025).

Data was collected using two main sources, namely primary data and secondary data. Primary data was obtained through in-depth interviews with religious leaders, village elders, and families of cultural actors who are key informants in the *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* tradition. The interview technique is designed to be semi-structured to provide space for narrative and reflection of the interviewees according to their real experiences. In addition, participatory observation is also carried out to capture social dynamics and cultural practices directly in the field as is common in social anthropology research (Roque et al., 2024).

Meanwhile, secondary data was obtained from the study of texts in the form of fiqh books, classical commentary, and articles from reputable scientific journals that are relevant to cultural studies, gender relations, religious anthropology, and qualitative methodology. These secondary sources include scholarly publications, reference books, as well as Islamic cultural and legal documents that underlie theoretical interpretation. The use of these secondary data is important to strengthen the theological and anthropological context of the field findings and to relate them to existing academic studies (Mosse et al., 2023).

The data analysis in this study was carried out qualitatively and interpretively through several interrelated stages. The data from interviews and observations were first reduced to focus the study on the practice and meaning of the *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* culture. The selected data were then analyzed through inductive thematic coding to identify patterns of gender relations, post-marital residency, and religious experiences of women and men in the context of Madura society. The next stage is the hermeneutic interpretation used to read informant narratives and normative Islamic texts contextually, so that the practice of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* is understood as the result of negotiations between Islamic teachings, local traditions, and family social dynamics. To maintain the validity and credibility of the findings, this study applied triangulation of sources and techniques, as well as member checks on key informants so that the resulting interpretations were in harmony with the social realities experienced by the community (Ahmed, 2024).

This methodological approach is in line with contemporary qualitative research standards that emphasize the importance of understanding phenomena from the perspective of the participants themselves, as well as the critical and contextual reading of cultural and religious texts in accordance with the research objectives of religious and cultural anthropology. With this methodological design, the study not only describes the cultural phenomenon of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'*, but also analyzes its implicit dynamics on gender relations, family residency, and the formation of religious identity in Madura society. This is a scientific contribution that has not been widely discussed in the research literature on Islamic culture and social anthropology in Indonesia.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

***Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* as a Religious Social Knowledge System**

The findings of this study show that the practice of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* in Madurese society cannot be narrowly understood as a pattern of post-marriage residency alone. This practice actually represents a system of religious social knowledge that is alive, inherited, and continuously reproduced through the social experience of the community. The practice of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* was born from the interaction between patriarchal social structures, the tradition of migrating Madura men, and women's need for psychosocial support in the early phases of marriage. In this context, the residence of a married couple in the family environment of the woman functions as a social protection mechanism, strengthening kinship bonds, and an emotional adaptation process for women after marriage (Herawati & Rohmah, 2020; Laili et al., 2024). Thus, the practice of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* is not simply chosen on the basis of domestic comfort, but becomes a cultural strategy that contains socially and religious rationality that is collectively recognized.

As a knowledge system, *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* was formed through the historical experience of the Madurese people in dealing with social, economic, and family dynamics. The culture of male migration, a strong kinship structure, and the value of protection for women became the empirical basis for the birth of this practice. This study found that the Madurese people understand marriage not as an event that is completed on the contract, but as a social process that requires assistance, adaptation, and sustainable protection. Therefore, practice of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* is seen as a reasonable and meaningful transitional phase, not as a deviation from the ideal of the Islamic household. This shows that socio-religious knowledge is built from the accumulation of collective experiences that are constantly updated (Sa'dan, 2016).

Furthermore, the practice of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* represents the way the Madurese people integrate religious and social dimensions in a complete framework of understanding. Islamic values of tranquility, compassion, and family protection are not understood in the abstract, but are translated into concrete and workable social arrangements. Thus, *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* serves as an applied knowledge that bridges the gap between religious norms and the realities of everyday life. These findings reinforce the view that people's religious practices are not always present in the form of formal discourse, but are often manifested in repetitive and socially accepted cultural actions (Hiptraspa & Saputri, 2024).

By placing *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* as a socio-religious knowledge system, this study criticizes the tendency of previous studies to position local culture as subordinate or even problematic in its relationship to normative Islam. On the contrary, the findings of this study show that the Madurese people actively produce, interpret, and practice Islamic teachings through cultural practices that they consider legitimate and meaningful. In this framework, culture is not outside of religion, but rather becomes a space where religious teachings are lived, negotiated, and interpreted contextually. This perspective becomes an important basis for understanding Islam as a living tradition that continues to evolve in interaction with the social reality of its supporting societies (Hefni, 2012; Putri et al., 2025; Supratiningsih et al., 2024).

In this residency practice, the values of male leadership and women's domestic responsibilities are maintained, but carried out within the framework of extended family solidarity and the strengthening of religious morals (Maulana et al., 2025; Nasution et al., 2025). Therefore,

the practice of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* can be understood as a space for negotiation between traditions, patriarchal structures, and Islamic values, which simultaneously reproduces the social and religious identity of the Madurese people (Sa'dan, 2016; Umam & Zahroh, 2021).

***Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* Practice in a Contextual Epistemological Perspective**

From the perspective of Islamic epistemology, the practice of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* reflects the way in which society understands the teachings of Islam not merely as a normative text, but as values that must be operationalized in concrete social realities. Informants of religious leaders and village elders emphasized that Islam does not rigidly determine the residence of post-marriage wives, as long as the principles of justice, benefit, and protection of women are maintained. This view is in line with contextual Islamic epistemology that recognizes the role of revelation (*naql*), reason (*al-'aql*), and social reality (*al-wāqi'*) as important instruments in understanding and practicing religious teachings (Kerwanto et al., 2024; Rozaq et al., 2025; Zain et al., 2025).

Field findings show that these three sources of knowledge operate simultaneously in the practice of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'*. Revelation is positioned as the foundation of values, such as justice, protection, and the welfare of the family, while reason and social experience are used to interpret how those values can be realized under certain conditions. Thus, *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* is the result of an epistemic process that integrates revelation, reason, and social reality in a balanced manner, as emphasized in contextual Islamic epistemology (Rozaq et al., 2025; Supratiningsih et al., 2024). This study also found that Madurese religious leaders do not understand the residence of post-marriage wives as a permanent and absolute sharia provision. Instead, they view it as an *ijtihad ijtima'i* territory that is open to adjustment based on family conditions and social environment. As long as basic Islamic principles such as the absence of tyranny, guaranteed security, and the fulfillment of the husband's responsibilities can be realized, then the arrangement of residence is considered religiously valid. This perspective shows that the epistemology of Islam that lives in Madurese society is dynamic and responsive to reality, not rigid or ahistorical.

Thus, this study confirms that the practice of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* is not a form of cultural compromise against Islam, but a manifestation of a living Islamic epistemology. Islam is not positioned as a set of rigid rules that are independent of social reality, but as a system of knowledge that continues to be actualized through the experience, reasoning, and local wisdom of the Madurese people. This perspective makes an important theoretical contribution to the study of Islamic epistemology, particularly in understanding how Islamic teachings are produced and contextually implemented in the lives of Muslim families in Indonesia.

Male Migratory Culture and Women's Psychosocial Security

Field findings indicate that the practice of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* often appears in situations when husbands migrate outside the region or outside the island, a migration pattern that has been inherent in the economic culture of the Madurese people and has become a long-term economic mobility strategy. In many cases, husbands leave the household to obtain better employment opportunities, while abandoned wives face a variety of new challenges related to social security, community legitimacy, and emotional stability (Hussain et al., 2023; Supratiningsih et al., 2024; Tong et al., 2019). A cross-context study of migration of women abandoned by husbands found that the absence of husbands can affect the psychological conditions, social responsibilities, as well as social experiences of wives living in the home of origin, as they are under pressure to adapt to more complex domestic and social roles without the physical support of the partner (Arifianda Lubis, 2025; Ghimire et al., 2021; Ivlevs et al., 2019).

In the context of Madura society, living with the wife's parents after marriage is seen as a socially and religiously valid protection mechanism. This cultural approach is not just a response to economic conditions, but also reflects women's need for kinship networks that provide emotional support and social security when husbands migrate (Ludfi & Fina, 2024; Rosyidah et al., 2022). This decision is often widely accepted by the community because it can reduce the risk of

social stigma against women who live alone without male companions in a patriarchal and rigid societal structure. The anthropological literature on postmarital residency patterns states that the decision to live with the family of the woman is often found in contexts where there is strong social support and social rules that require the placement of women in certain culturally safe environments, although these patterns do not necessarily correlate with matrilineal kinship system in the narrow sense (Moravec et al., 2018; Rosyidah et al., 2022).

Psychosocially, the concept of women's relational security is an important theoretical framework to understand the dynamics of the psychological well-being of women who experience the absence of their partners due to their husband's migration. In the transitional stages of life such as marriage, women tend to develop a stronger sense of security and emotional stability when they are in familiar and supportive social networks, such as family, close relatives, or known communities (Taufiiqoh & Krisnatuti, 2024). This concept is in line with research findings showing that women abandoned by migrating partners often experience a decline in psychological quality of life due to increased responsibilities, domestic burdens, and decreased direct social support, which in turn correlates with higher levels of stress, anxiety, and depression than women who do not experience similar conditions (Niu & Wang, 2024).

Relational safety in this context is not only physically protected, but includes psychological support, clarity of social roles, and social integration in the community, where women feel heard, cared for, and have access to emotional help. Studies on the mental health of abandoned wives show that left-behind wives score lower in psychosocial quality of life, particularly in marital security, social support, and active coping strategies; this suggests that the absence of a partner can weaken the sense of psychosocial security usually obtained from stable intimate relationships (Nikoloski et al., 2019; Zheng & Yan, 2025). Women who have a good social support network are better able to cope with the increased emotional stress and household responsibilities due to the absence of a partner, as they receive emotional validation and practical help in daily life. These strong social interactions are often associated with decreased levels of depression and anxiety, as well as an improvement in the overall quality of psychosocial life (Acoba, 2024).

The Value of *Selamet* and *Ajha'* as the Basis of Local Wisdom

In Madura local wisdom, the practice of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* is firmly rooted in the values of *selamet* (safety) and *ajha'* (honor), two moral concepts that occupy a central position in the social ethical structure of society. *Selamet* is not understood narrowly as physical safety, but rather includes a sense of psychological security, inner peace, and social protection for women in the transition phase of marriage. Meanwhile, *ajhâ'* represents a collective honor, in which a woman's dignity is not only attached to her as an individual, but also reflects the honor of the extended family. Within this framework, the decision for wives to live with their parents after marriage is understood as an active effort to maintain these two fundamental values, not as a deviation from the ideal marital norm (Hefni, 2012; Sa'dan, 2016).

This study found that women's safety was placed as a moral priority that went beyond the demands of independent residency or the ideal of the nuclear family. In the view of the Madurese people, especially when the husband has to travel, allowing the wife to live alone is actually perceived as a socially and morally risky act. Therefore, the residence of women in the parents' home is seen as a rational and responsible ethical choice. This perspective shows that Madura's local wisdom works as a practical knowledge system that weighs the risks, responsibilities, and social impacts of each family decision. Thus, the practice of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* was not born out of women's dependence, but rather from a collective awareness of the importance of protection and social stability (Hefni, 2012; Ludfi & Fina, 2024).

Thus, these findings confirm that Madura's local wisdom functions as a practical ethical system that regulates family life in an adaptive and meaningful manner. The practice of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* is not a form of compromise against the weaknesses of the family structure, but rather a manifestation of mature, reflective, and benefit-oriented socio-religious knowledge. In the context of Islamic epistemology, this shows that local culture can serve as a vehicle for actualizing

Islamic values, as well as a source of knowledge that enriches our understanding of how Islam is practiced in the real life of Muslim society (Sanjani et al., 2024).

***Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* as 'Urf Sahih in the Epistemology of Local Islamic Law**

The practice of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'*, in Madurese society, gained a strong religious and cultural legitimacy through the link between local religious norms ('*urf*') and traditional cultural values. In this framework, '*urf*' is not understood as a custom that stands outside the teachings of Islam, but rather as a local expression of religious values that have been internalized in the social life of the community. The residence of a partner, especially a wife, in the environment of the extended family is seen as a legitimate form of social solidarity, in which the family functions not only as a biological unit, but also as a moral institution responsible for maintaining the honor, security and well-being of its members (An et al., 2024). A number of studies on family and marriage practices in Madura show that the mechanism of collective parenting of new family members is understood as a form of social and religious responsibility, especially when economic conditions or the husband's work mobility require flexible residency arrangements (Sa'dan, 2016; Supratiningsih et al., 2024).

In the perspective of Islamic legal anthropology, this kind of post-marital residency norm is often considered non-normative when measured by the framework of the modern family. However, in practice, these norms gain legitimacy through the interaction between customary law, local religious authorities, and real social needs. Research on '*urf*' in the practice of Islamic family law in Indonesia shows that local Muslim communities actively interpret Islamic teachings according to their social context, so that the innate social practice is not seen as an aberration, but rather as a form of social *ijtihad* rooted in the value of benefit (Hamzawi, 2018; Luthfi et al., 2024; Putri et al., 2025).

Reinterpretation of the Concept of *Qiwamah* in the Local Context of Madura

In the context of Madura, this legitimacy is strengthened by the role of religious leaders and extended families who are moral references in determining the feasibility of a social practice. The concept of *qiwamah* (male leadership) in the findings of this study has also undergone significant reinterpretation. Madurese people do not interpret *qiwamah* narrowly as spatial domination or full control over the wife's body and mobility, but as a moral, economic, and symbolic responsibility that must be carried out by the husband. When the husband travels, his absence from physical presence is not necessarily seen as a failure to carry out *qiwamah*, as long as he continues to fulfill his maintenance obligations, maintain family commitments, and maintain moral relationships with his wife and extended family. These findings are in line with contemporary studies of *qiwamah* which emphasize its contextual and relational nature, rather than absolute and static (Amin et al., 2025; Lailatul et al., 2024).

Epistemologically, these findings affirm that *qiwamah* is not positioned as an ontological concept that is absolutely inherent in men, but rather as a normative construction that depends on the fulfillment of the functions and objectives of the Shari'a. In the context of Madura culture, a man who migrates is still considered to carry out *qiwamah* as long as he fulfills his maintenance obligations, maintains family commitments, and does not abandon his wife materially or emotionally. This shows that leadership in Islam is understood functionally and responsibility-based, not just physical presence or spatial control (Faizah, 2018).

Qiwamah in the practice of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* is not a patriarchal instrument that limits women's agency, but rather an ethical mechanism to ensure the survival and security of Muslim families in a particular social context. The main theoretical contribution of this study is to show that *qiwamah* can be understood as an elastic and contextual epistemological concept, without losing its Islamic legitimacy. These findings open up new space for the study of Islamic epistemology to more seriously consider local social practices as legitimate sources of religious knowledge.

***Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* as a Safe Space for Role Adaptation for Roles**

From a woman's perspective, the practice of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'*, is perceived as a safe space that allows the process of adapting to the role of a wife to take place gradually and not coercively. Living with parents after marriage provides an opportunity for women to learn about domestic responsibilities, marital relationships, and social expectations of the role of the wife without having to face excessive social pressure (Hadawiah Azis et al., 2022). The female informants in this study emphasized that the presence of parents and close family functions as a source of emotional support, a place to share experiences, as well as a social protection mechanism when they are still in the early stages of marriage.

In this context, the practice of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* is not understood as a form of dependence, but rather as an adaptive strategy that allows women to build confidence and emotional stability gradually. These women's experiences challenge the mainstream patriarchal narrative that often interprets women's independence narrowly as physical separation from the family of origin or the ability to live a married life independently from the beginning of marriage. The findings of this study actually show that women's independence does not always grow through social distancing, but can develop through supportive and safe relationships. Recent studies on women's experiences in the marital transition show that family support plays a significant role in strengthening women's capacity to manage domestic roles, maintain mental health, and build more equal and stable marital relationships (Taufiiqoh & Krisnatuti, 2024). In a cultural context that still places women as the guardians of domestic harmony, the existence of family networks is actually a protective factor against psychological stress and the burden of dual roles (Sa'dan, 2016).

Implications and Novelty

Overall, the findings and discussion in this study confirm that *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* is not just a pragmatic or residual cultural practice, but contains a solid epistemological rationality as part of the socio-religious knowledge system of the Madurese people. This practice was born from a continuous dialogue between revelation as a source of normative value, reason as an instrument of social reasoning, and empirical reality in the form of family structure, gender relations, and male migration dynamics that have long been part of the life of the Madura people. In this context, the practice of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* functions simultaneously as a mechanism for protecting women in the early phases of marriage, an instrument for family stabilization in situations of husband's absence, as well as adaptive strategies to economic demands and male labor mobility. More than that, this practice shows how local Muslim communities do not simply adopt textual Islamic norms, but actively interpret and implement them through a cultural framework that is meaningful and collectively actionable.

The main novelty of this research lies in the placement of Madura's local wisdom as a source of Islamic epistemology that is functionally equivalent to normative texts, not as a complement or deviation from Islamic teachings. This finding also confirms that Islam, in its social practice, is a living tradition that continues to negotiate with the social context of its supporting communities, where religious authority, cultural values, and daily experiences intertwine to form contextual, legitimate, and sustainable Islamic practices. Thus, this research contributes to the enrichment of contemporary Islamic studies by showing that the understanding of Islam cannot be separated from the social practices of its people, as well as that local culture has an important role in producing, reproducing, and transforming Islamic knowledge historically and contextually.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the practice of *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* is not merely a post-marital residence pattern in Madurese society, but a form of socio-religious knowledge constructed through the dialectic between Islamic teachings, local wisdom, and socio-economic realities. It reflects a contextual way of producing and practicing Islamic knowledge, prioritizing the safety, honor, and welfare of women in domestic life. From the perspective of Islamic epistemology, this practice demonstrates that religious understanding extends beyond normative texts and develops

through social reasoning grounded in lived experiences and local cultural structures. The Madurese community embodies a contextual and practical epistemology, where sharia values such as justice, protection, and responsibility are flexibly interpreted in response to male migration and women's psychosocial needs. These findings affirm that revelation (*naql*), reason (*al-'aql*), and social reality (*al-wāqi'*) are integral in interpreting and practicing Islam.

Within the framework of local wisdom, *Reng Lake' Noro' Reng Bini'* functions as a social mechanism to maintain family stability, protect women's honor, and regulate power relations within the household. The involvement of the wife's extended family is not seen as weakening the husband's authority, but as a form of collective responsibility supporting family sustainability. This also reflects a local reinterpretation of *qiwamah* as moral and economic responsibility rather than domination. The novelty of this research lies in positioning Madurese local wisdom as a source of Islamic epistemology alongside normative texts in shaping Muslim family practices. It challenges rigid normative approaches in Islamic family studies and offers an alternative view of Islam as a living tradition that continuously negotiates with social and cultural contexts. These findings contribute to the study of Islam in the archipelago, Muslim family studies, and the development of more contextual, inclusive, and gender-just Islamic policies and *da'wah*.

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