

THE MOVEMENT OF WOMEN'S THOUGHTS FROM PESANTREN (Study of the Jam'iyyah Pengasuh Pesantren Putri and Muballighah (JP3M))

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Abstract: Woman leader or *bu nyai* is a figure who is not much different from kiai because they have a big role in shaping the knowledge, attitudes, and activities of students in the pesantren. In this case, the pesantren which is the center of the activity has a vital position, especially with regard to gender, because here it is the basis which is considered the center of patriarchal teachings. But as time went on, this assumption was dismissed and crushed by the JP3M Movement. This study attempts to describe JP3M and the model of their movement, especially in the mission to spread equality of gender in boarding schools. This research method is qualitative research and combined with a social approach. The data will be analyzed descriptively and analytically to describe a social movement and the implications of that movement for society, in this context the JP3M organization and its influence on women in pesantren. This movement represents the courage of Bu Nyai in their efforts to review and revise their cynical assumptions. This movement contributes to highlighting the role of women in the dimensions of community life, especially for science, gender, and brotherhood or *ukhuwah*. This is a great strength because with their charisma they can influence students, especially female students, to be proactive in improving the image of women as agents of change. This important effort also became the forerunner of pesantren circles, especially for women to create a meeting movement to give birth to women with dignity in accordance with ethics, religious morals, and social life.

Keywords: *women, pesantren, movement, equality*

Abstrak: Pemimpin perempuan atau *bu nyai* merupakan sosok yang tidak jauh berbeda dengan kiai karena memiliki peran besar dalam membentuk pengetahuan, sikap, dan aktivitas santri di pesantren. Dalam hal ini, pesantren yang menjadi pusat kegiatan memiliki posisi vital, terutama terkait gender, karena di sinilah basis yang dianggap sebagai pusat ajaran patriarki. Namun seiring berjalannya waktu, anggapan tersebut ditepis dan dihancurkan oleh Gerakan JP3M. Kajian ini mencoba mendeskripsikan JP3M dan model gerakannya, khususnya dalam misi menyebarkan kesetaraan gender di pesantren. Metode penelitian ini adalah penelitian kualitatif dan dipadukan dengan pendekatan sosial. Data tersebut akan dianalisis secara deskriptif dan analitis untuk menggambarkan suatu gerakan sosial dan implikasinya bagi masyarakat, dalam konteks ini organisasi JP3M dan pengaruhnya terhadap perempuan di pesantren. Gerakan ini mewakili keberanian Bu Nyai dalam upaya mereka untuk meninjau dan merevisi asumsi sinis mereka. Gerakan ini berkontribusi menonjolkan peran perempuan dalam dimensi kehidupan bermasyarakat, khususnya untuk ilmu pengetahuan, gender, dan persaudaraan atau *ukhuwah*. Hal ini menjadi kekuatan besar karena dengan kharisma mereka dapat mempengaruhi mahasiswa khususnya mahasiswi untuk proaktif meningkatkan citra perempuan sebagai agen perubahan. Upaya penting ini juga menjadi cikal bakal kalangan pesantren, khususnya bagi perempuan untuk menciptakan gerakan pertemuan untuk melahirkan perempuan yang bermartabat sesuai dengan etika, moral agama, dan kehidupan sosial.

Kata kunci: Gerakan, pesantren, perempuan, kesetaraan.

Introduction

Jam'iyah Pengasuh Pesantren Putri dan Muballighah (JP3M) is an inseparable part of NU in Indonesia and one of the women's movements that have recently germinated. This organization aims to develop moderate Islamic understanding, gender equality, and scientific movements, all of these missions within the framework of Islam *ahlusunnah waljamaah*, Islam *salafus salih* so that they will be directly related to issues of feminism that have developed.¹ Therefore, there, we will be able to see together how JP3M as a mass organization and the state as a women's movement pioneered their thoughts from pesantren. There may be religious tension in it, although it has not yet reached the level of massive anarchism. Popular discourses supported by arguments from researchers or expert observers always explain and provide sublimated energy in the form of massive movements that lead to fundamental changes from conditions that are considered unfavorable.

In specific indications, we often meet with the strengthening of patriarchal sentiment, which continues to process and crystallize. It is the basis and the tendency, an essential element in the birth of a movement that accommodated the network of women who care for women's pesantren. With the background as stated above, what has been raised as a problem for Indonesian women, in general, is why the gender equality movement in the body of Muslims is still spreading discourse, namely in the equality and justice effort. Especially from pesantren, it has always received negative evaluations from gender and feminist observers because it is one of the institutions that also crystallizes and preserves the patriarchal perspective.

From the question above, the author sees that the religious factor should not, in Rumadi view², in understanding the roots of the religious movement developed by JP3M and its relationship to the condition of the women especially santri in pesantren. Geertz³ said that religion formed a psychological structure in the human mind that shapes his view of life, which becomes how individuals or groups of individuals direct behavior. In this position, JP3M occupies a strategic space to be seen in its contribution to the Indonesian women's movement in the context of renewing women's thought in pesantren.

This study attempts to describe JP3M and the contents of their movement, especially in the mission to spread equality of gender in boarding schools. So that it is not limited to an isolated organization entrenched above the ivory tower that does not provide anything for people's lives, especially women in Islamic boarding schools, because the organization must be has a basis of the idea.

This research method is qualitative research and combined with a social approach. The study uses a descriptive and analytical view to understand social movement and the implications of that movement for society, in this context, the JP3M organization and its influence on women in pesantren.

Theoretical Framework

Before discussing several matters relating to religious movements, the concept of social movements is explained earlier in this discussion. Religious movements themselves cannot be separated from social movements or become one part of social movements. In general, social movements have a broad definition because of their various scopes. According to Giddens,⁴ a social movement is a collective effort to pursue a common interest; or a movement to achieve common goals through collective action outside the scope of established institutions. A similar understanding is expressed by Tarrow⁵ who positions social movements as a politics of resistance

¹ <http://www.jp3mnusantara.id/2021/01/sejarah-jp3m.html>, accessed 17 Jul. 22

² Rumadi, *Gerakan Perempuan Keagamaan di Indonesia*, in *Akar Sosial Civil Society di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Inces, 2012), p. 123.

³ Clifford Geertz, *After the Fact, Satu Antropolog Tiga Negara*, (Yogyakarta: LkiS, 1992), p. 72.

⁴ Anthony Giddens, *Social Theory the Left and Right*, (USA: MIT, 1993), p. 32.

⁵ Sidney Tarrow, *Social Movement in the Power*, (Sage Publication, 1984), p. 24.

that occurs when ordinary people who join with more influential community groups gather strength to fight against elites, authorities, and other opposing parties.

Even further, Tarrow revealed that the action that underlies the politics of resistance is a contentious collective action. Collective action can take many forms, brief or sustained, institutionalized or disbanded, tedious or dramatic. In general, collective action takes place in an institution when the people who join it act to achieve a common goal. Collective action has the nuance of resistance when the activity is carried out by people who lack access to institutions to make new claims or claims that are not accepted by the authorities or other opposing parties.⁶ In this case, Rhys H. Williams⁷ defines social movements as follows: "Social Movements are socially shared activities and beliefs directed toward the demand for change in some aspect of the social order. To the narrow: a social movement is a formally organized group that acts consciously and with some continuity to promote or resist change through collective action".

Based on this definition, a social movement is an organized movement with the ideals and goals of "making" or "rejecting" conscious, continuous, and collective changes to certain aspects of the existing social order. Meyer and Staggenborg define a social movement as a movement that challenges or opposes state institutions, where it is involved in the interaction between social movements and social change. For presentation in this study, the researcher emphasizes that relational religious movements are not only related to the state apparatus but also correlated with structural contexts in social, economic, and political complexities. In many cases, religious movements have an offence with social agendas and issues related to the public interest and rights of the community. With this framework, religious movements have the power to articulate political awareness in the public sphere without having to go through practical political mechanisms. Ulrich Beck⁸ categorizes this model as a sub-political movement, or in another sense, as a non-parliamentary political movement.

Meanwhile, in Hobsbawm's⁹ study, social movements cover everything from temporary riots to permanent resistance organizations ranging from political organizations and community organizations to mafia organizations. On the other hand, the substance of this study, more generally the value of the term used, is the focus of attention on characteristics (such as charismatic leadership) that are the hallmarks of the process of sustaining a religious movement.

From reference, the concept of charisma is used to analyze the phenomenon of non-mainstream religious movements, which we call Islamic radicalism. Therefore, this study is also used as a frame of reference and analysis, namely the concept of 'charisma'. This concept was taken and developed by Max Weber from church historians and used for political studies. Weber defines charisma as a certain quality inherent in a person's personality that causes him to be considered very extraordinary and treated by people as someone who is endowed with supernatural powers (occult), a superhuman being, or at least has very special strengths or qualities. This concept describes a political or religious leader's attractiveness to attract followers or become an object of worship. This study also focuses on where this charismatic leadership can influence a religious movement.

In addition to the concepts described previously, the new religious movement or as an inseparable part of the religious, social movement is taken as the central concept of analysis. A new religious movement is an idea that seeks to translate religious ideas into transformative forces to grow further and better social structures and orders; participatory, inclusive, and emancipatory.¹⁰

⁶ Fadillah Putra, *Gerakan Demokrasi dan gerakan Sosial di Indonesia*, (Malang: Pustaka Pelajar dan Averoes, 2006), p. 45.

⁷ Marty dan Appleby, *Social Movement: Critique Method and Issues*, (USA, 1994), p. 786.

⁸ Ulrich Beck, *Modernization and the Risk Society*, (USA: Sage Publication, 1994), p. 22.

⁹ Edmund Burke, *History and Social Theory*, (Burke: Pinguin Books, 2003), p. 133.

¹⁰ Dawam Rahardjo, *Gerakan Keagamaan dan Civil Society*, (Jakarta: LSAF dan The Asia Foundation, 1999), p. 12.

The Movement Of Women's Thoughts From Pesantren (Study of The Jam'iyah Pengasuh Pensantren Putri and Muballighah (JP3M))

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The struggle for religious values in religious movements is a doctrine that is believed to come from God. It is a moral stock and a transcendent imperative force. Sociologically, these religious values often function as a way of life (way of life), world view (world view), and even a paradigm (paradigm), which always provides a normative orientation or frame of reference regarding how humans act and understand the reality of life. In this case, movement groups such as JP3M actualize religious values in daily life, not much different from other religious movements, but what is interesting is that this movement has a political culture that seems to be strong as NU and the National Awakening Party. Religious values function as control from all sides of life in society.

Previous researchers have put forward various kinds of concepts and facilitated the analysis of the object under study, for example, the terms New Religious Movements,¹¹ Cults, and Normal religion, then the term Marginal Religion used by Julia Howell, sects, schools of belief and so on. Concerning this study, the term religious movement tends to be chosen as the concept used for analysis. Although the move is a new religious movement community, this concept is still quite broad in scope and more universal. There is no explicit enough definition, so the choice of the term social-religious movement is deemed more appropriate to explain this phenomenon, the JP3M movement concerning social movement today.

Several strategies were produced in the development of studies on social and religious movements. In Suharko's¹² view, there are many strategies or tactics of social movements that can be used to achieve the goals of social movements. There are four variations of socio-religious movements' strategy: political isolation (low profile strategy), layering, advocacy (advocation), and critical engagement. In this study, only two methods were used in which the design represented the social movement that wanted to study.

The strategy in question is, first, a low-profile strategy which, according to Fisher, functions as a 'political isolation' strategy, in which a repressive and practical political context avoids co-optation from authoritarian power holders. In this case, social movement actors consciously decide to isolate themselves or prevent contact with state agents. Spaces for self-isolation are usually found at the local level, where community-based actors actively develop or organize social groups based on local resources.

In addition, the appropriate layering strategy for social movement organizations operates in developing countries. As the formulator of this model's social movement strategy, Fowler calls it layering. Such a strategy severely limits autonomous activities outside the government. Layering is the development of welfare-oriented service provision, which contains methods and activities oriented towards empowerment and social transformation. With this strategy, social or religious movements, such as JP3M, can avoid direct actions and interventions from opposing parties. Opponents or parties outside the community or social movement groups see it as an effort to increase welfare, while those inside see it as a complex method of empowerment.

The phenomenon of socio-religious movements has attracted academics. As a continuation of the development of social movements, the term subaltern emerged, popularized by Gayatri Spivak, as a social action carried out by groups that tend to be marginal in the influence of the dominant society. The subaltern movement is a resistance movement against the dominant group that produces a new ideology that is different from the mainstream.¹³ The NU women's movement, in this case, JP3M, and so on are movements that have an official or mainstream Islamic religious ideology path, even though as a movement they often have different perspectives in carrying out

¹¹ Michael Dawson, *New Religious Movements*, (Sage, 2003); Beckford, *Cults dan Normal religion*, (USA, 2003).

¹² Suharko, *Gerakan Sosial dan Masyarakat Sipil*, (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2006), p. 17.

¹³ Gayatri Spivak, in Morton, *Social Movement and Society*, (USA, 2005), p. 158-159.

socio-religious themes that become their concern. That's where often religious, social movements are like subaltern groups.

Their movement is a subordinate movement that tries to get out of the domination of mainstream Islamic religion. The ideology and religious practices are labeled as deviations and will disrupt the national faith of Indonesian Muslims. In this case, there is positioning in the construction of identity, which involves social relations between the dominant and the dominated.¹⁴ The labeling of deviation and confusion of faith has become a term that is too hyperbolic because they are not an aggressive religious community in carrying out their religious activities. Subaltern here is crucial, in Spivak's view, a group in a position without identity.¹⁵

As a continuation of the development of social movement theory, the New Social Movement (NSM) was born to complement the Old Social Movement. The term New Social Movement (NSM) refers to the phenomenon of social movements that have developed since the mid-1960s. NSM, as the latest development of the concept of social movement, exists to correct the past principles, strategies, actions, or ideological choices used by social movements. The new social movement is a mirror image of a contemporary society which indicates the need for a new paradigm of collective action, an alternative cultural model in the community, and a new awareness of movements to sustain the future of humankind.¹⁶

History and Dynamic of JP3M

JP3M is an independent *Jam'iyah Diniyah Islamiyah* (Islamic religious, social organization) that was founded in Central Java in 2015 based on *Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaah* by prioritizing friendship and *ukhuwah*. This organization aims to unify the scientific missionary vision of *Salafiyah' ala Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaah* among women leaders of *pesantren* (*Bu Nyai*) and *muballighah* of Central Java-Yogyakarta. It is a big vision that it wants to achieve: to strengthen ties of kinship and unite ideas and missions among *Bu Nyai* throughout Central Java and Yogyakarta, but also develop the progressive thoughts of modern thought. Hanik Maftukhah Afif, Hj chair the organization. Nawal Nur Arafah Taj Yasin (Mrs. Deputy Governor of Central Java and JP3M Trustee), Hj. Zeni Lutfiah (Coordinator for Women's Empowerment JP3M/Lecturer at Sebelas Maret University Surakarta) and Hj. Kamilia Hamidah (JP3M Education Division/Lecturer of the *pesantren* Mathali'ul Falah, Pati, Central Java).¹⁷

There is a great expectation from this movement; namely, *Bu Nyai* and *muballighah* are expected to contribute based on this organization. The main objective of this movement is to increase the role of *Bu Nyai* in *pesantren* and society, in education, social and economic development. In the researcher's opinion, the courage of women accommodated in the movement will have a massive impact on the community's perspective, where women do not only appear in the local family field but are also proactive in voicing current issues that speak in a diagonal manner degrading women's status.

Through the formation of JP3M, it is hoped that it can encourage students to rise to become colors for the Indonesian nation, with the example shown by *Bu Nyai*. Therefore, this study also used a frame of reference and analysis, namely the concept of 'charisma'. Weber said that charisma is an inherent quality of personality that causes special consideration and is treated by people as someone who is endowed with supernatural powers (occult), a superhuman being, or at least has extraordinary powers or qualities.¹⁸ It is one of the framing weapons in formulating the strategies

¹⁴ Wening Udasmoro, "Perempuan dalam Diskursus Ruang Publik", *Jurnal Humaniora*, UGM: FIB, 2010: 6.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 476.

¹⁶ Zuly Qodir, *Gerakan Sosial Islam*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2009), p. 245.

¹⁷ <https://eranusantara.co/harlah-ke-5-jp3m-meneguhkan-peran-perempuan-pesantren-dalam-tafaqquh-fiddin/>, accessed 5 Januari 2022.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

used by *Bu Nyai* in launching their movements, apart from the social intentions, political and economic.

The news about the rape of dozens of female students by the owner of a pesantren in the Cibiru area of Bandung City and sexual abuse by a religious teacher at an elementary school in Cilacap has tarnished the reputation of the Islamic boarding school. This phenomenon is one of the momenta for the movers of this movement to give a real breakthrough. If problems like this are not addressed, it will make people distrust education in pesantren. People become phobic because pesantren does not guarantee a sense of security and comfort for studying religion. Women must be paid attention to get adverse treatment from a classic perspective that demeans women.

This organization has a somewhat fluid character; it is inclusive and dialectical to changing times, just like other NU-affiliated organizations. They use several social media platforms, including Youtube, Instagram, and Facebook. When viewed from the uploaded content, they want to reaffirm Islam based on the experts of sunnah wa al-jama'ah as described above. In addition, this organization actually has a big goal, which is to restore the dignity of women who must pay attention and be equal in the context of humanity.¹⁹

The Renewal of Women's Thoughts from Pesantren

Women's Islamic organizations such as JP3M can help promote pesantren education. Not only voicing the importance of science for women but also changing old perspectives that tend to be inconsistent with the principles of justice, ethics, and morals. Among these efforts, among others, is to upload positive content on social media. In addition, you can also join the Central Java Women's Organizational Cooperation Agency. By joining, you can make an enormous contribution. In this organization, JP3M can insert Islamic teachings and convey that pesantren do not only think about the interests of pesantren but also pay attention to the surrounding environment like moral decadency, social, and education issues.²⁰

In-depth studies of women and men as typical individuals are answered with a learning system that is also unique to both. An in-depth understanding of women and men is expected to be able to make both of them understand each other that some values are different textually in religious studies for both. Still, contextual analysis in social life and obligations to God are the same.²¹ In simple terms, the basis of education is to give a deep understanding of yourself which will then make it easier to understand others. Islamic education aims to form good character and morals as the guidance of Islam.²² Its uniqueness is not limited to differentiating teaching because there is subordination among them, but rather to maximize the roles and functions based on the concepts of gender relations. Some parts need to be shared to be equal for women and men. There is an attempt to deepen through the study of flexible religious values to provide more provisions for women and men in a reformative manner as the demands of the times are growing without leaving the basis of religious importance.

The education system is supported by the consistency of reward and punishment, strengthening the character and compliance of religion and God. Pesantren interactions run not without clear causes and rules but are designed to form concepts or self-identities so that they develop as expectations and goals of the education system are applied. The people must be created

¹⁹ <https://www.suaramerdeka.com/semarang-raya/pr-04108394/jp3m-ingin-ciptakan-kader-perempuan-tanggung>, accessed 17 Jul. 22

²⁰ <https://pesantren.id/wakil-gubernur-jawa-tengah-jp3m-bukan-hanya-berkiprah-dalam-pesantren-8622/>, accessed 6 Januari 2022.

²¹ Muafiah, E. (2013). Pendidikan Perempuan di Pondok Pesantren. *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, vol. 7, pp. 89–110.

²² Mannan, A. (2017). Pembinaan Moral dalam Membentuk Karakter Remaja. *Jurnal Aqidah*, vol. 3, issue 1, pp. 59–72.

by their community,²³ as in Cooley's description of the looking glass self.²⁴ The role of the functions of women and men in Islamic boarding school education is interpreted into various educational activities, which they should obtain as provisions in the social community. Women are given special education to understand women's rights and obligations in various aspects of life, and men are provided with leadership education as a preaching provision in the future. The urgency of education for both of them cannot be separated or compared because one of the bases in the application of pesantren education is the portion value for women and men with a clear basis, namely the Al- Quran and Hadith.²⁵

Strengthening the role of JP3M in empowering women in pesantren is an important issue and is being fought for in this movement. The leaders of the pesantren, especially from *Bu Nyai*, have high hopes that this movement will raise the seeds of male students, especially women who are well aware of the role of women, which in this modern era is not only in the fields of wells, mattresses, and kitchens. More than that, women are expected to be the agents of change who spark equality and justice, both locally and internationally.²⁶

Many unfavorable stigmas related to accusations against pesantren; namely, an assumption that pesantren have traditional views that tend to be contrary to the justice and equality movement for women's rights, and pesantren are considered less appreciative of the role and role of women in the public sphere. It is also considered only to see the importance of the role of women in reproductive functions and household responsibilities. It is also considered more concerned with the leadership of male ulama than female scholars; it is deemed to lack respect and provide opportunities for female scholars. Through this movement, its caregivers, especially those who have a significant influence in the world of organization, will take part in positive actions that will later give birth to thoughts and actualization of the progressive and transformative women's movement.

One of the main goals of this association is to spread values of gender equality. The need for values of equality, justice, and respect for human dignity has long been confined by a patriarchal perspective that has been preserved by the old culture that tends to confine the role of women, especially in the public sphere.²⁷ The role of women from pesantren is huge, namely at least dynamically able to respond to the discourses & demands of the justice & equality movement for women both in public and private spheres, many thoughts, desires, and movements for justice & gender equality were born from pesantren, such as RA. Kartini & Hj. Nafisa Sahal Mahfudz, etc. Pesantren is increasingly open and accepting of the values of justice & gender equality and applies corrective approaches to the treasures of women's fiqh, marriage fiqh, and family fiqh; and pesantren is also active in promoting Islamic values and ideas that respect their rights, for example, the concept of *al-kulliyah al -khams* (five general principles) that treat men and women equally (right to physical safety, belief, personal property, work, and chastity of offspring and family safety). This organization strongly emphasizes the importance of empowering women in pesantren to be trained with activities in there, especially female students, to be active in speaking out in activities and learning to make decisions.²⁸

Religious scholarships empower the empowerment of women's leadership in Islamic boarding schools. Such as involving women in various religious decision-making processes, increasing *halaqoh* and *bathsul masail*, so they are accustomed to dialogue, discussion, responding

²³ Syarif, J. (2009). Bangsa-Bangsa Jamal Syarif. Banjarmasin: Fakultas Tarbiyah IAIN Antasari.

²⁴ Cooley, C.H. (1956). Sociological Theory and Social Researches. New York: Henry Holt and Company

²⁵ Warliah, W. (2017). Pendidikan Berbasis Gender Awareness: Strategi Meminimalisir Bias Gender di Pondok Pesantren. Jurnal Islam Nusantara, vol. 1, issue 2, pp. 118– 130.

²⁶ Rumadi, *Gerakan Perempuan Keagamaan di Indoensia*, dalam *Akar Sosial Civil Society di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Inces, 2012), p. 123

²⁷ Rumadi, *Gerakan Perempuan Keagamaan di Indoensia*, dalam *Akar Sosial Civil Society di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Inces, 2012), p. 126

²⁸ <https://pesantren.id/wakil-gubernur-jawa-tengah-jp3m-bukan-hanya-berkiprah-dalam-pesantren-8622/>, accessed 6 Januari 2022.

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to contemporary socio-religious problems and developing writing skills. JP3M is a form of a new religious movement because it has ideals that highly uphold human dignity and dignity. Religious movements within the frame of this transformative paradigm are the most humane way to change the history of human life. Because, in this process, what applies is a companion and not a direction, let alone coercion. In line with the definition of this concept, religion is expected to dare to appear in every situation, not only to show positive things but also negative things.

Conclusion

The JP3M movement is the courage of the women leaders of pesantren or *bu nyai* in their efforts to contribute to the fields or dimensions of community life, especially for science, gender equality, and brotherhood or *ukhuwah*. This is an excellent strength because their charisma can influence the santri, especially female students, to be proactive in contributing. This critical effort also became the forerunner of pesantren circles, especially for women to create an encounter movement to give birth to women with dignity following ethics, religious morals, and social life. One of the big ideas they built is how pesantren become the agents of change in demonstrating and transforming accusations that pesantren are nests of patriarchal thinking and will endanger the future of women who study there. Finally, it can be known why the JP3M was formed.

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