



## **The Role Equality of Nyai In The Development of Islamic Boarding School (*Pesantren*) (Case Study of Al-Huda Islamic Boarding School, Doglo, Cepogo, Boyolali Regency)**

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### **Abstract**

The hegemony of the Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*) has been related to the power of a Kiai. Nowadays, it has been changed by gender equality between Nyai and Kiai in Islamic boarding schools. A Kiai or Nyai can play a role inside or outside of the Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*). The role of the Kiai as a teacher, caretaker, and owner of the Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*) is quite dominant. In fact, it is found that a Nyai can also play a role in the development of education, economy, and relations in Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*). This study applied a qualitative method with a phenomenological-constructionist approach. Data Collection Techniques were conducted by observation, interview, and documentation. The research results explained that the roles equality of Kiai and Nyai are obtained through a process of adaptation and the existence of space allowing the division of tasks between Kiai and Nyai as the efforts in developing Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*).

**Keywords:** Gender Equality, Islamic Boarding School (*pesantren*), Kiai, Nyai

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## Introduction

In Javanese society, the position of the wife depends on the husband. (Murniati, 1992, p. 92) There is a Javanese proverb that says *suwargo nunut neroko katut*. This shows that women only follow men. Women cannot make decisions both in the private and public spheres. Women are positioned only as *konco wingking* for men. As a consequence, opportunities for education and work outside the home are limited. This condition made RA Kartini worried and tried to break male hegemony over women by constructing an awareness of women's emancipation (Carey & Houben, 2016, p. 2).

The representation of women in Javanese society is not much different from the situation of women in Islamic boarding schools. Women in the *pesantren* (the wife of the *Kiai* who is called *Nyai*, the daughter of the *Kiai*, and the female teacher or *ustadzah*) are in a marginalized position. Some important decisions on various issues in *pesantren* are usually determined by the dominance of men (*Kiai*). For example, in the case of *ijbar* rights, it is the right of a father to marry off his daughter, and neither a daughter nor the wife of a *Kiai* (*Nyai*) can make a decision to choose a mate/husband for a woman (Marhumah, 2011).

So far, the *pesantren* community still prioritizes men for the reproduction of scholars (Ulum, 2017). The implication is that the role of the *Nyai* or *Nyai's* daughter is not as popular as the role of the *Kiai*. *Nyai* used to be *imam* (leader in *sholat*) for *santri* (female students) and led religious assembly for Muslim women. As a consequence, it is rare for female leaders in *pesantren* to appear in public. In the study of the *Kitab Kuning*, the position of women is marginalized, for example, women cannot become judges, leaders, and so on.

This reality was discovered by Zamakhsyari Dhofier that the main agent of the *pesantren* is the *Kiai*. It is because *Kiai* has the position of being the caretaker of the *pesantren* and the determinant of all changes and innovations in the *pesantren*. The position of the caregiver is an absolute source of power and authority in the life and environment of the *pesantren*. *Kiai* has great influence (power) within the *pesantren* environment and outside the *pesantren* because *Kiai* has strong knowledge about religion, he is skilled at managing conflicts that occur in society and is always involved directly in the community. Meanwhile, *Nyai* is in a subordinate position under the domination of the *Kiai's* power.

However, nowadays, many Islamic boarding schools have awareness of gender equality. Many *Nyai* have knowledge and have the same roles in the *pesantren* and in developing their community. In a women's community with a strong religious tradition, a *Nyai* can become a religious leader, teacher, dynamist and catalyst for women's organizations. They are involved with religious matters from birth to death. Some of them are elites who have influence (power) because they are teachers, role models, and sources of advice for the *santri* (students). *Nyai* socializes the concepts and teachings of religion in the *pesantren*. They have a substantial role

in disseminating religious concepts and teachings in Islamic boarding schools (Marhumah, 2011). In fact, *Nyai* also has contributed to social, political, economic and social change and transformation. Currently, there are not a few *pesantren* having awareness of gender equality. For example, Sebak Islamic Boarding School in Jombang, there are many *Nyai* who have the same knowledge and have the same roles in the *pesantren* and in developing their community (Muhmudah Noorhayati, 2017); (Sa'diyah dan Ahmad Afnan Anshori, 2021); (H. Melamahu, 2019); (Muhtador, 2020).

Nowadays, the religious leaders, teachers, dynamics and catalysts for women's organizations are becoming more open to women who have the capacity as leaders. They are involved with religious matters from birth to death. In Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*), *Nyai* are the elite who have influence (power) because they are teachers, role models, and sources of advice for the *santri*. *Nyai* has a substantial role in disseminating religious concepts and teachings in Islamic boarding schools. In addition, *Nyai* also has a contribution to change and social transformation outside the *pesantren*.

One of *Nyai* who has influence is *Nyai* Zainab as caretaker of Al Huda Islamic Boarding School, Doglo, Boyolali Regency. *Nyai* Zainab appeared as a leader who helped determine the direction of the development of Al Huda Islamic boarding school, Doglo, Boyolali Regency.

Research about *Nyai* is interesting to do because the world of *pesantren* education is considered to still treat women as the second class and there are still very few female leaders in *pesantren* who appear as agents of social and cultural change. An overview of the marginalization of the *Nyai* as an agent of the *pesantren* compared to the *Kiai* can be found in Dhofier (1999); Mastuhu (1994), Azra (1999), Martin van Bruinsen (1995), Zaimatus Sa'diyah, and Ahmad Afnan Anshori stated that the roles of women and men in Islamic boarding schools are often unequal. Women's leadership often receives less significant attention than men's. This is because women are considered to lack the ability to lead and manage Islamic boarding schools. Meanwhile, some literatures give the opposite description. Some of the *Kiai*'s wives (*Nyai*) were found to have a decisive role in the development of the *pesantren* as well as in communities outside the *pesantren*. This can be seen in (Ningrum & Mursidi, 2018); (Destiny, 2015a); (Eka Srimulyani, 2012); (Marhumah, 2010) (Najmuddin, Ma'zumi and Hasurim, 2019); (Mohtazul Farid, Medhy Aginta Hidayat, 2021); (Ahmad Yusuf Prasetiawan and Lis Safitri, 2019), (Moh Muhtador, 2020); (Siti Mahmudah Noorhayati, 2017); (Treesya Hulontawa Melamahu. 2019). Journal article entitled "Bahrul Ulum Tambak Islamic Boarding School Community Construction that explained about the victory of Hj. Munjidah Wahab as Regent in the 2018 Jombang Regional Election, written by (Ainon Ikromin, 1919). These findings mean that the *Nyai* phenomenon in Islamic boarding schools is breaking the mainstream that has existed in society so far that leadership in Islamic boarding schools must be a man (*Kiai*). The existence of new findings from Eka Srimulyani's dissertation means that

a woman can become an agent of change in *pesantren* because a *Nyai* is able to make changes for agents in *pesantren*. The agents are students, *ustadz/ustadzah*, administrators, and others.

In order to add to the body of knowledge about the leadership of *Nyai* in Islamic boarding schools, researchers examined the role equality of *Nyai* and *Kiai* in developing Islamic boarding schools at Al Huda Islamic Boarding School in Doglo. The peculiarities or features of the role of *Nyai* in this *pesantren* are: The role of *Nyai* Zainab was acquired through an adaptation process. The role of *Nyai* Zainab has been carried out since Al Huda doglo Islamic boarding school was in the pilot process. The role played by *Nyai* Zainab in developing Islamic boarding schools is due to the division of tasks in developing Islamic boarding schools. *Nyai* Zainab's success in developing Islamic boarding schools added to *Kiai* Habib's confidence in *Nyai* Zainab's abilities. *Nyai* Zainab's motivation in taking on the role is based on the orientation of religious values and preparing the next generation who are strong in continuing the continuation of the *pesantren* that she and her husband have built. The context in this study is a woman (*Nyai*) who has a role in the *pesantren* environment as well as in society. Gender theory is used to explore how the roles of *Nyai* and *Kiai* are equal in Al Huda Islamic boarding school in Doglo. Some of the questions in this research are: How is the role equality in the development of Al Huda Islamic Boarding School, Doglo. Why does the role equality for *Nyai* in the development of Al Huda Islamic boarding school can be found?

## Methods

In order to answer the research questions above, the data in this study were obtained through observation (Sutrisno Hadi, 1995), interview (Lexi & M.A., 2010), and documentation (Lexi & M.A., 2010). This research was conducted from May to August 2019. The subjects in this study (Arikunto & Suharsimi, 1998) were caregivers of Al Huda Islamic Boarding School, Doglo, Boyolali Regency. While the informant (Lexi & M.A., 2010) namely *Kiai* Habib as caretaker of the *pesantren* and *Nyai* Zainab as caretaker for the female students (*santriwati*). The second informant, Naila, is a student at PP Al Huda Doglo, Boyolali Regency. The third informant was Fida, alumni of Al Huda Islamic Boarding School, Doglo, Boyolali Regency. This research was conducted from May to August 2019.

This research focuses on gender equality in Al Huda Islamic boarding school, Doglo, Boyolali Regency, Central Java. This research intends to know the gender equality that occurs in Al Huda Islamic Boarding School, Doglo, Boyolali Regency, Central Java, in the development of Islamic boarding schools. In this section, two issues will be discussed, namely gender equality between *Nyai* and *Kiai* in developing *pesantren*. In an effort to understand the object of study, the researchers use a number of theoretical concepts that are considered

relevant in the discussion process. Gender theory is used to analyze the role equality between *Nyai* and *Kiai* in developing *pesantren*.

## Discussion

Historically, Islamic boarding schools are Islamic educational institutions that have experienced rapid development until now in Indonesia, inseparable from a very long historical series. The institutionalization process began when preachers or *wali* spread Islamic teachings in the early history of Islam in Indonesia through mosques, *surau*, or *langgar* (Zamakhsyari Dhofier, 1982).

Islamic boarding schools as cultural products are important to see cultural theory as a concept that can help understand the object of Islamic boarding schools. Abdurrahman Wahid said that *pesantren* is a form of a unique “community” environment and has positive life values. In general, Islamic boarding schools are separated from the surrounding life, so that Islamic boarding schools are able to create their own unique life system, separate and different from general customs. In fact, the environment and order of life of the *pesantren* can be said to be a separate subculture in the life of the surrounding community (Wahid, 1995). There are several things that strengthen this statement: first, the schedule of life activities of the *pesantren* “community” is different from society in general. The schedule of the main activities in the *pesantren*, namely the recitations of religious books (*kitab*) and other activities are not based on hours, but based on prayer times. Second, the structure and teaching curriculum provided by the *pesantren* teaching system from level to level always seem to be repeated. Third, the model of delivery and use of material that has been mastered by students (Wahjoetmo, 1997). All religious assembly materials in Islamic boarding schools are applicable in nature which requires practice in everyday life. The Fourth is the power hierarchy system.

In *pesantren* life, the *Kiai* is the only recognized holder of the hierarchy of power. A *Kiai* is required to act as an educator as well as a caregiver so that the morals of the students are in accordance with Islamic law. A *Kiai* should have a strong personality. The personality and sincere attitude of *Kiai* is also an absolute requirement for the *santri*, because a *santri* who surrenders himself to *Kiai* to be educated is called as a good Muslim. Those four indicators of the *pesantren* are the strengths of *pesantren* (Wahjoetmo, 1997).

## Manifestation of Gender Equality

The concept of gender according to Fakhri (Fakhri, 2006) is an identity attached to both men and women through social and cultural construction. As long as there is an equality

between men and women, the manifestation of gender differences is actually not a problem. In reality, gender inequality can be seen, among others: marginalization, subordination, formation of stereotypes, violence, longer and more workloads, and the socialization of gender role values. Various forms of manifestation of gender inequality are interrelated with one another and are dialectically related, influencing each other.

The reality of gender inequality causes the three waves of feminism movements which negate and complement each other. It is called liberal feminism, radical feminism, and anarchist feminism. In the study of the power relations of *Nyai* in *pesantren*, the analytical framework of liberal feminism is applied. Liberal feminism talks about inequality of opportunities between men and women and uses women's rationality and autonomy over their bodies. Liberal feminism argues that women have the ability to determine their own destiny, but this ability is often limited by wrong assumptions by men (Tong, 1997). This assumption causes the inequality of opportunity between men and women. Men are often associated with roles in the public sphere, while women are often associated with roles in the private sphere.

Liberal feminism emphasizes that women should have reason as a foothold obtain an equal position with men in terms of opportunities and rights. Thus, the women are required to have the ability to think intelligently so that equal positions with men can be achieved (Azis 2007, 61). Social equality between men and women can be done by building a paradigm that men and women are equal so that there is no sense of superiority for men. In seizing public space from men, women struggle with their career as men do, and prove that women are capable of doing things done by men.

According to Asmaeny Azis, the position of women can no longer be considered as second class in the social and cultural structure (Aziz, 2007). Women can no longer be considered weak because in reality women have shown elegant faces and behavior for the humanity. Women must be encouraged as one of the elements that will fight against injustice and social structure resistance. Biased ways of thinking that always place women as a marginal and marginalized class will construct the ways of behaving and acting that also marginalize women in social reality. Liberal feminism considers that placing women as a marginal group in socio-cultural construction must be destroyed (Aziz, 2007).

In practice, the liberal feminism received a lot of criticism. Liberal feminism focuses on individual autonomy and structural intervention so that it ignores the cultural roots of the problems faced by women, namely patriarchal culture constructing the oppression for hundreds of years. Liberal feminism is considered to have weaknesses because liberal feminism prioritizes the problems faced by white women. Therefore, it becomes bias for class and race.

## History of Al-Huda Islamic Boarding School, Doglo, Cepogo, Boyolali Regency

Al Huda Islamic Boarding School is located at Dusun II, Candigatak, Cepogo, Boyolali, Central Java 57362. The Al Huda Islamic Boarding School complex is located 950 meters from a major highway (Solo-Semarang Route). Al Huda Islamic Boarding School is widely known by people around the Boyolali Regency. PP Al Huda's nameplate installed on the side of the main road (Solo-Semarang) as a guide for people who are not familiar with the existence of the Islamic boarding school. Al Huda Islamic Boarding School was founded by *Kiai* Habib Ihsanudin, an *ulama* who lives in Doglo hamlet, Candigatak village, Cepogo sub-district, Boyolali district, Central Java Province. *Kiai* Habib Ihsanudin is the son of Wirosoharjo Diporo known as Ihsanudin (1901-1980), his mother is Siti Aisyah (1915-1990) from Karang Gondang, Boyolali (Profile of *Pesantren*, 2022).

A great scholar named *Kiai* Mohammad Siraj from Kampung Panularan Solo who directed and filled most of Habib's life in childhood in religious studies. *Kiai* Mohammad Siraj urged *Kiai* Habib's parents to let little Habib study at a boarding school. Little Habib took part in Islamic boarding school education for the first time at the *Kiai* Masyud Islamic boarding school until he obtained certificate from Sekolah Rakyat I and continued his education at the Islamic junior high school (*Madrasah Tsanawiyah I*) in Solo and studied with *Kiai* Mohammad Siraj for about 2 years. *Kiai* Siraj then moved Habib to Al Muayyad Mangkuyudan Solo. It is Islamic Boarding School led by *Kiai* M. Umar to deepen the knowledge of *Qur'an*. Then, *Kiai* Habib continued his *pesantren* education in Kediri and Jombang. After 11 years (1952-1963), Habib wandered in search of knowledge at various Islamic boarding schools and finally returned to his hometown.

At first Habib's return was only to relieve his homesickness, but due to pressure from his family and friends at that time, Habib Ihsanudin was asked to give religious assembly to the children in the village. The religious assembly held by *Kiai* Habib Ihsanudin at that time received sympathy from the surrounding community. Several Doglo village leaders such as Samsuri donated land to support the establishment of Islamic boarding school. KH Ihsanudin (Habib's father) himself also provided support by donating a land to build a mosque. The young Habib also gained the trust of the public by providing the opportunity to assume duties as a people's representative in 1971-1992.

Al Huda Doglo Islamic Boarding School was inaugurated by *Kiai* Toha Muid on August 20, 1969, to coincide with the sixth year of religious assembly conducted by Habib Ihsanudin. *Kiai* Toha Muid is an *ulama* who became Habib Ihsanudin's teacher while studying in Kediri, East Java. The name of Al Huda itself is a gift from *Kiai* Toha Muid.

In addition to organizing a religious education and *taklim majlis*, Al Huda Islamic Boarding School founded an Islamic elementary school (*Madrasah Ibtidaiyah*) in 1967 and established a Kindergarten in 2017. Furthermore, Al Huda Islamic boarding school also has *Tsanawiyah* formal education and a vocational high school (SMK) with two majors, Light Vehicle Engineering and Fashion Design which were established in 2006 producing a one-story building with 4 classrooms which are in progress. By providing these levels of schooling can make it easier for people who want their sons and daughters to continue their studies with the limitations of their families. The Islamic boarding school also established a Multimedia Community Work Training Center (BLKK) in collaboration with the Ministry of Manpower of the Republic of Indonesia (Kemenaker RI) in 2020 with the Multimedia major. This non-religious educational institution that is present in the midst of society is a concern for the *pesantren* in keeping up with the times so that students and the community are able to master the various fields studied at Al Huda Islamic Boarding School (*Kiai* Habib, interview, June 15, 2019).

The development of Al Huda Islamic boarding school cannot be separated from the existence of a job description between *Kiai* Habib Ihsanudin and his wife, *Nyai* Zaenab. *Nyai* Zaenab handled tasks related to the management of the boarding school, while *Kiai* Habib Ihsanudin carried out tasks related to the development of *dakwah* and religious matters. Seeing this, it can be said that *Nyai* Zaenab also has a very big role in the development and existence of Al Huda Islamic Boarding School.

*Nyai* Zaenab Umar (wife of *Kiai* Habib Ihsanuddin) was born in Salatiga, September 12, 1950. Formal education levels started from Sekolah Rakyat (1962), Mualimat Pertama (1966), Mualimat Atas (1968), MAAIN (1968), Bachelor Degree (1973). While non-formal education is the IPNU/IPPNU cadre course for the Surakarta city branch for 5 days (1966), Upgrading the Implementation of P4 for 10 days (1950), Motivator Training for the child survival program/ lead Toddler Fatayat NU for 3 days (1986), one-day seminar The Role of the State and Society in Upholding Women's Human Rights (2001), Orientation of the Family Planning Program for NU Muslimat Program Management Institutions throughout Central Java (2006). The activities of religious life are teaching the *Qur'an* to the students every *Maghrib*, teaching *Madrasah Diniah* 2 times a week, handling Friday *Pon* religious assembly at the Doglo mosque, leading Sunday Morning religious assembly at the Grand Mosque once every 4 months, attending religious assembly IHM every Tuesday *Legi*, attends Muslimat NU religious assembly every Tuesday *Pon*, attends quarterly religious assembly around sub-districts in Boyolali district. Completes Hajj rituals at KBIH Arafah, completes IPHI Cepogo hajj rituals, completes IPHI Regency haj rituals, completes BMOIWI religious assembly every Thursday *Wage*, coaching to Darul Hadlonah orphanage children. Active in social community organizations is the Chairperson of Muslimat NU Boyolali Regency



(1999-present), Chairperson of IPPNU Surakarta (1968-1970), Chairperson of the Korp PMII Putri Surakarta (1970-1972), Chairperson of Fatayat NU (1974-1987), Chairperson of BMOIWI Boyolali (2004-present), Chairman of IHMNU Boyolali (1999-present), Management of GOW Boyolali (1990-1994), Management of the Hadlonah Boyolali (1990-present), WPP Da'wah Bureau of Central Java (2004-present), manager of IPHI Boyolali Women's Role (2001-present), manager of MUI Boyolali (2004-present).

*Nyai Zainab Umar* married *Kiai* Habib Ihsanuddin on 23 July 1970 in Salatiga. *Kiai* Habib Ihsanuddin was born in Boyolali 1 May 1943. He was a member of the Central Java DPRD. The education level began with Sekolah Rakyat (SR) in 1954, SMPI (1957), Mualimin (1962), MAAIN (1973). Meanwhile, his non-formal education was at *Kiai* Masyhud's Islamic boarding school, Boyolali, *Kiai* Haji M Siraj's Islamic boarding school, Panularan Solo, and Al Muayyad Islamic Boarding School Solo.

### **The Role of Nyai Hj Zaenab Umar in developing Al Huda Islamic Boarding School, Doglo.**

After *Nyai Zainab Umar* married *Kiai* Habib Ihsanuddin on 23 July 1970 in Salatiga, *Nyai Zainab* immediately followed her husband to his husband's hometown in Doglo, Boyolali. As a new family life in general, *Nyai Zainab* and *Kiai* Habib's finance was built from zero or the most basic point.

*Nyai Zainab* followed her husband's struggle to start a *pesantren* around her house. It was not easy for *Nyai Zainab* to adapt to her new family life which was struggling to take care of people (*ummah*). She realized that she had a tough character. In her small heart, she often asks if she is able to live her family's life. Moreover, she realized as a foreigner who had no power. Everytime, she got discrepancy with her husband, *Nyai Zainab* chose to cry and complained to God so that the problem was resolved soon. She did this because she remembered the old *Kiai's* message to live life "If you want to be happy in the world hereafter, be a wife who obeys her husband, "*sami'na wa ato'na*" to her husband, "Patience, sincere, and *qona'ah nrimo*" in facing life.

At first *Nyai Zainab* felt that she had no power at Al Huda Doglo. She felt that she is only the executor of her husband's wishes. Because of that, *Nyai Zainab* always asked her husband first about what she wanted. If her husband agreed, she did it, and if her husband didn't agree, she didn't do it. She was grateful for her success in adapting to her new environment and for convincing her husband that she was not just a companion for *Kiai* Habib's private life, so that *Kiai* Habib gave her a large space to play private roles in the family as well as public roles in Islamic boarding schools and outside Islamic boarding schools (*Nyai Zainab*, Interview, 15 June 2019).

*Nyai Zainab* said, “day by day, the roles that I did received my husband’s approval. My husband gave me as much as possible. Whatever I want is always approved. I’m used to living simply, wanting nothing for myself. For me, simple house and clothing are not a problem. *Kiai Habib* told me that what I wanted was approved 100 percent if there was 200 percent approval is no problem. *Kiai Habib* made a statement while he was in Mecca “I wish you to be like *Khodijah al-Kubro*”.

Before getting married, *Kiai Habib* had founded an Islamic elementary school (*Madrasah Ibtidaiyah*). Furthermore, after getting married, *Kiai Habib* founded the *Tsanawiyah*, but due to lack of care, the *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* disbanded. Then, in 1979 *Nyai Zainab* proposed to establish *Tsanawiyah* even though she did not know anything about how to set up and manage a school. By studying hard and consulting with the leaders, especially *Kiai Lukman Suryani*, *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* and *Madrasah Aliyah* were successfully established and still exist up to now (*Nyai Zainab*, interview, 15 June 2020).

It was not easy for *Nyai Zainab* to manage the *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* and *Madrasah Aliyah* that she had founded because *Nyai Zainab* was still in charge of managing the *pesantren* and as a mother who took care of her 3 children. *Nyai Zainab* went straight to work taking care of the school even though she just had given birth to her third child for nine days. She concurrently shared some positions such as teacher, gardener, school principal, and administrative staff. One time, *Nyai Zainab* got an assistant teacher who became the headmaster. However, this assistant teacher was always contrary to the interests of the *pesantren*. Finally, *Nyai Zainab* decided to have no teacher to help her and ran the school with her own strength.

As the founder, owner and administrator of the Islamic boarding school, *Nyai Zainab* worked hard with all her heart. She did it out of a commitment to serving God, that her work at school was a field of charity and worship. She tried to activate the school program to lead her students to know Allah and love Him so that they become pious servants of Allah and become leaders who prosper civilization. Therefore, when the school ran out of money to pay teachers, *Nyai Zainab* did not mind selling her bracelets to pay teachers’ salaries. “For *Nyai Zainab*, having no bracelet is not a problem.” Currently, *Nyai Zainab* is paid by the school, but her salary is handed over to people in need. She also has a shop, a Trans Shop minimarket. Food money from the students was received as profit, but she used it to build a *pesantren*. She divided the profits from the Trans Shop into 9 parts. Eight are distributed to their children and one portion to *pesantren*. (*Nyai Zainab*, Interview, 15 June 2019)

So far, *Nyai Zainab* is used to taking care of school construction because her husband, *Kiai Habib*, is a member of the DPR and he is often outside the *pesantren*. The planning and implementation of the physical development of *pesantren* and schools is no longer awkward.

She also calculates the budget, controls the purchase of raw materials, controls the execution of the construction and pays the builders. *Kiai* Habib never argued about how much money *Nyai* Zainab spent.

In terms of the quality of education, *Kiai* Habib once questioned students who were considered to be of less quality, but *Nyai* Zainab even defended her students because every day she knew and faced directly the problems of her students, while her husband had very limited time. *Nyai* Zainab teaches students for 31 hours a week at school. In addition, women have a higher sensitivity than men. Based on her life's journey accompanying her husband in managing educational institutions, *Nyai* Zainab believes that a wife must play a role in the development of Islamic boarding schools because a husband has limitations. (*Nyai* Zainab, Interview, 20 June 2019)

The problem of water is a crucial problem in Al Huda Islamic boarding school Doglo because it is an area that lacks water. This situation began to be worried by *pesantren* caretakers since the 1980s when *pesantren* experienced a significant addition of students. *Kiai* Habib Ihsanudin received instructions from his *istikharah* that in order to obtain sufficient water sources for the *pesantren* and the community, that is by taking a water source in Dukuh Balong which is more than 3 kilometers from the *pesantren*. Water is so important in this *pesantren* that in order to solve various water problems, the position in the irrigation sector by *Kiai* Habib was assigned to *Nyai* Zainab (*Kiai* Habib, Interview, 20 June 2019).

In the field of economics, *Nyai* Zainab is trying to manage the finances so that the *pesantren* is able to complete its educational facilities and infrastructure. *Nyai* Zainab manages the catering for the students so that the students can eat in an orderly and with inexpensive price. The catering finance from the *santri* was accepted as an advantage, but she used it to build the *pesantren*.

Since she arrived in Doglo, *Nyai* Zainab already had a shop, although she only sold one to two kilos of rice, sugar and tea. *Kiai* Habib considered that *Nyai* Zainab had a talent for trading. Family assets are always in the name of *Nyai* Zainab. In terms of economic transactions, *Kiai* Habib only paved the way, while *Nyai* Zainab completed the rest. *Nyai* Zainab should approve the economic transaction proposal. Because the agreement has implications for the completion of the transaction. When *Kiai* Habib became a member of the DPR, he offered to buy 2 shops at the same time for the pilgrimage. *Kiai* Habib was confused about completing the payment at that time, but *Nyai* Zainab knew and was sure how to get the money. The financing of the Hajj and buying a shop was successfully completed by *Nyai* Zainab. When NU built the shops, *Nyai* Zainab took 2 of them and handed them over to her son. When RMI offered the Trans Shop to *Kiai* Habib, I agreed, the capital at that time was 300 million (*Nyai* Zainab, Interview, 20 June 2019).

The economic activities that she did were not only for herself but all of them lead to the benefit of the development of the *pesantren* directly or indirectly. *Nyai Zainab's* motivation was she wanted her sons and daughters would have no difficulties in continuing the struggle to educate students and the community. She realizes that she has been resilient in facing the difficulties of life and the struggle to educate students and society, but she didn't know whether her sons and daughters are as strong as her. That's why she also provided them with complete material if she died at any time. *Nyai Zainab* realized that she was different from her children. She felt that her mother had educated her strictly based on her era. Therefore, she had a strong mentality while her children. It is different from her children who live in the comfort of life which is completely fulfilled by their needs and do not encounter material or spiritual obstacles. *Nyai Zainab* divided the profits from the Trans Shop into 9 parts. Eight portions were distributed to her children and one portion to *pesantren*. *Nyai Zainab's* thoughts and attitude are an act of thinking that her next generation will not encounter family economic difficulties (*Nyai Zainab*, Interview, 20 June 2019).

*Nyai Zainab* develop the economy by having shop, Trans Shop minimarkets. (*Nyai Zainab*, Interview, 20 June 2020) In the midst of developing the Islamic boarding school, *Nyai Zainab* also plays a role in various community organizations, including being the district-level Muslimat leader. But *Nyai Zainab* is also active in Muslimat, only limited to 2 times a week. She tried not to break the permit. Her commitment is *sami'na wa ato'na*. *Nyai Zaenab Umar* has also carried out *da'wah bil maal* through a program to support widows. In addition, there is religious assembly which she conducts every Friday *Pon* to recruit companions for religious affairs. Running the Friday *Pon* religious assembly at the Doglo mosque, handling the Sunday Morning religious assembly at the Grand Mosque once every 4 months, attending the IHM religious assembly every Tuesday *Legi*, attending the NU Muslimat religious assembly every Tuesday *Pon*, attending the quarterly religious assembly of sub-districts in Boyolali district. KBIH Arafah, handling the IPHI Cepogo hajj rituals, managing the District IPHI hajj rituals, managing the BMOIWI religious assembly every Thursday *Wage*, providing guidance to the children from the Darul Hadlonah orphanage. The existence of religious assembly attended by *Nyai Zaenab Umar* both as a preacher (*mubalighoh*) and as a member of religious assembly outside the Islamic boarding school environment such as Friday *Pon*, Friday *Kliwon*, Friday *Wage*, and Friday *Pahing* religious assembly that had some indirect impacts on development.

Since *Nyai Zainab* arrived in Doglo, she already had a shop, although she only sold one to two kilos of rice, sugar, and tea. The students also sold their products. *Kiai Habib* considered that *Nyai Zainab* was the one who had a talent for trading. This can be seen from her attitude of handing over family assets in the name of *Nyai Zainab*. Because when she wanted to buy an item, the husband only opened the way, then it was *Nyai Zainab* who resolved the buying and selling problem. Therefore, if *Nyai Zainab* agrees with her husband's

wish to buy something, it means that *Nyai Zainab* has to consider how to pay it off (*Nyai Zainab*, Interview, 20 June 2019).

*Nyai Zainab* was once offered a shop when *Kiai Habib* was a member of the DPR. *Nyai Zainab* agreed to buy 2 shops at the same time being offered the pilgrimage. At that time, *Kiai Habib* was confused about how to pay, but *Nyai Zainab* knew how to get money. *Nyai Zainab* suggested that she be taken to the mayor to borrow money and after meeting the mayor she agreed to lend it. After returning from the pilgrimage, then the debt was paid off to the mayor. Thank God, the pilgrimage and shop buying can be completed.

When NU made the shops, *Nyai* took 2 of them. She handed them over to her son. When RMI offered the Trans shop to *Kiai Habib*, *Nyai Zainab* agreed, the capital that she had at that time was 300 million. *Nyai's* motivation is that her sons and daughters will have no difficulties in continuing the struggle to educate students and the community. She has been resilient in facing the difficulties of life and the struggle to educate students and society, but she doesn't know whether her sons and daughters are as strong as her? That's why she also provided them with complete material if she died at any time. *Nyai Zainab* had been educated by her mother so that she had a strong mentality, while her children's mental strength was still unknown. (*Nyai Zainab*, interview 20 June 2019)

One time *Nyai Zainab* was entrusted by a *santri* from a troubled family background. After the *santri* turned well, his parents were sent a letter to report their child's progress. His parents made the intention of serving *Kiai Habib* as a Hajj when *Kiai Habib* was no longer a member of the DPR in 1992. Meanwhile, the people underestimated that if *Kiai Habib* did not join the DPR, he was not expected to eat. But it turned out that this person gave way to help *Nyai Zainab's* family by sending a truck of sewing machine and doormats. Of course this was an unexpected fortune and made *Nyai Zainab* a new rich person. The students were given the opportunity to buy by way of debt, but many of them did not pay because of the monetary crisis. The owner of the trade did not charge even though *Nyai Zainab* can not pay. Even willing to build Islamic boarding schools. Based on this fact, *Nyai Zainab* believes that Allah has arranged her life and sustenance (*rizki*). *Rizki* will not be lacking because setting aside time to religious assembly, even with religious assembly, getting *rizki* becomes easier. *Nyai Zainab* realizes that the treasure she has actually belongs to Allah.

At this time, *Nyai Zainab* still has two hectares of land that has not been developed. The land was bought by *Kiai Habib* but *Nyai Zainab* paid for it. *Nyai Zainab* was not afraid of debt. Any effort from *Kiai Habib*, if I don't approve, it will not work. Several days ago, there was an offer to buy a car for *Kiai Habib*. *Kiai Habib* still asked *Nyai Zainab* whether it was approved or not. If it is approved, just buy it. (*Nyai Zainab*, Interview, 20 June 2019)

When *Kiai* Habib had the desire to build a house, he first asked *Nyai* Zainab. *Nyai* Zainab fulfilled his wish. Whereas *Kiai* Habib's proposals to invest in buying shops, buying cars for business operations, buying land and others were rejected by *Nyai* Zainab so that *Kiai* Habib had complained about some of his proposals rejected by *Nyai* Zainab. *Nyai* Zainab's attitude of accepting or rejecting *Kiai* Habib's proposal was based on considerations of her economic knowledge and financial capacity. Meanwhile, if *Kiai* Habib executes a transaction, the settlement of administration and payments are left to *Nyai* Zainab. (*Nyai* Zainab, interview, 20 June 2019).

### **The Gender Equality between *Nyai* and *Kiai* at Al Huda Islamic Boarding School, Doglo, Boyolali District**

Gender analysis is an analytical process used to find out the roles of women and men in relation to what they do, and what resources they have. Gender analysis is a process to find out "who does what, who has what knowledge, who controls what, who is involved in what activities, who is involved in what organization, who takes what about."

Liberal feminism argues that women have the ability to determine their own destiny, but this ability is often limited by wrong assumptions by men (Tong, 1997). After *Nyai* Zainab married *Kiai* Habib, *Nyai* Zainab began to determine where her new life would go. The first step was to follow her husband's struggles and adapt to her new family environment, which had the attention of community service. Before marrying *Kiai* Habib, *Nyai* Zainab had been aware that her husband would be busy with community service. *Nyai* Zainab felt lucky because when she was still studying at university to finish her S1 program, she was active in student organizations based on religion so that she had the opportunity to communicate with various figures and scholars. This experience served as the initial capital in accompanying her husband to take part in the community. Even though *Nyai* Zainab had experienced difficulties positioning herself in her new environment, in the end *Nyai* Zainab succeeded in convincing her husband to take public roles.

In taking on the role of *Nyai* Zainab, she emphasizes the reason as a basis for obtaining an equal position with men in terms of opportunities and rights. What *Nyai* Zainab has done is in line with the concept of liberal feminism which emphasizes rationality as a basis for women in taking roles. Thus, women are required to have the ability to think intelligently so that equal positions with men can be achieved. *Nyai* Zainab's intelligence and mental strength can be seen from her personal profile as an educated and active woman since she had not married. Her intelligence has been played to take on public roles both in developing *pesantren* and being active outside the *pesantren*.

The rapid development of Al Huda Islamic Boarding School in Doglo cannot be separated from the roles of *Kiai* Habib and *Nyai* Zainab as the great actors. There are job description between *Kiai* Habib Ihsanudin and his wife, *Nyai* Zainab. *Nyai* Zainab handled tasks related to the management of the *pesantren*, while *Kiai* Habib Ihsanudin carried out tasks in the field dealing with the community, the development of *dakwah* and matters of a religious nature. In reality, *Nyai* Zainab not only manages the *pesantren* but she is also active outside the *pesantren* by managing Muslim women's organizations and various religious assembly.

Social equality between *Kiai* and *Nyai* in the development of Islamic boarding schools at the Islamic Boarding School in Doglo cannot be separated from the perspective of *Kiai* Habib towards *Nyai* Zainab so that there is no sense of superiority for *Kiai* Habib as seen from his attitude which always approves of *Nyai* Zainab's wishes. *Kiai* Habib told *Nyai* Zainab that what she wanted was approved 100 percent if there was 200 percent for approval is no problem. *Kiai* Habib made a statement while he was in Mecca Mecca "I wish you to be like Khodijah al-Kubro".

In seizing public space from men, women struggle with career paths as men do, and prove that women are capable of doing things done by men. So far, *Nyai* Zainab is used to taking care of physical development, which is usually taken care of by men. *Nyai* Zainab planned and carried out the physical development of the *pesantren* and schools. *Nyai* Zainab calculates the budget, controls the purchase of raw materials, controls the implementation of the construction, and pays the builders. This work was carried out when *Kiai* Habib was a member of the DPR and was often outside. However, the attitude of *Kiai* Habib that he did not decide issues of his own, such as economic development and formal education, showed that *Nyai* Zainab was very competent in taking on a public roles. Therefore, what Asmaeny Azis hinted at was that women could no longer be considered as the second class in the social and cultural structure (Aziz, 2007). Women can no longer be considered weak because in reality women have shown elegant faces and behavior for the humanity.

## Conclusion

First, the existence of a *Nyai* in the development of a *pesantren* at Al Huda Boarding School, Doglo, Cepogo, Boyolali Regency, the power of a *Nyai* is quite decisive. This is obtained after there is an understanding and awareness of gender in *Nyai* who has strong potential.

Second, in the management of Islamic boarding schools, *Nyai* and *Kiai* complement each other. There is no dominant or subordinate in the development of Islamic boarding schools. The two are like twin actors who complement each other. The roles played by the

*Nyai* are different from those played by the *Kiai*, so they complement each other. *Kiai* has a greater role in the study of religion and external relations, while *Nyai* has a more internal and managerial role in the daily life of the *pesantren*. The roles of *Nyai* illustrate the existence of gender equality in Al Huda Islamic boarding school, Doglo, Cepogo, Boyolali Regency. The roles played by *Nyai* Zainab in the development of Islamic boarding school was motivated by the following motivations: first, to develop the Islamic boarding schools. Second, to maintain the independence of *pesantren* in the midst of community participation which has its own interests that are different from the main objectives of the *pesantren*. Third, the next generation will not have material difficulties so that they are consistent in continuing the development of Islamic boarding schools.

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