

GENDERED PESANTREN IN CONTEMPORARY INDONESIA: FEMALE AGENCY, INSTITUTION, AND EVERYDAY LIVES

Evi Muafiah

IAIN Ponorogo, East Java, Indonesia
muafiahevi@gmail.com

Lutfiana Dwi Mayasari

IAIN Ponorogo, East Java, Indonesia
lutfianamayasari@iainponorogo.ac.id

Anis Hidayatul Imtihanah

IAIN Ponorogo, East Java, Indonesia
anis.hidayatulhanah@gmail.com

Bustanul Yuliani

IAIN Ponorogo, East Java, Indonesia
bustanulyulia@iainponorogo.ac.id

Abstract

In patriarchal cultures and societies, the practice of women's domestication is commonly embraced. As an educational institution, pesantren are inherently led by the kyai due to their exclusive leadership. Many scholarly studies often neglect the roles of their wives as counterparts or nyai in the pesantren. Even in a broader society, the contributions of nyai in the transformation of pesantren are frequently eclipsed by the roles of their husbands or male counterparts. Therefore, this study aims to comprehend the roles of nyai and how they deal with cultural barriers that are essential for their public participation inside and outside the pesantren. Through an anthropological approach, this study presents the life narratives of two nyais in contemporary Indonesia and demonstrates the significant roles of nyai in the pesantren. It also aims to portray the life experiences of nyais in dealing with cultural barriers and promoting gender awareness to their students (santri). It also explores the interpretation of the gender equality concept within Islamic terms amid the prevailing patriarchal

cultures and societies. In addition, it also examines the reception and practices of santri regarding gender awareness and equality. Thus, this study further argues that nyai plays an essential role in promoting gender equality in the pesantren. Nyai's life experiences and leadership serve as an important modality for the pesantren to transform the society towards just and justice.

Keywords: Pesantren, Nyai, Women, Nahdlatul Ulama, Gender Equality

A. Introduction

As the oldest Islamic education institution in Indonesia, *pesantren* has been recognized as a traditional Islamic educational institution that constantly adapts to modernity (Azra et al., 2007; Hefner, 2009; Lukens-Bull, 2005; Subhan, 2009), contributes to the dynamics of society (Hefner, 2008; Isbah, 2020; Pohl, 2007), and Islamic thoughts (Tan, 2012). The term pesantren is widely used in Java and North Kalimantan and in some areas, such as *pondok* in Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Malay, and parts of Sumatra, *surau* in West Sumatra, or *dayah* in Aceh (Azra et al., 2007). Scholars usually divide the pesantren educational system into two types based on their curricula and institution forms: modern pesantren and pesantren *salaf* (traditional pesantren). Modern pesantren is usually characterized by its adaptability to the modern curriculum and the modern schooling system or *madrassa*. Pesantren *salaf*, on the other hand, is characterized by its classical educational system and only focuses its education on religious knowledge and emphasizes the formation of "personal piety" (Steenbrink, 1986: 24). Regardless of their curricula and institutional forms, the Indonesian government has recognized that pesantren education is equivalent to other formal educational institutions widely established in Indonesia, such as madrasas and universities since 2019 (Nurtawab, 2022).

Kyai is an essential aspect of pesantren, particularly those that adhere to the salaf model (Dhofier, 1982). Kyai are Muslim scholars or *ulama* in Java who have a great influence on the interpretation of Islam. Scholars like Zamakhsyari Dhofier, Imron Arifin, Clifford Geertz, Horikoshi, and Suprayogo highlight the central role of kyai in the world of pesantren. The central role of kyai depends not only on his authority within the pesantren institution but also on his charisma. In a broader social life, a kyai has been branded as a “cultural broker” (Geertz, 1960). In line with the dominant patriarchal culture found in other Muslim societies, kyai is exclusively male figures of considerable Islamic expertise who play vital roles in interpreting Islamic scripture and has a prominent position of leadership in society (Muafiah et al., 2022).

Nevertheless, despite their traditional characters, many contemporary pesantren in Indonesia have experienced considerable changes and transformations, particularly concerning their leadership system. Contemporary pesantren no longer restrict women’s presence, allowing space for women to lead this traditional educational institution. This transformation resulted from kyai’s activism in the massive gender equality movement carried out in the 1980s, especially by the largest Muslim organization in Indonesia, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), which was established in 1926. We could identify some notable figures in the pesantren world, such as Abdurrahman Wahid (Dhofier, 2019; Wahid, 1974) and Faqihudin Abdul Kodir (Kodir, 2016), who strongly criticized the patriarchal system prevalent in the society and encouraged women leadership within the pesantren world.

This article aims to elaborate on the so-called gendered pesantren. The concept of gendered pesantren refers to a traditional Islamic education in contemporary Indonesia, which plays a key role in mainstreaming gender equality within the pesantren tradition and culture. It also examines

the contemporary leadership dynamic within the pesantren circle and demonstrates the shift from male-centric leadership to gender equality in leadership. In addition to the above, this article also aims to examine the changes in pesantren following the introduction of female leaders in pesantren (nyai), the learning system, policies, and the daily life of the santri (Islamic students who are living in the pesantren) dominated mainly by male santri.

The concept of nyai is essential to the study. In contrast to the kyai, the term nyai emphasizes the significance of women's involvement in leading and educating within pesantren. It is thus essential to distinguish the term nyai in the pesantren cultures from the concept of nyai, which emerged in the late 20th century during the Dutch colonialism in Indonesia. During Dutch colonialism, nyai refers to women who served as domestic workers and often engaged in sexual relationships with Dutch males residing in the colony (Dragojlovic & McGregor, 2022).

Nyai in the pesantren culture is the kyai's wife or counterpart who plays the role of a kyai in contemporary Java. Using a gendered anthropological approach (Saptari, 2016), this study applies life history to listen, show, and voice about women themselves (Reinharz, 2005). Bruce Shaw explains that life history is a crucial approach to explaining individual issues and their relevance in cultural and social formation (Shaw, 1980). This study particularly takes into account profiles of two pesantren led by women, namely the Pesantren Kebon Jambu Al-Islami led by Nyai Masriyah Amva (1961) and the Pesantren Pesantren Mahasina Darul Qur'an wal Hadith, abbreviated as Mahasina Daqwah led by Nyai Badriyah Fayumi (1971). These two nyais play an important role in gender mainstreaming in pesantren and serve as essential figures who initiated the first Indonesian Women's Ulema Congress (KUPI, *Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia*) in 2017.

B. Gender Mainstreaming in Indonesian Pesantren

The concept of gender difference refers to a visible difference between men and women in terms of values, roles, and behavior (Rahmawati, 2016). The concept differs from biological sex and is generally used to identify differences between men and women regarding biological nature (Zeni, 2022). Gender serves as the basis for the division of labor based on sexual differences, and it particularly appears in social and cultural life. Gender is not inherent but rather a societal construct, as stated by Nelson and Constantinidis (2017). It is produced and promoted through the construction of society and culture. In essence, the unexchangeable division between the two only lies at the level of sexual differentiation. Therefore, gender is closely related to the value system and social norms, i.e., how men and women should think and behave differently and how religion serves as one of the important factors in the value system (Asnawi, 2016).

Despite the fact that women and men are two distinct creations based on their sexes, Islam dictates that they are created from the same element (Badawi, n.d.). Men and women have equal status, and one has no superiority over the other. Before Allah, all human beings hold an equal position regardless of their gender, male or female. The only element distinguishing one from another is their level of obedience and piety (Quranic Verse) (Imtihanah, 2017). The principle of equality between men and women possess identical rights and responsibilities as human beings and have the same position before God and among human beings (Mas'udi, 1997). Islam guarantees equal rights between men and women and teaches the principle of equality for all humankind. The principle of equality is a universal value applicable anytime, anywhere, and by anyone regardless of religion, class, race, gender, and other primordial and personal identities. Equality and justice are two keywords that are used to understand equality in

Islam. Asma Barlas emphasized that the Qur'an fully supports equality between men and women. Despite the biological differences between men and women, the physical differences do not lead to discrimination. Men and women are equal in terms of the ontological level since men and women are created from the *nafs* (ego/self). Thus, both men and women have the same capacities as moral agents, and thus, they both have the same humanitarian duties (Barlas, 2003).

Gender practice in Islam is tremendously complex, as are social and political complexities. On the one hand, many Muslim men and women believe that Islam teaches the principle of equality that can be applied by all human beings in the realm of social life. However, on the other hand, many Muslim women from all over the world face multifaceted discrimination and are marginalized in the name of Islam (Safi, 2008). In terms of the gender division of labor between men and women, for example, we recognized the difference between domestic and public roles. The domestic role is exclusively defined as the role of women in the household, both as wives and mothers, while the public role refers to the role of women in the broader scope of society, both in order to earn a living and for self-actualization in various aspects of life, such as in social life, politics, economy, and education (Ilyas, 2005).

The discriminated separation between the domestic and public sphere has actually resulted in domination and subordination. For instance, it is widely held that because of their feminine nature, women need protection from masculine men. This gender-based dichotomy, in turn, gives rise to male domination in both the domestic and public spheres. Such a notion certainly contradicts the idea of gender equality, which demands justice, equal access, and opportunity between men and women (Yunahar Ilyas, 2005). Nonetheless, the idea of gender equality has been adopted by several pesantren in

Indonesia. Through its activism through advocacy, training, and publications, pesantren are increasingly involved in gender equality campaigns, not only in the limited space of the pesantren but also in the broader scope of the public sphere (Ma'mur, 2015).

C. Gender Activism in Pesantren

The concept of gender equality movement in pesantren has been significantly shaped by the emergence of the feminist movement within NU, particularly via the involvement of NU's women organizations such as Muslimat and Fatayat. Leaders of these two women's organizations were the wives of the kyai and the daughters of the kyai (Abidin et al., 2020). Their participation in the organization facilitates the adaptation of gender equality as the central core of pesantren transformation. Notably, Muslimat NU frequently responds to gender issues in Indonesia. Similarly, in 1990, Fatayat NU established The Fatayat Welfare Foundation (YKF, *Yayasan Kesejahteraan Fatayat*), a women's social welfare organization. Yayasan Kesejahteraan Muslimat NU was established on June 11, 1963 as part of the NU Muslimat Social and Environmental Health affairs, which was established to address the issue on women's reproductive health. It specifically handles social charity activities for Muslimat NU, as a form of social concern for Muslim women in NU. Based on this foundation, many sub-sectors were created to address family welfare, including sub-sectors dedicated to providing aid, promoting health, and ensuring protection. The Yayasan Kesejahteraan Muslimat NU has accomplished several achievements, including successfully establishing Center of Mother and Child Welfare (BKIA, Balai Kesejahteraan Ibu dan Anak), Women and Children's Hospital (RSAB, Rumah Sakit Anak dan Bunda), and Islamic Hospital (RSI, Rumah Sakit Islam)

through networking in different locations. This decision was taken due to the exorbitant expenses associated with public health (Saraswati & Trilaksana, 2019). In addition, YKF also organizes intensive training for kyai and nyai. The results of these activities have been published in a book entitled “Nyai, Kiai, dan Pesantren” published in 2015 (Ma’mur, 2015).

Fatayat has also maintained its key role in mainstreaming gender equality through workshops and seminars, where kyai are the main participants. (Hajaroh, 2019) In 1998, Fatayat held a seminar with the theme “*Kerangka Gender dalam Perspektif Ulama NU*” (Gender Framework in the Perspective of NU Ulama), which was attended by influential NU figures, such as Kyai Sahal Mahfudh and Kyai Mukhid Muzadi. The NU’s kyai support the Fatayat’s programs and eventually influence the understanding of the kyai in affairs related to gender issues (Adisti, 2021). Another important organization that promotes gender equality is the Forum of the Islamic Classical Literature Study (FK3, *Forum Kajian Kitab Kuning*), initiated by Sinta Nuriyah Abdurrahman Wahid. FK3 is a forum founded by Mrs. Sinta Nuriyah before establishing the Puan Amal Hayati Foundation on July 3 2000. FK3 conducted a review on the study of Uqud al-Lujjayin, where its members consisted of pesantren clerics and female activists. The results of the discussion are interpreted and written in a book and translated into Indonesian and English. FK3 members include Kyai Husain Muhammad, Kyai Wahid Marianto, Lutfi Fatullah, Maria Ulfah Ansor, Safarina Fadli, Herdardini Ansyah, and Lies Marcoes. The results of the FK3 study were disseminated to eight Pesantren in Indonesia, which are located in Indramayu, Tasikmalaya, Probolinggo, Jember, Malang, Sumeneb, Lombok, and Jakarta.

The organization also held a number of activities that supported the promotion of gender equality campaigns among NU’s ulamas, to foster their acceptance of progressive

perspectives on gender equality (Ma'mur, 2015). Muslimat, Fatayat, and FK3 have constantly campaigned for gender equality by providing much counter-discourse in studying the *kitab kuning* (Islamic classical literature that is typically printed on yellow paper), especially in the concept of social distinction between public and domestic roles for men and women. Their campaign invites many NGOs to collaborate and work intensively for mainstreaming gender equality, one of which is through the Centre for Pesantren and Community Development (P3M, *Pusat Penelitian dan Pengabdian Masyarakat*), Rahima, Fahmina, and Puan Amal Hayati (Mas'udi, 1997; Yi-Ju, 2021).

NU, as a traditionalist organization, also initiates intense discussions of issues that occur within the community, as well as the possibility of updating the study of Islamic law (fiqh) to make it more transformative in answering contemporary social problems. One of the aims of this movement is to strengthen women's rights (van Doorn-Harder, 2012). Currently, pesantren not only focuses on religious learning but also produces a generation of Muslims with profound knowledge of religion and science. It is reasonably true that many contemporary pesantren are now also running commercial institutions, such as cooperatives and health centers (Azra, 2007).

D. Internal Criticism

In addition to kyai figure, *kitab kuning* is the core element of pesantren education. It is a classical literature of the various Islamic disciplines along with author commentaries. These works are collectively known, in Indonesia, as *kitab kuning*, or "yellow-printed books" (van Bruinessen, 1994). In pesantren, *kitab kuning* is mainly learned in addition to two fundamental Islamic texts, the Qur'an and Hadits. The

kitab kuning is particularly written in Arabic, however, some contemporary kitab kuning are written in Jawi (in Malay language but with Arabic script) and *pegon* (in Javanese but with Arabic script). The books deal with various subjects, from Islamic law to ethics and Sufism. (Ritonga, 2020) They not only represent genealogical knowledge of the pesantren because they were written by medieval traditionalist scholars but also serve as important references in interpreting Islam in the contemporary world.

In terms of gender, the kitab kuning is often seen as problematic because it tends to limit the role of women in the public sphere and perpetuate the tradition of male domination (Srimulyani, 2007). In the discussion on Islamic law, one of the leading NU figures, Masdar F. Masudi, argues that several topics pertaining to women's issues in the classical literature of the kitab kuning taught in pesantren, especially in matters of Islamic law are discrimination against women. Masudi highlights several points about the relations between women and men in the pages of the kitab kuning. The first point is the merging presence of women and the presence of men.

This particularly appears in the study of Arabic grammar (*nahwu*), which shows all syllables are male forms, except words that clearly refer to female forms. Another circulating opinion in the *kitab kuning* is that women are only complements of men. The second point indicates that women are only "half the price" of men. This can be seen in some Islamic teachings, including the ceremony of *aqiqah* (the sacrifice made on behalf of a newborn), which requires two goats for the boy but only one goat for the girl. Then, in terms of inheritance, women's share is half the share of men. The third point is the position of women as objects, which is seen in family life. The fourth point is the position of women as a domestic creature, which can be seen from the prohibition of women from becoming a leader (Hasibuan & Hafizzullah,

2021) both in the context of worship, such as prayer, as well as in the public.

In addition to the literary dimension of pesantren, it is essential to consider the individuals involved in the pesantren. The kyai and nyai not only contribute to delivering Islamic knowledge but also act as role models in the daily life of the *santriwati* (female santri). In the context of female boarding schools, nyai play an important role in the field of moral education for santriwati. In other words, a nyai serves as a role model for the santriwati to learn how to be a good wife and mother (Naily, 2018). Nyai is an ideal role model for women, an ideal image of how women should behave through whom santri can witness how to serve their husbands and take care of their children. In addition, a nyai also considers the santriwati as her own children (Yi-Ju, 2021). In several regions in Indonesia, many pesantren are led by nyai, such as those in Pati, Cirebon, and Bekasi (Naily, 2018). Similar to Nyai Masriyah Amva at Pesantren Pondok Jambu Babakan Ciwaringin Cirebon, several nyai also lead the pesantren, including Nyai Badriyah Fayumi at Pondok Pesantren Mahasina Bekasi, and Nyai Shafwah at Pondok Pesantren Hajroh Basyir Salafiyah Kajen Margoyoso Pati. Thus, it is correctly argued that the birth of new nyai who take the primary role, instead of taking a secondary role to the kyai in pesantren, demonstrates the dynamics of gender in the pesantren world.

E. Life-Narratives of Two Nyais

As explained at the beginning of this article, nyai is the kyai's counterpart. It is thus necessary to distinguish the role of nyai in pesantren from the traditional concept of nyai, which emerged at the end of the 20th century during Dutch colonialism which referred to Javanese women who lived

alongside and became sex partners of Dutchmen (Dragojlovic & McGregor, 2022). Nyai, as explained by Nabiela Naili, is the wife of a kyai, a female religious leader and a leader in a pesantren. However, in the context of this article, nyai is defined as a sociological category that shows the centrality of women's leadership in the public sphere and the pesantren. In so doing, the following discussion discusses the life narratives of two nyais who lead their pesantren.

1. Nyai Masriyah Amva and Pesantren Kebon Jambu Al-Islami

The traditionalist NU is the dominant organization in Cirebon and is characterized by the principle of Sunni or *ahlu sunnah wal jamaah* (the people of tradition and unification). Pesantren Kebon Jambu Al-Islami, which is currently led by Nyai Masriyah is one of the pesantren in Cirebon that strongly affiliates with NU. This pesantren was founded on November 20 1993 by Kyai Muhammad (1947-2006), who was the late husband of Nyai Masriyah. Following the death of the founder, the chairman of the pesantren was Kyai Asror Muhammad (1976-2017), the brother of Kyai Muhammad, who led the pesantren until his death in 2017. Nyai Masriyah subsequently proceeded to serve as the leader of the pesantren. In our conversation, Nyai Masriyah admits that she previously experienced feelings of inferiority toward both men and women. During her time as the wife of Kyai Muhammad, Nyai Masriyah played more of a role in domestic affairs, fulfilling her family's daily necessities. However, following her appointment as the leader of the pesantren, Nyai Masriyah realizes that she is fully responsible for the continuity of the pesantren that her husband established.

After Kyai Muhammad died, I felt myself very weak. Because before, I only acted as his support system. All pesantren activities are handled by him. Because of the figure of the pesantren at Kyai Muhammad, many students were allowed to leave. From there I realized that this should not be allowed, I must continue the Kebon Jambu Islamic boarding school. But how? I don't know the way. (Nyai Masriyah Amva, personal communication, April 21, 2022)

Nyai Masriyah addresses her shortcomings by enhancing her self-assurance, a common woman's endeavor to strengthen their beliefs (Nyai Masriyah Amva, personal communication, April 21, 2022). As explained by Dariuszky, self-esteem is an assessment that one can face life's challenges and find happiness (Dariuszky, 2004). Nyai Masriyah has gained a new understanding of gender awareness and equality. During her time at Pesantren Kebon Jambu, Nyai Masriyah, while under the leadership of Kyai Muhammad, acknowledges that she did not fully grasp the significance of gender studies. Despite frequently engaging in gender-related discussions organized by Fahmina, a Muslim feminist organization in Cirebon. Fahmina was founded to accommodate pesantren-graduated youth who share their passion for learning about science in the Cirebon area. This organization engages the youths in a more in-depth study of Islamic classical texts by learning about the social, political, and economic background when and where the texts - which is *mu'tabar* in pesantren - were produced and written. These classical texts are, for example, *matan at-Taqrib* by Imam Abu Syuja' (434-488H/1042-1091 M), *al-Muhadzab* by Imam as-Syirazi (393-476 H/1003-1083 M), *al-Munqidz min adh-Dhalal* by Imam al-Ghazali (w. 555H/1111M) and *Syarh 'Uqud al-Lujjayin* by Syaikh Nawawi Banten (w.1314 H/1897 M).

I only correctly understood the importance of gender equality after Kyai Muhammad died. Material on gender equality was already understood when I accompanied Kyai Muhammad, I was invited for several times to discuss and study at Fahmina. But at that time I understood gender as a concept. But in practice, my position was very humanized by Kyai Muhammad. So even though I only act as a support system, I don't feel like this position is oppressing me. (Nyai Masriyah Amva, personal communication, April 21, 2022)

However, after replacing the roles of Kyai Muhammad and Kyai Asror as leaders of the Pesantren Kebon Jambu Al-Islami, Nyai Masriyah started to understand the importance of gender equality. Nyai Masriyah believes that Islam gives all human beings equal opportunity to play their roles in the public sphere. She said, "there is not a single verse in the Qur'an that discriminates against the role of women" (Nyai Masriyah Amva, personal communication, April 21, 2022). This understanding gave birth to gender-friendly management of the Pesantren Kebon Jambu Al-Islami, such as non-discrimination in *santri*' leadership abilities regardless of their gender and providing equal access to education and curriculum for both male and santriwati.

Pesantren Kebon Jambu Al-Islami can be classified as a traditionalist pesantren with modern characters. In this pesantren, santri are required to attend a modern education system, either *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* (Islamic Junior High School) or *Madrasah Aliyah* (Islamic Senior High School) in the daytime. These two madrasahs are part of the educational ecosystem of the Pesantren Kebon Jambu Al-Islami. In the afternoon, the santri are required to attend the *Madrasah Diniyyah* (Islamic educational institution focusing on merely religious knowledge), and at night, they take part in the

kitab kuning lessons using the *sorogan* method. The sorogan method is a learning system which requires santri to come forward one by one to read and describe the contents of the book before a teacher or kyai. Sorogan is a learning method that involves santri in direct learning. Santri individually reads the book before the kyai, then the *kyai* listens and points out his mistakes (Yasin, 2008, p. 245). During lessons, Santri reads the kitab kuning, including *'Uqud al-Lujjayin*. Written by the 19th-century Jawi scholar Nawawi al-Bantani, *'Uqud al-Lujjayin* particularly discusses the ethical relationship between husband and wife in the household (Forum Kajian Kitab Kuning, 2003). *'Uqud al-Lujjayin* is often heavily criticized for being the primary source of reference for justifying gender discrimination.

In addition, the book also seems to highlight the discriminatory relationship between subject and object and submission to one another (Nurjannah, 2020). This opinion is reinforced by the opinion of Masdar F. Masudi, who stated that women's issues taught in pesantren, especially in Islamic law material, were not women-friendly and emphasized the patriarchal aspect (Srimulyani, 2007). However, Nyai Masriyah considers the *'Uqudullujain'* to be a valuable inheritance from Muslim academics that must be studied with a critical approach. To Masriyah, *'Uqud al-Lujjayin* is a must-critically learned Islamic text through the perspective of justice, equality, and tolerance.

However, *Uqud al-Lujjayin* is a scientific product that needs to be preserved and taught. But the understanding needs to be contextualized. Respect for the works of past scholars is important, so that scientists and the current generation do not feel arrogant and still respect the legacy of the past.

To carry out contextualization, of course the first thing to change is that the mindset of the teacher must be gender fair. (Nyai Masriyah Amva, personal communication, April 21, 2022)

As the leader of the pesantren, Nyai Masriyah supposedly participates in all activities of the pesantren. She is involved in managing pesantren, and she realizes the principle of gender equality. However, she admits that there are no special learning materials related to gender, such as written subjects and learning instructions for her gender awareness, but it is clear that her involvement and contacts with many gender activists are the root of her gender equality insight. She has also benefited from her direct participation in many pesantren activities.

For Nyai Masriyah, the concept of gender is problematic as a discourse because, in a patriarchal culture, the concept is often defined as an appropriate concept. There has been a widespread view that gender equality teaches women to fight against their husbands; thus, it is contradicted by the Qur'an and the prophetic Sunna. In order to prevent rejection and potential controversy, Nyai Masriyah incorporates concepts of gender equality into her everyday actions and sets examples. She avoids using the term "gender" as a jargon to describe her activities.

I have never stated that our pesantren promotes gender equality. Because the terms gender and feminism are rather sensitive in society. Many people think that the concept of gender and feminism is a cultural heritage from the West. So I teach gender equality in practice, how to humanize others, how to uphold justice, how to stay away from discrimination, that's what gender is fighting for, which is also a

mandate brought by Islam. (Nyai Masriyah Amva, personal communication, April 21, 2022)

The doctrine of *tauhid* seems to inspire Nyai Masriyah's gender awareness. *Tauhid* is the foundation of Islam and, theologically speaking, signifies the absence of anything besides God. This particularly appears through her two books of poems entitled *Mutiara Cinta* (Amva, 2020a) and *Pelabuhan Cinta* (Amva, 2020b). In her book, "Aku adalah ratu di dunia Barat dan Timur" (I am the queen in the West and East world)," Nyai Masriyah narrates the centrality of all female cultures, both in East and West. Her poem entitled "*Saya adalah hamba Allah, majikan saya adalah Allah*" (I am a servant of Allah, my employer is Allah) translates the concept of servitude (*'abd*). For Masriyah, the rationale for the concept of *'abd* in Islam is the foundation for every Muslim to achieve Allah's blessing, and thus, all obstacles and barriers for the cause will only serve as encouragement to fight harder in the path of God. For her, the woman has all the freedom as their male counterparts. Both women and men are the servants of God to realize justice and a just society. As a pesantren leader, Nyai Masriyah seems to aspire to many of her santri, particularly santriwati. Our interviews with these santri were conducted using Nyai Masriyah's leadership style, which is elegant, firm, good at expressing opinions, and comprehensive in every action. This also encourages male *santri* to continue motivating themselves for the better and see that if women can lead well, men should also be able to do the same.

For us, Nyai Masriyah is our best role model to be a woman. He struggled on the path of Education, setting a concrete example. How he depended on

Allah and involved Allah in every step of his struggle. So that all the problems he faced felt lighter because he only depended on Allah, not on creatures. (Santri, personal communication, April 21, 2022)

2. Nyai Badriyah Fayumi and Pesantren Mahasina Darul Quran wal Hadits

Nyai Badriyah Fayumi (1971) is an academician and activist born in Pati who plays a significant role in attempts to build gender equality (Ulya, 2018). She is a graduate of al-Azhar University in Egypt and the leading figure of the KUPI (Ma'ruf et al., 2021). Her late father was a retired judge of the Religious Court (Pengadilan Agama) and the founder of the Pesantren Raudhatul Ulum. Coming from a family that upholds democratic values, her parents ensure that all six of their children have equal opportunities for education, regardless of their gender.

Even though she was born into a family that emphasized equality in all aspects, the situation turned out to be the opposite outside the house. Women at that time were only allowed to go to school in the afternoon because they had to help with their mother's domestic affairs in the morning. This situation is made possible because of the popular construction that men and women should not gather in the same place in order to avoid defamation. Therefore, it was difficult for women to concentrate on their studies when they were physically exhausted, which thus affected their level of acceptance and learning achievement. This discriminative situation invited Nyai Badriyah to respond as she began to gain

awareness of women's injustice rooted in Quranic verses seen from patriarchal interpretations.

I am grateful because I was born and grew up in a democratic family. My siblings and I are given the same opportunity for education. But I don't see that in my little friends. As women, they were domesticated from childhood and were not given the right to education. Even though he was given access to education, he was still burdened with domestic work which was quite heavy for a child of his age. From this, my sensitivity towards gender equality started to grow. Starting from the situation of women in the area where I live. (Nyai Badriyah Fayumi, personal communication, April 23, 2022)

In 1980, she witnessed the strengthening of the women's movement amid domestication echoed by the New Order. Some recognized women's figures began to fight against state policies that domesticated and discriminated against women. One Among these important figures was Nusryah bani Katjasungkana, who strictly demanded women's rights and positions in many walks of life, including politics, civil, media, academic, and religious authority; Lies Marcos, a feminist activist, who successfully established a bridge between the secular women's movement and Indonesian Muslim feminism; and Masdar Farid Mas'udi who actively fought for democracy and women's rights. These figures inspired Nyai Badriyah to join the gender equality movement. She gained an understanding of Islam that prioritizes human values during her formal education at the Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic Institute Jakarta, specializing in Tafsir Hadith, and Al-Azhar University in Egypt in 1998.

During our fieldwork, Nyai Badriyah often conveyed the principle of equality between men and women before God. However, men and women may have different positions, the principle of equality before Allah is the prime rule she constantly conveys in all forums. She has been actively advocating for gender equality, especially in her roles as a member of the Council of Religious Scholars of the Indonesian Ministry of Religion (*Dewan Masyayikh Kementerian Agama*), Deputy Secretary-General of the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI, *Majelis Ulama Indonesia*), *A'wan* of the NU (A group of scholars who provide assistance to NU's Supreme Council), Chair of the KUPI, Chair of Indonesian Muslim Women Scientists Council (MAI, *Majelis Alimat Indonesia*), Caucus of Women Parliamentarians of the Republic of Indonesia (KPPRI, *Kaukus Perempuan Parlemen Republik Indonesia*), member of Sharia Economic Society (MES, *Masyarakat Ekonomi Syariat*), Expert Council of UIN Alumni Association (IKALUIN, *Ikatan Alumni UIN*), and Chairperson of the Istiqlal Mosque Mudzakarrah Council, Trustees of Network of Female Islamic Boarding School Caretakers and Mubaligh (JP3M, *Jam'iyah Pengasuh Pesantren Putri and Muballighah*), Deputy Chairperson of Family Welfare Institution of the Nahdlatul Ulama Central Board (LKK PBNU, *Lembaga Kemaslahatan Keluarga Pengurus Basar Nahdlatul Ulama*), and also Deputy Chairman of ICALFU.

My understanding of gender equality was further nurtured when I continued studying at UIN Jakarta. I also learned a lot from figures such as Mrs. Lies Marcos, Nusryahbani Katjasurkana and so on. They are figures who actively voice the position of women who are oppressed. I feel that what he conveyed is

in accordance with Islamic religious values. Just understanding, I think, is not enough to fight for gender equality. I practice these values and strive for them when I serve as a board member, MUI member, LKK PBNU, JP3M, and in other organizations. (Nyai Badriyah Fayumi, personal communication, April 23, 2022)

In 2016, Nyai Badriyah and her husband, Kyai Abu Bakar Rahziz, founded the Pesantren Mahasina Daqwah. Located at Pondok Gede Bekasi, the pesantren applied an integrated concept of education for prospective young Muslim scholars and leaders who bear Quranic characters and the principle of nationalism. Santri are required to attend an integrated learning system that integrates formal education through Madrasah Tsanawiyah, Madrasah Aliyah, and the pesantren educational systems. Kyai Abu Bakar Rahziz's and Nyai Badriyah Fayumi's social activism was important in shaping their moderate thoughts.

Nyai Badriyah shared the same position at the Pesantren Mahasina Daqwah as her husband, Kyai Abu Bakar Rahziz. There is no difference in the roles taken based on gender difference, and thus, all pesantren's policies are taken by deliberation based on proper analysis as the basis for decision making. This aligns with the principles of Islamic teachings, which recognize women and men as equal servants of Allah. Both genders are entrusted with the responsibility of becoming Allah's agents on earth, known as *khalifah*, to promote the well-being of humankind and everything within it (Q.S. Al-Zariat: 56).

Prior to 2016, Mahasina was a madrasah diniyah. Because there were more and more students, we decided to formalize the education system at Mahasina in the form of a pesantren. This is where Islamic values that promote equality are taught practically in the daily lives of students and in their educational curriculum. The equality taught at the Mahasina Islamic boarding school began with me and husband as Kyai's practice coaching. Kyai and me have an equal share in managing the pesantren. (Nyai Badriyah Fayumi, personal communication, April 23, 2022)

Nyai Badriyah constantly criticizes women domestication and extremist narratives based on the Quran and Hadith through a humanitarian perspective. She believes that there is no evidence in the Qur'an nor the prophetic Sunna that justifies gender discrimination. For her, the problem of discrimination lies at the level of interpretation rather than at the Qur'an and Sunnah texts. For example, Nyai Badriyah has exclusively discussed the interpretation of Quranic chapter (surah) of an-Nisa: 34 about *nusyuz* (disobedience or not fulfilling the marital duties), the surah an-Nisa: 11 about the half inheritance for women, and the surah al Baqarah: 189 about the testimony of 2 women who are equivalent to the testimony of 1 man. Using a historical and contextual approach, Nyai Badriyah explained one by one the social context behind the revelation of these verses. The *nusyuz* verse was revealed, for example, amidst the context of Arab traditions that normalized violence against women. Thus, the concept of *nusyuz* was revealed by permitting the physical chastisement of women as long as they are not painful and leave no marks. This certainly leads to a question: is there a

beating that does not hurt and leave any beat marks? If such a beating does exist, it indeed is not a real beating. Surah an-Nisa: 34 aims to protect women from acts of violence instead of legitimizing the permissibility of beating women.

Al-Quran and Hadith are often used as legitimacy to discriminate against gender. So the Mahasina Islamic Boarding School conducted a special study of these verses and hadiths, such as nusyuz, women as a source of slander, domestication of women, women who are half-witted, women who are ribs of men and how many other verses. For this study, it was handled directly by me or by Kyai Abu Bakar directly. And the study time usually takes longer than the study of other verses. This is important for understanding students that the core of Islamic teachings is to humanize others. There is no discrimination legalized by the verses of the Quran or hadith. (Nyai Badriyah Fayumi, personal communication, April 23, 2022)

Nyai Badriyah stated that studying these verses, which often includes unfair interpretation, requires a longer time than interpreting other verses. Considering the fact that her approach is not popular in the pesantren circle, Nyai Badriyah believes that the santri of Mahasina is required to internalize the vision and prioritize humanity. Gender equality and humanity must be the primary basis for santri in interpreting misogynistic hadiths and Quranic verses that are often interpreted as the reason for discrimination. The best promotion of Islam as a women-friendly religion is through practice as a way to prove that Islamic teachings prioritize gender equality and justice and the benefit of both men and women. Both men and women are urged to play an equal role in the domestic and public spaces.

Within the scope of pesantren, the principle of gender equality is internalized in all activities of the Pesantren Mahasina, which involve male and female santri, both in terms of the learning curriculum and daily activities of santri. For instance, female and male santri are allowed to lead the discussion and be appointed as the chairman of santri's association. In addition, male and female santri have the same opportunity to deliver the short preaching to the male and female santri as the audience. Likewise, with the *dhikr* (religious chanting) leader, male and female santri must take turns leading the *dhikr*. In terms of organizational leadership, male and female santri are also given the same access and opportunity to compete for the chairperson position of the santri organization.

The integrated application of the curriculum and the equal access provided by the Pesantren Mahasina to its santri is a well-defined project. Nyai Badriyah believes that santri will lead the country and determine the direction of state policies in the future. Thus, santri must enroll in formal schooling systems, like madrasahs, in order to facilitate their future roles. Notably, the current government has provided necessary regulations that protect pesantren education, such as the rule on National Santri Day in 2014 and Law No. 18/2019 on pesantren education, which becomes the legal umbrella for recognition and affirmation of pesantren education by the state. Therefore, for Nyai Badriyah, the direction towards the right policy must start from the provision of prospective leaders and scholars who prioritize humanity.

As for the curriculum of her pesantren, Nyai Badriyah prohibits her santri from learning kitab kuning that has been

reserved as textual sources for discrimination against women, including the famous *'Uqud al-Lujjayin* written by the 19th-century Jawi scholar Nawawi al-Bantani. She requires her santri to read *kitab kuning* that teach gender equality, such as *Manba'us Sa'adah*, *Nabiyyur Rahmah*, and *Sittin Adliyyah* was written by a contemporary religious scholar Kyai Faqihuddin Abdul Kodir. The book of *Manba'us Sa'adah* contains the foundation of Islam in building the daily life of a household. One of them is to encourage fair relations in marriage so as to create a *mawaddah*, *warohmah*, and *maslahah* family and at its peak becomes a *sakinah* family. It comes with references (mashaadir) from previous and current studies. The discussion is not limited to the female side instinctively, but also from an ethical perspective, guidance on husband-wife deliberations, reproductive health and of course the concepts of building a household. The book of *Nabiyyur Rahmah* contains verses from the Quran and Hadith texts regarding the teachings of compassion which are imprinted in the character, traits, attitudes, and behaviour of the Prophet Muhammad. It contains the principles of Islamic compassion, both to oneself, family, neighbours, the general public, animals, the environment, and the universe. Then, the book of *Sittin Adliyyah* contains respect for women's humanity, displaying hadiths of active involvement of women in public spaces, encouraging the principle of reciprocity in marriage, *mu'asyarah bil ma'ruf*, and awareness of women's rights with an equitable gender.

As many traditionalist pesantren in Java, Pesantren Mahasina Daqwah applies the *bandongan* method to learn the *kitab kuning*. The *bandongan* learning method is a scientific

transfer of knowledge through teaching and learning process in pesantren specifically on the kitab kuning. The kyai reads, translates, and explains the texts, while, the santri or santri listen, pay attention, and take notes on what is conveyed by the kyai who gives the lecture. This method is particularly applied to santri enrolled in elementary classes, whereas more advanced santri learn kitab kuning through the sorogan method. Santri of Mahasina Daqwah are required to study around 25 kitab kuning from various disciplines in the integrated education system for prospective ulama, which is carried out for six years. These kitab kuning include *Hidayatus Shibyan* for Qur'anic recitation, *Al-Alfiyyah an-Nabawiyyah* for hadith, *Jurumiyah* for Arabic grammar, *Al-Amtsilah at-Tashrifiyyah* for Arabic grammar, *Al-Arbain an-Nawawiyyah* for hadith, *Al-Adab an-Nabawi* for hadith, *Riyadhus Shalihin* for hadith, and *Alfiyyah Ibnu Malik* for Arabic grammar. In addition to the above-mentioned books, Santri are also required to memorize the Qur'an to the best of their ability. Santri are required to memorize between 3 and 15 sections (juz) of the Quran over their 6-year period of study until graduation.

Pesantren Mahasina Daqwah does not enforce stringent regulations and physical segregation between males and females. Male and female santri are granted equal access to education, coaching, facilities, curriculum, teachers, and other pesantren activities. In order to prevent actions that contravene Islamic principles, such as dating, the kyai and nyai consistently emphasized to the santri the prohibition of engaging in relationships prior to marriage. Consequently, each santri is expected to maintain self-discipline and avoid dating. They

are always required to ask Allah to prevent them from lusting behavior and desires through prayer and the long routine of dhikr. This dhikr ritual is led by kyai, with male and female santri taking turns. The teacher also functions as a substitute for parents who monitor, guide, and consult on any academic and non-academic issues, including being a friend to vent.

There is no difference between male and female students. Both of them, have the same access in terms of education, curriculum, activities, and organization. To prevent unwanted things from happening between male and female students, I emphasize all students to be able to take care of themselves. Both men and women have the responsibility to protect themselves from the possibility of committing immorality. Teachers also have the responsibility to continue to supervise the activities of the students, become a place to vent, and become mentors in every activity of the students. (Nyai Badriyah Fayumi, personal communication, April 23, 2022)

There is no strict spatial separation because the pesantren is a miniature society, where men and women are equally entitled and obliged to do something good together by respecting each other and being able to take care of themselves. During the congregational prayer for Maghrib, Isya' and Fajr, male and female santri are assembled in one prayer room. They also perform regular dhikr and *ratib* text, the recitation formula taken taken from verses from the Quran and prayers that have been arranged in such a way, for every Maghrib and Fajr led by the kyai, and the santri who is on duty to do so. Male and female santri are scheduled to take turns leading the dhikr, ratib, and Quranic recitation after the prayers. Male and female santri are only separated by a curtain extending from

the front to the back of the room. Thus, male and female santri sit side by side instead of sitting in front and back. Santri are also rotated to deliver religious lectures in front of all other santri. There is a regular schedule for both male and female santri. Likewise, in listening to the kyai's and nyai's advice on life and religion, santri sit in a circle and face the kyai or nyai with equal access.

Even in terms of sitting position, we try to teach equality. Male and female students sit around the teacher. The recitation of dhikr and ratib is led by male and female students alternately. Giving Kultum also rotates for male and female students. In discussions and studies, female students are also given the right to express their opinions. (Nyai Badriyah Fayumi, personal communication, April 23, 2022)

Santri kindly accepted the education system of Pesantren Mahasina and said they were happy to receive such education directly from Nyai Badriyah. Male santri have a sense of inferiority when they engage in activities with female santri due to the fact that many female santri have higher levels of academic achievements than them, as stated by Devan, a twelfth-grade santri.

As a male student, at first, I was insecure with female students. How come they can be superior in terms of academic and non-academic achievements. Bu Nyai is also very active in activities outside the pesantren. But then, I made this an encouragement, to further maximize my potential and study even harder. From studying for 5 years at Mahasina, I also understand that when women are given the same access as men, their potential will continue to develop, and they can be on an equal footing with men. (Devan, personal communication, April 23, 2022)

Nevertheless, upon receiving a straight explanation from Nyai Badriyah, specifically regarding gender equality, which was integrated into the curriculum, the male santri acquired a new perspective that both males and females have the responsibility to fulfill the role of being the khalifah of the earth. Therefore, the female santri's supremacy has effectively motivated the male santri to maximize their potential.

F. Conclusion

An investigation of the role of nyai in the pesantren community is a highly relevant research topic. The nyai, as commonly recognized, functioned as a companion to the kyai and had the duty of providing the domestic needs of the pesantren. The kyai, on the other hand, played a central role in determining the roadmap for the sustainability of the pesantren. Nevertheless, along with the success of gender mainstreaming in the pesantren society, the role of nyai has been shifting in pesantren. Nyai are no longer placed as a complement to the kyai but are made as equal partners in affairs related to pesantren management. As a matter of fact, several nyais are the leaders of the pesantren and are responsible for all educational activities. Pesantren Kebon Jambu Babakan Ciwaringin, led by Nyai Masriyah, and Pesantren Mahasina Darul Quran wal Hadith, led by Nyai Badriyah Fayumi, are vivid examples of traditionalist pesantren with nyai as their prominent leaders.

Nyai Masriyah started her leadership at the Pesantren Kebon Jambu following the death of Kyai Muhammad in 2006 and the death of Kyai Asrori in 2017. Realizing the importance of women's independence, Nyai Masriyah declared to continue the leadership of Kyai Asror. Previously, Nyai Masriyah served

solely as a caretaker for the domestic needs of the pesantren and took on this responsibility throughout the lifetime of Kyai Asror. The pesantren curriculum incorporated the value of gender equality through the *bandongan* learning method during its implementation. Islamic classical literature or *kitab kuning* are still taught to *santri* as a form of appreciation for the work of Islamic medieval scholars. However, they are interpreted using a humanitarian approach. Both male and female *santri* have equal access and opportunities in organizational and academic leadership roles. The leaders appointment is based on the ability of the *santri*, regardless of their gender.

Meanwhile, Pesantren Mahasina Darul Quran wal Hadith was founded by Kyai Abu Bakar Rahziz and Nyai Badriyah Fayumi, who manage the pesantren with an equal approach. There is no gender domination in pesantren management since every single decision of pesantren is based on objective analysis rather than gender. The openness of Kyai Abu Bakar Rahziz and Nyai Badriyah in pesantren management is mainly attributed to their profound background in both formal and informal education. Nyai Badriyah Fayumi's struggle began when she was young. She actively participated in various scientific forums regarding justice and equality. It culminated when she served as a parliament member and successfully initiated many regulations that contain gender-responsive policies.

This experience served as the basis for the management of her pesantren. In studying the *kitab kuning*, the pesantren applies a contextual approach that prioritizes the value of equality. She believed that there is no single text that allows discrimination. The values of humanity and justice

are internalized through the pesantren education system, which is oriented towards the preparation of prospective scholars. Furthermore, this process of internalization occurs on a regular basis through the establishment of equitable opportunities for santri to engage in leadership roles, participate in discussions, engage in religious rituals, recite dhikr and ratib, and attend religious gatherings or majlis. Both male and female santri are provided with equal teachers, curriculum, books, and learning materials.

In summary, the preceding discussion demonstrates that the pesantren realm has experienced a transformation into more modern institutions, forsaking conservative perspectives that do not support gender equality. In addition, there has been a shifting role of nyai to become an independent agency that provides women with equal opportunities as men to be involved in public spaces. This inclusive learning system that is accommodating to the needs of men and women also provides new insights that demonstrate the absence of any prejudice among individuals. Both women and men have equal rights to become leaders in the social and religious spheres.

REFERENCES

- Abidin, A. Z., Ratnawati, D., Taufiqurrahim, T., & Aziz, T. (2020). Gender equality on Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah perspective. *PALASTREN: Jurnal Studi Gender*, 13(2), Article 2. <https://doi.org/10.21043/palastren.v13i2.7160>
- Adisti, A. R. (2021). Reviving the spirit of gender equality: Fatayat Nahdlatul Ulama between idealism and realization. *Journal of Nahdlatul Ulama Studies*, 2(1), Article 1. <https://doi.org/10.35672/jnus.v2i1.17-33>
- Amva, M. (2020a). *Mutiara cinta*. CV. RinMedia.
- Amva, M. (2020b). *Pelabuhan cinta*. CV. RinMedia.
- Asnawi, H. S. (2016). Tinjauan kritis terhadap hak-hak perempuan dalam UU. No. 1 Tahun 1974 Tentang Perkawinan: Upaya menegakkan keadilan dan perlindungan ham perspektif filsafat hukum Islam. *Jurnal Mahkamah : Kajian Ilmu Hukum dan Hukum Islam*, 1(1), 29–62. <https://journal.iaimnumetrolampung.ac.id/index.php/jm/article/view/27>
- Azra, A., Afrianty, D., & Hefner, R. W. (2007). Pesantren and Madrasa: Muslim schools and national ideals in Indonesia. In R. W. Hefner and M. Q. Zaman (Eds.), *Schooling Islam: The culture and politics of modern muslim education* (pp. 172–198). Princeton University Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7rqjj.13>
- Badawi, J. (n.d.). *The status of woman in Islam*. Retrieved November 4, 2022, from www.islamland.com
- Barlas, A. (2003). *Cara Qur'an membebaskan perempuan/believing woman in Islam*. PT. Serambi Ilmu Pustaka.

- Bruinessen, M. V. (1994). Pesantren and Kitab Kuning: Continuity and change in a tradition of religious learning. In W. Marschall (ed.), *Texts from the islands: Oral and written traditions of Indonesia and the Malay world*. Berne: The University of Berne Institute of Ethnology. <https://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/20531>
- Dariuszky. (2004). *Membangun harga diri*. Pioner Jaya.
- Dhofier, Z. (2019). *Tradisi pesantren: Studi tentang pandangan hidup Kyai dan visinya mengenai masa depan Indonesia* (10th ed.). 12–16. LP3ES
- Doorn-Harder, P. V. (2012). Translating text to context: Muslim women activists in Indonesia. *Women and Gender: The Middle East and the Islamic World*, 11, 413–435. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004209367_022
- Dragojlovic, A., & McGregor, K. (2022). ‘They Call Me Babu’: the politics of visibility and gendered memories of Dutch colonialism in Indonesia. *Women’s History Review*, 31(6), 933–952. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09612025.2022.2090709>
- Forum Kajian Kitab Kuning. (2003). *Telaah kitab Uqudulljain*. LKiS.
- Geertz, C. (1960). The Javanese Kijaji: The changing role of a cultural broker. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 2(2), 228–249. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417500000670>
- Hasibuan, U. K., & Hafizzullah, D. H. (2021). Hadis tentang wanita menjadi pemimpin: Menelisik antara pemahaman tekstual dan kontekstual perspektif M. Syuhudi Ismail. *Khazanah Theologia*, 3(2), 81–92. <https://doi.org/10.15575/KT.V3I2.11023>

- Hajaroh, M. (2019). *Transformational learning in the diffusion of gender mainstreaming policy*. In Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research (ASSEHR), Volume 330: 6th International Conference on Educational Research and Innovation (ICERI 2018) (pp. 196–201). Atlantis Press. <https://doi.org/10.2991/iceri-18.2019.94>
- Ilyas, Y. (2005). *Konstruksi pemikiran gender dalam pemikiran mufasir*. Depag RI.
- Imtihanah, A. H. (2017). Relasi gender keluarga Jamaah Tabligh. *Hikmatuna: Journal for Integrative Islamic Studies*, 3(1), 33–68. <https://doi.org/10.28918/hikmatuna.v3i1.1050>
- Kodir, F. A. (2019). *Qira'ah mubadalah: Tafsir progresif untuk keadilan gender dalam Islam*. Irciso.
- Kodir, F. A. (2016). Mafhum mubadalah: Ikhtiar memahami Qur'an dan Hadits untuk meneguhkan keadilan resiprokal Islam dalam isu-isu gender. *Jurnal Islam Indonesia*, 6 (2). <http://jurnal-islam-indonesia.isif.ac.id/index.php/Jurnal-Islam-Indonesia/article/view/28>
- Ma'mur, J. (2015). *Rezim gender di NU*. Pustaka Pelajar.
- Ma'ruf, A., Wilodati, W., & Aryanti, T. (2021). Kongres ulama perempuan Indonesia dalam wacana merebut tafsir gender pasca reformasi: Sebuah tinjauan genealogi. *Musawa Jurnal Studi Gender dan Islam*, 20(2), 127–146. <https://doi.org/10.14421/MUSAWA.2021.202.127-146>
- Mas'udi, M. F. (1997). *Islam dan hak- hak reproduksi perempuan: Dialog fiqih pemberdayaan*. Mizan.
- Naily, N. (2018). *Nyai and gender awareness in pesantren and the traditionalist Muslim community in East Java* [Master's

- thesis, The Australian National University]. ANU Theses. <https://doi.org/10.25911/5D63C0CAE4500>
- Nurjannah. (2020). *Relasi suami-istri dalam Al-Qur'an (Kajian tafsir Al-Munir karya Wahbah Az-Zuhaili)* [Undergraduate's thesis, UIN Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin Banten]. Repository of UIN SMH Banten. <http://repository.uinbanten.ac.id/id/eprint/5054>
- Nelson, T., & Constantinidis, C. (2017). *Sex and gender in family business succession research: A review and forward agenda from a social construction perspective*. *Family Business Review*, 30(3), 219-241. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0894486517715390>
- Rahmawati, A. (2016). Harmoni dalam keluarga perempuan karir : Upaya mewujudkan kesetaraan dan keadilan gender dalam keluarga. *Palastren: Jurnal Studi Gender*, 8(1), 1-34. <https://doi.org/10.21043/PALASTREN.V8I1.932>
- Reinharz, S. (2005). *Metode-metode feminis dalam penelitian sosial*. (Sita Aripurnami, Ed.). Women Research Institute.
- Ritonga, M. (2020). *The existence of yellow books (kitab kuning) as the sources of Islamic studies at Islamic boarding schools within the Industrial Revolution dialectics* (SSRN Scholarly Paper No. 3752816). <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3752816>
- Safi, O. (2008). *Progressive Muslims: On justice, gender, and pluralism*. Oneworld Publication.
- Saptari. (2016). *Perempuan, kerja, dan perubahan sosial*. Pustaka Itama Grafiti.
- Saraswati, I., & Trilaksana, A. (2019). Perkembangan Yayasan Kesejahteraan Muslimat Nahdlatul Ulama' Cabang Bangil bidang kesehatan tahun 1965-2015. *Avatara*,

- 7(1). <https://jurnalmahasiswa.unesa.ac.id/index.php/29/article/view/29584>
- Shaw, B. (1980). Life history writing in anthropology: A methodological review. *Mankind*, 12(3). <https://www.proquest.com/openview/543a62558bd43cd99123fa73d9b5d3ef/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=1819511>
- Srimulyani, E. (2007). Muslim women and education in Indonesia: The pondok pesantren experience. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 27(1), 85–99. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02188790601145564>
- Ulya, U. (2018). Nyai Badriyah Fayumi : Mufassir perempuan otoritatif pejuang kesetaraan dan moderasi di Indonesia. *Hermeneutik*, 12 (2), 66. <https://doi.org/10.21043/HERMENEUTIK.V12I2.6150>
- Wahid, A. (1974). Pesantren *sebagai subkultur*. In M. Dawam Rahardjo (Ed.), *Pesantren dan Pembaharuan*. LP3ES.
- Yi-Ju, Y. (2021). *Gender, religiosity, and everyday life: Women's worlds in Javanese pesantren* [Master's thesis, National University of Singapore]. NUS Repository. <https://scholarbank.nus.edu.sg/handle/10635/208997>
- Zeni, F. (2022). Perbedaan makna gender dan jenis kelamin di dalam Al-Quran menurut Nasaruddin Umar. *Jurnal Iman dan Spiritualitas*, 2(3), 389–394. <https://doi.org/10.15575/JIS.V2I3.1>