



## Women Ulema's Perceptions of Efforts to Resolve Patriarchal Hegemony in Pesantren

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### ABSTRACT

Students with all the activities they undertake, have responsibility for their environment, because they both have complementary responsibilities. Various activities that require order from the students, of course, must be done together without exception looking at gender (men and women have the same position), but the reality that occurs is that patriarchal culture often corners women (*santriwati*) as objects of gender injustice. This article aims to see how the perception of Women Ulema towards efforts to resolve patriarchal hegemony in Islamic boarding schools. The data was obtained through interviews with Female Ulama, namely Nyai, who also plays a role in the academic field. The results of this research found several efforts to resolve patriarchal hegemony in Islamic boarding schools, namely by improving the learning system in Islamic boarding schools, training leadership, conducting conservative education, reframing the understanding of religious doctrines that are not women-friendly and fair in dividing tasks between male and female students and prioritizing human values (humanization). So this research is very interesting and becomes a new study because it focuses on solving women's resistance efforts that have not been able to tear down patriarchal fortresses.

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## Introduction

Kiai has an important role as a central figure in a pesantren. Patriarchal culture with hegemony creates a relationship between Kiai and students over norms *Ta'dhim* and *Takrim*. Concept *Ta'dhim* and *Takrim* applied to students in the process of seeking knowledge and the pleasure of Kiai. The students will pay homage and obey their kiai with the aim of seeking blessings (Fitri Pebriaisyah, Wilodati, 2022). The form of student service can be applied to tradition *ndalem* (Kiai residence), the tradition of santri helping all forms of domestic work to ease the work of Nyai and Kiai (Luthfia, 2016). Tradition *ndalem* which focuses more on women in domestic affairs and views women as inferior beings can be said to be subordinate (Febrienti & Rahmatunnisa, 2022; Muzakka, 2017).

Gender issues influenced by patriarchal culture in the pesantren environment have become a culture in the world of education and religion. Especially regarding the tradition of pesantren which shows the gap between men and women (Kamila Adnani, Wening Udasmoro, 2016; Marhumah, 2011). The gender struggle against patriarchal hegemony has been shown in various forms of movements, including by socializing

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gender, discourse in literary works, exposure in films and forms of resistance (Azeharie, 2023; Effendi, 2020; Fahmi, 2020; Interest, 2020; Marhumah, 2011; Muzakka, 2017). Many resistance actions were carried out from pesantren women, such as against kiai polygamy where patriarchal culture strongly supports the status of kiai over religious doctrine for the practice of polygamy (Mohtazul Farid, 2017).

All forms of women's resistance have not been able to replace the concept of patriarchal culture. However, women have the right to fight for gender equality to have an equal position in the public sphere (Ete et al., 2023). In the pesantren environment, Kiai, especially Nyai, has an important role in socializing the concept of gender equality (Efendi, 2020; Marhumah, 2011). Nyai's empowerment can be done by reframing the concept of patriarchal culture (NF, October 12, 2023), equipping female students to compete in the public space (FL, October 14, 2023), and participating in the formation of a gender-based life (Noorhayati, 2017). This effort will form the identity of the pesantren and as a provision for students in interacting with the wider community (Efendi, 2020).

Patriarchal culture has not been accommodated in this country of law, because of the stereotypes against women so far. The applicable law is still unfair to women, so the role of gender equality drivers is needed (Aprilia et al., 2023). Women scholars have a great contribution to the development of gender-based education and women's empowerment. This includes Nyai who is central in the pesantren as a leader, exemplary teacher and source of advice for students (Noorhayati, 2017).

This research aims to observe how to resolve patriarchal hegemony within the Islamic Boarding School through the perception of female scholars to strengthen various efforts that have been made in fighting patriarchal hegemony. So this research is very interesting and becomes a new study because it focuses on solving women's resistance efforts that have not been able to tear down patriarchal fortresses.

## Method

This research uses a qualitative method with a phenomenological approach, which is an approach to phenomena that occur in society and then analyzed to achieve a goal. The phenomenon that occurred in this study is the rooting of patriarchal culture over the hegemony of kiai in Islamic boarding schools. With that, the author wants to reveal how efforts to resolve patriarchal hegemony in Islamic boarding schools are based on the perception of female scholars. The research data was obtained from primary data and secondary data. The primary data is the result of interviews with five speakers, namely Nyai who also plays a role in the academic field. Meanwhile, secondary data is sourced from social media, books and related scientific articles. Data analysis uses the Miles Huberman model through four steps, namely reproduction, reduction, display and data verification (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

## Results and Discussion

### *Gender Equality in Patriarchal Cultural Hegemony*

In community life, men and women have the same position and role in implementing and enjoying the results of development. This social role between men and women is referred to as gender (Ete et al., 2023). It is different from the sex which is an innate biological characteristic from birth. However, the culture of society often views women as inferior to men. Women are considered weak human beings and only play a role in the domestic sphere. Meanwhile, men are seen as stronger and become leaders in an organization (Zuhri & Amalia, 2022). This is related to gender construction used to describe gender injustice. This concept is generally in the background of a ruler who leads an organization.

Based on Gramsci's thought, the leader or ruler is referred to as hegemony which comes from the Greek language, namely *Egomon hegemon*. Hegemony is not only the

owner of the highest authority in a government institution, but is related to the domination of power over its surroundings. The practice of hegemony in society is not only in the formal area of the state, but smaller than that such as social organizations. Other regions can be seen in the context of ideology or religious and cultural symbols in an individual or group to conquer other groups. Conquest in the name of a certain religion or ideology is hegemony in an ethical form with a cultural approach based on intellectual and moral leadership (Hannan & Abdillah, 2019). Thus, hegemony can be said to be a form of dominance or domination of the ruling class over values, norms, and culture towards the dominated group (M Farid & Hidayat, 2021).

The power of a leader is mostly dominated by men. The structure that positions the role of man as the central and ruler of everything is referred to as Patriarchy derived from the word *Patriarchs* (Utami et al., 2018). The patriarchal system has become a culture in society that causes gender disparities and injustices, so that it can be influential in various aspects of life (Aprilia et al., 2023). The role of women in the public sphere is considered to have little influence both socially, politically, economically, psychologically and even the institution of marriage (Sakina & A., 2017). So, it can be said that patriarchy is a concept or ideology that positions men as the dominating party and makes women as the subordinate party (Aprilia et al., 2023; Fitri Pebriaisyah, Wilodati, 2022; Nabila et al., 2023). In Javanese there is a term *Konco Wingking* which means a back friend (Kamila Adnani, Wening Udasmoro, 2016). Women are always positioned as inferior creatures who are only in charge of the well, kitchen and mattress (Wandi, 2015).

Patriarchal hegemony has become a cultural element that originates from customs, norms of religious teachings. Religion is considered to be the biggest contributor to the formation of these elements, because the values in it are the guidelines of human life (Ete et al., 2023). There are still many interpretations of religious teachings that tend to be gender biased through their doctrines. Almost every religion has teachings that discredit women, including Islam. Some verses in the Quran related to the creation of Adam and Eve, the division of inheritance, leadership and so on are considered gender biased (Wandi, 2015). Basically, religion never teaches its creatures to demean each other. Religious doctrines that are gender-biased are the result of the achievements of the Quran and hadith by scholars with perspectives that are detrimental to women (Astutik, 2014).

### ***Patriarchal Culture Towards Gender Equality in Islamic Boarding Schools***

Religious educational institutions such as Islamic boarding schools have traditions that are closely associated with patriarchal culture (Fitri Pebriaisyah, Wilodati, 2022). A Kiai becomes central and has a dominating role and full authority over the students, so that all words from the kiai will be trusted and obeyed (Anhary, 2023; Fitri Pebriaisyah, Wilodati, 2022). Obedient attitude is a form of concept *Ta'dhim* and *Takrim* to honor Kiai with the aim of obtaining pleasure and blessings (Fitri Pebriaisyah, Wilodati, 2022). The leadership system based on charismatic figures and male dominance in the pesantren management structure is a practice of applying traditional values that aim to instill norms of student behavior towards Kiai (Nuronyah, 2016).

The obedience of students to Kiai is evidenced by devotion in traditions that have been practiced for generations, one of which is tradition *ndalem*. Tradition *ndalem* is a tradition where students help all forms of domestic work to ease the work of Nyai and Kiai (Luthfia, 2016). The hegemony of kiai in patriarchal culture often creates an unfair division of labor between men and women (Muzakka, 2017). Tradition of work *ndalem* Focus more on women because they have feminine traits such as gentleness, perseverance, emotions, can conceive, give birth, breastfeed, and do domestic or household chores (Utami et al., 2018). The patriarchal culture in Islamic boarding schools that prioritizes men over women, is influenced and strengthened by religious understanding sourced from the Qur'an and Hadith (Ete et al., 2023). This concept that views women as inferior beings can be said to be an act of subordination (Anhary, 2023; Muzakka, 2017).

The distinction of traits and attitudes between men and women is a component in gender construction. This problem also distinguishes the role and existence of women in the public space, especially domestically (Efendi, 2020; Nurhayati, 2017; Vandt, 2015). In Islam, domestic work is not a woman's obligation because women's nature is only to conceive, give birth and breastfeed. However, patriarchal culture has been attached to society that the role of women is as a *Konco Wingking* who are on duty in the domestic sphere (Erviana, 2021). In this case, equality between men and women must be divided as fairly as possible. Justice in gender construction can be influenced by culture and religion (Isnaini et al., 2023). Therefore, the application of attitudes that prevent discrimination (Isnaini et al., 2023) and concrete understanding (Duwy et al., 2019) to students on gender equality must be given, in order to change a broader way of thinking.

### ***Forms of Resistance to Patriarchal Hegemony in Islamic Boarding Schools***

The relationship between students and Kiai will be an act of patriarchal hegemony, if the role and position of women in pesantren are considered inferior to men. Kharimastik kiai will always be respected, so that his words and deeds play a full role in the personality of the students (Muhakamurrohman, 1970). The preservation of gender-biased religious values is also one of the reasons for the inherent patriarchal culture in the pesantren environment. Then the division of labor in tradition *ndalem* that is unfair between men and women is an act of subordination (Febrianti & Rahmatunnisa, 2022). These phenomena raise awareness in students that they also have the right to get justice. So that there is resistance in various ways, one of which is criticizing the traditional and cultural system in Islamic boarding schools (Faizi, 2020).

Forms of student resistance in real cases are still rare. This is because tradition and culture in pesantren have been considered a natural thing and have become a system that applies from generation to generation (Erviana, 2021). Thus, it has shown that women have been hegemony. However, the santriwati, who was aware that she was hegemony, made a movement to tear down the patriarchal fortress. Researchers found literacy as evidence of the student movement in the form of discourse and works such as stories in books, novels, and films (Agis Dwi Prakoso, 2020; Azeharie, 2023; Fahmi, 2020; Kamila Adnani, Wening Udasmoro, 2016; Muzakka, 2017; Nurfiana, 2021; Utami et al., 2018). Meanwhile, the form of action of the students is in the form of resistance from polygamy that occurs in East Java (M Farid & Hidayat, 2021; Mohtazul Farid, 2017).

Resistance in the form of works is found in stories in novels. Most of the novelists come from students, both women and men who have realized that gender equality to fight patriarchal hegemony must be socialized. From their writings, it can be seen that there has been an attempt to resist by trying to criticize the existing social system in Islamic boarding schools, both traditional and cultural, in the name of religious doctrine. Resistance is shown in the main character in the story who seeks to reach a patriarchal culture that considers women as inferior (Muzakka, 2017). Meanwhile, the resistance efforts made by students in East Java against kiai polygamy are carried out in two ways, namely open and closed resistance. Open resistance was carried out by rejecting proposals, asking for a divorce, and taking over the role of first wife. Meanwhile, resistance is carried out behind closed doors with conflicts between wives, demanding separation, showing jealousy and resisting the husband's orders (M Farid & Hidayat, 2021).

### ***Gender Construction of Islamic Boarding School Traditions in the Perception of Women Scholars***

Patrairki hegemony is a configuration of power that places or guarantees a position of male dominance and makes it subordinate to women in various sectors (NF Informant, October 12, 2023). Patriarchal hegemony occurs if there is a certain motive behind the concept of ta'dhim and takrim, under the pretext of bringing blessings (SS Informant, October 12, 2023). A blessing can arise and be given only from Allah SWT, while a kiyai is only an intermediary. (FI Informant, October 13, 2023). The concept of

ta'dhim and takrim has become a salaf identity that strongly emphasizes the importance of adab or tatakrama. Even students achieving blessings are considered more important than the scientific and intellectual abilities of a student who studies at the pesantren itself. In this case, the concept of ta'dhim and takrim of students towards kyai in salafi Islamic boarding schools has become a culture where this concept also participates in shaping the character of the students (NF Informant, October 12, 2023).

The existence of patriarchal hegemony in Islamic boarding schools presents a gender construction because they interpret the role of men as masculinity who works in the region such as drivers, policemen, mechanics while women are more inclined to feminine ideals or focus on domestic issues. The striking difference between the two is based on their power capabilities. Patriarchal hegemony is also influenced by understandings that still discriminate against women. One example of a reference to the interpretation of verses of the Qur'an that tends to be misogynistic, is in surah An-Nisa verse:34 which interprets the word *arrijala qawwamuna 'alan nisa* that a man is a female leader. The meaning in this verse has become a benchmark for how the Islamic boarding school community understands the positioning between men and women. (NF Informant, October 12, 2023).

Gender construction can be seen in the *ndalem* tradition which focuses more on *santriwati*. Where this is considered to be his nature or nature to have a flirtatious attitude that is not necessarily possessed by men. (FI Informant, October 13, 2023). The culture of society also considers that women are more diligent, diligent, meticulous, meticulous, and also more disciplined in their work. That assumption is what ultimately still relies on women to become *ndalem* students (EU Informant, October 11, 2023). The *ndalem* tradition that focuses more on women in domestic work can be said to be an act of subordination if the work is the responsibility of women completely and is not humanized. The stereotype about women as *wingking must* be abolished because women also have the right to appear in public spaces. *Santriwati* not only get provisions in domestic work but also must be equipped with learning to have a role in the public space. Such as being taught entrepreneurs, public speaking, science and technology, and so on (Informant FI, October 13, 2023). And basically, the position between men and women must be equalized in the sense that it is as fair as possible in dividing work. (NF Informant, October 12, 2023).

Nyai as the main female figure from the pesantren is part of the ulama who play an important role in upholding gender equality and justice in Indonesia. Nyai's opportunity in the midst of the rooting of the patriarchal system in pesantren can build a relationship of gender equality by showing women's leadership starting from the world of pesantren. The internal role of female scholars is widely carried out in the world of Islamic boarding schools by building educational empowerment in the realm of Islamic boarding schools. It can be understood that the ability of women scholars in nurturing students in Islamic boarding schools by transforming religious values in the formation of values that apply in society. Looking at the behavior of students in pesantren life, it shows that the existence of female scholars in protecting students is considered very strategic in realizing a more moral attitude to life (Informant HJ, October 13, 2023).

### ***Efforts to Resolve Patriarchal Hegemony in the Perception of Women Scholars***

The tradition and culture contained in the pesantren has become a system that should be obeyed by the students. Kiai as a figure who plays a full role in the pesantren has the right to be respected and served well by his students and every student should have an attitude of ta'dhim and takrim towards the family *ndalem*. Happiness in Islamic boarding schools is basically full of the concept of seeking blessings. However, this concept will change if the patriarchal culture with the existence of excessive kiai hegemony by abusing power (SS Informant, October 12, 2023) and not affirming the humanitarian side (FI Informant, October 13, 2023).

Women scholars have a great contribution to the development of gender-based education and women's empowerment. This includes Nyai who is central in the pesantren



as a leader, exemplary teacher and source of advice for students (Noorhayati, 2017). Society needs the role of women scholars as a driving force in gender equality to fight patriarchal hegemony (Informant HJ, October 13, 2023). Especially in pesantren where patriarchal culture with kiai hegemony has become a tangled thread that has not found a solution. Thus, efforts to resolve patriarchal hegemony are indispensable to solve the problems that occur. In this case, the author takes the perception of women scholars as an effort to find a way out.

As previously said, Nyai is a female scholar in Islamic boarding schools who has room for negotiation to have a role in Islamic boarding school affairs both inside and outside. Nyai, who has gender awareness, will uphold equality and justice and elevate the status of Indonesian Muslim women on a religious basis, especially in the realm of Islamic boarding schools (Informant HJ, October 13, 2023). One of Nyai's efforts in solving this problem is to improve the teaching system in the pesantren (Faizi, 2020). Nyai's role in the education aspect is very detailed in building the educational empowerment in Islamic boarding schools. Nyai is able to take care of students at Islamic boarding schools by nail the transformation of religious values to realize a more moral attitude to life (Informant HJ, October 13, 2023).

The opportunity for some nyai in the midst of the patriarchal system taking root in Islamic boarding schools is the ability to build gender equality relationships. These efforts are carried out by showing women's leadership starting from the world of pesantren (Noorhayati, 2017). Santri is expected to play a dual role in the domestic and public spheres, be able to raise women's voices in leading religious rituals so that they are not considered slanderous, can lead prayers in front of men, put women in an honorable position, open educational opportunities for women so that the number of female students and schools in formal education is balanced with male students. (HJ informant, October 13, 2023)

The next solution is to take an emotional approach with the education system to conservative understanding that is still embedded. This is influenced by the understanding of pesantren that still discriminates against women through verses of the Quran such as in surah An-Nisa verse 34 which means the word *Alan's far-right* that men are female leaders. With this, efforts can be made to reframe the understanding of religious doctrines that are not women-friendly (NF Informant, October 12, 2023) and stereotypes about women as *wingking*. Such things must be abolished because women also have the right to appear in public spaces (Informant FI, October 13, 2023) so as not to view women as inferior beings or creatures who are obliged to submit to men (Febrianti & Rahmatunnisa, 2022).

The relationship between Kiai and students must uphold human values. If there is a great need for the role of students in the affairs *of the country*, both in the domestic and public spaces, then the rights and obligations of students must still be fulfilled and not harm the students. The ndalem family not only gives orders but also gives examples and even participates in carrying out activities carried out by students (Informant FI, October 13, 2023). The division of labor between men and women must also be divided as fairly as possible by adjusting their needs and manpower capabilities (SS Informant, October 12, 2023). Female students not only get a role in domestic work but also must be equipped with learning to have a role in the public space. As taught related to *entrepreneurs, public speaking, technology* and so on (Informant FI, October 13, 2023).

Based on the presentations of five speakers, efforts to resist hegemony are more focused on improving traditions that have become culture in a pesantren. The biggest change in achieving these efforts started from the pesantren administrators who have awareness of the importance of gender equality. In this case, Nyai's role is urgently needed. Santri will respect and obey all forms of words and deeds of Kiai and Nyai as a form of *ta'dhim and takrim*. All forms of student deeds are carried out solely to seek pleasure and blessings. Basically, the application of this concept is carried out by the

students by serving the *ndalem*. Therefore, policies from Kiai and Nyai are urgently needed to create gender equality in the pesantren environment.

## Conclusion

The tradition and culture contained in the pesantren has become a system that should be obeyed by the students. Kiai as a figure who plays a full role in the pesantren has the right to be respected and served well and every student should have an attitude of ta'dhim and takrim towards the family *ndalem*. Life in Islamic boarding schools is basically full of the concept of seeking blessings. However, this concept will change when patriarchal culture emerges at the same time as the hegemony carried out by Kiai excessively through the abuse of power and does not affirm the human side. In the relationship between students and Kiai, there is an act of patriarchal hegemony that results in an unfair division of labor between male and female students, this is called an act of subordination. This phenomenon then began to raise awareness in female students that they also have the right to get justice. However, all forms of resistance have not been able to tear down the patriarchal fortress. So the role of women scholars is needed as one of the drivers in gender equality to fight patriarchal hegemony. Efforts to resolve patriarchal hegemony are indispensable to solve the problems that occur. Women scholars have made several efforts and contributions to resolving patriarchal hegemony in Islamic boarding schools, namely by improving the learning system in Islamic boarding schools, training leadership, conducting conservative education, reframing the understanding of religious doctrines that are not women-friendly and fair in dividing tasks between male and female students and prioritizing human values (humanization).

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