

**Gendered Continuity and Change in Javanese  
*Pesantren***

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## Abstract

The main focus of this study is to examine the role of Muslim feminists in *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) in promoting gender equity. These are important issues because the *pesantren* is an educational institution within the Islamic community in Java that tends to preserve patriarchal values. This study investigates the strategies of Muslim feminists and obstacles they confront. It explores the endeavours of *pesantren* leaders to preserve and develop their traditions, particularly related to gender values. Using a feminist perspective through participant observation and qualitative interviews, this research was conducted in three Javanese *pesantren*: Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat in Yogyakarta, As-sa'idiyyah 2 Pesantren in Jombang, and Nurul Huda Pesantren in Malang.

This study examines how activists within *pesantren* have sought to develop greater gender awareness. It is argued that activists use 'soft strategies' to change gender values, thus avoiding direct confrontation with *pesantren* traditions. These activists promote contextualisation and reinterpretation of Islamic teaching and endeavour to 'inject the gender virus' among *santri* (*pesantren* students). This research also shows *pesantren* still perpetuate and embed patriarchal structures with the *kyai* (male leader in the *pesantren*) as a dominant figure. However, religious and cultural change in *pesantren* is reflected in clothing traditions and bilingual/ multilingual programs, but these changes are mediated by the *kyai*.

This thesis advances several key propositions. First, the patterns of change in developing gender equity are neither linear nor uniform. Muslim feminists have not managed to replace the patriarchal status quo, but they have to compete with other external influences in the form of the PKS (*Partai Keadilan Sejahtera*/Prosperous Justice Party), which has sought to give the established patriarchy a stronger puritan dimension. However, Muslim feminists have made gender values an issue of contention within *pesantren* and have sowed the 'gender virus'. Second, Muslim feminists tend to be identified with Western influence within the discourse of *pesantren*; however in the dichotomy of Huntington's (1998) 'the clash of civilizations', they have promoted contentious interpretations of Islamic teaching and, just as Islam has been accommodated within Javanese cultural values, they have promoted greater gender equity. Third, identifying themselves with both the

*santri* and *priyayi* (Javanese aristocratic elites) *aliran* (the variant of the religion of Java), *pesantren* have accommodated Islamic and Javanese values. The intellectual networking of *pesantren* continues this accommodation. The *pesantren* seek to identify with both *aliran* and seek to strengthen their legitimacy through tracing their *kya's* aristocratic and religious lineages. In this respect, the three *pesantren* differ from Geertz's (1960) depiction of *santri* and *priyayi* as distinct. Finally, following Foucault's Panopticon concept that based on Jeremy Bentham's notion (1977), the *pesantren* structure reflects the gender bias of the Panopticon system that is reflected in stricter rules and regulations for female *santri* than for male *santri*.

## **Student Declaration**

I, Siti Kholifah, declare that the PhD thesis entitled “Gendered Continuity and Change in Javanese *Pesantren*” is no more than 100,000 words in length including quotes and exclusive of table, figures, appendices, bibliography and footnotes. This thesis contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work.



Siti Kholifah

02 December 2014

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## Glossary and Abbreviations

<i>Abangan</i>	Represents self-identity that stresses the animistic aspects of the overall Javanese syncretism and is broadly related to the peasant element in the population (Geertz 1960)
<i>Abdi ndalem</i>	People who work in Javanese Kingdom or <i>santri</i> who is assisting domestic work in <i>kyai/nyai</i> 's house
<i>Ahlus sunnah wal jama'ah</i>	Literally, follower of the example of the Prophet Muhammad and majority of community that is a term commonly utilised by Sunni to differentiate from Shia or other Islamic groups, and also become one of the doctrines in the NU organisation
<i>Aisyiyah</i>	Women's organisation in Muhammadiyah
<i>Akhlaq</i>	Islamic ethics
<i>Al-banjari</i>	Art of singing in Arabic
<i>Aliran</i>	The variant of the religion of Java
<i>Al-Qur'an</i>	Koran
<i>Aqidah</i>	Islamic belief
<i>Arisan</i>	Meeting of housewives in a small residence area with one of the purposes is credit lottery
<i>Asas tunggal</i>	Sole foundation
<i>Ashar</i>	Afternoon prayer
<i>Aurat</i>	The part of the body that, according to Islamic teaching, must be covered. Men must cover the body between the navel and the knees, while women have to cover all their body, except their face and wrists
<i>Baju koko</i>	Long-sleeved shirt for males
<i>Baju kurung</i>	Long blouses with long sleeves for females
<i>Bandongan</i>	Teaching methods for reading, translating, and explaining Islamic teaching, and then <i>santri</i> listen, write and understand the contents of book/Islamic teaching
<i>Barokah</i>	Blessing or reward from God
<i>Bid'ah</i>	Attitudes or behaviours which have never been espoused by Prophet Muhammad
<i>Blangkon</i>	Javanese headgear
<i>Boedi Oetomo</i>	Modern organisation in Indonesia founded by Javanese <i>priyayi</i> in 1908
<i>Brosur Lebaran</i>	The brochure of Islamic celebration after Ramadhan month
<i>Bubur merah</i>	Combination of sticky rice, palm sugar and coconut
<i>Bulughul Marom</i>	Yellow text that contains interpretation of hadist
<i>Bupati</i>	The leader of the region
<i>Daulah Islam</i>	Islamic state

<i>Da'wah</i>	Preach Islamic teaching in society
Dharma Wanita	Women's Service/the organisation of civil servants' wives
<i>Dhuhur</i>	Midday prayer
<i>Diniyah salafiyah</i>	Studies about Arabic and Islamic teaching including yellow books
<i>Direktur</i>	Director
<i>DIY</i>	<i>Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta</i> /Special Region of Yogyakarta
<i>Empu</i>	Teacher
Fatayat	Young women organisation in NU
<i>Fiqh</i>	Islamic jurisprudence
<i>Fiqh Muammalah</i>	A part of Islamic jurisprudence that regulates the relationship among people such as Islamic rules on transaction, Islamic law in banking, or other commercial institutions
<i>Fiqh Ibadah</i>	A part of Islamic jurisprudence that emphasises the relationship with God, such as praying, fasting
<i>FK3</i>	<i>Forum Kajian Kitab Kuning</i> /Forum for the Study of Classical Islamic Commentaries
Gerwani	Gerakan Wanita Indonesia/Women's organisation associated with the Indonesian Communist Party
Golkar	Golongan Karya/ Functional Groups, the state political party under the New Order Era and since 1998 as an independent political party
<i>Grebeg Besar</i>	The ceremony in Yogyakarta Palace to celebrate the birthday of the Sultan
<i>Grebeg Mulud</i>	The ceremony in Yogyakarta Palace to commemorate the birthday of Prophet Muhammad
<i>Guru</i>	Teacher
<i>Gus</i>	The son of <i>kyai</i>
<i>Hadith</i>	The traditions purporting to preserve the decision, actions and utterances of the Prophet Muhammad
<i>Hablum minnallah</i>	The relationship between people with God
<i>Hablum minannash</i>	The relationship among people
<i>Hafidz</i>	People who memorise <i>Al-Qur'an</i>
<i>Haji</i>	Pilgrimage
<i>Hisbullah</i>	Allah's soldiers
<i>Hizbul Wathan</i>	Scouting activities
<i>Hogere School</i>	<i>Senior High School</i>
IAIN	Institut Agama Islam Negeri/the state of Islamic Institute
<i>Ibuism</i>	Motherhood
IKAHA	Institut Keislaman Hasyim Asy'ari/Islamic Institute Hasyim Asy'ari

<i>Ikut suami</i>	Follow husband
<i>Ilmu hadith</i>	The study of the source and roots of <i>Hadith</i>
<i>Ilmu tafsir</i>	The study of roots of <i>tafsir</i> ( <i>Al-Qur'an</i> exegesis)
<i>Imam sholat</i>	The leader in praying together
IPM	Ikatan Pemuda Muhammadiyah/The Association of Muhammadiyah Youth
IPPNU	Ikatan Pelajar Puteri Nahdlatul Ulama/the association of female students in NU
<i>Islam kaffah</i>	Complete Islam
<i>Islam KTP</i>	Means Islam only as identity, but not necessarily practising Islamic values in everyday life
<i>Isya'</i>	Evening prayer
Jami'yyat al-islah wal-Irsyad	Union for Reformation and Guidance, commonly know as just Al-Irsyad is a reform organisation that is active among Indonesian Hadrami community, and this <i>pesantren</i> is based on conservative Arab education that was founded in 1915
<i>Jarik</i>	The Javanese wrap-around skirt for males and females; commonly <i>jarik</i> uses a batik motif
<i>Jas</i>	Jacket
<i>Jilbab Minangkabau</i>	Minangkabau's veil
<i>Kaligrafi</i>	The art of writing in the Arabic script
KAMI	Partai Kebangkitan Muslim Indonesia/ Indonesian Muslim Awakening Party
<i>Karomah</i>	Grace, thaumaturgy gift and charismatic attribute
<i>Kebaya</i>	Long-sleeved blouse that is fastened with brooches rather than buttons and buttonholes
<i>Kemuhammadiyah</i>	Muhammadiyah as an ideology
<i>Keraton Yogyakarta</i>	Yogyakarta Palace
<i>Kerudung</i>	Headscarf that covers women's hair, but does not conceal her neck
<i>Khalaf pesantren</i>	<i>Pesantren</i> that offer mixed education system, religious subjects and general subject; usually <i>khalaf pesantren</i> has formal education that has influence from Indonesian Government
<i>Khatib</i>	The religious official responsible for the sermon/preacher in Friday prayer
<i>Khaul</i>	Once a year festivities to commemorate the day the <i>kyai</i> passed away
<i>Khimar</i>	Middle Eastern veil
<i>Kiamat</i>	Judgement day
<i>Kitab</i>	Book
<i>Kitab kuning</i>	Yellow book
<i>Konco wingking</i>	Backseat companion

<i>Kongres Wanita Indonesia</i>	Indonesian Women's Congress
KPM	Keluarga Pelajar Madrasah/The family of student in Islamic school
<i>Kromo inggil</i>	The highest level of Javanese language
<i>Kyai</i>	Male leader in <i>pesantren</i>
<i>Kyai Sepuh</i>	The senior <i>kyai</i>
<i>Kweekschool</i>	Teacher Training School
<i>Kweekschool Istri</i>	Teachers Training School for female
<i>Kweekschool Muhammadiyah</i>	Teachers Training School of Muhammadiyah
MA	Madrasah Aliyah/ Islamic senior high school
<i>Madrasah</i>	Islamic schools that have an Indonesian Governmentdesigned curriculum, based on government rules
Madrasah Al-Ma'arif	Al-Ma'arif Islamic School
<i>Madya</i>	The middle level of Javanese language
<i>Mazhab</i>	Schools of thought in Islam
<i>Maghrib</i>	Sunset prayer
MAI	<i>Madrasah Aliyah l'dadiyyah</i> /Islamic senior high school l'dadiyyah
<i>Majalah dinding</i>	Wall magazine
<i>Majelis Tarjih</i>	Council of Religious Opinion (The division in Muhammadiyah that has the authority to create religious opinion and advice relating to contemporary issues or problems in the Muslim community).
MAN	<i>Madrasah Aliyah Negeri</i> /The State Senior Islamic High School
<i>Masa ruhshoh</i>	<i>Santri</i> were able to use electronic devices and watch movies in the dormitories during the one week holiday
<i>Maskan</i>	Dormitories/boarding schools
<i>Menteri Peranan Wanita</i>	The Minister of Women's Roles
<i>Mu'allimaat in Yogyakarta</i>	Girl's school under Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta
<i>Mu'allimat in Jombang</i>	Senior high school for females under Bahrul Ulum <i>Pesantren</i> in Jombang
<i>Mu'allimin</i>	Boy's school under Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta
<i>Muhammadiyah</i>	The largest modernist Islamic organisation in Indonesia, founded by Kyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan in 1912
<i>Muhrim</i>	Someone who has family relationship whose touch does not invalidate the state of ritual purity necessary for prayer. The members of <i>muhrim</i> are one's own parents and parents of siblings and the senior

	generation, one's siblings and their descendants, one's children and their descendants
<i>Mujanib</i>	Male senior student who is leader in the room
<i>Mujanibah</i>	Female senior student who is leader in the room
<i>Musholla</i>	Prayer room
<i>Muslimat</i>	Women wing organisation of NU
<i>Musrif</i>	Male teacher and dormitory staff
<i>Musrifah</i>	Female teacher and dormitory staff
<i>MTs</i>	<i>Madrasah Tsanawiyah</i> /Islamic junior high school
<i>Nahwu</i>	Arabic grammar
<i>Nasyiatul Aisyiyah</i>	Young women's organisation in Muhammadiyah
<i>Ndalem</i>	<i>kyai's/nyai's</i> house
<i>Ngoko</i>	The lower level of Javanese language
<i>Ning</i>	The name for the daughters of <i>kyai/nyai</i>
<i>Nyai</i>	Female leader in <i>pesantren</i> or the wife of <i>kyai</i>
<i>NU</i>	<i>Nahdlatul Ulama</i> /Revival of the Religious Scholars is the largest traditionalist Islamic organisation in Indonesia, founded in 1926 by <i>Kyai</i> Hasyim Asy'ari from Tebuireng <i>Pesantren</i> , Jombang and <i>Kyai</i> Abdul Wahab Chasbullah from Tambak Beras <i>Pesantren</i> , Jombang
<i>Pamong</i>	The leader in dormitory
<i>PAN</i>	<i>Partai Amanat Nasional</i> /The National Mandate Party
<i>Pancasila</i>	Indonesian state philosophy/Indonesian ideology
<i>PDI-P</i>	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan/Indonesian Democracy Party-Struggle
<i>Peci</i>	Indonesian headgear
<i>Pegon</i>	Handwriting with Javanese/Madurese/Sundanese/Indonesian language that is written in Arabic script Jawi
<i>Pengajian</i>	Informal groups for the study of Islamic teaching or yellow book
<i>Penghulu</i>	The leader of functionary in Yogyakarta Palace
<i>Perda sharia</i>	Local regulation with Islamic rules
<i>Perempuan</i>	Women
<i>Persis</i>	<i>Persatuan Islam</i> / Islamic Association
<i>Perwari</i>	<i>Persatuan Wanita Republik Indonesia</i> /Association of Women of the Indonesian Republic
<i>Pesantren</i>	Islamic boarding schools
<i>PKB</i>	<i>Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa</i> /National Awakening Party
<i>PK</i>	<i>Partai Keadilan</i> /The Justice Party, Islamic party that founded in 1998
<i>PKI</i>	<i>Partai Komunis Indonesia</i> /Indonesian Communist Party
<i>PKS</i>	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera/Prosperous Justice Party that was founded in 2003 and replaced PK

<i>PMII</i>	<i>Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia/The Indonesian Islamic student's movement</i>
<i>PNS</i>	<i>Pegawai Negeri Sipil/civil servant</i>
<i>Pondok</i>	The boarding houses/dormitories for students
<i>PP Muhammadiyah</i>	Pengurus Pusat Muhammadiyah/the central board of Muhammadiyah
<i>PPP</i>	<i>Partai Persatuan Pembangunan/the United Development Party</i>
<i>P3M</i>	<i>Perhimpunan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat/ Union for Pesantren and Community Development</i>
<i>Priyayi</i>	Javanese aristocratic elite
<i>PSW UNAIR</i>	<i>Pusat Study Wanita Universitas Airlangga/Women Studies Centre of Airlangga University</i>
<i>PUAN Amal Hayati</i>	<i>Pesantren untuk Pemberdayaan Perempuan Amal Hayati/Pesantren for Women's Empowerment, Hope and Life</i>
<i>Qawaidhullughah</i>	Arabic grammar and structure
<i>Qiro'ati</i>	Learn about reading <i>Al-Qur'an</i>
<i>Qiro'ah</i>	The art of reading <i>Al-Qur'an</i>
<i>Qismul Arqo</i>	Senior High School
<i>Qosidah</i>	Religious song
<i>Rahima</i>	Merciful, celebrate human life in a spirit of love and compassion, which is a part of Muslim feminist organisations in Indonesia, that focuses as a centre for education and information on Islam and women's rights issues
<i>Rahmatan lil alamin</i>	Lightening in the world
<i>RMI</i>	<i>Robitho Ma'ahid Al-Islamiyah/Pesantren Institute under NU</i>
<i>Ro'an</i>	Cleaning the dormitories
<i>Salaf pesantren</i>	<i>Pesantren</i> that have traditional curriculum and teaching methods that have subject material from yellow book and Islamic studies. Some <i>salaf pesantren</i> do not teach general subjects, and usually have their own curriculum, not based on the government
<i>Sami'na wa atho'na</i>	We listen and we are obedient
<i>Santri</i>	Students in <i>pesantren</i>
<i>Sarung</i>	A woven cloth that is used to cover the lower part of the male body
<i>Selir</i>	Secondary wives
<i>Sema'an</i>	Memorise <i>Al-Qur'an</i> with partner
<i>Shahadah</i>	Muslim declaration of belief in the oneness of God and acceptance of Muhammad as God's prophet and messenger

<i>Sharia</i>	Islamic law/Islamic moral teaching
<i>Siswa</i>	Male students
<i>Siswi</i>	Female students
<i>Sholat berjama'ah</i>	Pray together
<i>Sholat tahadjud</i>	Pray at midnight
<i>Shorof</i>	Arabic morphology
<i>SI</i>	Sarekat Islam/Islamic Association
<i>Slametan</i>	Ritual in Javanese to celebrate many occasions, such as birth, marriage, death, or new rooms or building
<i>Sodaqoh</i>	Charity
<i>Sopo Tresno</i>	Who is love
<i>Sorogan</i>	Teaching methods where a <i>santri</i> goes to a teacher who will read some passages of the Arabic texts and translate them in Javanese, and then the <i>santri</i> repeats and translates the passages with Javanese language as correctly as possible
<i>Sowan</i>	Visiting
<i>STAIBU</i>	<i>Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Bahrul Ulum</i> /Islamic Institute under Bahrul Ulum <i>Pesantren</i>
<i>Syari'at</i>	Subject material related to Islamic law
<i>Syubhat</i>	Something does not have clearly law in Islamic jurisprudence
<i>Subuh</i>	Down prayer
<i>Sunnah</i>	Practices and teachings established by the Prophet Muhammad that believers should follow, but not as an obligation, as those recorded in the <i>Al-Qur'an</i> and hadith
<i>Sunnatullah</i>	The law of God
<i>Ta'dhim</i>	Respect and subservient
<i>Tafsir</i>	<i>Al-Qur'an</i> exegesis
<i>Tahfidz</i>	<i>Al-Qur'an</i> recitation
<i>Tahlilan</i>	Prayers for those who have passed away at specific times – 7, 40 and 100 days after the death
<i>Takror</i>	Learn together in dormitory
<i>Tapak Suci</i>	A kind of karate practiced in the Muhammadiyah organisation
<i>Taqiyah</i>	Skullcap
<i>Tarbiyah</i>	Means education, as ideology movement of PKS
<i>Tasawuf</i>	The material teaching related to sufism (the inner and esoteric dimension of Islam)
<i>Tauhid</i>	Islamic theology that believes in the oneness of God
<i>Tausiah</i>	Advice about attitude and behaviour related to Islamic teaching

<i>Ta'zir</i>	The punishment for <i>santri</i> that infringe against the <i>pesantren</i> 's rules including clean dormitories and bathroom, or wash dirty clothes
<i>Teater</i>	Drama
<i>Toko</i>	Small shop that sell books, snacks, and school equipment
<i>Tukang becak</i>	Drivers of pedicabs
<i>TPA</i>	Taman Pendidikan <i>Al-Qur'an</i> /The place to educate <i>Al-Qur'an</i>
<i>UAD</i>	<i>Universitas Ahmad Dahlan</i> / Ahmad Dahlan University
<i>UIN</i>	<i>Universitas Islam Negeri</i> /State Islamic University
<i>Ujian Nasional</i>	National examination
<i>Ulama</i>	Islamic scholars/preachers
<i>Ulama's fatwa</i>	The result of discussing Islamic scholars related to contemporary issues, such as smoking, money interest in banking
<i>Ulama fiqh</i>	Islamic scholars in Islamic jurisprudence
<i>Umroh</i>	Small pilgrimage
<i>Undar</i>	Universitas Darul Ulum/Darul Ulum University
<i>Unit Pelayanan Pesantren Putri</i>	Section of Women <i>Pesantren</i> Service
<i>Ustadz</i>	Male teacher, and used as a title, e.g. Mr.
<i>Ustadzah</i>	Female teacher, and used as title, e.g. Mrs.
<i>Ushul fiqh</i>	The study of the roots of Islamic jurisprudence
<i>Uqudduluzain</i>	The Book of Marriage
<i>Uqud al-Lujjaynfi Bayan Huquq az-Zawjayn</i>	The Book of Marriage
<i>Wali</i>	Muslim saints
<i>Wali sanga</i>	Nine Muslim saints
<i>Wanita</i>	Women
<i>Wani di tata</i>	Can be managed
<i>Wani tapa</i>	Dare to suffer
<i>Warung</i>	Small cafeteria
<i>Wawasan kebangsaan</i>	Civic education
<i>WB</i>	<i>Wajib Belajar</i> /obligatory for study
<i>Ziarah</i>	Visiting and praying in the grave, particularly at the <i>kyai's</i> / <i>nyai's</i> grave. This is one of the traditions in the NU community

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Background to the study

In the concept of gender theology, gender inequality is attributable to divine creation: all belong to God. In religions such as Judaism, Christianity and Islam, women are excluded, and they are usually placed in a subordinate position (the second sex) (Beauvoir 1953 [c1952]). Similar to other world religions, the traditional interpretation of social issues from an Islamic perspective is androcentric (Roland 2001). Religion has thus become an instrument to support the concept of patriarchy in society. The gender imbalance in relation to social roles is still evident and justified with reference to religious texts. Religion is implicated in preserving the condition in which women are assumed unequal to men. Theological awareness has constructed these notions, which reinforce patriarchal structures.

Hence, Muslim feminists argue that Islamic law and tradition serve the needs of patriarchal elites (Bennett 2005). This argument has caused much ideological and theoretical debate, because the Muslim feminist movement has been influenced from outside Islamic societies. The movement developed amongst feminist academics, researchers and scholars of Muslim background living and working in the West (Moghissi 1999:26). As a result, many Muslim feminists often find themselves alienated from other traditionalist Muslims. They are labelled deviant, because feminism is considered a Western idea or part of secular culture (Hassan 1996). However, the term 'Muslim feminist' is used in this thesis for examining the changing gender values and practices in *pesantren* communities, particularly with reference to the (re)interpretation of holy books that have been thought to perpetuate patriarchal values.

In Indonesia, feminism is generally viewed as Western and secular, which is contrary to Islamic teaching and Indonesian culture (Sadli 2002; Wieringa 2002:46-7; Blackburn 2004:14; Adomson 2007:25; Muttaqin 2008:72). However, Indonesia

has had prominent figures, for example, R.A. Kartini<sup>1</sup> (1879–1904) who inspired the first women's movement and Siti Roehana Koeddoes<sup>2</sup> (1884–1972), a leader in Islamic education in Minangkabau, West Sumatra. Nevertheless, some traditionalist Muslims regarded such figures as pro Dutch colonial government (Muttaqin 2008:62). Hence, Muttaqin (2008:62) proposes that progressive Muslim feminists should not only adapt from Western feminists, but also respond to the patriarchal problems in Muslim societies such as polygamy, marital rape, domestic violence and marginalisation in education.

*Pesantren*<sup>3</sup> is an educational institution with Islamic religion as a specific academic course, and still assumed by NGOs and Islamic activists to have a biased concept of gender. Patriarchal Islamic views of women were conveyed in written works by Muslim scholars that became educational material in *pesantren*. These works included Sheikh Nawawi al Batani's, *Uqud al-Lujjaynfi Bayan Huquq az-Zawjayn* (Book of Marriage) (Muttaqin 2008:71). *Pesantren* have also been using *kitab kuning* (yellow book)<sup>4</sup> that contain gender biased interpretations of Islamic teaching.

*Pesantren* predate the Dutch administration and during the colonial period, *pesantren* developed independently of the Dutch school system and had very close ties with local communities. The *kyai* (male leader in *pesantren*) were often leaders of the resistance against Dutch colonial authority and many *santri* (*pesantren* students) fought as *Hisbullah* (Allah's soldiers). Some *Hisbullah* later became the embryo of the Indonesian army (Mastuhu 1994:22). The *pesantren* system experienced great change during the twentieth century, with some *pesantren*

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<sup>1</sup>Kartini was born into a Javanese aristocratic family and inspired a struggle for women's rights, especially education for girls. Moreover, Kartini wanted *Al-Qur'an* (the Islamic holy text) to be translated into Javanese so that it would be accessible to women (Arimbi 2006). Kartini is recognised as an Indonesian national hero. There is a public holiday to honour Kartini.

<sup>2</sup> Siti Roehana Koeddoes was born in Kota gadang, West Sumatra. She never studied in formal education. She learned the reading and writing of Dutch language from her father who worked as a staff of Dutch Government. She also was a journalis in *Soenting Melajoe* in 1912 (Iswara 2012; Sjafari 2012).

<sup>3</sup>*Pesantren* is the oldest traditional Islamic educational boarding school, which has experienced transformation as a modern educational institution. *Pesantren* have been able to bridge the emergence of the new generation of educated Muslims who are familiar with modernisist terms. In its latest development, *pesantren* can be categorised as either '*salaf pesantren*' that focus on texts on classical Islam (also known as the yellow texts), or '*khalaf pesantren*' that offer education on modern Islam including general science. Viewed from ideological religious aspects, *pesantren* offer variety, although generally *pesantren* in Indonesia offer modern religious interpretation (Jabali & Subhan 2007:64-5).

<sup>4</sup>*Kitab kuning* (yellow texts) are classical scholarly texts; for the most part they are commentaries on the Qur'an and Islamic law and written in Arabic

expanding their curricula to include general subjects (mathematics, history, Dutch language) as well as religious studies (Dhofier 1999:18). According to Azra et al (2007:175) “the change was primarily a response to two developments: the Dutch colonial authorities’ introduction of general education for Indonesians and, in the first decades of the twentieth century, the spread of modern Islamic schools across Indonesia.” Geertz (1960) claims that the religious outlook of *pesantren* is that of grave and gift<sup>5</sup>, since the *pesantren* basically believe in life and destiny beyond death. However he also argues that *pesantren* have an interest in life in this world, as well as developing the economy. The *nyai* (wife of *the kiai*) have also encouraged economic development in *pesantren*<sup>6</sup> (Dahlan 2002:119-20). These conditions illustrate that *pesantren* have significant roles in the development of Indonesian society, and women also have roles in managing *pesantren*.

However, during the early era of *pesantren* development in the sixteenth century, *pesantren* exclusively taught male *santri* dominated by *priyayi* (Javanese aristocratic elite) families (Ricklefs 2008:46, 357). In this period, only women from families with a high position had access to higher or modern education, and these women attended *pengajian*<sup>7</sup> (Srimulyani 2008b:84). These *pengajian* were limited to learning elementary Islamic teaching and only once or twice a week. In the 1910s several *pesantren* opened separate facilities for girls (Dhofier 1999:17-8). For example, in 1914 Kyai Dahlan (the founder of Muhammadiyah<sup>8</sup>) with his wife, Nyai Walidah, founded *Sopo Tresno* (who is love) as a women’s organisation that studied Islamic teaching, after founding a school for males (Mu’allimin) in 1912 (Wahyudi 2002:55). Kyai Dahlan and Siti Walidah believed that males and females had equal positions in society including in education. In 1917 *Sopo Tresno* became Aisiyiah (women’s organisation in Muhammadiyah), which managed the female school (Mu’allimaat) led by Siti Walidah (It 2005:8, 42; Doorn-Harder 2006:3, 10). Aisiyiah, as a part of Muhammadiyah, educated the younger generation with Islamic values. Hence, Mu’allimaat became the institution that prepares women to

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<sup>5</sup> This ‘grave and gift’ label imposed on *pesantren* by outsiders does little justice to the real features of *pesantren*.

<sup>6</sup> The participation of *nyai* developed *pesantren* economic life, such as the running of small shops and the managing of agricultural fields (Dahlan 2002:119-20).

<sup>7</sup> *Pengajian* is informal groups for the study of Islamic teaching or yellow texts.

<sup>8</sup> Muhammadiyah is the largest modernist Islamic organisation in Indonesia, founded by Kyai Ahmad Dahlan in 1912.

become *muballighat* (preachers) who have a *da'wah* (preach Islamic teaching in society) and teach in *pengajian* (Doorn-Harder 2006:95). In 1917 Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari introduced the *pesantren* world's first class for female students at his fledgling *pesantren* in Denanyar in Jombang, East Java, associated with the NU<sup>9</sup> (Dhofier 1999:33; Barton 2002). The opportunity for women to study in Islamic boarding schools means that parents send their daughters to *pesantren* because they believe they are safe environments for educating their children (Doorn-Harder 2006:174). Even though females have access to education in Islamic boarding schools, the number of male students has increased (Azra, Afrianty & Hefner 2007:180).

However, a segregated system that separates women and men for religious teaching still applies at *pesantren*. This segregation not only happens in the classroom but also in the curriculum (Doorn-Harder 2006:182). Discrimination against women in education is still evident in the provision of teaching materials and teaching methods. For example, female students learn Arabic writing and/or *pegon*<sup>10</sup> at *pesantren* unlike the male students, they donot study the Malay language, written in the Latin script and female students were taught by female teachers (Doorn-Harder 2006:174). According to Dhofier (1999:33) some *kya's* daughters obtained advanced Islamic teaching texts including yellow book from their father. Dorn Harder (2006:174) notes that when female students wanted to learn romanised Malay they had to borrow teaching material from their brothers. The access of females to information was still limited, because many newspapers and books were written in romanised Malay. Formal education in colonial times and the business of government was conducted in Malay written in Latin script, in addition to the Dutch language. Women still work as domestic seven though they have the opportunity to study Islamic teaching in *pesantren*. In Islamic studies, particularly yellow book, learning about women's responsibilities tends to be as a mother and a wife. In addition, O'Honlon (2006:40) has observed at several *pesantren* in East Java (Malang, Pasuruan and Lamongan) that the rules for

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<sup>9</sup> NU (*Nahdlatul Ulama/Revival of the Religious Scholars*) is the largest traditionalist Islamic organisation in Indonesia, founded in 1926 by Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari (from Tebuireng Pesantren in Jombang, East Java) and Kyai Abdul Wahab Chasbullah (from Tambak Beras Pesantren in Jombang, East Java).

<sup>10</sup>*Pegon* is handwriting with Javanese/Madurese/Sundanese/ Indonesian language that is written in Arabic script Jawi.

female *santri* are stricter than for male *santri*. Male students usually have more opportunities to obtain knowledge and information than female students.

In the 1920s, several *pesantren* expanded their curriculum to include not only religious subjects but also general subjects (Dhofier 1999:18). The main reason for this curriculum change was a response to two developments: the Dutch colonial authorities' introduction of general education for Indonesians, and in the first decades of the twentieth century, the spread of modern Islamic schools across Indonesia (Azra, Afrianty & Hefner 2007:175). The latter development also enabled female *santri* to learn romanised Malay, because the material in general subjects was written in Malay rather than Arabic or *pegon*.

The reform process continued into the 1970s; *pesantren*, particularly those schools associated with NU, have modernised their curriculum, adopting that of the Department of Religious Affairs (70% general and 30% religious subjects). *Pesantren* developed new social programs with other organisations and NGOs for supporting the social development of the local community, creating small scale industries, offering training in agriculture and providing courses on family planning and women's reproductive health (Wagiman 1997:101; Effendy 2003:89; Pohl 2006:401; 2009:151; Sirry 2010:62). Muhammadiyah's education system from the outset tended to be modern, with institutions and curriculum adapted from Dutch schools. The Muhammadiyah also founded health clinics, hospitals and orphanages (Noer 1973:83; Alfian 1989:173). Hence, KyaiHaji Ahmad Dahlan was known as a good educator and preacher and even the follower of Muhammadiyah called him a "*manusia amaliah*" (man of action, deeds) (Nakamura 1976:111). In 1980 Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat decided to develop a new system that integrated the *madrasah*<sup>11</sup> system with the *maskan* (boarding schools) system. Prior to 1980 the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat did not have a boarding school.

However, unlike Muhammadiyah, NU is also active in the political sphere in which *kyai* became important political figures in the largest traditional Islamic organisation in Indonesia until 1984. This means that *kyai* assumed not only social but political roles. In their social role, *kyai* are preachers and develop Islam through preaching

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<sup>11</sup>*Madrasah* is Islamic school that has a curriculum designed by the Indonesian government.

activities, with followers from other villages and regencies. The *kyai* have complex political roles, not only as leaders of the *pesantren*, but also to develop Islam politically and to support Islamic parties. The influence of the *kyai* on Indonesian society was sufficiently strong to ensure that their grassroots political preferences were followed by Muslims (Endang 2005:216).

After the NU congress in Situbondo, East Java in 1984, NU decided to withdraw from direct involvement in politics and encouraged its *kyai* members to return to focusing their energies on their *pesantren* (Nakamura 1996:106). NU's program has also encouraged social economic development in rural communities through *pesantren* to re-affirm the roles of *ulama* (Islamic scholars/preachers) in society and renew NU's commitment to social religious activities, not politics (Barton 1996; Fealy 1996; Nakamura 1996:109). At the NU congress it was decided that *Pancasila* (Indonesian ideology) would be accepted as the *asas tunggal* (sole foundation) of NU (Wahid 1986:181; Nakamura 1996:105). This decision affected *pesantren* associated with NU, because most *kyai* in NU are founding fathers or leaders from *pesantren*. Hence, in the New Order Government of President Soeharto, NU supported some of the government programs such as promoting the national ideology through participation in *P4* training (*Pancasila* civic education courses) in *pesantren* as a consequence of the acceptance of *Pancasila* as the sole foundation. In 1991 civic education (*wawasan kebangsaan*) became a part of the *pesantren* curriculum (Feillard 1997:144-5). However, some of the *kyai* supported Golkar (*Golongan Karya*/Functional Groups, the state political party during the New Order era<sup>12</sup> and since 1998 as an independent political party) and PPP (*Partai Persatuan Pembangunan*/the United Development Party). To this day some of the leaders of *pesantren* (*kyai/nyai*) remain politically active in both Islamic and nationalist parties.

According to Dhofier (1999:25), the *kyai* have the authority and power to dominate the management of *pesantren*. Moreover, the *kyai* is one of five *pesantren* elements<sup>13</sup> that have political and social roles within the community, the region and

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<sup>12</sup>The New Order era refers to the period of the Soeharto regime (1966–1998).

<sup>13</sup>*Pesantren* have five basic elements: the *pondok* (boarding houses for the student), the mosque, the *santri* (the student of *pesantren*), the teaching of classical Islamic texts (including yellow texts), and the *kyai* (man leader).

at times within the nation (Wagiman 1997:105; Dhofier 1999:35; Endang 2005:82; Kholifah 2005:188-9; Karim 2008:157; Srimulyani 2008b:81). As a result, the *kyai* is the most important element. Along with the founding father of *pesantren*, particularly in Java, the *kyai* is like a king in a small kingdom (Dhofier 1999:34).

Furthermore, major reform of the education system in *pesantren* continued in the 1980s and 1990s focusing on teaching culture and teaching methods in *pesantren* (Barton 2002:162). *Pesantren* attempted to have an equivalent standard of general education; some students from *pesantren* could then enter an Islamic university or general university, because *pesantren* would have a similar curriculum to other schools under the Department of Religion. The changes to the education system in *pesantren* were also a response to parents, who wanted their children to have a good education and employment opportunities.

As gender equity has become an important topic, *pesantren* need to deal with it. Modernisation of the *pesantren*'s educational system has brought about changes, which include: the organisational structure, the teaching of secular subjects, the creation of student organisations (Wagiman 1997:82-3); and in the 1980s the presence of NGOs with a major focus in developing human resources (Pohl 2006:401-2). Moreover, since the 1980s numerous organisations have been struggling for gender equity in *pesantren* and the Muslim community. For example: P3M (*Perhimpunan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat*/ the Union for *Pesantren* and Community Development), PUAN Amal Hayati (*Pesantren untuk Pemberdayaan Perempuan Amal Hayati*/ *Pesantren* for Women's Empowerment, Hope and Life), FK3 (*Forum Kajian Kitab Kuning*/ Forum for the Study of Classical Islamic Commentaries) and Rahima (Merciful, celebrate human life in a spirit of love and compassion/center for education and information on Islam and women's rights issues) (Muttaqin 2008; Brenner 2011). In the 1990s some of these organisations started a discourse about democratic civil society (Pohl 2006:402). These organisations promote and advocate women's rights in society, politics and the family (Muttaqin 2008:98; Brenner 2011:482-4). For example: the position of women in *Perda sharia* (local regulation with Islamic rules), women trafficking, polygamy, and women in politics. Assegaf (2009) discusses the feminisation of *pesantren*. She explains that most poor parents send their daughters to a

*pesantren* because it is cheaper, whilst their sons are sent to state schools, which provide a more vocational education.

During the Reform era in Indonesia (since 1998), many of the activists were feminists who sought to change the gender values and ideology of the government, including the introduction of the 30% quota for women members of parliament. Also at this time, in *pesantren* changing gender values and practices were evident, with some of *nyai* becoming members of political parties and legislatures. These *nyai* have continued to manage their *pesantren*, but have shown their *santri* that women can also have roles in the public sphere (Kholifah 2005: 191-192). *Kyai* continued their roles in political life. Indeed, one *kyai* -Abdurrahman Wahid- was elected as president in 1999, and he strongly supported gender equity, for example: he appointed a Minister of Women's Empowerment and introduced a gender mainstreaming policy (Blackburn 2004:29; Muttaqin 2008:147).

The development of *pesantren* has rapidly grown<sup>14</sup> as a form of coeducational education, especially in Java.<sup>15</sup> Efforts to enhance the quality of the education system include opening up to perspectives on development from outside, using modern scientific methodologies and diversifying programs and activities in *pesantren*. This could further include viewing *pesantren* as a vehicle for the development of a community centre, which could become the centre of women's empowerment in *pesantren*. These developments indirectly result in the *pesantren* accepting modern knowledge and secular ideas including gender issues.

These issues are very important, because discrimination towards Muslim women in *pesantren* is related to hegemonic thinking. Women are usually forced to accept the hegemony of the patriarchy paradigm, which is constructed by a prominent figure, usually the *kyai*, in *pesantren*. The strong gender bias of religious leaders in Muslim society is also endorsed by hegemonic cultural values. Thus freedom of thought and awareness campaigns has introduced the idea of more equality in gender relations. It is an important challenge to reform religious opinion and

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<sup>14</sup>According to the Department of Religious Affairs, in 2001 the number of students, who were studying at 11,312 *pesantren*, was about 2,737,805. In 2008 the number of *pesantren* was more than 21,521 (not all *pesantren* are registered with the Ministry of Religious Affairs), and the number of students was 3,818,469 (approx 20-25% children and adolescents from the total Indonesian student population) (Indonesia 2008a, 2008b).

<sup>15</sup>In 2008 the number of Java *pesantren* was 16,704 (77.62% of the total Indonesian *pesantren*) and the number of *santri*/students was 2,710,574 (71% of the total Indonesian *santri*) (Indonesia 2008a, 2008b).

patriarchal culture, especially in *pesantren*, which conduct formal education from basic to higher education levels, and have become a prospective religious tradition in Java's socio-cultural community.

This research focuses on three *pesantren* in Java: Nurul Huda Pesantren in Malang, East Java (which is a *salaf pesantren*<sup>16</sup> associated with the NU); As-sa'idiyyah 2 Pesantren in Jombang, East Java (which is a *khalaf pesantren*<sup>17</sup> also associated with NU) and Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, in Yogyakarta, Central Java (which is a modern *pesantren* administered by the Muhammadiyah).

## 1.2 Questions of the research

1. Whether and how Muslim feminism has developed in *pesantren*? What are the objectives and strategies of those people who seek greater equality in gender values in *pesantren*, and what are the obstacles faced by these 'agents of change'?
2. How the hierarchical structure of *pesantren* and the influence of *pesantren* leader (*kyai* and *nyai*) are reflected in the decision-making processes in the *pesantren*, concerning gender related issues and the *pesantren* curriculum?
3. How the *pesantren* curriculum has shaped and influenced the patterns of gender ideology in *pesantren*?
4. How the development and maintenance of *pesantren* traditions, through genealogical and intellectual networking, have framed the strategies of *pesantren* leaders in mediating ideas and influences from outside *pesantren* related to gender values?

## 1.3 Aims of the research

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<sup>16</sup>*Salaf pesantren* have traditional curriculum and teaching methods that include subject material from yellow texts and Islamic studies. Some *salaf pesantren* do not teach general subjects, and usually have their own curriculum, which is not based on the government.

<sup>17</sup>*Khalaf pesantren* offer a more modern mixed education system consisting of religious subjects and general subjects. The teaching of the general subjects is usually based on a curriculum of the Indonesian Government.

1. To explore Muslim feminism and how it has developed in the *pesantren* context. Is there a movement to develop gender awareness in Muslim communities?
2. To investigate the objectives and strategies of people who develop greater equality in gender values in *pesantren*. Is there a strategy to develop critical thinking including a critique of classical thought in Islam and Islamic texts that have patriarchal content?
3. To examine the hierarchical structure of *pesantren* and the roles of *pesantren* leaders (*kyai* and *nyai*) in decision-making processes in the *pesantren*, concerning gender related issues, teaching methods and teaching materials.
4. To examine the influence of *pesantren* curriculum in developing patterns of gender ideology in *pesantren*.
5. To investigate the obstacles faced by people who develop gender equality values, considering the link between patriarchal structures and religious (Islamic) interpretation that have a gender bias.

**1.4 To examine the development and maintenance of *pesantren* traditions through genealogical and intellectual networking, and the strategies of *pesantren* leaders in mediating ideas and influences from outside *pesantren*. And to investigate the changing of *pesantren* traditions related to gender values and the roles of *pesantren* leaders in managing external influences. Contribution to knowledge**

Literature on Muslim feminism in Indonesia focuses on issues of leadership and women's empowerment in society or Islamic organisations (Robinson, 2004; It 2005; Doorn-Harder 2006; Muttaqin 2008). Some recent research has examined leadership and empowerment of women in *pesantren* (Srimulyani 2008b; Assegaf 2009), as well as developing gender values in *pesantren* that are conducted by *pesantren* leaders (Marhumah 2011). The position and public role of Muslim women has become a critical issue for discussion among *ulama* or *kyai*, intellectuals and NGOs. What is missing from the literature, is an analysis of

Muslim feminism in relation to teaching methods in *pesantren*, and the process for developing new thought in Muslim communities. Although some figures of the Islamic renewal movement, such as Nur Cholis Madjid, Abdurrahman Wahid, Harun Nasution, Munawwir Sadzali and Masdar Faried Mas'udi,<sup>18</sup> laid the foundation for Muslim feminism in Indonesia, their work was not identified as Muslim feminist critique (Muttaqin 2008:72-5). Moreover, *pesantren* studies are generally related to roles of *pesantren* or *kyai* in education or globalisation (Wagiman 1997; Dhofier 1999; Barton 2002; Endang 2005; O'Hanlon 2006; Kawakib 2008). This study investigates and analyses the interrelationship between Muslim feminism and teaching methods in *pesantren*, especially the efforts of Muslim feminists to build gender awareness and gender equity in Muslim communities, as well as the obstacles related to the *pesantren* system that is dominated by patriarchal values. To my knowledge, this perspective has not been discussed in the Indonesian context.

## 1.5 Significance

*Pesantren* are indigenous Indonesian Islamic educational institutions that have the task of working for human development<sup>19</sup> (Azra 1996:xxvii-xxviii; Madjid 1996:3; A'la 2006:1). As educational institutions, *pesantren* have a potential role for the transformation of society including working towards social justice. But *pesantren* are also presumed to contribute to gender bias and discrimination, because of their link to Islamic teachings. Hence, the proposed research study examines the interrelationship between Muslim feminism and teaching methods in *pesantren*, especially with regard to reinterpretation and decontextualisation of Islamic teaching for developing gender equity.

Due to a lack of research on this issue within Indonesia, it is very important to study how Muslim feminists as agents of change in *pesantren* have facilitated reform within the tradition of *pesantren* that are still considered to be educational

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<sup>18</sup>These figures reinterpret Islamic teaching as, for example, the relationship between Islam and politics, reinterpretation of holy text on inheritance (equality between male and female), rules on polygamy in Islam and advocacy programs for domestic violence (Muttaqin 2008). Moreover, in the past, as it was male scholars who wrote classical Islamic text, they were considered to have the authority to interpret Islamic teaching (Doorn-Harder 2006:36).

<sup>19</sup>*Pesantren* educate 20-25% of Indonesian children and adolescents (Indonesia 2008a, 2008b).

institutions that produce gender bias. According to Muttaqin (2008:13), some *kyai* still convey gender bias in their classes; in some cases they even justify discrimination toward women using Islamic teaching. This research leads to an investigation into critical tools to reconstruct understanding and interpretation of Islamic teaching, in order to create gender equity in *pesantren*. This research is significant, because it investigates the strategies of Muslim feminists in the struggle for women's empowerment in Muslim society in Indonesia.

## **1.6 Organisation of the study**

This thesis consists of ten chapters. Chapter 1 explains the justification of this study in terms of significance and contribution in relation to the feminist movement, particularly Muslim feminists in Indonesia. Chapter 2 presents the literature review related to the research, especially regarding *pesantren* tradition and structure as well as Muslim feminism. Chapter 3 discusses the methodology and data analysis used in this study.

Chapter 4 discusses the developing identity of the three *pesantren* in the modern era. This chapter shows that some *pesantren* traditions are still preserved through the characteristic of leadership that emphasises power and authority, and males have dominant roles in *pesantren* as leaders and teachers. However, the language used shows both sides of the *pesantren*: the use of Javanese language reflects the *pesantrens'* hierarchy; bilingual/multilingual classes show how the *pesantren* operates in the modern era. Also, *pesantren* make a contribution in developing the community around the *pesantren*.

Chapter 5 examines how *pesantren* traditions are sustained through genealogical connection and intellectual networking. *Pesantren* regenerate through intellectual networking, not only from Middle Eastern, but also from Western countries. This influences the *pesantren* curriculum including subject material that is based on Islamic teaching and yellow book, as well as bilingual/multilingual programs in Javanese, Indonesian, Arabic and English.

Chapter 6 explores the clothing traditions that are discussed as processes of adaptation and selective borrowing from other cultures: Indonesian, particularly Javanese and Minangkabau, Middle Eastern and Western. Moreover, despite the

changes in the clothing tradition, it still preserves patriarchal structure, because *kyai* as a male leader has the authority to dictate. Hence, the clothing tradition represents identity, religious and cultural values, gender as well as power and oppression.

Chapter 7 demonstrates the structure of *pesantren* including *pesantren* complex and rules that are designed as a Panopticon system. This system in these three *pesantren* is integrated between *pesantren* rules in *madrasah* and dormitories. This system shifts gender values toward gender bias where male *santri* have more opportunity to access information outside *pesantren* than female *santri*.

Chapter 8 discusses patterns of gender in *pesantren* which are influenced by *pesantren* curriculum. Patterns of gender are related to roles in domestic and public spheres, women's leadership and polygamy. *Pesantren* community response to these issues is still based on culture and interpretation of Islamic teaching, which are dominated by gender bias and patriarchal values.

Chapter 9 investigates Muslim feminists in *pesantren* as agents of change, as well as their strategies and the obstacles they face in developing women's empowerment and gender equity. However, this study shows Muslim feminism is still a sensitive term in *pesantren*, which is associated with liberalism and Western influence. Hence, those who have been involved in developing gender awareness in *pesantren* do not want to be identified as Muslim feminists.

Finally, the concluding chapter provides a summary of the major findings and some implications for previous research studies and notions related to Islam in Java and for Muslim feminists, particularly in *pesantren*. Some recommendations for future study are proposed.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Literature Review**

This literature review explores the theories that are used as tools for analysis in this research: gender and education, feminism and patriarchy and include the work of Foucault. These theories also are critical to the central research question. This chapter describes previous research related to the *pesantren* system, with a particular focus on gender theories and Muslim feminism. These serve as a theoretical framework and clarify the contribution to and significance of this research.

#### **2.1 Gender and education**

Education is a process that inculcates social values into the next generation and is part of the socialisation of individual children (Paechter 2000:3). This is accomplished partly through the curriculum (Paechter 2000:3), and partly through the hidden curriculum, in which the rules and regulations of the school are understood but not written. The curriculum is the central mechanism within a school to develop knowledge. It is fundamental to the structuring and restructuring of social relations in education. During the 1970s and 1980s attention was drawn to the marginalisation and under achievement of girls in education (Dillabough 2001:12). Feminists are interested in educational issues because education is seen as a key determinant of future life chances, and has the potential to develop gender equity and reduce marginalisation and discrimination.

During the 1970s and 1980s the field of gender and education was about gender issues in relation to how education was structured, for example, the role of education in gender socialisation and reproductive function in education (Dillabough & Arnot 2001:12), sexual discrimination in schools, girl's education, capitalism, gender and patriarchal school structure (Dillabough 2001:12). Moreover, some of the gender research literature provided a Marxist perspective in the 1980s, such as gender and class inequities emerging from sex segregated schooling and educational policy relating to male domination and a capitalist economy. During this decade the research in gender in education was influenced by modernist theories with characteristic rationalistic explanations and master

narratives (grand theory). Conversely, the poststructuralist perspective was subjective, focusing on local stories about discourse and power relations, deconstruction and the regime of the truth (Dillabough 2001:17). According to Foucault, the regime of truth is what people understand about gender issues historically, and the identity of femininity and masculinity in discourse (Dillabough 2001:18). Hence, postmodern perspectives examine the implications of gender equity in education policy, presenting multiple positions on identity and providing a new tool for analysing gender relations. This perspective also investigates gender identity and gender roles that are different to gender assignment, based on physical and biological characteristics (Paechter 2001:47). Gender identity explains “a person’s own feeling about their gender – whether they are male, female or neither” (Paechter 2001:47). Gender role refers to “a set of behavioural prescription or proscription for individuals who have a particular assigned gender” (Paechter 2001:47).

Skelton and Francis (2009:15) argue that feminist perspectives on women’s oppression in education differ. Liberal feminism, for example, posits that women’s oppression in education is caused by differences in gender stereotypes. Thus liberal feminist analysis is about stereotypical difference, whereas radical feminism posits that gender inequality has been imposed by the patriarchal system (Abbott, Wallace & Tyler 2005:31,3; Skelton & Francis 2009:16). As a result, radical feminism is concerned with male domination of culture and knowledge evidenced in the curriculum. This analysis emphasises the differentiation in power between males and females. Meanwhile, Marxist socialist feminism asserts that capitalism has caused gender discrimination in education. Structure and hierarchy of power and social class is used as the basis of analysis. Black feminists highlight ethnicity as the main issue in gender inequality; hence, they examine gender issues in education from a standpoint of race and gendered power (Dillabough 2001:20; Skelton & Francis 2009:17).

These feminist perspectives (liberal, radical, and Marxist) constitute the theoretical framework for this research, which inform my understanding of gender inequality. The liberal perspective is utilised to investigate the development of gender equity and gender awareness in *pesantren* where women, particularly *nyai* (female leaders) and teachers are working towards gender equity, but the domination of

the patriarchal system in *pesantren* is a barrier encountered by Muslim feminists. The radical perspective concerns the examination of the power of *kyai* in maintaining and developing *pesantren* as well as controlling the curriculum. The Marxist perspective focuses on observing class (in this context, the *kyai* and his family) as socially and economically privileged. This fits with Islamic teachings which legitimise the male as leader of *pesantren*, the household and economic breadwinner. Due to considered traditional male roles and responsibilities, inheritance law in Islam favours males and as a result, they have more opportunity to access capital than females. This is especially true within *pesantren* patriarchies where the *kyai* hold economic, social, legal, cultural and capital power.

Poststructuralist views of gender examine masculinity and femininity as a discourse related to power/knowledge and the individual as a unique subject in society. It explores how discourses of femininity and masculinity are constructed and preserved, and how these discourses encourage and are encouraged by power/knowledge relations (Paechter 2001:48). Masculine and feminine typologies still exist in education and students develop an understanding of the meaning and effect of sex-gender categories. In school, girls are constructed as selfless and passive. By contrast, the dominant construction of masculinity is selfish and independent. Like other poststructuralists, Connell (1995:72) splits the sex/gender binary and argues that masculine and feminine labels can be used for both males and females, and that individual students have agency in the way(s) in which they express their gender identity. Reay (2001:159) similarly asserts that femininity is being reconfigured in education with increased traditional male qualities of competition and performance.

According to Bourdieu (2001:92) masculine domination is produced by three main agencies: the family, the church and the educational system. The family plays a major role in developing masculine vision through socialisation. Thus internalisation of the sexual division of labour in the family becomes a strong legitimisation that perpetuates masculine domination. The church has the power and authority to create a pessimistic vision of women and womanhood; this dogma portrays women as inferior and promotes patriarchal values. In addition, the education system has continued to maintain patriarchy through teaching methods, and offers an understanding of culture that puts women in second position. A similar condition

prevails in the *pesantren* where roles promote patriarchal values with *kyai* as the dominant figure. The *pesantren* system is also based on a familial system with *nyai* as the female leaders in *pesantren* acting as surrogate mothers for *santri*. According to Srimulyani (2007:88) *pesantren* also promote the concept of femininity that emphasises domestic roles for women in the household.

The challenge to masculine domination comes from the feminist movement as it develops women's empowerment in both education and in the public domain (Bourdieu 2001:93). Bourdieu stressed the transformation of the educational system in order to increase the access of women's access to education, which in turn generates economic independence and a transformation of family structure. In some *pesantren*, women's empowerment was initiated in the 1910s with *pesantren* based on NU and Muhammadiyah open classes for females (Dhofier 1999; Wahyudi 2002:55). The women's movement in Indonesia, particularly in *pesantren*, offers access to women in public spheres such as education, politics and economics. Hence, Bourdieu's theory is useful here to examine the hierarchy and system in *pesantren*, and the influence of male domination in developing gender equity.

Poststructuralist Foucauldian theory (in the field of gender and education) provides a deconstruction of dominant perspectives and develops curriculum innovation that examines gendered power/knowledge relations in schools and how these affect negotiation of the curriculum (Paechter 2001). If this power/knowledge is utilised to construct a gendered school curriculum, it will affect school subjects (Paechter 2000:32). For instance, the implementation of gendered curriculum generates inequality through social construction, where girls are stereotyped as emotional, feminine and empathetic and dominate feminine subjects such as English. On the other hand, males dominate mathematics and science which are perceived as masculine subjects because they have masculine, rational, and objective characteristics (Paechter 2000:37).

The gendered differences in these subjects are not only reasoned according to either femininity or masculinity, but interpretations toward the content of the subjects are also different, especially in relation to subjects that are based on the holy text or yellow book. Male dominance is inherent in *pesantren* with the *kyai*

having the authority to design and maintain all aspects of the curricula; male teachers (*ustadz*) can teach both male and female classes, while female teachers (*ustadzah*) can only teach female classes. This is because *ustadz* are assumed to understand more about Islamic teachings. Interestingly, most poor parents send their daughters to *pesantren* since it is cheaper than a general education (Assegaf 2009). Thus the internalisation of patriarchy and gender bias is more pervasive for women from poorer backgrounds. According to Taylor (2008:34-5, 44) social class determines how individuals access opportunity and achievement in education and the world beyond.

*Pesantren* have the authority to design their own curricula although the Indonesian Government has curriculum rules for Islamic schools (Indonesia 2008c). This policy commonly affects *pesantren* that have *madrasah* called *khalaf pesantren*. Some of the *salaf pesantren* have an independent curriculum designed entirely by *pesantren* leaders. Some of the *khalaf pesantren* develop curricula, which differ from government recommendations, are relate to their own ideology of *pesantren* and/or the purpose of *pesantren*, as well as being a response to modernisation.

Paecher (2000:5-7) argues that changes to the curriculum reflect social change, and when parents send their children to school, this reflects what they think is important. Hence, studying changes to the curriculum from a social context is critical to social change. First, it can help to understand curricula and how they are developed and it comes to grips with the nature of the school which can be unpredictable. Second, it can recognise how particular curricula have come to dominate. Third, Paecher's study examines the negotiation of the curriculum in the educational context, and the power struggles within and outside of schools to negotiate the content and structure of the curriculum. Finally, it becomes important for understanding power relations between teachers and between school subjects, because subjects are not monolithic units but a combination of subgroups and traditions.

In *pesantren*, the *kyai* also has authority to create curriculum changes, although he sometimes provides the opportunity for teachers and other stakeholders to contribute to curriculum application. The curriculum here is not only related to the formal curriculum but also to the hidden curriculum, which dominates religious

subjects. According to Skelton and Francis (2009:92-5) the hidden curriculum is involved in every type of interaction, from pedagogy to the strategy maintained in the classroom to teachers' attitudes and perceptions toward girls and boys. As a strategy for furthering gender equity, liberal feminists are developing a curriculum through a girl-friendly approach that persuades girls to improve their knowledge in relation to equal opportunities in schools (Skelton & Francis 2009:98-9). Yet the hidden curriculum of *pesantren* maintains a behavioural pattern for *santri* that is evidenced by the classical classes in the boarding school, the yellow book that are learned in *pesantren*, the clothes worn by *santri* and *pesantren* rules, as will be discussed below.

## **2.2 Patriarchy: controlling and maintaining tradition**

According to Golberg (1977:25) "patriarchy is universal and there has never been a matriarchy". Patriarchy informs the institutions' systems including social, political, economic, industrial and religious structures, in which males occupy a high number of strategic positions in the hierarchy of institutions (Goldberg 1977:25). However, according to Stephens (1963) there are five possible exceptions to universality of patriarchy in society: Tchambuli, Modjokuto (Java), Berber, Jivaro and Nama Hottentot (Goldberg 1977:40). In the case of Modjokuto (Stephens quoted in Geertz (1961:107)), in Java, the father "is expected to be, above all, patient and dignified with his wife and children: he should lead them with a gentle though firm hand..." From this description of the ideal father in Java, Stephens concluded that the Javanese also have a matriarchal system. But, in Javanese society, a father is the household head whom all family members respect and obey. He is not expected to conduct housework as it is taboo for men because of their responsibility in the public sphere as breadwinner. Geertz (1961) similarly explained that a Javanese man gets better food and is the first to eat. Javanese society is not an exception to the universality of patriarchy; it is also part of preserving patriarchal structure in domestic and public spheres including the state.

Furthermore, Walby (1986:23, 55) states that patriarchy is a system of interrelated social structure through which men dominate, exploit and control women including

controlling women's access in the domestic and the public sphere and the state. Social structure contributes to maintaining the patriarchal system: family, economy, society, politics, religion, sexuality and psychology (Millett 1977:26-55). Meanwhile, Sharabi (1988:18) asserts that patriarchy is based on vertical relations with the family/clan as the foundation of social stratification, as well as religion and myths that establish truth and knowledge. In addition, the extended family tends to preserve the patriarchal system and restrict democratic values in the nuclear family in which the male has a binary domination: as a father who controls family members, and as a male who dominates females (Sharabi 1988:31-2).

These definitions of patriarchy explain domination over the social structure, and Millett (1977) focuses on the interrelationship of patriarchy with the social structure (Walby 1986:23). Moreover, Sharabi (1988) examined the type of patriarchy in Arabic society and argued that Arabic women's liberation involves not only social and economic factors, but also sexuality, family/clan affiliations and laws that make women subordinate. The concept of patriarchy has many definitions, and in this study I utilise concepts from Walby (1986) and Sharabi (1988) for examining patriarchy in *pesantren* contexts, particularly how patriarchal values have been developed and sustained. Sharabi's concept helps to explain the patriarchal system in *pesantren* where the *kyai* have the authority and power to dominate the management of *pesantren*, and as the founding father of *pesantren*, particularly in Java, the *kyai* is like a king in a small kingdom (Dhofier 1999:25, 34). This research is not concerned with whether patriarchy is universal, but examines how patriarchy has developed and changed in the specific cultural environment of *pesantren*.

Moreover, *pesantren* policy including curriculum, rules and attire have also been influenced by *kyai*. Walby's concept is utilised as a tool here to analyse gender inequality in *pesantren* curriculum and rules as a part in controlling women's access to information and knowledge outside *pesantren*. The *kyai* as a male leader in Javanese *pesantren* has strong authority and power in managing the *pesantren*, including the curriculum, as well as being father, husband, brother and son. *Kyai* tend to preserve Javanese values, particularly the Javanese court tradition, which creates a position like a king, to whom *santri* should be obedient. Adamson (2007:12) similarly explains that *kyai*, particularly Javanese *kyai*, are strong role models who educate their community and shape notions about practising Islamic

values. Moreover, in Javanese culture, women are defined in a subordinate position as *konco wingking* (backseat companion) and aligned with *ikut suami* (follow husband) that tend to in domestic sphere for provide services to family members (Handayani & Novianto 2004:98; Suryakusuma, JI 2004:167; Adomson 2007:19; Suryakusuma, J 2012).

Patriarchal values clarify the divide between male/ female and the social structure in Indonesian society, particularly in Javanese *pesantren* which has evolved from the Middle East and local culture and this can be seen clearly in clothing norms (see Chapter 6 for this discussion). O'Neal (1999:130) asserts that clothing attire represents the external or social body, as well as being a product of materialist culture. According to Toure (1973:6), material cultural production has a dialectical link with spiritual cultural production. The cultural system is a vehicle for expressing the identity and values of both individuals and communities (Entwistle 2000:66, 112). Winter (2002:15) adds that attire is a form of visual language. A similar notion prevails in Daly's idea (1999:147) that Muslim attire for females has social meaning as identity of gender and religion. *Pesantren* attire shows one's identity as a *santri* and member of the *pesantren* community that represents local and religious values. Traditional attire also has political meaning for men which is about power, particularly *kyai*. Ahmed (1992:152-3) notes that in the colonial era, veiling became a symbol of the oppression of women and the backwardness of Islam for the West; and in some Muslim countries, veiling was part of a seclusion policy toward women.

In addition, the political context of the Indonesian Government in the New Order era did not encourage Muslim women to reveal their identity, and also prohibited students in non-Islamic schools from wearing the veil (Jones, C 2007:217; Smith-Hefner, Nancy J. 2007:379). Female clothing in *pesantren* looks like a symbol of political resistance toward Indonesian policy that show *pesantren* have self-authority and self-identity, and this New Order showed the strong relationship between patriarchal structure and political interest between *pesantren* and the state related to the regulation of female clothing. The Indonesian Government curtailed the movement of Islamic radicals, while *kyai* showed their legitimization in *pesantren* with one of their regulations about using the veil in *pesantren* that opposed government policy. Keenan (2001) explains clothing as "the soft power manifestation of hard power". Clothing expresses and preserves social identity and

hierarchies related to gender and religion, social norms and patriarchal structures (Arthur 1999:6; Daly 1999:147; Barnard 2010:28).

In July 1991, the Department of Education and Culture released a new regulation that allowed students in non-Islamic schools to wear the veil (Smith-Hefner, Nancy J. 2007:379). Post the New Order era, Indonesia enacted regional autonomy laws in 2001; regions such as Aceh implemented *Perda sharia* (Salim 2003:224; Thompson 2006; Ichwan 2007:196; Kingsbury 2007; Parsons & Mietzner 2009; Marks 2010). The implementation of *Perda sharia* in some regions in Indonesia shows the values of religiosity and gender. The *Perda sharia* has influenced the mobility of women and has also discriminated against women, where regulations force women to wear Muslim clothing, and women cannot go outside after dark unless they are accompanied by a *muhrim*<sup>20</sup> (Salim & Azra 2003; Hooker, MB 2008:274-5; White & Anshor 2008:151; Parsons & Mietzner 2009:212; Bouma, Ling & Pratt 2010:61). Some Indonesian feminists have been arguing that *Perda sharia* has negative effects for women and perpetuates traditional gender rules legally (White & Anshor 2008:151). The regulation of Muslim clothing, particularly female clothing, is related to patriarchal structure, not only at the level of *pesantren*, but also the state. Muslim clothing for females not only represents the power of the *kyai*, but also the power of the state that emphasises patriarchal structure in controlling women's lives, and maintaining conservative traditions and Islamic values.

According to Turner(1996:126-7), patriarchal structures have social control over female bodies which includes the inner body, knowledge, sex and the external body. Turner argues that social control of the inner body relates to: attitudes and behaviours where culture and norms become gendered roles; control of knowledge which emphasises curriculum based on religious values; reinforcement of limited roles for women in public and domestic life embedded in school curricula; control of sex which is conducted through social regulation of relationships between men and women; and social control of the external body in which uniform dress represents personal and group identity. Similarly, Nurish (2010:275) asserts that

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<sup>20</sup>*Muhrim* is someone who has a family relationship whose touch does not invalidate the state of ritual purity necessary for prayer. The members of *muhrim* are own parents and the senior generation, siblings and their descendants, children and their descendants.

*pesantren* preserve the patriarchal system through strict control over female *santri* and embedding gender inequality in curricula. This research explores these issues.

### **2.3 Power, knowledge and feminism**

According to Foucault (Foucault 1988b:118) “power are productive”, is a product of knowledge and develops from class domination. In addition, Foucault (1988a) asserts that power produces knowledge rather than repression. Power is not only a negative mode, but also power produces effect at the level of desire (Foucault 1980:59). Sawicki (1991:21) asserted that power is exercised rather than possessed, is not only repressive but also productive and comes from the bottom up. At this point, power has both positive and negative effects. Foucault’s bottom-up analysis of power endeavours to show how power relations at the micro level of society have an effect at the macro level, in terms of domination (Sawicki 1991:21). The relationship between knowledge and power is something that has to be established through investigation. Power struggles are about the deployment of power and how power is exercised. While feminists define men’s power as repressive and not legitimate, they also provide deep understanding of how male power is continually reproduced within modern societies and how the patriarchal system works to foster and maintain male domination (McNeil 1993:153).

Ramazanoglu (1993:22) stresses that women’s experience of men’s power underpins feminist critique of Foucault. They lead feminists to suggest two aspects of power that conflict with Foucault’s understanding. First, women’s experiences suggest that men have power and their power is in some sense a form of domination, backed by force. Second, this domination cannot be seen simply as a product of discourse, because it must also be understood as ‘extra discursive’ or relating to wider realities than merely those of discourse.

Discourse is the central concept of Foucault’s analysis that determines what can be said and thought, but also who can speak and when, and with what power or authority (Ball 1990:2). Discourse is related to the social processes that produce meaning which develops not from language but from institutions and power relations. Discourse has provided a new perspective in gender issues that explains how power is constituted in multiple ways between women, between men and

between men and women. Hence, poststructuralism has assisted feminist studies to analyse identity and power in societies that have complex characteristics.

According to Francis (2001:68), poststructuralism deconstructs the dominant discourse, exercises a power relationship, and deconstructs concepts of morality, justice and truth. Moreover Francis (2001:75) asserts that the development of poststructuralism is related to feminist research in two main areas. First, discourse analysis is utilised to investigate gender diversity in society. Second, feminism is developed as an interpretative community through openness and respect for others within that community.

Furthermore, the educational system maintains the social appropriation of discourse. It therefore controls access to various kinds of discourse. The distribution of discourse in education is constructed by the examination and the whole power and knowledge. Arguably, students are constructed through passive and active processes through internal or external authority figures (Ball 1990:4). Thus the relationship of power and knowledge in education is not only concerned with an imbalance between teacher and student, but also related to the power vested in the teacher by virtue of her or his knowledge of the student (Paechter 2000:24). Power has both a negative and positive effect, not only to be resisted, but also pleasurable and emancipatory. Moreover, power/knowledge relations have a gender dimension.

A Foucauldian approach can provide an alternative to feminist analyses that adopts over-monolithic notions of male power and male control of women, or which retain utopian visions of the total reconstruction or autonomy of female desire (Sawicki 1991). The view of feminists and Foucault represent different perspectives but they also share views about power and knowledge. Moreover, Foucault's theory has been of particular interest to feminists. First, Foucault's theory attends to the productive nature of power and his emphasis on the social body in relation to power is compatible with developing feminist insight about the politics of personal life. Second, Foucault was one of the most politically connected poststructuralists. Finally, Foucault's theory and feminist theory merge to analyse, research and provide implications in adopting the methodology.

In Javanese society, power is something concrete, emphasised in the individual or group, constant in total quantity and does not question legitimacy (Anderson 1990:22-3). From the Javanese perspective, knowledge becomes the key to power that is achieved through education (Anderson 1990:55). In *pesantren*, *kyai* is the central power and the agent of discourse which is related to their religious, cultural and social knowledge. These leaders have the authority and power to interpret Islamic teaching, including *Al-Qur'an*, which is written in Arabic and most Indonesian Muslims do not understand. Moreover, in Javanese tradition including *slametan*<sup>21</sup>, the *kyai* commonly leads this ritual with the use of Arabic in prayer to God. *Pesantren* teach the grammar and meaning of Arabic to facilitate Islamic teaching. However, few have the authority to interpret Islam and written yellow book, particularly *kyai* (Hurin 2003). As a result, the understanding of Arabic has power implications.

Javanese *pesantren* also use Javanese language with *kromo inggil* (the highest level of Javanese language) as a form of communication and instruction language. *Kromo inggil* has also been used by *priyayi*, which reflects their position and authority, as well as viewing "the world as absolutely steady" (Siegel 1986:279; Hooker, VM 1995:286). In the New Order era, the use of *kromo inggil* implied that the condition of state was steady and harmonious and its use lent charisma to the speaker (Hooker, VM 1995:287). As Talbot argues (2010:15-6), language is a mirror and is reproductive. As a result, the use of both languages, Arabic and Javanese perpetuate the power and position of *kyai* who have aristocratic descent (or 'blue blood') from *ulama* and *priyayi*. This is more fully discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

The use of Javanese rather than Indonesian also builds a gendered hierarchy. In Javanese, the preferred term for women is *wanita* rather than *perempuan*. *Wanita* means *wani ditata* (can be managed) (Handayani & Novianto 2004:24, 144). According to Damardjati Supadjar<sup>22</sup> (cited in Handayani and Novianto (2004:24, 145), *wanita* means *wani tapa* (dare to suffer). Meanwhile, *perempuan* derives from the word *empu* which means *guru* (teacher) that is assumed inadequate to

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<sup>21</sup> *Slametan* is a ritual in Javanese to celebrate many occasions, such as birth, marriage, death, or new buildings.

<sup>22</sup> Damardjati Supadjar is a philosopher from Gajah Mada University in Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

describe Javanese women (Handayani & Novianto 2004:24). These terms suggest a gendered inflection where women are subjugated.

In the New Order era, *wanita* became a loaded ideological term that identified with some women's organisations including Dharma Wanita (Women's Service), *Menteri Peranan Wanita* (the Minister of Women's Roles), *Kongres Wanita Indonesia* (Indonesian Women's Congress) (Blackburn 2004:26-7). Hence, the use of Javanese not only preserves power and hierarchy, but also patriarchal values, gender bias and class bias, particularly towards women. As Litosseliti (2006:32) argues, the influence of the patriarchal system extends to language that is evidenced in the fact that language use and meaning is defined by men. As a result, women's language is powerless in political and cultural terms as it represents their subordinate position in relation to men (Lakoff 1975:4; Cameron 1998:161). In contrast, Indonesian is a more egalitarian and democratic language, and in the Dutch colonial era, Indonesian became a symbol of nationalism and anti-colonialism (Anderson 1990:140). Since 1990, the use of Javanese has decreased as Indonesian has become the spoken language (Poedjosoedarmo 2006:119). In 1999, after the New Order era, the younger generations used Indonesian or *ngoko* (the lower level of Javanese language) that expresses more modern, democratic sentiments and closeness (Nababan 1991:129; Keane 2003:506; Smith-Hefner, Nancy J. 2009:69).

Some Muslims perceive the voice of women (like women's bodies) as *aurat*.<sup>23</sup> It follows from this that women are prohibited from speaking in mixed sex meetings. Yet, as Islamic scholar Yusuf Qardhawi pointed out, in the era of the Prophet Muhammad, women had equal rights to speak (Qardhawi 2008). Some *pesantren* still treat the voice of female *santri* as *aurat*, particularly in *salaf pesantren*. The use of language in *pesantren* has a relationship in the development and embedding of discourse. The main discourses in *pesantren* are generated by the *kyai*, and some of the figures that have a relationship with the 'ideology' of *kyai*. If the *kyai* talks about a social or political issue, almost everyone believes in and follows what the *kyai* and *nyai* promulgate. *Santri*, in particular, will say we listen

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<sup>23</sup>*Aurat* is the part of the body that, according to Islamic teaching, must be covered. Men must cover their body between the navel and the knees, while women must cover their entire body, except their face and wrists.

and we are obedient (*sami'na wa atho'na*). Moreover, the whole discourse is implemented in the *pesantren* curriculum including *pesantren* rules and clothing rules; this research demonstrates that the three *pesantren* have various rules and clothing traditions that are determined by *pesantren*'s leader and decisions about curriculum.

According to Paechter (2000:29) curriculum is the product of negotiation in the education system that arises from gendered power/knowledge relations. Decisions about which subjects will be included in the curriculum are made within gendered power/knowledge relations that reflect the level of power accorded to different forms of knowledge and different actors in the education system. Curriculum decisions are a result of micro political struggles that are in and of themselves located in the gendered power/knowledge network. Hence, the *pesantren* curriculum is not only a product of negotiation with the Indonesian Government, but also with ideology within *pesantren* that is dominated by masculine discourse. Muslim feminism is a counter discourse because Muslim feminists emphasise the reinterpretation of texts in Islamic teaching that perpetuate male domination in society.

This study is informed by both feminist and poststructuralist understandings of power and knowledge and uses these understandings to examine the processes of change in *pesantren*. Weber identified three types of authority: rational legal, traditional and charismatic (Goodwin & Scimecca 2006:183-4; Ritzer 2010:26). Rational legal authority is based on a system value that emphasises a belief in the legality of normative rules and commonly these rules are conducted within a rational bureaucracy. Traditional authority structures are established from a long held system of beliefs and traditions, as well as based on obedience as a matter of personal loyalty, though the leader tends to maintain traditional boundaries. Charismatic authority emphasises mass devotion to and belief in the exceptional sacredness or heroism of a charismatic leader. In *pesantren*, particularly *pesantren* associated with NU, the authority of *kyai* tends to be charismatic, while in *pesantren* associated with Muhammadiyah, the authority of the leader emphasises rational legal authority.

Furthermore, Hasan (2002:170) notes that “in Mernissi recent work on women and Islam disputes the authority of the *hadith*<sup>24</sup> and cogently argues that its use is a clear illustration of how Islamic scholars, who have almost always been male and have enjoyed close relations with the ruling classes, have manipulated the sacred texts to ensure male hegemony and control”. Ashe (2007:125) explains Hearn’s notion that male power is supported through economic, political, institutional and discursive structures. Within these frameworks men’s agency (at the private and public levels of society) reproduces the broader material dimensions of men’s power, as this study shows.

## **2.4 The Muslim feminist movement: developing praxis**

What is the connection between Islam and feminism? Is feminism compatible with Islam? Scholars and activists are divided in relation to the acceptance of Muslim feminism. Some scholars/activists consider the term problematic in terms of resolving the contradictions between Islam and feminism. Munir (2008) even believes that power structures are so male dominated that the epistemology of Islam is contrary to women’s rights. Some Muslim activists, who promote women’s rights in Islam, refuse to be called Muslim feminists because of their reluctance to be identified with Western feminism. The dichotomy between East and West still happens in feminism where it seems to correlate with Western ideas. According to Huntington (1998), both Muslims and Western societies, have stigmatised each other.

Muslims view the West as secular, materialistic, decadent and immoral, while in the West, Islam is a source of terrorism and unwanted immigrants (Huntington 1998:213-5). This situation has caused multiple points of diversion: culture, religion, history, political and economic ideologies (Huntington 1998:214). However, conflict in Muslim society is not only related to Islam vs. the West, but also various ideologies within Muslim society. Huntington’s view is used in the analysis in this research. Nakamura’s research in Kota Gedhe analyses the

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<sup>24</sup>*Hadith* refers to traditions purporting to preserve decisions, actions and utterances of the Prophet Muhammad.

infiltration of the PKS<sup>25</sup> (*Partai Keadilan Sejahtera*/ Prosperous Justice Party) in Mu'allimaat in Yogyakarta as one of the school cadres of Muhammadiyah, although Muhammadiyah members in both Kota Gedhe and in Mu'allimaat have different responses toward the PKS movement that also affect Muhammadiyah. Huntington's notion is a tool of analysis for Muslim feminists in *pesantren* where gender equity tends to be seen as a Western phenomenon. The tradition in both organisations, NU and Muhammadiyah, tends to rely on patriarchal values and this has become a barrier for Muslim feminists, as does the infiltration of PKS in Mu'allimaat. The problem of how Muslim feminists in *pesantren* relate to the East and the West and conflicting ideologies within *pesantren* contribute to a conflict of interest.

The terms 'Islamic feminism' and 'Muslim feminism' are still being debated (McDonald 2008:347-8). Karram (1998:9) defines three categories of feminists: secular, Muslim and Islamist. She creates clear distinctions between Islamist feminism and Muslim feminism. Islamist feminists have a political objective that aims to give a sense of value and position to women in all spheres of life. Islamist feminists believe that the equal position between male and female is developed through the implementation of *sharia* (Islamic moral teaching) by the state, and by increasing empowerment and the bargaining position of women (Karam 1998:10-1). Islamist feminist utilises politics to attain gender equity in society (Karam 1998:11). Muslim feminists assume that gender equity can be developed by the reinterpretation and reconstruction of the holy texts (Karam 1998:12). In this study, I utilise Muslim feminism to investigate the wave of feminism in *pesantren*, and to reinterpret and reconstruct Islamic texts. This research builds upon the context and discourse of Muslim feminism, especially in Indonesia.

Indonesian Muslim feminists are not only influenced by Western feminists, but also indigenous models of femininity, and Islamic scholars like Mernisi, Hassan and

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<sup>25</sup>The PKS was founded in 2003 and replaced the PK (*Partai Keadilan*/The Justice Party). The PK was an Islamic party founded in 1998 and based on *Tarbiyah* as ideology movement. *Tarbiyah* means education that is used by Muslim brotherhood to educate their cadre, as well as PKS use it to maintain and manage their members (Fealy, Hooker & White 2006; Nashir 2007). In the first era in 1980s, *Tarbiyah* was a campus preacher's movement in famous universities in Indonesia including the University of Indonesia, Agricultural Institute Bogor, Airlangga University, Technology Institute Bandung, Brawijaya University, Gajah Mada University which this situation is a part of influence of Indonesian students who graduated from Middle East that had connection with the Muslim brotherhood in Egypt that was led by Hassan Al Banna (Daniels 2007:239; Nashir 2007; Rinaldo 2008b:28).

Sisters in Islam in Malaysia (Robinson 2009:165). In addition, Munir (2003) asserts that Mernissi and Hassan provide new thinking about misogyny. They build on attempts to craft a feminist theology and reinterpret Islamic texts. The fundamental argument in Muslim feminist writing is that discrimination arises from gendered interpretations of Islamic texts based on patriarchal values (Engineer 1992; Robinson 2009). Indeed, the implementation of *Perda sharia* and *Islam kaffah* (complete Islam), especially in *pesantren*, discriminates against Muslim women (Assegaf 2009:3). Assegaf (2009:8) further asserts that *Perda sharia* is “a source of oppression for women”. However, Muslim women counter this oppression and use textual interpretation of holy texts as a strategy to develop women’s empowerment in *pesantren* (Assegaf 2009:5). According to Robinson (2009:182), in finding the roots of gender equity in Islam “the flood of new Islamic literature exemplifies the cosmopolitan character of Islamic social and political thought as a counter point and complement to Western thinking”.

Hassan (1996) stresses that feminist theology in Islamic tradition is paramount, in order to release Muslims from patriarchal social structures and systems. According to Munir (2003), the essence of Muslim feminism is the struggle to attain justice for women as promised in Islamic texts (Holy text and Prophet’s tradition), and to bring this from a discourse into reality. A great deal of the analysis of gendered structures is not specific to Islam, but to patriarchy. Hence, to illustrate this point, “Islam has not allowed the possibilities for women whom it has for men” (Rippin 2005:239). Moreover, Muttaqin (2008:17) emphasises that Muslim feminists apply a feminist perspective to classical thought, which is crucial. They also play a substantial role in applying the tradition of critical thinking, rationalism and philosophy to more practical conditions of justice within Muslim societies.

Bennet (2005) asserts that Muslim feminists reject the contention that traditional Islam treats women fairly, arguing instead that Islam is misogynist and reform is needed. Their aim is not to replace male interpretation that serves male interests over and above those which privilege women, but to render the tradition fair to both sexes (Bennett 2005). The differences in interpretation of holy text is caused by the diversity of cultural practices in Muslim society as well as the inferior position of women in relation to Islamic teaching (Engineer 2005:193). Conservative Islamic scholars developed a methodology for interpreting holy text conducted by males

and they restricted female leadership in prayer activities. Females, for example, are constrained to lead mixed gender prayers and as a *khatib* (preacher in Friday prayer) (Muttaqin 2008:32). The Muslim women's movement stresses that women also have the right to interpret *Al-Qur'an* (Engineer 2005:196). This shows how some Islamic scholars preserve patriarchal religious structures where men interpret holy text.

Some of the books (*kitab*) or scripts are written by the *kyai* which are interpretations of holy texts and become key in the *pesantren* curriculum (Hurin 2003:107). Hurin (2003:109) asserts that the book of the *kyai* has great authority to maintain deferential behaviour from the *santri* as well as the *pesantren* community. One consequence is that Muslim feminists struggle for the right to reinterpret and reconstruct Islamic teachings (Robinson 2004).

## **2.5 Waves of Indonesian feminism**

Each generation of Indonesian feminism has had its own perspective that inspires the next generation to think about women's roles in society and women's empowerment (Muttaqin 2008:68). Kartini (1879-1904) was the exponent and inspiration of the early women's movement in Indonesia in the late nineteenth century (Blackburn 2004:18; Muttaqin 2008:68). She inspired the women's movement in Indonesia though her ideas were written to Dutch friends. Kartini criticised the Javanese tradition which restricted her freedom and created women in subordinate domestic positions such as arranged marriages, polygamy and restrictions on public roles (Wieringa 2002:72). She described the house as a prison for Javanese women and criticised some *ulama* who forbade the discussion of Islamic teachings (Cote 1995:20). Kartini's letters showed the inferior position of women, and the inability of women to obtain a higher education, in addition to the lesser understanding of Muslims with regard to the holy text. She argued that Indonesian women should have an equal position with men, especially in education, in order that women develop, be independent in their lives and prepare for motherhood (Cote 1995). Not only did Kartini struggle for women's education, but she became a symbol of the women's movement in Indonesia, and on 21 April Indonesian people celebrate Kartini's birthday.

In 1912, the first women's voluntary organisation was established and in the 1920s the first women's organisations emerged that struggled to find national freedom (Suryakusuma, JI 2004:267). In the 1950s organisations such as Aisyiyah (women's organisation in Muhammadiyah), Muslimat (women wing organization of NU), Perwari (*Persatuan Wanita Republik Indonesia*/Association of Women of the Indonesian Republic), and Gerwani (*Gerakan Wanita Indonesia*/Women's organisation associated with the Indonesian Communist Party) spread their activities to rural women. According to Suryakusuma (2004:267) these organisations were attached to competing male dominated political groupings. Women's organisations were established in regional Indonesia with programs to promote women's empowerment such as *Al-Qu'ran* readings and discussion and social activities. They also encouraged women in the public sphere in education, health and economic/home industry (Baried 1986:152-3; Robinson, Kathryn 2009:41, 54-5).

After 1965, during the New Order era, patriarchal structures dominated the political and social system through state *ibuism* (motherhood)<sup>26</sup> (Suryakusuma, JI 2004:186-8), and control of the Indonesian military over the ideology of gender (Wieringa 2002; Blackburn 2004:10; Suryakusuma, JI 2004:242). Women's organisations such as Dharma Wanita (for civil servants' wives) were under the control of the Indonesian Government (Suryakusuma, JI 2004). Traditionally in Javanese culture, women are defined in a subordinate position as *konco wingking* (backseat companion) and aligned with *ikut suami* (follow husband) (Handayani & Novianto 2004:98; Suryakusuma, JI 2004:167; Adomson 2007:19; Suryakusuma, J 2012).

In this context, feminism became a frightening term, associated with communism, atheism, liberalism, and tending towards Western ideology, viewed as subversive and irrelevant to Indonesian culture, and some Javanese *kyai* argued that feminism was emotional and unscientific (Sadli 2002; Wieringa 2002:46-7; Blackburn 2004:14; Adomson 2007:25; Muttaqin 2008:72). Furthermore, Blackburn (2004:5) argues that studies of Indonesian feminism are extremely limited simply because

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<sup>26</sup>State *ibuism* constructed women as good wives and mothers, creating mediating vehicles which served the purpose of disseminating the state's interests (Suryakusuma 2004).

the New Order system discouraged independent thinking, and controlled areas of research, particularly that of gender.

In the Reform era, the situation changed dramatically. Indonesia began a transition to a more democratic society, and women's organisations thrived (Arivia 1999; Sadli 2002; Blackburn 2004), although feminist issues remain the concern of a relatively small group of women and some men (Sadli 2002). Arivia (1999:44) stresses that progressive Indonesian feminists<sup>27</sup> were supported by the democracy movement in the Reform era. For example, a progressive Muslim leader, Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), became president of Indonesia in 1999, and he appointed a Minister of Women's Empowerment (Bahramitash 2004:514; Blackburn 2004:29; Muttaqin 2008:147).

## **2.6 *Pesantren*, women's education and progressive Muslim feminism**

*Pesantren* also are influenced by orthodox Islamic teaching in Mecca, where some Indonesian *kyai* studied (Benda 1958:17). Under the leadership of *kyai*, *pesantren* have a strong influence in society, economics, culture, education and politics (Geertz, C 1959). Geertz (1960), based on his research in Mojokunto, Kediri East Java, categorised three *aliran*<sup>28</sup> in Javanese society: *santri*, *abangan* and *priyayi*. *Santri* is concerned with Islam as a basis of ritual, ethical and social lives; *abangan* represents self-identity that stresses the animistic aspects of Javanese syncretism and is broadly related to the peasant element in the population; and *priyayi* signifies characteristics that stress the Hinduistic aspect and are related to the bureaucratic element (Geertz, C 1960:6).

Bahtiar comment to Geertz's studies (Geertz, C 1981:ix-x) that Geertz's *aliran* are based on three different classifications: *santri* and *abangan* are based on the religious category, while *priyayi* is based on social class in Javanese; as a result, these classifications do not apply. However, Geertz's *aliran* are applicable to this

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<sup>27</sup>According to Sadli (2002: 85), Indonesian feminists are different to Western feminists, although they are influenced by Western feminists. Indonesian feminists have specific characteristics such as sensitivity to women's issues, a commitment to transform cultural norms that have a negative impact on gender relationships, sensitivity to the impact of religious and cultural values on women's conditions, and pluralism and openness to differences.

<sup>28</sup>*Aliran* is the variant of the religion of Java.

research, particularly related to *santri* and *priyayi* as they examine the genealogical networking in three *pesantren*.

Penders (1977) argued that Islamic values were not embedded in Javanese society, but that “Islam was Javanized”. According to Kumar (1985:11-2) in the late nineteenth century, “the Javanisation of Islam” was increasing through a combination of Javanese culture and Islam, and via exogamous marriage between *ulama* from Hadhramaut and women from *Bupati*<sup>29</sup> families. As a result, Kumar (1985:12) noted that a mixture of both Islam and Javanese values represents a good Muslim and aristocrat who is loyal to Javanese royalty. Islam in Java was thus recognised as a syncretic religion, adapting and adjusting in the implementation of Islamic teaching (Van Bemmelen & Grijns 2005:125; Van Dijk 2005:133).

Dhofier (1999) discussed the five basic elements of *pesantren* tradition: *pondok* (boarding school), mosque, *kitab kuning* (yellow book), *santri* and *kyai*. Dhofier’s notion is helpful in examining the *pesantren* in this study, although some of these elements are in the process of changing. Woodward (1989:144-8) clarified that since Dhofier’s study in 1977 *pesantren* traditions are changing in relation to characteristics and patterns. As a result, this research seeks to uncover both similarities and differences in relation to *pesantren* tradition.

Dhofier (1999:33) goes on to explain that in the 1910s, several *pesantren* in Jombang provided separated facilities for women. Yet Azra et al (2007:180) assert that the number of female *santri* continued to lag behind male *santri*. These studies focus on the differences women and men experience in the *pesantren* education system, but they do not provide in-depth analysis as to why this occurred. Some studies of *pesantren* did not even discuss gender. Examples include: Bull (1996) who examined the effects of globalisation in *pesantren*; Wagiman (1997) who observed the modernisation of the education system in *pesantren* during the New Order; Endang (2005) who explored the educational system in relation to the leadership roles of *kyai*; and Kawakib (2008) who investigated the roles of *pesantren* in the Reform era. Generally, they claim that *pesantren* have potential

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<sup>29</sup>*Bupati* is the leader of the region. In the nineteenth century, *Bupati* families were a part of *priyayi*.

power and important roles in the progress of society and, in doing so obscure the implications of gender and its impact on female *santri* who will not do so well.

Some studies on Indonesian feminism however have been published. Suryakusuma (2004:186-8), for example, critiques the New Order ideology of motherhood, which constructs women as good wives and mothers, and serves the purpose of propagating the state's interest. She argues that idolatry of motherhood has established a 'follow the husband' culture. Similarly, Blackburn (2004) analyses Indonesian women in their interactions with the state, linked to issues of suffrage, polygamy, economic exploitation, reproductive health and violence.

Other examples of feminist work in Indonesia include: Suraiya It (2005) who described the role of Islam and *ulama* in the women's movement; Bennett (2005) who explored the lives of young Muslim women in Lombok, Indonesia, with an emphasis on the processes of social and sexual development; Pohl (2006) who examined women's empowerment in Al-Muayyad Windan Pesantren in Solo, Central Java, focusing on the economic sphere; Doorn-Harder (2006) who examined the women's movement in Muhammadiyah and NU, and the efforts made by women in these Islamic organisations to develop gender equity in communities; and Muttaqin (2008) who discussed progressive Muslim feminists in organisations including P3M, PUAN Amal Hayati, FK3 and Rahima.

Srimulyani's (2008b) work has been more closely aligned with the research questions in this thesis. She examined women's leadership at the Seblak Pesantren, East Java and investigated the struggle of the *nyai* for equal opportunity in the public sphere and demonstrated how, through negotiation, *nyai* can become leaders. One *nyai* stresses that women have become leaders in Seblak Pesantren because of Kyai Hasyim's support, as a father who recommended the establishment of female *pesantren*; without his support it would be impossible for women to achieve (Srimulyani 2008b:133-4). Assegaf (2009) investigated the women's struggle at Al-Firdaus Pesantren, Siraman Central Java, and how women have empowered themselves in a 'radical *pesantren*'.<sup>30</sup> Robinson (2009) analyses

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<sup>30</sup> Al-Firdaus *Pesantren* has been labeled a radical *pesantren*, with rules to implement *Islam Kaffah* (complete Islam). Its leaders disagree with gender equity.

gender relations in contemporary politics in Indonesia, and the Islamic influence on localised gender regimes and democracy. Marhumah (2011) investigated gender construction in *pesantren* related to the authority of *kyai* toward women's discourse that is explored through *pesantren* curriculum. She conducted research in two *pesantren*: Al-Munawir Pesantren as a *salaf pesantren*, and Ali Maksum Pesantren as a *khalaf pesantren*, with both *pesantren* under Krapyak Pesantren in Yogyakarta that is associated with NU. She asserted that the patriarchal system is still evident in both *pesantren*.

This literature differs from my research which examines gendered continuity and change in *pesantren*. It interrogates the educational system and pedagogies, as well as the impact of Muslim feminists as agents of change. Moreover, my research is conducted across three diverse *pesantren* which departs from previous research.

## **2.7 *Pesantren* from Foucault's perspective**

Foucault's (1977: 233) work on prisons argues that they work on the development of individuals or as an instrument for the transformation of individuals. Foucault asserts that prison was meant to be a mechanism similar to the school, the barracks or the hospital. The characteristics of the criminal depend on the dominant power in the area. One possibility is that power produces and affects the emergence of new objects of knowledge and accumulates new structures of information. But mechanisms of power have not commonly been studied in history. Knowledge and power are thus related and integrated. Foucault (1980:52) stressed that it is not possible to implement power without knowledge and vice versa.

In this study, Foucault's argument that prison is an instrument comparable with the school or hospital is key. *Pesantren* are Islamic schools that transform knowledge. They are also educational institutions for the transformation of individuals into *ulama*, teachers (*ustadz/ustadzah*) and people who are useful in the community. The *kyai* has the authority to maintain *pesantren* related to curriculum, rules and others *pesantren* policy. *Pesantren* have regulations and mechanisms about reward and punishment. Every *pesantren* has different rules related to teaching

methods, language, information access from the media, communication or relationships between males and female *santri*, timetables in *pesantren*, clothes, and activities outside *pesantren* that depend on the *kyai* as a leader and dominant figure.

Foucault also developed the Panopticon concept based on Bentham's Panopticon which explains how the design and effect of architecture functioned to control the individual (Bentham 1843). And Foucault highlights Panopticon as a system that controls inmates and as a mechanism "to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power" (Foucault 1977:201). This system is integrated in prisons to control the inmates and in the school dormitory to control the students. According to Foucault (1980:163), resistance to the panopticon is tactical and strategic; each offensive from one side serves as a leverage for a counter-offensive from the other. The panopticon was a strategy to better manage power being utilised in the local area in schools, barracks and hospitals.

The panopticon is evident in *pesantren*. For example, some schools are designed in relation to the proximity of the mosque, dormitory, house of *kyai/nyai*, the *madrasah* and other facilities such as mini market/shops and cafes that are integrated in one area. Some *pesantren* are separate from the *madrasah*, house of *kyai/nyai*, dormitory and other facilities, but each dormitory has teachers who have positions as leaders, administrative staff and mentors. This design is formulated to control *santri* through the integration of the *pesantren* complex – everything and everyone is visible and potentially scrutinised. Even at home in holiday time *santri* must still conduct themselves according to the *pesantren*'s rules and the *kyai* or *nyai* may ask parents about the attitudes and behaviours of *santri*.

Furthermore, Foucault's concept about the archaeology of knowledge is important for understanding the content of and message from Islamic teaching, in terms of the background of society at the time when the message in holy text was accepted by Prophet Muhammad. The archaeology of knowledge can utilise and investigate different interpretations of Islamic teaching as well as attempts to reinterpret Islamic teaching that is gendered. But the archaeology of knowledge is only one mode of approach; it does not embrace global projects or cover all areas of

knowledge. Foucault suggests that once knowledge can be analysed in terms of region, domain, implantation and transposition, one is able to find the process by which knowledge functions as a form of power and disseminates power (1980:77).

He also conceptualises genealogy as a completion of archaeology. Genealogy is the method of analysis for investigating the historical origins of heritage and for resisting it, in so far as it is related to domination (Marshall, JD 1990; Tamboukou 2003:9-10). Foucault describes genealogy as “analysis of descent and emergence” (Tamboukou 2003:12). Descent is related to the attempt to examine the activity of people directly without assuming the power or ideology for the subject, but rather attention to the process of articulation of the body and history (Tamboukou 2003:12). Emergence is related to finding “the moment of arising and the entry of forces” (Tamboukou 2003:12).

According to Tamboukou (2003:15) the domains of genealogy are truth as the subject of knowledge, power as the subject acting on others and ethics as moral agent. The genealogical approach is a new framework in educational research, not for studying the past, but for assessing the present (Marshall, JD 1990:122). Genealogy means family, if investigating the development of curriculum or texts in *pesantren* related to parent texts, grandparents' texts or founding father texts that develop the curriculum in *pesantren*, commonly some of the *pesantren* founders or senior *kyai*, that write the yellow book. Moreover, the *pesantren* genealogy is also represented in some traditions and rules in *pesantren*, such as *slametan*, that is combined with Islamic teaching as a sign to express gratitude to God, as well as *ziarah*<sup>31</sup> and *tahlilan*.<sup>32</sup> The clothing tradition also shows the *pesantren's* genealogy which is formulated from the mixture of culture from both *santri* and *priyayi aliran*. The genealogical approach is important in understanding the dynamics of the development of *pesantren* ideology and tradition from every period of leadership, from a *kyai* who affects the *pesantren* curriculum, the using of yellow book as

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<sup>31</sup>*Ziarah* is visiting and praying in the grave, particularly in *kyai's/nya's* grave. This is a tradition in the NU community, but forbidden for Muhammadiyah community. Muhammadiyah assume *ziarah* as *bid'ah* (attitudes or behaviours which have never been done by Prophet Muhammad).

<sup>32</sup>*Tahlilan* is prayers for those who have passed away at specific times – 7, 40 and 100 days after death.

subject material in *pesantren*, *pesantren*'s rules and attire traditions, which preserve patriarchal values or develop gender awareness.

Also in relation to genealogy, Jones (1990:75) describes the female teacher as a symbolic parent, where the school is like the family institution. Female teachers become surveyors of students in the classroom and have emotional relationships with them, like a mother with children. The public sphere still formulates women's roles similar to the roles of women in the domestic area. The education in institutions becomes a continuing internalisation of the patriarchal system in the public arena with the discourses about "feminization of teaching" (Grumet 1988:46). This is common in *pesantren*, where the *nyai* is not only a female leader and the wife of *kyai*, but also like a mother for *santri*, and has a responsibility to educate and maintain the attitude and behaviour of *santri*.

In summary, in this thesis Muslim feminist perspective is the main theoretical framework in discussing gender values in *pesantren* related to curricula, rules and the hierarchical structure of *pesantren*. Moreover, Foucault's theories relating to power and knowledge, panopticon, genealogy and archaeology of knowledge were used as a theoretical framework of analysis for *pesantren* structures and the power of *pesantren* leaders in embedding and perpetuating patriarchal values. These theories were useful to examine the developing and changing gender values in *pesantren* that were promoted by 'the agent of changes' in *pesantren* studied in this thesis.

## Chapter 3

### Methodology

This chapter discusses the methodology and methodological process of the study in each stage of the preparation, fieldwork and analysis of the data. The rationale for using a feminist methodology and participant observation as an approach in this research is also outlined. This chapter also explains the choice of fieldwork locations and the subject position of the researcher in the study.

#### 3.1 Feminist research

Feminism connects both theory and practice, as well as systematically covering all stages of the research process, from the formulation of research questions to reporting research findings, and intimately links epistemology, methodology and methods<sup>33</sup> (Maynard 2004:132; Hesse-Biber 2012:5). Feminist research produces “social knowledge through direct participation and experience of the social realities” in a field setting (Reinharz 1992:46). Feminists are concerned with the importance and expression of women’s lives and experiences, and their position in the social structure (Reinharz 1992:241; Maynard 2004:132; Sarantakos 2005:56; Hesse-Biber 2012:16). This study investigates women’s lives in *pesantren* in relation to their social position and their roles as leaders (*nyai*), teachers, administrative staff and *santri*, in the hierarchical structure of *pesantren*.

The foundation of feminist research is that it is emancipatory, critical, observes social reality and examines women’s situation in marginalisation, subordination and the patriarchal system (Stanley & Wise 1983:12; Sarantakos 2005:54). In addition, the foundation of feminist research is that the world is socially constructed, not value free or neutral (Haig 1997:180). Feminist research favours the interpretivist/constructionist paradigm and is therefore contextual, inclusive, experiential, involved and socially relevant (Nielsen 1990:6; Reinharz 1992; Sarantakos 2005:55). Finally, feminist research is “guided by feminist theory” and

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<sup>33</sup> Epistemology is a theory of knowledge that delineates a set of assumptions about the social world including what to study and how to conduct a study; methodology is a theory of how research is done or should proceed; method is a technique for (or way of proceeding in) gathering evidence (Harding 1987:2-3).

is interdisciplinary; it can frame design methods, analysis and interpret the data and connects with multi disciplines (Reinharz 1992:249-50).

This study discusses the relations between feminist theory and social culture, religion, education, and politics to support the Muslim women's movement in *pesantren*. The research is informed by Muslim feminist theory that emphasises the developing gender equity through reinterpretation and reconstruction of the holy texts (Karam 1998:12). The study investigates change inside *pesantren* related to gender issues.

A feminist empiricist perspective on knowledge building also examines male views (Hesse-Biber 2012:16). Thus the voices and experience of men in *pesantren* are included in this research for the following reasons: men, particularly *kyai*, have great authority in maintaining and controlling of *pesantren*; the education processes in *pesantren* relate to both males and females, although the *pesantren* system is segregated; third, men either encourage women's empowerment or perpetuate the status quo. By investigating gender issues from a male perspective, this study both explores and contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of gendered continuity and change in *pesantren*.

### **3.2 Rationale for qualitative research**

This qualitative study was conducted using a participant observation approach. As a participant observer, I became immersed in the daily lives of people or communities in the field (May 2001:148; Marshall, C & Rossman 2006:101). I stayed in *pesantren* and participated in *pesantren* activities. Qualitative research is concerned with understanding social life related to the views, meanings, opinions and perceptions of participants (Sarantakos 2005:40; Minichiello, Aroni & Hays 2008:8-9). Qualitative research constructs social reality as a subjective, built, dynamic, negotiated reality.

Qualitative methodology is based on a constructionist paradigm that has basic assumptions that truth is not absolute: constructionist research focuses on the construction of meanings which are not fixed, but interact with and are constructed by people and culture (Sarantakos 2005:37). Moreover, according to Sarantakos (2005: 41) the central element of qualitative research is based on: the perception

of reality as subjective, constructed, diverse and open to different interpretations; the perception of human beings is the central reality and creates meaning; the nature of science is based on subjective interpretation, common sense and reason; and social research aims to interpret and understand society and meaning.

Hence, the life experience of people consists of processes that construct and locate meaning and this constitutes the reality in which they live. In addition, the experiences of people in *pesantren*, particularly women, are a process in developing and embedding traditions including Islamic values; however, each person can have different meanings and interpretations. This study investigated interpretations of Islamic teaching including yellow book in *pesantren*, and the process of reinterpreting Islamic teaching that has a gender bias. Reinterpretation and de-contextualisation of Islamic teaching in Muslim society, particularly in *pesantren*, is a process of interaction between society, culture, the educational system and religion.

### **3.3 In-depth interviewing**

One of the methods of data collection was in-depth interviews that empowered participants to speak and provided them with the space to relate their experiences and responses. The in-depth interview can also be used to explore and arrive at a richer understanding of activities and events which cannot be observed directly by the researcher (Minichiello, Aroni & Hays 2008:66).

Interviews were conducted in either Indonesian or Javanese, using some concrete examples from participants' life experiences to facilitate the expression of opinions. In two *pesantren* associated with NU, As-sa'idiyyah 2 and Nurul Huda used Javanese, whilst Indonesian was used in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat. The interviews gathered information which enabled cross-checking of information and interpretations between participants. Interviews were recorded and transcribed with agreement from participants. The interviewer made significant notes during and/or after interviews that related to important issues or information. It was possible to then explore these issues in interviews with other participants. In-depth interviews were conducted with participants to examine particular issues in their

*pesantren* related to the Muslim feminist movement and to develop gender awareness.

### 3.4 Other methods of data collection

Other methods of data collection were direct observation and experience, collecting documentation directly from *pesantren* records, reports, and newsletters about curricula, teaching materials, rules, *pesantren*'s regulations and processes, informal discussion with *pesantren* members, and personal communication via letter, email and telephone. The secondary data were collected from newsletters, websites and local newspapers, as well as institutions that have data about these *pesantren* including local government, feminist NGOs, Muslim media, academic literature and previous research. This study also examined Islamic teaching from a gendered perspective to explore how religious texts were selected and interpreted in the three *pesantren*, informed by Foucault's archaeology of knowledge. The objective of the research was to identify difference using teaching material and interpretations of the religious texts. Moreover, as previously mentioned, I stayed in the female dormitories and interacted with *pesantren* communities such as *kyai/nyai* family, *pamong* (the leader in dormitory), *musrif/musrifah* (male/female teacher and dormitory staff), *ustadz/ustadzah* (male/female teacher), *santri* and other staff members.

I also attended *santri* classes and activities including:

- *pengajian* (informal study groups for Islamic teaching or yellow book);
- *Al-Qur'an* reading and recitation;
- English and Arabic conversation;
- informal and formal meetings between parents and staff, or leaders of *pesantren* or *madrasah*;
- *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) classes;
- *tafsir* (*Al-Qur'anic* exegesis) classes;
- public speaking in four languages;
- a graduation session; and
- informal meetings with *kyai* family members.

These forms of participant observation supplemented data collected from interviews. Direct observation, semi-structured interviews and in-depth interviews were cross checked with the *pesantren*'s documentation or other sources such as from media, websites and NGOs.

Observation was conducted in both male and female boarding houses, although this had limitations because of the segregation between males and females in *pesantren*. In Nurul Huda, for example, I could not conduct direct observation in male *pesantren*. Females in Nurul Huda can not access male dormitories, and male and female *santri* or administrative staff can meet only if they have a good reason, and even then they must meet in female dormitories.

Hence, I sourced information about male classes and activities in Nurul Huda from documents, and male administrative staff helped me to find pictures and videos about the male boarding houses and their activities. In both institutions, As-sa'idiyyah 2 and in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, I was able to observe male dormitories and *madrasah*, although with limited time and access. In female dormitories and *madrasah* in the three *pesantren*, I could observe all the activities of female *santri* and attended both *pesantren* activities and classes. In Mu'allimaat, female *santri* assumed I was an *ustadzah*. This is because I stayed in female dormitories.

Personal communication through letters and email was conducted via the male leader of Nurul Huda, Kyai Khoirul, which touched on the *pesantren*'s curricula and policy and gender issues (particularly related to the interpretation of Islamic teaching). Communication was also conducted with an independent figure, namely a Muslim feminist and founder of Rahima, Cicik Farha Assegaf. This communication was via telephone and email.

### **3.5 Location of research**

This study examined three *pesantren* in Java:

- Nurul Huda Pesantren in Malang, East Java
- As-sa'idiyyah 2 Pesantren in Jombang, East Java
- Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat in Yogyakarta, Central Java.

In 2008, the number of *pesantren* in Java was 16,704 (77.62% of the total Indonesian *pesantren*) (Indonesia 2008a, 2008b). This research aims to compare and contrast the strategies for developing gender awareness in each *pesantren* under scrutiny. The rationale for choosing these *pesantren* for this study will now be discussed.

First, these *pesantren* were chosen because they have different characteristics: a *salaf pesantren* associated with NU; a *khalaf pesantren* also associated with NU; and a *khalaf pesantren* a part of Muhammadiyah. NU and Muhammadiyah are two large and widely influential Muslim organisations which provide an effect to Indonesian Islam. Muhammadiyah is known as a modern Islamic organisation that was founded in 1912 with around twenty million followers, while NU is a traditional Islamic organisation that was founded in 1926 with around thirty million followers (Doorn-Harder 2006:2). Muhammadiyah is dominated by the urban community, whilst NU's membership is dominated by the rural community.

The main difference between Muhammadiyah and NU is the method and perspective in interpreting Islamic teaching (Doorn-Harder 2006:2) including the *mazhab*<sup>34</sup> (schools of thought in Islam) and the yellow book. NU is more tolerant than Muhammadiyah in adapting and adjusting to local culture in the implementation of Islamic teaching. Although Muhammadiyah and NU have many differences, they have a similar vision which is to promote moderate versions of Islam as well as gender issues. Both have women's organisations to develop women's empowerment in Indonesia, such as Muslimat and Fatayat (young women organisation in NU), and, Aisyiyah and Nasyiatul Aisyiyah (young women's organisation in Muhammadiyah). However their approach towards gender issues differs in such matters as women becoming political leaders. NU (particularly traditional NU) tends to contest the idea of having a female president, while Muhammadiyah tends to support women if they have the qualifications to fulfil the presidential role. This division is symptomatic of gendered discourses as a whole; women are seen as potential equals to men or as being biologically incapable of fulfilling such a role.

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<sup>34</sup> NU's predilection is Syafi'i *mazhab*, while Muhammadiyah have a tendency towards Hambali *mazhab*.

Second, these *pesantren* are associated with two of the largest Islamic organisations in Indonesia (NU and Muhammadiyah) that have significant influence in social, religious and political issues throughout Indonesia (Fealy 1996:17; Dahlan 2002:117; Doorn-Harder 2006:73-5). Many Muslim feminists and figures of the Islamic renewal movement come from Islamic institutions associated with NU and/or Muhammadiyah. These include Nur Cholis Madjid, Abdurrahman Wahid, Harun Nasution, Amien Rais, Lies Marcoes-Natsir, Shinta Nuriyah, Cicik Farha Assegaf and Masdar Faried Mas'udi (Doorn-Harder 2006:34; Muttaqin 2008:72-5); even Muslim women leaders come from Muhammadiyah and NU (Doorn-Harder 2006:2). However, in the last decade, religious and political issues have not only been influenced by NU and Muhammadiyah, but also by some *pesantren* that have radical ideologies, such as in Ngruki Pesantren in Solo, central Java, which is associated with Abu Bakar Ba'asyir.

I chose NU and Muhammadiyah *pesantren* because of the openness of these *pesantren* toward outsiders, and they provided me with the opportunity to investigate gender issues that are still sensitive in *pesantren*. Radical *pesantren* however are closed to newcomers and they are hostile to people with other ideologies, believing they are an exclusive group in Islamic society. They oppose the Indonesian Government that has occasionally labelled them pro terrorist.

Finally, these *pesantren* were chosen with the objective of providing examples of different patterns of development concerning gender issues. Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat are the first Islamic education institutions that were founded by KyaiHaji Ahmad Dahlan, a founding father from Muhammadiyah. These institutions are representative of the education systems in Muhammadiyah, as well as a cadre school of Muhammadiyah that educate younger generations and *muballigh* (preachers) in Muhammadiyah. Interestingly, Mu'allimaat provided the first Islamic education for females in Indonesia and was founded in 1917 (Srimulyani 2008b:82-3).

Bahrul Ulum Pesantren in Jombang has many *pesantren* led by *kyai/nyai* who have familial relationships. This research was conducted in one of these *pesantren*; As-sa'idiyyah 2 has a *nyai* who has developed gender awareness in her *pesantren* and Bahrul Ulum. Numerous *nyai* in Bahrul Ulum not only manage their *pesantren*,

but they are active in politics as members of a party, members of the Indonesian parliament and the executive in Fatayat and Muslimat. Due to these activities, the *nyai* in Bahrul Ulum maintain and manage their *pesantren* remotely. Administrative staff monitor and control the *pesantren* rules on a daily basis with *nyai* visiting once a month. *Nyai* in Bahrul Ulum understand gender and profess equality, but they did not develop strategies to increase gender awareness in *pesantren* directly, such as teaching *santri* in class, or even discussing gender issues. Consequently, As-sa'idiyyah 2 was chosen because it has a *nyai* who manages and maintains her *pesantren* and develops gender awareness in her own *pesantren* and in Bahrul Ulum. This is done through discussion and doctrine in class related to gender issues, re-interpretation of Islamic teaching and de-contextualisation.

Nurul Huda Pesantren in Singosari, Malang has characteristics as a *salaf pesantren* that has modernised, but still maintains strict rules, particularly in relation to male and female roles that are assumed to be part of Islamic tradition. The first choice for research was Gading Pesantren in Malang; but when I contacted the son-in-law from the Kyai Gading, he asked me to meet with Nyai Gading. Because *kyai* and *nyai* have the authority to decide whether I can conduct research in Gading Pesantren, and because I am a woman, I preferred to meet Nyai Gading informally after class. She welcomed me using *kromo inggil* as the mode of communication. When I asked if I could conduct research in her *pesantren*, she apologised and refused, citing organisational change.

Consequently, I contacted my colleague who has a good relationship with some *kyai/nyai* families in Malang. He suggested two *pesantren* in Malang with similar characteristics to Gading Pesantren: Nurul Huda Pesantren in Mergosono, Malang led by Kyai Masduki, and Nurul Huda Pesantren in Singosari, Malang founded by Kyai Manan. The characteristics of Nurul Huda Pesantren in Singosari are closer to Gading Pesantren than Nurul Huda Pesantren in Mergosono. Hence, I decided to conduct research in Nurul Huda Pesantren in Singosari, Malang, and my colleague put me in touch with the youngest daughter of Kyai Manan. I met her in Gading Pesantren in her husband's house. She was very welcoming and open-minded, and she helped me to seek permission from her brother, Kyai Khoirul, and her sister, Nyai Ummu, who lead the Nurul Huda Pesantren. The importance of

familial relationships was evident, as I was only able to gain access through a circuitous route via an intermediary.

### **3.6 Researcher–*pesantren* relationship**

I have not studied in a *pesantren* as a *santri*. However, I have conducted research in several *pesantren* in East Java including the one selected for this study. I was thirty-five years old at the time of interviews with participants in three *pesantren* who were aged between eighteen and sixty-five years. This difference provides a divergent bargaining position in relation to Javanese culture, in which young people are expected to be obedient and respectful to older people, particularly towards *kyai* and *nyai*. Because of their age and seniority, these participants had strong control over the direction of semi-structured interviews. Similarly, the participants who had positions as teachers and administrative staff were aged between twenty and forty-five years, so I tended to have an equal position, although some were more senior. In contrast, when interviewing *santri*, I had more status and this made it easier to conduct interviews. These status differences are reflected in the direction each interview took. And I was more able to shape the flow of discussion with those who had equal or lesser status.

The conduct of this research involved staying in the *pesantren*. I interacted with *pesantren* communities and stayed with *santri* in dormitories. Moreover, I followed all activities in *pesantren* including informal activities such as:

- *sholat berjama'ah* (praying together);
- *ro'an* (cleaning the dormitories);
- *sholat tahajjud* (praying at midnight);
- learning – religious and general subjects in the evening;
- teaching *santri* related general subjects;
- *ziarah* (visiting and praying at *kyai/nyai* graves);
- making *majalah dinding* (wall magazine);
- assisting with administrative staff activities; and
- talking with *santri* when teachers were absent.

In other words, this is not 'insider research', but rather research conducted by someone familiar with *pesantren* culture as well as the teaching materials and methodologies used in *pesantren*.

The high status of *kyai* and *nyai* in wider society provides both opportunities and obstacles for me as a PhD student and lecturer; in one way, *kyai* and *nyai* can minimise the potential risk in this research because gender is still a sensitive issue in the Islamic community. However, *kyai* and *nyai* can maintain and control issues in interviews because of their power and authority. Hence, in-depth interviews with teachers, administrative staff and *santri* in *pesantren*, can utilise cross-checking of information from *kyai* and *nyai* interview data. Teachers, administrative staff and *santri* have equal position with the interviewer; so, I can manage and control the questions in interviews. The position of interviewee is as a subject who is expected to respond and provide information related to the issues of research that are implemented in the interview outline (Minichiello, Aroni & Hays 2008:50).

Although *pesantren* leaders have equal authority, I found *kyai* and *nyai* responded differently. The leaders in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, for example, were very welcoming, particularly the Mu'allimaat leader, and she apologised because the first time I came to Mu'allimaat she did not have enough time to discuss anything with me. She then made a time to meet again for an in-depth interview. However, I met with the leader in Mu'allimin only once because he was very busy.

I had a similar response to that of the Mu'allimaat leader from the leaders of As-sa'idiiyyah 2, where I was treated like one of their colleagues; sometimes I even felt like part of their family. The first time I met *nyai* to ask permission to conduct research, she told me that I could conduct research in her *pesantren* whenever I liked. She asked me to take part in all her activities, even family activities, and introduced me to her extended family and colleagues within and outside Bahrul Ulum as her friend.

I stayed in the female dormitory where I shared a room with a teacher and an administrative staff member. Sometimes, I ate with the *kyai's* and *nyai's* family. Moreover, *nyai* always gave me time to discuss related gender issues, both in the *pesantren* and more generally. Both leaders in As-sa'idiiyyah 2 were the first participants when I conducted research, and *nyai* helped me to source participants

and information. Sometimes *nyai* unexpectedly asked me to take part in activities when I was due to meet participants and I could not refuse, because it would be impolite, according to *pesantren* values. These opportunities also broadened my experience of *pesantren* life.

In Nurul Huda, the leadership style resembles a kingdom that has many rules for meeting with *kyai* or *nyai*. Fortunately, the first time I met the female leader with her sister, so I did not experience difficulties and *nyai* gave me permission to conduct research, but first I had to translate my research proposal into Indonesian language. The first time I conducted research, I met with administrative staff and I was then able to interview the *nyai* and her husband after I had interviewed *ustadz/ustadzah*, administrative staff and *santri*.

It became clear that some senior participants could control the interview material and influence the flow of the conversation. Javanese etiquette, which is part of *pesantren* tradition, has a hierarchy. In this case, I am younger than *kyai* and *nyai* and also some teachers in the *pesantren*. As a result, the age differences between interviewer and interviewees influence the development of a familiar relationship. The distinction between junior and senior thus creates a subordinate position during the interview. The differentiation between levels of education can provide a similar effect. But, after I stayed in *pesantren* for a couple of days, I became familiar with *ustadzah*, female administrative staff and some of the senior *santri*, particularly with those who were my roommates. However, I still had a multi-layered subordinate position to a *pesantren* leader.

As a woman, I was limited in being able to interview *kyai* or other males, particularly in Nurul Huda. In Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat and As-sa'idiyyah 2, it was more liberal and I could interview the *kyai*, *ustadz*, male administrator and *santri* without a chaperone. In Nurul Huda, I interviewed males in the female visiting room and I was accompanied by female *santri* who had position as administrative staff. I interviewed the *nyai* and her husband in their house after making many agreements with them. I was refused an interview with the male leader, Kyai Khoirul because of his values and beliefs. He could not meet with another woman other than his *muhrim*. Hence, I passed a letter to his youngest sister, and she gave it to Kyai Khoirul. I received a response after five months, which was sent by

administrative staff. This demonstrates the power of a *kyai*; he also wanted to maintain distance with outsiders as a part of the effort of *pesantren* leaders to preserve the status of *kyai* and their families. This response also reflects gender values in *salaf pesantren* where women are allowed minimum contact with men.

The segregation system between males and females produced different responses. In these *pesantren*, I developed good relationships with female communities, not only with research participants but also with all the people in the female boarding house including the cooking staff. In Mu'allimaat, female *santri* assumed that I was an *ustadzah*, and sometimes I had responsibilities like *musrifah* such as giving permission for *santri* to leave the dormitory or to borrow money. This situation happened because I stayed in the *musrifah* room.

It was a different situation in the other two *pesantren*: in As-sa'idiyyah 2, for example, I stayed in the teacher and administrative room, while in Nurul Huda, I stayed in the *santri* room. Hence, all *santri* in these *pesantren* knew that I was a newcomer and a researcher. The different responses toward me in each *pesantren* also are a part of the analysis and interpretation of how gender equality and patriarchal systems develop.

The educational differences between interviewer and interviewee, as mentioned previously, provide both opportunities and obstacles. I have never studied in *pesantren*; I attended elementary Islamic school and I continued my study in general school until my Masters. But I have studied Islamic teaching, particularly *Al-Qur'an*. I also learned some of the yellow book from an *ustadz* in my village, and his teaching materials explained men's and women's roles in Islam. I asked him why men and women have different roles and that it seemed that women have more responsibilities than men. He laughed at me and said "you are [only] a girl, why you have [such] strange notion? As a woman, you should obey Islamic teaching". I always remember his judgment, and I questioned whether Islam was like that. I believe Islam has values that make an equal position between males and females. When I studied in university, the sociology of gender was a new subject, and I had understanding about gender equity. I also was active in gender research studies conducted by PSW UNAIR (*Pusat Study Wanita Universitas Airlangga*/Women Studies Centre of Airlangga University) in Surabaya, East Java

until 2000. The topics in both of my theses, as an undergraduate in 1999 and my Masters degree in 2005 were about gender issues. As a lecturer in Brawijaya University, I have continued to investigate gender issues, particularly in East Java. Currently, Western education perspectives of gender equity and feminism are not sensitive issues, even in relation to Islam; however, in *pesantren*, gender issues are still sensitive. My education journey has given me a perspective on gender and Islamic values. Yet my limitation in understanding Islamic teaching became an obstacle in relation to how to recognise, in-depth, the nuances of Islamic teaching toward women.

In the three *pesantren*, there were some negative effects related to my organisational affiliations. I grew up in a family associated with NU, and some women's organisations in NU like Fatayat, Muslimat and IPPNU (*Ikatan Pelajar Putri NU*/The association of female students in NU). I only became a member of IPPNU when I studied in senior high school. I was active in *Tarbiyah* as a part of PKS cadre when I studied as an undergraduate in Airlangga University in Surabaya, East Java. After I completed my undergraduate degree in 1999, I did not associate with any organisations. Instead, I worked in an NGO and in the media in East Java and lectured at the IAIN (*Institut Agama Islam Negeri*/The State of Islamic Institute) Sunan Ampel in Surabaya.

When I conducted fieldwork, the leaders and other *pesantren* staff asked me about my organisational affiliations, and I answered their questions by explaining my education and family background. My background was very useful when collecting data as I could adapt and adjust to rules in *pesantren* that associated with NU or were based on Muhammadiyah.

The first day I arrived in Mu'allimaat, I met with the coordinator for female boarding, and she also acted as the students' coordinator. She asked about timelines and research protocol. I explained how I had obtained permission from the director and the curriculum coordinator of Mu'allimaat to conduct research and stay in the boarding house. She contacted the curriculum coordinator to confirm what I had told her and finally she allowed me to stay in the boarding house with some 'warnings': I must respect and follow the rules in the *pesantren* (particularly related to clothing, because when I met her, I was wearing jeans, which are prohibited).

Moreover, she asserted that as a newcomer, I should model good behaviour for the *santri*. When I arrived at the boarding school where I stayed the *pamong* and *musrifah* accepted me like their friends and they apologised if the situation in the dormitory was not comfortable.

The student coordinator gave me many behavioural rules to follow, which were never spoken of by the director and curriculum coordinator, despite the fact that I also wore jeans when I met them. Later, it was revealed that the student coordinator had graduated from Mu'allimaat, studied in Cairo, and and her family had joined the PKS. As a consequence of this affiliation, she tried to influence Mu'allimaat with PKS ideology, which is similar to the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. From this example, we can see the ways in which individual political and religious affiliations can generate behavioural norms which become the formal rules prescribed by the *pesantren*.

The table below summarises the differences between interviewer and interviewee and illustrates the status levels and determinants of disclosure during the interview process.

**Table 3.1**  
**Differences between researcher and informants**

Variables	Researcher	Informants
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<b>Sex</b>	Female	Female and male
<b>Age</b>	35 years old	18–65 years old
<b>Background education</b>	General education and Western tertiary education; Islamic education only in elementary school	<i>Pesantren's</i> education (Islamic education)
<b>Role</b>	Lecturer and researcher	Leaders in <i>pesantren</i> ( <i>kyai/nyai</i> ), <i>kyai/nyai</i> families, teachers, <i>pesantren</i> administrative, <i>santri</i> (students). I had different status relationships with each of these groups of informants. I was of lower status than <i>kyai/nyai</i> , but of higher status than <i>santri</i>
<b>Organisation affiliation</b>	Grew up in a traditional NU family, and had associated with IPPNU and <i>Tarbiyah</i>	NU and Muhammadiyah organisation; some persons in PKS

### 3.7 Interviewee selection

Informants were selected by the purposive method and include: people with involvement in decision-making processes and policy in *pesantren*, particularly *pesantrens'* curricula; informants who have important roles in teaching processes and methods in *pesantren*, especially if they develop gender equity and gender awareness; students in *pesantren* experiencing teaching methods based on equity.

Although this study employs a feminist perspective, the informants were both female and male because in *pesantren*, male (*pesantren* leader/*kyai*) have the power, authority and knowledge that influences *pesantren* and communities (Dhofier 1999; Endang 2005). This creates policies and rules that provide benefits for males (Kholifah 2005; O'Hanlon 2006), particularly in relation to constructing curriculum and discourse. In feminist research, interviewing males have significance related to their importance to the female and exploring both sides of the story (Reinharz 1992: 41). Men as participants in feminist studies are useful to capture relationships between men and women where men participants were “just as cooperative and articulate as women” (Gatrell (2006) in Devault & Gross

2012:213). Hence, in this research the interviewing of male and female informants used a similar approach. The different responses of the informants of both gender helped identify how females addressed gender issues. Vice versa, the researcher also identified male insights about gender issues. However, women's experience and context become the main focus of this research in keeping with the objectives of feminist research.

The details of my informants are as follows:

1. Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, Yogyakarta

- Directors
- Curriculum coordinators
- Steering committee
- *Ustadz* in Mu'allimin, and *ustadz* and *ustadzah* in Mu'allimaat
- *Pamong*
- *Musrif* and *musrifah*
- Male and female students

2. Nurul Huda Pesantren, Malang

- *Nyai* (female leader) and her husband
- Youngest sister of *pesantren* leaders
- Curriculum coordinator
- *Ustadz* and *ustadzah*
- Administrative leader in male and female dormitories
- Male and female *santri*

3. As-sa'idiyyah 2 Pesantren, Jombang

- *Kyai* and *nyai*
- Senior *nyai*
- Daughter of *pesantren* leader
- Curriculum coordinator
- *Ustadz* and *ustadzah*
- Administrative staff
- Male and female *santri*

- Male and female *santri* under Bahrul Ulum Pesantren

*Kyai*, *nyai*, and directors are subjects who have the power and authority to develop rules and curriculum, especially the *nyai* in As-sa'idiyyah 2, who is active in developing gender awareness. In As-sa'idiyyah 2 and Nurul Huda, others also exert influence over policy including senior *kyai* or *nyai* and siblings of *pesantren* leaders. Hence, I also interviewed Nyai Zubaidah as a senior *nyai* and mother of the female leader in As-sa'idiyyah 2, Ning Nur as the youngest sister of the leaders of Nurul Huda and Kyai Ibnu as husband of the female leader of Nurul Huda.

In Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, an interview was conducted with members of a steering committee, because Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat are under Muhammadiyah, where all activities are reported to the steering committee. All participants are a part of key groups who have roles in developing the *pesantren*. Moreover, the curriculum coordinator also has the responsibility to develop curriculum in *pesantren* and they must discuss their design with the *pesantren*'s leader. *Ustadz* and *ustadzah* are major players in teaching and learning processes, particularly how to interpret Islamic teaching, and who have the opportunity to provide responses related to developing curriculum in *pesantren*.

Administrative staff (men and women), play a crucial role in assisting with daily life and implementing boarding school rules. Ordinarily these are young teachers or senior *santri* who are trusted by *kyai/nyai* to manage activities, particularly in As-sa'idiyyah 2 and Nurul Huda. However, the administrative staff graduated from Mu'allimin or Mu'allimaat or another *pesantren* such as Gontor Pesantren. Usually they are university students who have a *pesantren* background, while *pamong* are teachers in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, they have married and have responsibility to manage and control students in dormitories.

### 3.8 Interview processes

Before embarking on the research I secured the approval of the Human Research Ethics Committee, Victoria University, and received ethics clearance on 18 January 2010 (ethics application number:HRETH 09/231).

The collection of data and interview dates were set up after consulting with the *pesantren* leaders and seeking information relating to human subjects who would fit the research participants' criteria. Moreover, I asked the leader of administrative staff to find participants. I contacted and/or met with participants to discuss the time and place for interviews. Sometimes I could not make contact directly with participants, especially male participants in Nurul Huda. This was because there was limited access to males and the rules of the *pesantren* also limited meeting with males in the *pesantren* without an important reason. I used a female administrator in Nurul Huda as a mediator to make appointments with male *santri*. She successfully negotiated interviews with the leader of the male administrative staff.

The interview schedule was very important (particularly for male participants) because males and females cannot meet at night or without chaperones. In Nurul Huda, for example, I interviewed male participants with female administrative staff in the female visiting room. The interviews were conducted individually or sometimes with two participants. At times, I obtained information from participants informally through discussion. *Santri* would talk actively and informally, without a recorder, camera or handy cam. I joined in leisure activities, such as eating breakfast, lunch or dinner together, spoke before sleeping and so on. Some asked me not to record them. Hence, I wrote only after discussing with them and I always made field notes. It was only when I interacted informally with female *santri* (some of whom also had positions as administrative staff or teachers) that I found out a lot about the real *pesantren*'s conditions.

This level of subterfuge is a lasting effect from the Soeharto regime (New Order era in Indonesia) that developed a silent culture and tighter restrictions on political Islam, as well as marginalising Islamic leaders (Fealy, Hooker & White 2006:43). As a result, Indonesian people tended to remain silent or resist ideas. Moreover, in the *pesantren* culture values such as *ta'dhim* (respect and subservience) to

*kyai/nyai* and *ustadz/ustadzah* are reminiscent of this silent culture and this affects the level of critical thinking of *santri*, as well as the level of openness to newcomers.

### **3.9 Interview issues**

The in-depth interviews asked questions relating to the educational system and rules in *pesantren*, the developing curriculum and teaching methods, and the authority and roles of *pesantren* leaders. I also asked about people who teach or develop gender awareness in *pesantren*, the motivation and strategy to develop gender equity, the relationship between the *pesantren*'s curriculum and developing gender equity, the roles of the *pesantren*'s leader to develop gender issues, *santri*'s opinion related to Muslim feminists in *pesantren*, and the obstacles and impact of Muslim feminism in *pesantren*.

If there was no evidence of the development of gender awareness, I discussed broad gender issues in the *pesantren* related to curriculum and Islamic teaching, the position of males and females, gendered roles and rules, and opinions of the *pesantren* system. I also asked about the background demographics of each participant.

The following subsection offers a rationale for the shaping of the interview schedule.

#### **3.9.1 Demographic questions**

The first interview questions focused on background demographics such as where interviewees grew up, their educational journey, age, marital status, family background, and their motivation and purpose to study or work in *pesantren*. The family background questions explored parents' employment and education, their siblings and siblings' education, and the place where the family lives. Background demographic questions also provided information about participant's religious knowledge and gender awareness; this is particularly related to the question about where they grew up and their education. Moreover, family background investigated the social class of the *santri* and the hierarchy of *pesantren* in communities.

#### **3.9.2 Narrative and experiential questions**

These questions were about experience, description of events, people or places (Holmes, Hughes & Julian 2007:536; Minichiello, Aroni & Hays 2008:98). Questions in this category helped participants to describe the women's movement in *pesantren* and the concept of curriculum to develop gender equity in *pesantren*. They included, for example:

- How has Muslim feminism developed in your *pesantren*?
- What are the motivation and objectives of the Muslim feminist movement?
- How would you describe the response of the *pesantren*'s leader toward gender issues in *pesantren*?
- What are the rules and curricula differences in *pesantren* between male and female students?
- Would you explain about the regulation of *pesantren* curriculum and who has dominant roles in deciding *pesantren* curriculum?
- What are the differences in opportunity between male and female *santri* to improve the knowledge and/or skill in *pesantren*?

### 3.9.3 Opinion questions

Opinion questions are designed to understand the cognition and thinking of people about issues, problems or events (Holmes, Hughes & Julian 2007:537; Minichiello, Aroni & Hays 2008:99). In this section, questions related to what participants thought about Muslim feminism, developing gender equity in *pesantren* and the impact of the Muslim feminist movement. For example:

- What is your opinion about the person who is developing gender equity in the *pesantren*?
- What do you think about the *pesantren* teachers (*kyai/nyai*/teachers) who reinterpret Islamic texts and tend to emphasise equal positions between men and women?
- What do you think about educational methods and rules in *pesantren* between male and female *santri*?
- What is your opinion about women who had access to higher education and have a job in the public sphere?

### 3.9.4 Knowledge questions

These questions attempt to ‘find out what factual information’ the participants understand about the factual and empirical issues (Holmes, Hughes & Julian 2007:537; Minichiello, Aroni & Hays 2008:99). Questions in this category focused on the roles of males and females according to Islamic teaching, and on their understanding of the key gender discrepancies in Islamic texts such as those of polygamy, child custody, roles in the public sphere, education and careers.

### 3.9.5 Probing

Probing questions are another characteristic of the in-depth interview. I am expected to gain a better understanding about the topic through the exploration of the question and the participant’s elaboration from the earlier response of the primary question. Probing questions are designed to ‘elicit information more fully than the original questions which introduced a topic’ (Minichiello, Aroni & Hays 2008:100).

In this research probing was very useful to examine Muslim feminists in *pesantren* through the use of the language of everyday life:

- Could you explain that?
- What do you mean?
- What is the response of your *santri* about that?
- What did you try to change?
- Why?

### 3.10 Data analysis

The data was analysed inductively, which allowed me to come to the transcripts with an open attitude, and to seek what emerged as consistent and significant. There are three ways in which the interview data was approached. First, I coded interviews transcripts and group categories. The coding provides a label in the form of a word or short phrase which in some way compares and contrasts the data interviews from participants who have different background, that involves labeling

concepts, themes, and topical in research studies (Rubin & Rubin 2005:207; Fielding & Lee 2009:536).

Second, I formulated group categories related to the backgrounds and roles of participants in *pesantren*. I categorised positions in *pesantren* and these were divided into: decision makers (*kyai*, *nyai*, male/female director, curriculum coordinator); persons who influence decision making (senior *nyai*, steering committee, *kyai/nyai* families); staff (teachers in *madrasah* and dormitories, administrative staff); and *santri*. I also categorised the roles in developing gender awareness in *pesantren*: agents of change, status quo and followers.

Third, I analysed the data interview thematically<sup>35</sup> (Seidman 2006 125). The themes included: the *pesantren*'s curriculum and rules; the roles of *pesantren* leaders related to developing and maintaining *pesantren*; Muslim feminists related to their strategies; obstacles and responses from the *pesantren* community; gender issues in *pesantren* related to women's leadership; the roles of men and women in domestic and public spheres; and polygamy. Similarly, data observations from notes and *pesantren* documents were analysed thematically.

The process of data analysis also uses triangulation. Data triangulation attempts to measure the reliability and significance of the data which, in triangulation, can be within and between methods (Denzin 1978:342). In this research triangulation is conducted within and between data interviews, observations and *pesantren* documents, as well as secondary data from media and government.

In sum, the methodology has used feminist research that highlights the significance of this study. The theoretical background from feminist and qualitative research was considered more useful and relevant for data collection and analysis. The participant observation approach was conducted through observation and experience, in-depth interviews and collecting documentation and personal communication, which proved to be valuable for this study. This is because this approach can describe gender relations in the three *pesantren* in this study, as well

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<sup>35</sup> Analyse data thematically to link the various categories from in-depth interviews. The participant's background is also part of the analysis of data thematically (Seidman 2006:125).

the structure of *pesantren* that provide opportunities and obstacles for Muslim feminists in developing gender awareness and equity.

## Chapter 4

### *Pesantren*: Developing Identity in the Modern World

This chapter describes how *pesantren* respond to changes in the the modern world but retain their Islamic values. This research examines three *pesantren* in Java (see Figure 4.1) with unique characteristics. Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat in Yogyakarta is a cadre school of Muhammadiyah. Nurul Huda in Malang is a *salaf pesantren* that is associated with NU. As-sa'idiyyah 2 in Jombang, East Java is a *khalaf pesantren* that is also associated with NU. They all teach Islamic studies, but they have differences related to *mazhab*, organisational affiliation and the types of leadership. Figure 4.1  
Map of research locations



Notes: Research locations are Yogyakarta, Jombang and Malang

*Pesantren* in the Muhammadiyah system use the curricula of the Indonesian government. The Muhammadiyah school system provides education from kindergarten through to university level, organised on a professional basis. Whereas, not all *pesantren* associated with NU, provide an education based on the curricula of the Indonesian government. *Salaf pesantren*, like Nurul Huda, uses only their own curriculum, while As-sa'idiyyah 2 combines its own curriculum and the curricula of the Indonesian government. Mostly, NU-associated *pesantren* are led and owned by kyai/nyai and their family, which tends to mean that the

organisation of the *pesantren* reflects the family values of the kyai/nyai and is dominated by the family. In NU the term *pesantren* is common, but in Muhammadiyah *pesantren* is much debated.

#### **4.1 Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat**

Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat are educational institutions located in Yogyakarta city, near the Yogyakarta Palace. During 1945 until 1949, Yogyakarta became the capital city of Indonesia, and now, Yogyakarta is the capital of DIY (*Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta/ Special Region of Yogyakarta*). Urban culture is embedded in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat and when these institutions first appeared, the Javanese culture, particularly the Yogyakarta Palace culture, influenced their development. In Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat Indonesian culture dominates local identity (Javanese) because as a cadre school for Muhammadiyah, Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat have students who come from all regions in Indonesia.

Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat are characterised as modern reformist and open-minded toward social and political issues in local and national spheres, as well as being open to outsiders. Moreover, Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat are professional institutions, where teaching staff are qualified, and the role of the founder family is not dominant. Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat segregate male and female students, not only in boarding school but in the broader school system (Mu'allimin for male students and Mu'allimaat for female students) and have a separate organisational structure. The boarding school system is also different from other *pesantren* in Java; in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat the dormitories and the house of the leader are separate. In addition, the position of the leader, *ustadz/ustadzah* and students have similar positions and professional relations, although the leader still has precedence.

Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat were founded by Kyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, commonly known as Kyai Dahlan, in 1920 under the name *Qismul Arqo* or *Hogere School* (Senior High School) (Mu'allimaat 2009b; Mu'allimin 2009b:3; Mu'allimaat 2010d:2). Together with his first wife, Nyai Walidah, Kyai Dahlan encouraged women's empowerment in society through education. *Qismul Arqo* had its classroom in Kyai Dahlan's house with male and female students in one classroom.

Segregation of male and female students occurred in 1927 with the founding of *Kweekschool Istri*<sup>36</sup> (Teacher Training School for female) and *Kweekschool Muhammadiyah* (Teacher Training School of Muhammadiyah) for male students (Mu'allimin 2009b:3). The name *Kweekschool* is the same as the Dutch schools for native teachers in Indonesia (Alfian 1989:170; Chauvel 1990). *Kweekschool Istri* and *Kweekschool Muhammadiyah* taught religion and general subjects; this was encouraged by some executive members of Muhammadiyah who were also famous figures in Boedi Oetomo<sup>37</sup>, such as Raden Sosrosoegondho and Mas Ngabehi Djojosoegito (Nagazumi 1972:73; Alfian 1989:170), and the teaching methods of both institutions were also adopted from Dutch schools (Fadjar 2003:142). In the Muhammadiyah congress in Yogyakarta in 1930 these two schools changed their names to Madrasah Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat (Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat School): Madrasah Mu'allimin for male students and Madrasah Mu'allimaat for female students (Mu'allimaat 2009b:2; Mu'allimin 2009b:3; Ridwan 2010).

Historically Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, as a part of Muhammadiyah, encouraged gender awareness well before the Dutch colonial era ended in 1942. The curriculum also reflected cultural plurality: the Middle East, the West and Indonesia. Kyai Dahlan's educational background was from Mecca, where he studied Islam and influenced the establishment of Muhammadiyah as a modernist Islamic organisation. Moreover, his interaction with the Javanese aristocratic elite in *Keraton Yogyakarta* (Yogyakarta Palace) and with Boedi Oetomo in 1909 (Burhani 2010:60) led to the unity of knowledge about religion and nationality. Kyai Dahlan was not only an *ulama*, but also a *khatib* (the religious official mainly responsible for the Friday sermon) and family member of Yogyakarta Palace. Kyai Dahlan became *khatib* in 1986 after his father passed away (Burhani 2010:58). He married Ray Soetidjah Widyaningrum, a young widow from Yogyakarta Palace, who was a present from the Sultan, indicating the Sultan's support for Kyai Dahlan

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<sup>36</sup>Before Kyai Dahlan founded the *Kweekschool Istri*, Kyai Dahlan and Nyai Walidah founded *Sopo Tresno* in 1914 as a women's organisation that taught Islamic studies; in 1917 *Sopo Tresno* became a women's organisation within the Muhammadiyah with the name *Aisyiyah* (Ridwan 2010).

<sup>37</sup>Boedi Oetomo was the first Indonesian nationalist organisation to be based on the modern (Western) system, founded on 20 May 1908 by Javanese *priyayi* including Dr. Soetomo and Dr. Wahidin Sudirohusodo (Nagazumi 1972); Kyai Dahlan was a member of Boedi Oetomo in 1909 (Soedja' 1989). Boedi Oetomo is commemorated on national resurrection day.

in Kauman, Yogyakarta to develop and teach Islamic teaching; and Kyai Dahlan as *abdi ndalem* (functionary of Yogyakarta Palace), could not reject the wishes of the Sultan (Widyastuti 2010:8). Kyai Dahlan was able to preach Islamic teaching in the Yogyakarta Palace and the Sultan provided support to Muslim intellectuals like Kyai Dahlan.

Yogyakarta Palace has played a strong role in developing Islam in Java, as well as providing the most reliable and complete library to study the influence of Islam in Java (Woodward 1989:200). Yogyakarta Palace is symbolic of the physical manifestation of Islam in Java (Burhani 2010:53). This is unique to the Javanese and their relationship with God through *Grebeg Mulud* and *Grebeg Besar*<sup>38</sup> as the normative religion led by *khatib* (Woodward 1989:213-4). In addition, Kyai Dahlan had a good relationship with the Sultan in Yogyakarta Palace, Sultan Hamangkubuwana VII; the Sultan even asked Kyai Dahlan to undertake a pilgrimage to Mecca on behalf of his deceased father, Sultan Hamangkubuwana VI (Asrofie 1983:21). According to Burhani (2010), Yogyakarta Palace is considered by the Javanese people as the centre of civilisation and the soul of Javanese culture. As a result, Yogyakarta Palace and Muhammadiyah have a deep relationship in maintaining both Javanese and Islamic cultures in the Javanese society. Even a reformist organisation like the Muhammadiyah is closely integrated with Javanese aristocratic culture (Burhani 2010:78).

Furthermore, Kyai Dahlan was also married to Nyai Rum, the sister of Kyai Krapyak in Yogyakarta, who was associated with the NU organisation; this marriage symbolised an accommodation between NU and Muhammadiyah, as the two largest Islamic movements (Widyastuti 2010:9). The fourth wife of Kyai Dahlan was the daughter of aristocrats from Cianjur, West Java. This marriage was assumed as the way to preach Islamic teaching and the main reason for marriage is religion (Widyastuti 2010:10). Kyai Dahlan's polygamy was a way of expanding Islamic teaching with some of the *kyai* or *priyayi* utilising religion as justification for polygamy. Some Muslims interpret verses in the *Al-Qur'an* concerning polygamy

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<sup>38</sup>*Grebeg Mulud* is the ceremony in Yogyakarta Palace to commemorate the birthday of Prophet Muhammad; while *Grebeg Besar* is a ceremony in Yogyakarta Palace that celebrates the birthday of the Sultan. Both of the *Grebeg* are led by a *khatib* like Kyai Dahlan.

and its practice from their own gender perspective and they argue that the position of women is subordinate and marginal. On the basis of this interpretation, they argue only males have the authority and position to interpret Islamic teaching.

However, with the expansion of the Muhammadiyah, the first wife of Kyai Dahlan, Nyai Walidah, always accompanied him until he passed away in 1923 (Ridwan 2010). As an Islamic organisation, Muhammadiyah had been developing in all regions in Indonesia in 1930 (Mu'allimin 2009b:3). Kyai Dahlan had established an educational system to develop a cadre of young Muslims in the Muhammadiyah. Muhammadiyah branches all over Indonesia sent students to study in the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat to become future leaders of the Muhammadiyah (Mu'allimaat 2009b:2; Mu'allimin 2009b:3). The Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat were independent educational institutions that had their own curriculum, rather than use the Indonesian Government's curriculum (Mu'allimin 2009b:4). This changed in 1980 when the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat adopted some of the government's curriculum, while maintaining their own curriculum for Islamic studies (Mu'allimin 2009b:4). In 1980 Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat decided to develop a new system with a common curriculum that was used for the study of religious subjects and yellow book, while the Indonesian Government curriculum was used for general subjects. Moreover, Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat has an education system that integrates the *madrasah*<sup>39</sup> system with the boarding school system to train *ulama*, and leaders who have the Muhammadiyah's ideology (Mu'allimaat 2009b:3; Mu'allimin 2009b:4). Nevertheless, the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat decided to re-establish a strong religious leadership in the figure of an *ulama* or *kyai*. In 1980 the Mu'allimin appointed Ustadz HMS Juraimi from Central Sulawesi as its leader (Mu'allimin 2009b:4).

The education systems in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat are similar to those of the *pesantren* associated with the NU, but some persons in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat assert that there are differences. First, the leadership in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat is selected on the basis of professional criteria, such as level of education and experience in managing education systems. None of the leaders in Mu'allimin and

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<sup>39</sup>*Madrasah* are Islamic schools that have an Indonesian Government designed curriculum, based on government rules.

Mu'allimaat have a relationship with Kyai Dahlan. Second, the leader in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat does not have authority and power like in an NU *pesantren*. All the rules and policy in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat are decided by all staff through meetings. Third, Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat study Islamic teaching including traditional yellow book, but also contemporary yellow book such as *Bulughul Marom* (yellow text that contains an interpretation of *hadith*). In addition, Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat have specific books that are designed by teachers in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat from many contemporary yellow books in the Indonesian language for the Mu'allimaat and Arabic language for the Mu'allimin. Finally, the teaching methods are modern methods such as discussion and student centred learning. They prefer the term 'boarding school' because initially Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat were not a *pesantren* system but a boarding school that offered Islamic education (interview with Ustadz Mifta, male teacher in Mu'allimin, 26 September 2010). However, in this research, *pesantren* refers to Islamic boarding schools.

Moreover, other members of the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat accepted *pesantren* as a modern concept, related to curriculum, teaching methods and behaviour, not the traditional concept (Hidayati et al. 2008:5). The concept of modern *pesantren* is related to a curriculum that contains religious subjects and general subjects, modern teaching methods including discussion, students as the centre of learning and good dormitories. However, in Indonesian society, *pesantren* tends to be associated with traditional education that has its own curriculum, especially related to the study of yellow book. *Pesantren* use traditional teacher-centric methods and have slum-like dormitories. Although contemporary *pesantren* have many traditional and modern characteristics that are associated with NU or Muhammadiyah, mixed characteristics (combination between NU and Muhammadiyah) radical Islam, or other sects such as Persis<sup>40</sup>, Jami'yyat al-islah wal-Irsyad<sup>41</sup>, but when people discuss *pesantren*, they are usually referring to the NU tradition.

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<sup>40</sup>Persis (*Persatuan Islam*/ Islamic Association) is a *pesantren* where the religious perspective is closer to Islamic salaf in Saudi and was founded in 1923 (Van Bruinessen 2008:224; Bush 2009:32).

<sup>41</sup>Jami'yyat al-islah wal-Irsyad (Union for Reformation and Guidance), commonly known as Al-Irsyad, is a reform organisation that is active among the Indonesian Hadrami community and this *pesantren* is based on conservative Arab education and was founded in 1915 (Noer 1973; Van Bruinessen 2008:223; Bush 2009:32).

Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat were registered by the Department of Religious Affairs with the name Pesantren Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat since 1996 (Hidayati et al. 2008:5). The changing of their names to Pesantren Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat had particular purposes (Hidayati et al. 2008:8-9). First, it expanded the level of education in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat in the future, are not only to MTs (*Madrasah Tsanawiyah*/Islamic junior high school) and MA (*Madrasah Aliyah*/Islamic senior high school), but also from play group until university. Second, the *pesantren* concept has the advantage of being able to educate students in both the school and boarding school, as well as providing the opportunity for students to study Islamic teaching more intensively. Although Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat are formally and legally *pesantren*, in some material published internally, the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat still use the name Madrasah Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, not Pesantren Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat (Mu'allimaat 2010e; Mu'allimin 2010a).

The term *pesantren* in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat is still debatable among the people in these institutions. Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat are educational institutions under Muhammadiyah as a modern organisation, while *pesantren* is commonly stereotyped in the NU community as a traditional community. In the beginning, Muhammadiyah educated the Muslim community with a modern *madrasah* system, rather than *pesantren*, which was identified with rural culture because the majority of *santri* in *pesantren* come from farming families (Barton 2002:70-1). The *pesantren* system however provides positive effects in educating generations of Muslims to understand Islamic teaching including yellow book. When this research was conducted in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, some students told me that while they have good knowledge and information and are experts in debating, their reading of *Al-Qur'an* or understanding of yellow book is not as good as NU *santri*. Muhammadiyah and NU are the largest Islamic organisations in Indonesia that have different *mazhab* in *fiqh*, and have some of the doctrines and religious practice. Hence, Muhammadiyah and NU have similarities and differences relating to educational concepts, as well as the function of Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat as the cadre school of Muhammadiyah. This means that some of its graduates become leaders and functionaries in the Muhammadiyah organisation and teachers in Muhammadiyah schools as well as in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat.

Moreover, *kyai* and *nyai* are not common terms in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, which prefers to use *direktur* (director) for their leaders. This community's preference is also *siswi* for female students and *siswa* for male students, rather than the more widely used *santri*. However, the terms used for teachers in school in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat (including the boarding school) are the same as those used in the wider Indonesian *pesantren* community: *ustadz* and *ustadzah*. The *pesantren* buildings include the boarding school and day school, the mosque, and the leader's house, but in the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, all buildings are located in different areas, with many boarding houses. Boarding for male students is mostly near roadways, superstores and bus stations, while female students are located in small, cramped, and very crowded areas. These different locations for male and female accommodations affect the mobility and level of control of the students.

Mu'allimin has ten boarding locations and Mu'allimaat has thirteen boarding houses in different locations. Each dormitory has a *pamong* who manages and controls dormitory activities, *musrif/musrifah* and *mujanib/mujanibah* (male/female senior students who are room leaders), and the regulations of boarding houses are reasonably uniform. In Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, all have specified jobs with clear responsibilities. The function of all dormitories is a place for sleeping, but for everyday activities including praying and studying Islamic teachings. Students from regular and bilingual classes (English and Arabic) have different boarding locations to make them easier to manage, and to control the bilingual class (a new program in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat). Written rules for all boarding places are the same, although in practice, each boarding house differs, depending on the *pamong*. For example, in male boarding houses some students are permitted to bring mobile phones and have motor cycles, because they have many activities and school responsibilities; but this does not happen with female students.

This research has found differences in *santri* background between *pesantren*. In Muhammadiyah's *pesantren* (Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat), for example, *santri* mostly come from middle and upper class families, but in NU *pesantren* (Nurul Huda and As-sa'idiyyah 2), generally *santri* come from middle and lower class families. About 65% of the parents of students in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat have higher education and these students come from Central Java and DIY (*Daerah*

*Istimewa Yogyakarta/Yogyakarta Special Region*). The overall majority of students have urban backgrounds (Mu'allimaat 2010a, 2010b; Mu'allimin 2010b,2010c).

Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat have the same facilities as general schools including libraries with internet connections, sports areas, language laboratories, chemistry, biology and physics, and bookstores. But the mosque is only located in one area of the Mu'allimin school, as are the areas for basketball, and soccer. In Mu'allimaat the school has a small sports area which is inadequate for student activities, and most boarding houses do not have a yard for general use. However, every boarding house has a huge room for prayer. Females have limited access, not only in the *madrasah*, but also in the dormitory.

#### **4.1.1 Types of leadership and gender divisions of labour**

The *direktur* in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat are the leaders in both the MA and MTs; also the curriculum coordinator, student coordinator and finance coordinator have positions in the MA and MTs. These leaders are elected by a formal steering committee or PP Muhammadiyah (*Pengurus Pusat Muhammadiyah/* the central board of Muhammadiyah).

Ustadzah Erna explained:

In the Mu'allimaat the leadership issue is not based on hereditary. It has become more democratic, which means that anybody can be nominated and chosen through an election. The mechanism is managed by a steering committee that determines the regulations about who can be elected as Director. (Interview with Ustadzah Erna, the curriculum coordinator of Mu'allimaat, 29 September, 2010)

Similar views were expressed by Ustadz Mifta:

Even the appointment of the school director is democratic and is not determined by the family of Ahmad Dahlan. In the Muhammadiyah, although, Ahmad Dahlan was a founder and owned the land, but he gave it to the Muhammadiyah and the Muhammadiyah has the responsibility. Mu'allimin has had directors who have not been educated in the Mu'allimin itself. (Interview with Ustadz Mifta, teacher in Mu'allimin, 26 September, 2010)

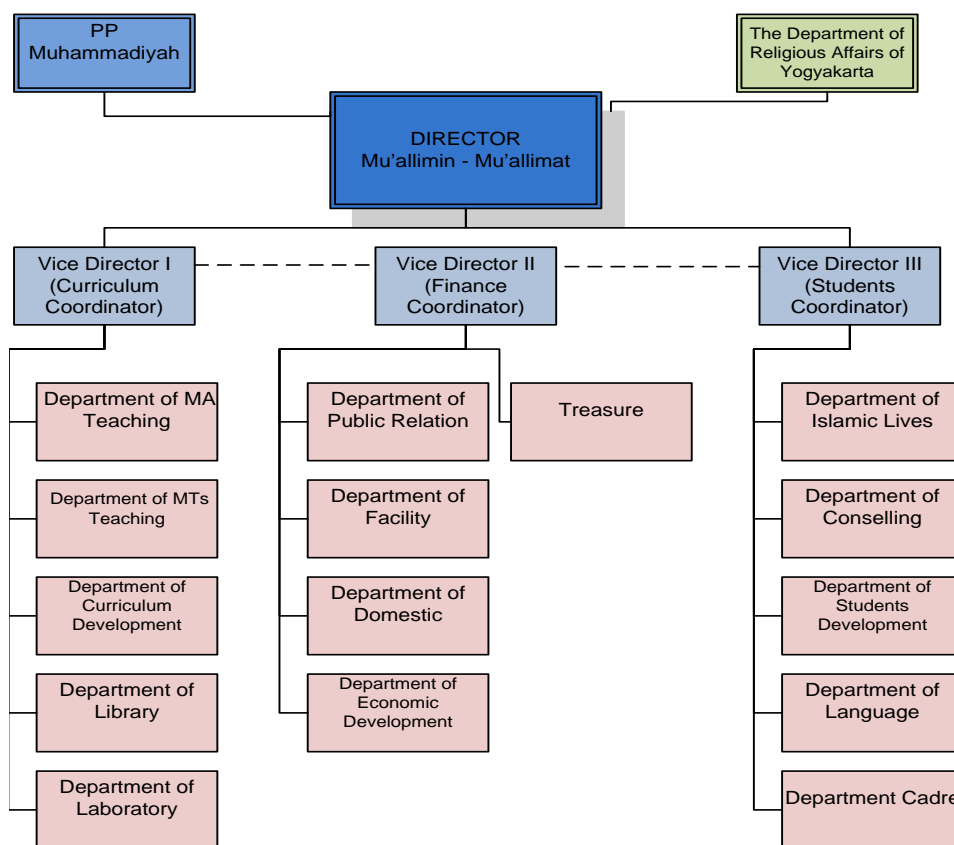
To describe the leadership of Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat as democratic means that it is a professional institution, not a family institution. However, political concerns are important in deciding who becomes a leader in this institution, as related by a

student in Mu'allimaat about the last leadership change and succession processes that were deemed unfair:

Ustadz Hamdan was the favourite leader of the Mu'allimaat students. He brought about many changes in the Mu'allimaat system. But, some teachers in the Mu'allimaat did not like these changes. As a consequence, Ustadz Hamdan was replaced before he finished his term as Director. Presently, the leader is always controlled by the *ustadzah* who have a different ideology from Muhammadiyah. (Interview with Mu'allimaat student, 1 October, 2010)

This shows how the director does not have powers like the *kyai* or *nyai* in NU *pesantren*. And most of the directors in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat are graduates from these *madrasah* and the cadre of Muhammadiyah. Figure 4.2 below illustrates the organisational structure of Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat with PP Muhammadiyah, where dual organisational structures are identical, each having its own director who is responsible to both the PP Muhammadiyah and Department of Religious Affairs. The directors of both the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat are responsible to the central board of Muhammadiyah to whom they have to account for their implementation of Muhammadiyah ideology in their institutions.

**Figure4.2**  
**Organisational structures of Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat**



Source: (Mu'allimaat 2009a:19; 2009b:25; Mu'allimin 2009b:67)

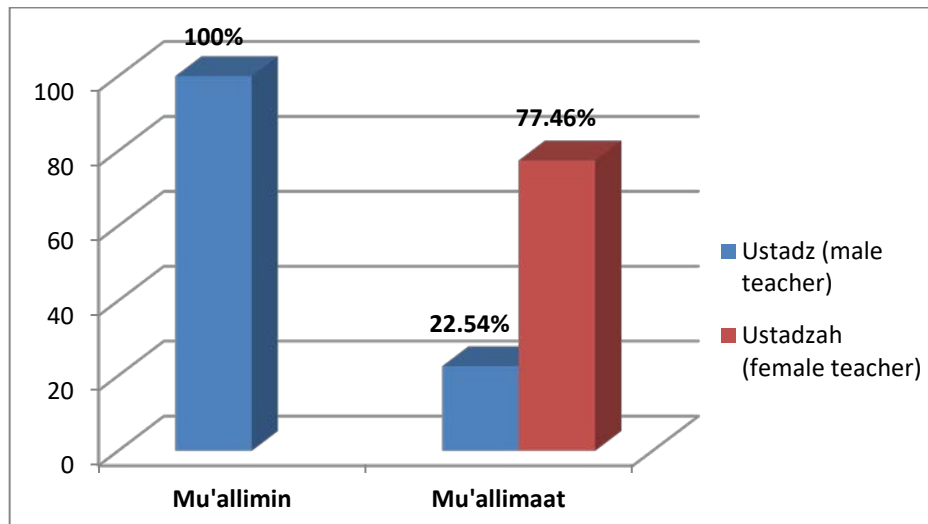
Mu'allimin has a male leader and coordinators and teachers are males (see Figure 4.3). Administrative staff are males, except the cooking staff. As will be further discussed in chapter eight, some female teachers in Mu'allimaat are concerned about the way the Mu'allimin perpetuates patriarchal values. Ustadzah Misma, a female teacher in Mu'allimaat, explains that some of the males who graduated from Mu'allimin are authoritarian figures in their family, and expect to be obeyed and served by their families, reflecting the gender values of their education in the Mu'allimin and the absence of female authority figures. Ustadzah Misma's observation suggests how Mu'allimin education perpetuates patriarchal values. Ustadzah Misma asserts that she wants to teach in Mu'allimin to develop gender awareness and provide a female authority figure for the Mu'allimin students, because it is very important for student development to present both male and female figures (interview with Ustadzah Misma, 4 October, 2010). Ustadzah Misma

has a strategy to change the Mu'allimin system by providing opportunities for female teachers to teach in Mu'allimin classes.

**Figure4.3**  
**Composition *ustadz* and *ustadzah* who teach in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat**

N teachers in Mu'allimin = 123

N teachers in Mu'allimaat = 71



Source: (Mu'allimaat 2009b:24, 6; Mu'allimin 2009b)

In contrast to the Mu'allimin and during this research, the director in the Mu'allimaat was female, with staff and teachers were male and female. From 1927 to 1978, the Mu'allimaat was under the male leadership of R.H. Djalal (1927–1932), KH. A. Badawie (1932–1947), KH. Dalhar BKN (1947–1965), Moh. Hajam Hisyam (1965–1966), and Hana BA (1966–1978). From 1978 to 1994 the Mu'allimaat was led by women for the first time (Mu'allimaat 2009b:4). They were Dra Ruslimah Wahab (1978–1979), and Dra Hj Siti Zunnah Asy (1979–1994). After fifteen years of the Mu'allimaat being under female leadership, it was again led by males until 2005 (Mu'allimaat 2009b:4). They were Drs H Mashuri (1994–1997), HM Burhanudin BA (1997–1998), and Drs H Hamdan Hambali (1998–2005) (Mu'allimaat 2009b:4). Hamdan Hambali's leadership was controversial as some teachers refused to recognise his Mu'allimin background. He had never taught in Mu'allimaat before, and his mandate for leadership was from the PP Muhammadiyah (interview with Ustadz Hamdan; the steering committee of

Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat Yogyakarta, 7 October, 2010). Since his resignation in 2005 the Mu'allimaat has been led by a woman, Dra Fauziah Tri Astuti MA. Currently, the *direktur* and coordinators are female, and 77.46% of the teachers are female (see Figure 4.3). This percentage indicates the increasing feminisation of Mu'allimaat staff.

According to the steering committee of Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, Ustadz Hamdan, and the curriculum coordinator of Mu'allimaat, Ustadzah Erna, female leaders have competency to lead females, because they have contiguity psychologically, and are more comfortable with each other (interviews with Ustadzah Erna, September 29, 2010 and Ustadz Hamdan, 7 October, 2010). However, in the Mu'allimaat, 22.54% of teachers are males (see Figure 4.3) with male administrative staff. According to Ustadzah Unik (female teacher in Mu'allimaat), this becomes a role model for students when they see that females can be leaders. However, males in Mu'allimaat are needed for jobs such as repairing electrics or building a roof (interview with Ustadzah Erna, 29 September, 2010), and jobs that require strength such as lifting goods (interview with Ustadz Hamdan, 7 October, 2010). Ustadzah Erna recognises that females have limitations. For example, she had difficulty finding females to act as security staff for the female boarding school.

Male and female stereotypes still shape the gender division of labour in the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat: females are nurturing and caring, home oriented and suitable as cooking staff while males are aggressive, independent and have physical strength. Despite this, women hold positions as leaders, but only in women's communities. The segregation system in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat mostly places restrictions on females. Males can access both male and female communities. They educate women and internalise religious values, attitudes and behaviours. The hegemony of patriarchy, influenced by Javanese culture, is still the dominant discourse; developing gender equity, associated with Western culture, becomes a counter hegemony toward patriarchy. Hence, women's leadership in Mu'allimaat is a paradox, because patriarchal culture is still dominant in the Mu'allimaat system and wider society.

#### **4.1.2 Student programs and activities**

Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat *santri* consist of those in both MA and MTs. Students total 2036 (47% Mu'allimaat and 53% Mu'allimin students). They stay in 23 dormitories with ten dormitories for male students and thirteen dormitories for female students (Mu'allimaat 2009b; Mu'allimin 2009b). In Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, the schedule for students in both the *madrasah* and boarding school is from 04:00 to 22:00 (see Table 4.1). Students have a schedule to lead *Sholat berjama'ah* (praying together) with a *musrif/musrifah* leading the activity. Moreover, students have a responsibility to provide *tausiah*<sup>42</sup> to *Jama'ah sholat* (the member of praying) once a week. These activities prepare the students to become future leaders (cadre students) in the Muhammadiyah organisation. Once a week students must wake up earlier for *sholat tahadjud* (praying at midnight); but the actual schedule depends on agreement within the boarding school.

**Table 4.1**  
**Student activities in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat**

<b>Times</b>	<b>Activities</b>
<b>04:00 – 04:30</b>	Wake up and prepare for praying ( <i>Subuh</i> time)
<b>04:30 – 05:25</b>	Pray together and read <i>Al-Qur'an</i>
<b>05:25 – 06:45</b>	Prepare to go to school and breakfast
<b>06:45 – 13:55</b>	Study in <i>madrasah</i> and pray together ( <i>Dhuhur</i> time)
<b>13:55 – 15:00</b>	Break (lunch)
<b>15:00 – 16:00</b>	Pray together ( <i>Ashar</i> time) and prepare the next activities
<b>16:00 – 17:00</b>	Extra-curricular activities in school
<b>17:00 – 18:00</b>	Discussion break
<b>18:00 – 19:15</b>	Pray together ( <i>Maghrib</i> time) and read <i>Al-Qur'an</i>
<b>19:15 – 20:00</b>	Pray together ( <i>Isya'</i> time), memorise <i>Al-Qur'an</i> , followed by dinner
<b>20:00 – 22:00</b>	Learn together in the boarding school

Source: (Mu'allimaat 2009b; Mu'allimin 2009b; and observation)

Students have extra-curricular activities in the afternoon (16:00-17:00), some of which are compulsory including *hizbul wathan* (scouting activities), reading the *Al-*

<sup>42</sup> *Tausiah* is advice about attitude and behaviour related to Islamic teaching.

*Qur'an* and Arabic language. Other extra-curricular activities chosen by students include: *qiro'ah* (the art of reading *Al-Qur'an*), *teater* (drama), and journalism for both female and male students; *qosidah* (religious songs), cooking and sewing for female students; and sport such as *tapak suci* (a kind of karate practiced in the Muhammadiyah organisation), and taekwondo for male students (Mu'allimaat 2009b; Mu'allimin 2009b). Some extra-curricular activities are also provided, which stereotype males and females who are segregated in all these activities.

#### **4.1.3 Language use in the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat**

In Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, Yogyakarta has a bilingual program – Arabic and English (Mu'allimin 2009a; Mu'allimaat 2010e); students in the bilingual program must speak Arabic and English in *madrasah* and the dormitory, and some of the teaching material uses Arabic and English. In Mu'allimin, all the teaching materials of religious subjects, such as *hadith* and *fiqh*, are written in Arabic, while general subjects are written in Indonesian and English. The use of Arabic in Islamic teaching was first introduced in 2010. The ability of students to speak Arabic had declined, compared to their competence in English, and as trainee *ulama*, they need to understand and speak Arabic. Ustadz Muhlish explained:

Some research into the foreign language competence of the Mu'allimin students found that the students' language skills had declined greatly in recent years, particularly in Arabic. If it's English, they like it, but their Arabic is very poor and they can never understand Arabic. But this is an institution of Islamic education in which Arabic is an important thing. It was found a couple of years ago some of the yellow book Islamic teaching (*Kitab kuning*) had been translated into Indonesian. In the first year of junior high school, it was not just a few texts, but rather a hundred percent of Yellow book used Indonesian. As a result, the students have developed no love for Arabic. Although, the language is not the objective, but it is rather the instrument. One of the aims of the Mu'allimin is to educate a cadre of *ulama* (Islamic scholars), but the *ulama* cannot be separated from a knowledge of Arabic. (Interview with Ustadz Muhlish, the curriculum coordinator of Mu'allimin, 29 September, 2010)

In Mu'allimaat, teaching materials in general subjects are written in Indonesian and English, and religious subjects still combine Indonesian and Arabic. Mu'allimaat still combines two languages, because the students are still adapting and adjusting to bilingual language (Arabic and English); as well, the teachers in the Mu'allimaat are still limited in terms of foreign languages. Hence, Indonesian language is

utilised in teaching materials; in *madrasah*, some of the Mu'allimaat students in the bilingual program speak Indonesian. In contrast in the Mu'allimin, teachers in the bilingual class are able to speak Arabic, for instance, and higher standards are accomplished in the bilingual class.

Given the differences in human resources between Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, creating the same standard between bilingual programs is problematic. The Mu'allimin teachers are better qualified to conduct bilingual programs, particularly in religious subjects. Many *ustadz* in Mu'allimin graduated from Egypt and Saudi Arabia; and *ustadz* in Mu'allimin are more likely to speak Arabic, which is the language of Islamic holy texts. Moreover, Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat have a public speaking program in the dormitory in four languages: Javanese, Indonesian, Arabic and English conducted once a month. This program is *da'wah* learning and every student must be an orator in this program.

Although, Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat have a bilingual program, in everyday life they still utilise Indonesian as the mother tongue and formal language. Javanese is not common because the students come from Java, Sunda, Padang, Kalimantan and other islands in Indonesia. Moreover, the Indonesian language is useful as a formal language and as a symbol of Indonesian identity. Most students come from middle and upper class families that commonly speak Indonesian at home, not Javanese; even the upper class students do not understand Javanese although their parents come from Java. For some people, Javanese is assumed to be the traditional language for rural society, even though Javanese at the highest level is still utilised by Yogyakarta Palace, which reflects the palace's position as the centre of Javanese aristocratic culture. However, the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat community tend to have an Indonesian identity rather than *priyayi*, although at the time of the establishment of Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat in 1920, Javanese culture, particularly Yogyakarta Palace culture, was more dominant.

The location of the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat are near the palace; indeed one of Mu'allimaat's dormitories is owned by the palace, but the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat community utilise Indonesian as the national language. Moreover, Indonesian reflects the national values of heterogeneity and equality. The Indonesian language also conveys and reflects social hierarchy and status less

clearly than Javanese. It is important to educate the younger generation as cadre of Muhammadiyah that come from all regions in Indonesia, with many ethnic groups, languages and cultures. The Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat endeavour to educate the younger generation of Indonesian Muslims with Muhammadiyah values. The Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat are less hierarchical, less strict in their regulations and more open to the community than the other two *pesantren* in this study.

#### **4.1.4 Relations between the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat and the community**

Kyai Dahlan not only taught Islamic studies, but how to implement Islamic teaching in everyday lives. For example: some *santri* would ask Kyai Dahlan "Why does Kyai always teach *Surah*<sup>43</sup> Al-Ma'un?" Kyai Dahlan replied "did you apply this *surah*? If you already implemented this *surah*, you help poor people and orphans" (Ridwan 2010). Based on the *Surah*, Kyai Dahlan founded reformatories, houses for poor people and mosques.

After Kyai Dahlan passed away, the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat still focused on education and this was the institution that educated young people, especially Muhammadiyah cadre. The location of the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat in a relatively heterogeneous urban community meant that the student could not be insulated from the diverse influences of the community. These influences are reflected in the minimarket, *warung* (small cafeteria), *toko* (small shop that sell books, snacks, and school equipment), photocopy service, telephone and internet that service students in the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat. Moreover, some of these students teach *Al-Qur'an* reading in TPA (*Taman Pendidikan Al-Qur'an*/The place to educate *Al-Qur'an*) near Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat dormitories. People who live nearby also respect Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat leaders, *ustadz/ustadzah*, and administrative staff.

Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat graduates have positions in Muhammadiyah, Aisyiyah (women's organisation in Muhammadiyah), and teach in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, in Muhammadiyah schools or Muhammadiyah universities in

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<sup>43</sup>*Surah* is divided into 114 chapters in *Al-Qur'an*.

Indonesia. For example, Safi'i Ma'arif who graduated from Mu'allimin became a leader of Muhammadiyah in 2000 for five years (Ridwan 2010).

#### 4.2 Nurul Huda Pesantren

Nurul Huda is located in Singosari, a suburb of Malang, and 80 km from Surabaya, the capital of East Java. Malang is a part of East Java Province. Nurul Huda is a *salaf pesantren* and its genealogy can be traced to the founder of the *pesantren*. In this respect it is a family institution under the patriarchal control of the *kyai*. Nurul Huda has no government accreditation, which means the graduate certificate is not accepted by formal schools in Indonesia, hence some *santri* in Nurul Huda study general subjects in other schools in the neighborhood, if they want to continue in higher education (interview with Ustadz Chusin, the leader of male administrative in Nurul Huda, 6 November, 2010).

This *pesantren* is strongly influenced by Javanese culture rather than a broader national Indonesian culture. Seniority and patriarchal culture are also embedded in the *pesantren's* tradition. Javanese Islam is the religious identity in Nurul Huda; it means Javanese traditions and values are strongly reflected in the *pesantren's* Islamic teaching and rituals such as *slametan*. Nurul Huda is characterised as being traditionalist and less open-minded toward social and political issues and outsiders than Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat and As-sa'idiyyah 2. The leader of the *pesantren* is like a king in a small kingdom and he is thought to have *barokah* (blessing or reward from God). The *santri* of the *pesantren* show great respect towards the leader. The majority of *santri* of Nurul Huda come from the region around Malang, Surabaya and Sidoarjo. The *santri* and the leader of the *pesantren* live in close proximity to each other but in different buildings.

Nurul Huda has developed its own curriculum for Islamic studies and does not teach other subjects. Nurul Huda was founded in 1973 by Kyai Haji Abdul Manan Syukur, known as Kyai Manan. He claimed to be descended from Sunan Giri<sup>44</sup> and graduated from NU *pesantren* including Beran Pesantren in Ngawi, East Java,

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<sup>44</sup>Sunan Giri is one of the *wali sanga* (nine saints) who propagated Islam in the Javanese island and who have genealogy with Prophet Muhammad.

Tebuireng Pesantren and Bahrul Ulum Pesantren in Jombang, East Java, Krapyak Pesantren in Yogyakarta, and Tugung Sempu Sentail Pesantren in Banyuwangi, East Java (Wardatul 2007; Pesantren, NH 2010h). Kyai Manan did not only understand Islamic texts including yellow book, but also recited *Al-Qur'an* (*hafidz*). Hence, Kyai Manan had two programs for the *santri*: *tahfidz* (*Al-Qur'an* recitation) and *diniyah salafiah* (studies of Arabic and Islamic teaching including yellow book) (Pesantren, NH 2010h). In addition, as a *kyai* in a *salaf pesantren*, he sent his son and daughters to other *salaf pesantren*, led by senior *kyai*, such as Lirboyo Pesantren in Kediri, East Java. Kyai Manan and his wife managed Nurul Huda until he passed away in March 2007, six months after his wife passed away (Wardatul 2007). Their graves are located in the Nurul Huda complex.

Since Kyai Manan's death, Nurul Huda has been led by his son and daughter. The male's *pesantren* is managed by his son, Kyai Haji Muhammad Khoirul Amin (Kyai Khoirul), who graduated from *pesantren* in Java and then studied Islamic teaching in Mecca. He is still a young (38 years old) *pesantren* leader (Tohari 2009). Like his father, Kyai Khoirul has specialised in Islamic studies and *Al-Qur'an* recitation. The *tahfidz* class in Nurul Huda is under his management and he teaches every day. He can listen and correct *Al-Qur'an* recitations from four *santri* in one session.

Female *pesantren* is managed by the second daughter of Kyai Manan, Nyai Ummu Zahrah. Nyai Ummu studied Islamic teaching in *salaf pesantren* and *khalaf pesantren* in East Java including Salafiyah Pesantren in Bangil, Bahrul Ulum Pesantren in Jombang and Cabean Pesantren in Pasuruan (El-Yusufi, Hamrok & Rosyidah 2009). Moreover, she studied at the UIN (*Universitas Islam Negeri/* Islamic University) in Malang, but did not finish. Another of Kyai Manan's daughters, Ning Musyarofah, manages the children's *pesantren* which is called Nurul Huda 2 (Pesantren, NH 2010h). The two daughters from Kyai Manan married into the *kyai* families of two other *salaf pesantren*.

According to the youngest daughter of Kyai Manan, Ning Nur, Nurul Huda is a quasi *salaf pesantren* which has independent curricula based on classical Islamic teachings, but some of the teaching methods in Nurul Huda are modern such as using videos and discussion between *ustadz/ustadzah* and *santri* (interview with Ning Nur, 24 October, 2010). Moreover, she asserts that the *salaf pesantren* only

use *bandongan*<sup>45</sup> and *sorogan*<sup>46</sup> methods. However, according to some of the *santri* at Nurul Huda, they assumed Nurul Huda was a *khalaf pesantren* for some reason. First, Nurul Huda's position is strategic, near public transport, markets and banks, like in a city. Second, the facilities in Nurul Huda are modern such as water, sanitation and public phone. Third, Nurul Huda *santri* can study outside the *pesantren* to study in schools such as Madrasah Al-Ma'arif (Al-Ma'arif Islamic School). This opportunity enables *santri* in Nurul Huda to study a range of general subjects, in addition to religious subjects in the *pesantren*. In many respects, the learning environment in the school is contrary to the rules in Nurul Huda where there is strict segregation between male and female *santri*, whereas in formal schools male and female students study together in one class. Finally, *santri* in Nurul Huda not only study Islamic teaching including yellow book and Arabic as the language of Islamic teaching, but also English, which conveys a Western values. The debatable issue related to *salaf* or *khalaf pesantren* is how *pesantren* communities create and develop identity in the modern era and negotiate their identity outside the *pesantren*.

#### 4.2.1 Leadership and gender divisions of labour

In Nurul Huda, *kyai* and *nyai* are responsible for maintaining separate male and female boarding, but sometimes the policies and practices for male and female *santri* is similar. Kyai Khoirul as a male leader in Nurul Huda is very respectful to Nyai Ummu, the female leader who is his older sister. The seniority in the culture of Nurul Huda seems as important as patriarchal values, as reflected in formal ceremonies and correspondence. Nevertheless, it was Kyai Khoirul who succeeded his father as leader of Nurul Huda, not his elder sister.

All the male and female *santri* must be obedient toward the *kyai/nyai; sami'na wa atho'na* (we listen and we are obedient) reflects the belief that the *kyai* has the *barokah*. All *santri* and their parents respect the *kyai's/nyai's* family. When *santri* meet with the *kyai* or *nyai*, they not only kiss their hand, but also sit on the floor

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<sup>45</sup>*Bandongan* is a method where the teacher reads, translates and explains Islamic teaching, and *santri* listen, write and understand Islamic teaching.

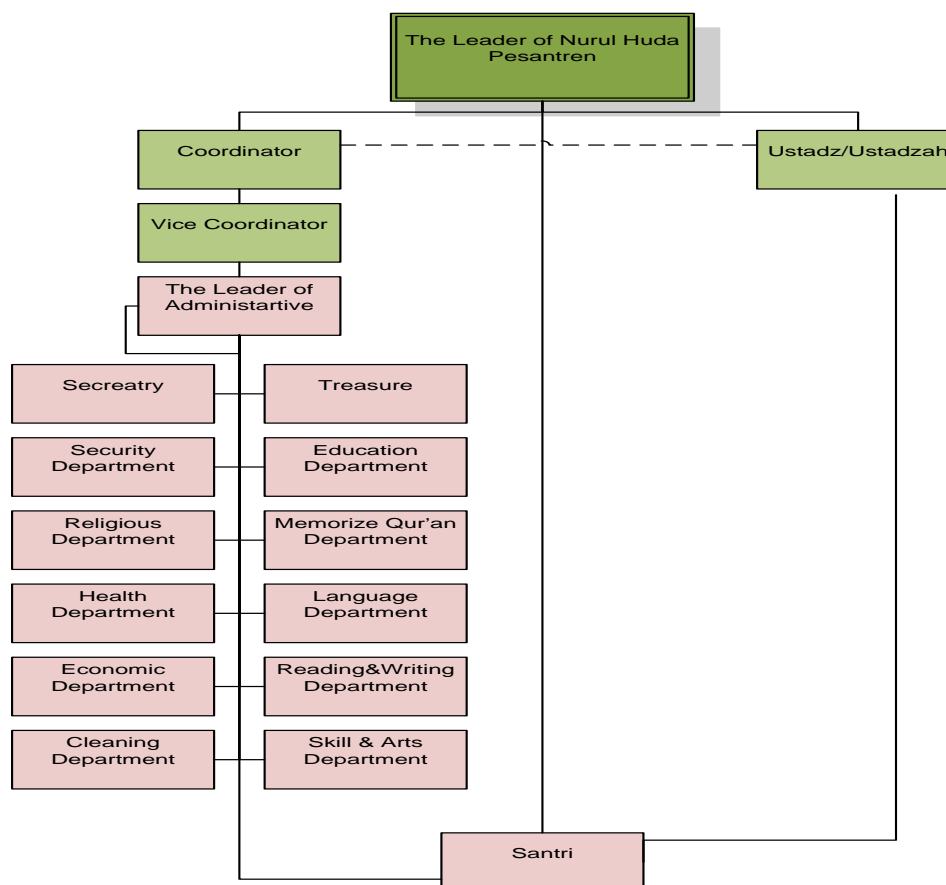
<sup>46</sup>*Sorogan* is a teaching method where a *santri* goes to a teacher who will read some passages of Arabic text and translate in Javanese, and the *santri* repeats and translates these passages in Javanese as accurately as possible.

below the *kyai/nyai*. They cannot look directly at the *kyai* or *nyai*; only male *santri* kiss the hand of the *kyai* and only female *santri* kiss the hand of the *nyai*. Even, when *santri* meet in the house of *kyai* or *nyai*, they cannot knock at the door, but must wait and sit in front of the door until the *kyai/nyai* opens it. Male and female dormitories in the Nurul Huda and the house of the *pesantren* leader are located in one area, which facilitates easier monitoring of *santri*.

The *kyai* and *nyai* have the authority and power to decide the rules and policies in the *pesantren*. The administrative staff are responsible for the implementation of these rules as well as overseeing *santris*' activities in both the *pesantren* and the school (see Figure 4.4). Commonly, administrative staff and cooking staff also study as *santri* in Nurul Huda. Different from the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, the cooking staff are male *santri* and they cook for all *santri* twice daily. They cook huge quantities of food, sometimes until midnight. The *kyai* or *nyai* choose male *santri* because the work demands strength and energy (interview with Nyai Ummu, female leader in Nurul Huda, 11 November, 2010).

Some *ustadz* and *ustadzah* also study as senior *santri*, not as trainee teachers, but as teacher staff, while others graduate from Nurul Huda. As a result, *santri* in Nurul Huda have multiple roles as *santri*, administrative staff and *ustadz/ustadzah*. Some teach in Islamic elementary schools around the Nurul Huda. The teachers in the Nurul Huda are less well trained and qualified than those at Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, which have better human resources. The activities from all staff must be reported to the leader of the *pesantren*; even the *nyai* supervises cooking staff every day. In Figure 4.4, the dual organisational structures of the Nurul Huda female and male boarding schools are depicted. The structure is identical, each boarding school with its own leader. The leadership of Nurul Huda is in the hands of the *kyai/nyai*, who are responsible for policy making and all the decisions related to the curriculum.

**Figure 4.4**  
**Organisational structure of Nurul Huda Pesantren**



Source: (Pesantren 2009b, 2009a)

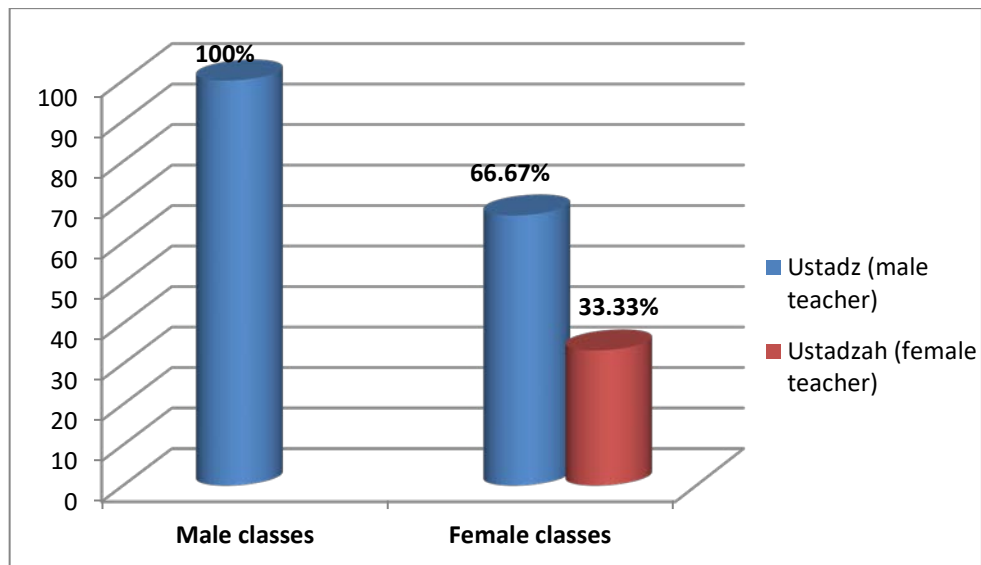
In common with Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, in Nurul Huda, male *santri* are taught by *ustadz*, but female *santri* are taught by both *ustadz* (66.67%) and *ustadzah* (33.33%) (see Figure 4.5). Even so, *ustadz* predominate as teachers and *ustadzah* teach female *santri* in *diniyah salafiyah* classes. In contrast to Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, there are many more *ustadz* teaching in female classes in the Nurul Huda. This reflects the importance attributed to the study of Arabic and yellow book. However, *ustadz* who teach female classes are responsible to the *nyai* as the leader of the female *pesantren*, rather than the *kyai*.

In other classes, such as the *qiro'ati* (*Al-Qur'an* reading class) and Arabic and English language classes, *ustadz* teach male *santri* and *ustadzah* teach female *santri*, while in *tahfidz*, male and female *santri* are taught by the *kyai*, because only Kyai Khoirul has the outstanding capability to recite *Al-Qur'an* from memory, and he studied *Al-Qur'an* in Mecca. Although the youngest daughter of Kyai Manan, Ning Nur, also has excellent competence to recite *Al-Qur'an*, she never teaches the *Al-Qur'an* recitation class, and only teaches *diniyah salafiyah* classes.

Moreover, Ning Nur thought her brother, Kyai Khoirul, had similar skill in *Al-Qur'an* recitation as their father, who taught the recitation *Al-Qur'an*. Her brother succeeded his father, Kyai Manan, as the leader of the Nurul Huda, as well as the teacher of the *Al-Qur'an* recitation class (interview with Ning Nur, 24 October, 2010). In the *pesantren* tradition, males (*kyai*) more frequently teach in female classes, because they are considered to be more competent than females (*nyai*) and have outstanding capabilities in Islamic teaching. This belief encourages the *kyai* of *salaf pesantren* to send their sons to study in the Middle East.

**Figure4.5**  
**Composition of *ustadz* and *ustadzah* who teach male and female classes**

N teachers in male classes = 20  
N teachers in female classes = 18



Source: (Pesantren, NH 2010b, 2010c, 2010d, 2010e, 2010f, 2010g)

#### 4.2.2 *Santri* programs and activities

Most *santri* in Nurul Huda come from cities in East Java (Malang, Sidoarjo and Surabaya), while others come from Jakarta, Central Java, Kalimantan and Flores. Nurul Huda has fewer non Javanese *santri* than Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat that have *santri* from all over Indonesia. They are mostly from lower and middle class families, though some *santri* come from a *kyai*'s family or wealthier families from

cities in East Java. The *santri* in Nurul Huda consist of students who also study MA, MTs, and universities in the neighborhood. In 2010 there were 1126 *santri* studying in Nurul Huda: 46% female and 54% male (*Pesantren*, NH 2010a). They live in one area that has dormitories for male and female *santri* together with the *kya's* and *nya's* house, a *musholla* (prayer room) for male and female *santri* which has a double function as a *diniyah salafiyah* classroom and *qiro'ati* classroom.

The Nurul Huda conducts *diniyah salafiyah*, *qiro'ati*, *tahfidz* and language classes. *Diniyah salafiyah* and *qiro'ati* classes are compulsory for male and female *santri*; language class is compulsory for male *santri* but not female *santri*, while the *tahfidz* class is an elective for male and female *santri*.

Every *santri* has different activities depending on the program. Some *santri* only attend the *tahfidz* class without studying in an Islamic school outside the *pesantren*: all their activities are in the *pesantren* and they never leave, except when they go home on holiday. Mostly *santri* attend *diniyah salafiyah* and *qiro'ati* classes, and also study in the formal school. Few *santri* attend all programs and study in a school outside the *pesantren* because this would be 20 hours per day (see Table 4.2). The dominant activity is Islamic teaching; even on public holidays *santri* have classes such as *qiro'ah*, *kaligrafi* (art of writing Arabic), *al-banjari* (art of singing Arabic). Classes in both the *pesantren* and the school are allocated from Saturday to Thursday. Friday is a holiday. The schedule and regulations between *pesantren* and school programs is organised separately, but Nurul Huda and the schools manage schedules for *santri*, *pesantren* and *madrasah*.

**Table 4.2**  
***Santri's* activities in Nurul Huda Pesantren**

<b>Times</b>	<b>Activities</b>
<b>03:00 – 04:00</b>	Wake up and pray at midnight ( <i>Tahajud</i> time); compulsory for <i>tahfidz</i> students, or once a week for other students
<b>04:00 – 04:15</b>	Prepare for praying ( <i>Subuh</i> time)
<b>04:15 – 05:00</b>	Pray together in <i>musholla</i>
<b>05:00 – 06:00</b>	<i>Qiro'ati</i> class

<b>06:00 – 07:15</b>	Prepare to go to <i>diniyah salafiyah</i> class for morning class, some of the <i>santri</i> go to formal school, and breakfast
<b>07:15 – 10:15</b>	<i>Diniyah salafiyah</i> class for morning class, and <i>tahfidz</i> class
<b>10:15 – 11:30</b>	Break and prepare for praying
<b>11:30 – 12:00</b>	Pray together ( <i>Dhuhur</i> time) for session 1
<b>12:00 – 13:15</b>	Break and prepare for praying for session 2
<b>13:15 – 13:45</b>	Pray together ( <i>Dhuhur</i> time) for session 2
<b>13:45 – 14:30</b>	<i>Sema'an</i> (memorise <i>Al-Qur'an</i> with partner) for <i>tahfidz</i> class
<b>14:30 – 15:00</b>	Prepare for praying and go to <i>diniyah salafiyah</i> class for afternoon class
<b>15:00 – 15:30</b>	Pray together ( <i>Ashar</i> time)
<b>15:30 – 17:00</b>	<i>Diniyah salafiyah</i> class for afternoon class
<b>17:00 – 17:30</b>	Dinner and prepare for praying
<b>17:30 – 18:30</b>	Pray together ( <i>Maghrib</i> time)
<b>18:30 – 19:00</b>	<i>Qiro'ati</i> class
<b>19:00 – 19:30</b>	Language class
<b>19:30 – 20:00</b>	Pray together ( <i>Isya'</i> time)
<b>20:00 – 21:00</b>	<i>Diniyah salafiyah</i> class for afternoon class, other <i>santri</i> have WB ( <i>Wajib Belajar</i> /obligatory for study) schedule
<b>21:00 – 22:30</b>	Free schedule for study such as learn general material, read and memorise <i>Al-Qur'an</i>
<b>22:30 – 23:00</b>	Prepare to sleep
<b>23:00</b>	All <i>santri</i> must go to sleep, except if still doing homework, reading book or reading or reciting <i>Al-Qur'an</i>

Source: (Pesantren 2009a:and observation)

*Diniyah salafiyah* is divided into two classes: morning class for *santri* who study in the school in the afternoon; afternoon class for *santri* who study formal education in the morning. Similar conditions relate to *Dhuhur* praying: section one is compulsory for *santri* in *diniyah salafiyah* in morning class; section two is compulsory for *santri* in *diniyah salafiyah* in afternoon class and *santri* in *tahfidz* class. *Sholat berjama'ah* (praying together) is separated between male and female *santri* with different *musholla*. Frequently, *kyai* leads the prayers for male *santri*, and *nyai* leads the prayers for female *santri*. When *kyai* or *nyai* do not lead *sholat*

*berjama'ah*, praying is led by administrative staff. In praying together, the leadership of prayers is related to skills in reading *Al-Qur'an* and seniority.

#### 4.2.3 Language use in the Nurul Huda Pesantren

In Nurul Huda, the language classes have a special status, because not all *santri* attend them. Language classes are held not only for Arabic and English, but also Indonesian, because the language of instruction and daily use is Javanese. However, Javanese is not taught in Nurul Huda, but some *santri* study Javanese in the *madrasah*, as part of their general education. There are three levels of Javanese; the level used depends on the status of persons communicating. Speaking with persons of higher status or seniority *kromo inggil* (the highest level of Javanese language) is used, for example: *santri* communicates with *kyai* or *nyai* and *ustadz/ustadzah* in *kromo inggil* as a symbol *ta'dhim*. Vice versa, *kyai* or *nyai* speaking to *santri* will use *ngoko* (lowest level of Javanese language). When *santri* communicate with another *santri*, they use *ngoko* or *madya* (the middle level of Javanese language) which denotes similar status. *Santri* speak with *ustadz/ustadzah* and administrative staff with *kromo inggil*; but *ustadz/ustadzah* and administrative staff speak with *santri* with *ngoko* or *madya*. The use of Javanese language reflects and perpetuates a hierarchy structure in *pesantren*.

The use of language in the *pesantren* is a microcosm of Javanese society where language reflects the hierarchy of class and power. *Kromo inggil* is commonly used by *priyayi* (Hooker, VM 1995:286), while *ngoko* is used by the younger generation to express more modern, democratic and intimate views (Nababan 1991:129; Keane 2003:506; Smith-Hefner, Nancy J. 2009:69). Indonesian is a much more egalitarian language than Javanese.

The use of Javanese in Nurul Huda is also related to the background of *santri* who are mostly from rural Java and their families use Javanese in everyday life. *Santri* are often less fluent and literate in the Indonesian language. Parents prefer their children to study in Javanese, rather than Indonesian, as it facilitates recognition of status and seniority (informal discussion with some female *santri*, 6 November, 2010). Language also identifies and distinguishes Javanese society. Moreover, Javanese language helps create the cultural atmosphere of Nurul Huda,

embedding the hierarchy of status and power. Class and the patriarchal system are progressively evident in the *pesantren*.

Arabic classes in Nurul Huda are a compulsory subject for *santri* because Arabic is the language used for Islamic teaching and the holy texts. When I conducted this research, most of the language classes were in Arabic, because the *pesantren* did not have an English teaching *ustadz* or *ustadzah*. *Santri* attended Arabic class five days a week. Arabic and English classes were compulsory for male *santri*, particularly new *santri*, but were a matter of choice for female *santri*.

For male *santri*, Arabic language classes were important with fun teaching methods, for example: singing, joking, games, conversation and memorising vocabulary. Conversely, in the female class, teaching was restricted to conversation and memorising vocabulary. Female *santri* were not permitted to sing or play games, because they were expected to keep their voices low with unobtrusive behaviours (informal discussion with female *santri* and *ustadzah*, 8 November, 2010). Hence, sometimes female *santri* feel bored in language class and jealous of the language classes for male *santri* who make more progress than they do. One female *santri* was envious: “the male *santri* have more opportunities and activities to speak Arabic; they can sing in the dormitories until midnight and Gus Irul (Kyai Khoirul) always allows male *santri* to participate in the bilingual class” (interview with Fina, female *santri*, 9 November, 2010).

The language is also related to gender: how male and female stereotypes in society will influence communication with each other. In a patriarchal society, language use and meaning is defined by men; as a result, women’s language is powerlessness in cultural terms (Lakoff 1975:4). Every language has a different reality and notions for the community; language is a mirror for the people who use it (Talbot 2010:15-6). Javanese language also describes how Javanese people have hierarchy, identity and gender bias; even when some learn foreign languages, they must conform to Javanese cultural values. The younger generation is expected to think globally, but the pattern of behaviour is local and the culture is patriarchal, so it is a paradox. *Santri* must have access to global information, but they must also behave according to local cultural norms which

sometimes contradict global cultural values that espouse greater equality between males and females in both domestic and public spheres.

#### **4.2.4 Relations between Nurul Huda Pesantren and the community**

When Kyai Manan (Nurul Huda's founder) was alive, his charisma and reputation for *Al-Qur'an* recitation attracted many *santri* from East Java and other regions of Indonesia. Student numbers declined after his death (interview with Ustadz Chusin, the leader of male administrative in Nurul Huda, 6 November, 2010). The *kyai* in *pesantren*, particularly in *salaf pesantren*, hold high positions in society; the *kyai* is assumed to have *barokah*, outstanding capability in Islamic teaching, as well as being a prominent figure. Even, some *kyai* from *salaf pesantren* have permitted candidates in local and national elections to campaign in their *pesantren*. This participation in politics can enhance the standing of a *kyai* as a charismatic figure. Some parents are attracted to *pesantren* with a *kyai* who is a charismatic figure.

Because Nurul Huda has not adopted any government curricula, the leader of *pesantren* has cooperated with Islamic schools nearby, including Madrasah Al-Ma'arif, that provide a formal education from elementary school until senior high school with curricula from the Department of Religious Affairs. And the graduation certificates issued by the Madrasah Al-Ma'arif are also recognised by the Indonesian Government. Madrasah Al-Ma'arif is an education institution that was founded by Kyai Tolhah Hasan, the former Minister of Religious Affairs. In the past, Kyai Manan taught in the Madrasah Al-Ma'arif; as did some of the *ustadz* and *ustadzah* from Nurul Huda during the research. Nurul Huda and Madrasah Al-Ma'arif co-ordinate the study programs for *santri*.

Nurul Huda also cooperates with the community in its neighborhood to endeavour to enforce its regulations for its *santri* and monitor their activities. Some *tukang becak* (pedicab drivers) have been enlisted in the security section of Nurul Huda to control and monitor *santri* when they are outside the *pesantren*.

Nurul Huda plays an important role in the religious life of the community. Members of the community seek guidance (*barokah*) from the *kyai*, while others seek *sodaqoh* (charity) from the *kyai's/nya's* family. Nurul Huda also has been

supported financially by the wealthier members of the community and by some of the *santri*'s parents. People around the *pesantren* still respect the *kyai*'s/*nyai*'s family and assume the *kyai* as a source of *barokah*. The community recognises the status of the *kyai* as *ulama*, with the authority to interpret Islamic teaching.

#### 4.3 As-sa'idiyyah 2 Pesantren

As-sa'idiyyah 2 is grounded in Javanese culture and is located in Jombang, a small city in East Java, located about 100km west of Surabaya, the capital of East Java Province. The leader of the *pesantren* traces his family's genealogy to some famous *kyai*, such as Kyai Haji Wahhab Hasbullah, one of the founders of the NU and Kyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, the founder of Muhammadiyah (Choirot 2010; *Pesantren*, BU 2010). Similar to Nurul Huda, As-sa'idiyyah 2 is a family institution led by the *kyai* (male leader) and *nyai* (female leader). The *kyai*'s authority in the *pesantren* is dominant as king of a small religious community. The *kyai* of As-sa'idiyyah 2 is less dominant than a *salaf pesantren* such as Nurul Huda.

In this *pesantren*, Javanese culture is more dominant than identification with Indonesian national values, and seniority and patriarchal culture are also embedded in the *pesantren*'s tradition. Similar to Nurul Huda, As-sa'idiyyah 2 has a Javanese Islamic religious identity. For example, Javanese *slametan* are conducted as part of the *pesantren*'s religious activities. As-sa'idiyyah 2 is less concerned with social political issues than Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, but more open-minded than Nurul Huda.

The majority of *santri* come from East Java, though some come from Jakarta, West Papua and Kalimantan. The *santri* and the *pesantren*'s leader reside together in one building and the rooms for classes in this *pesantren* are in the *kyai/nyai*'s house. The relationship between *santri* and the *pesantren*'s leader is a deep relationship, like family, and commonly before the *santri* go to formal school, particularly female *santri*, they meet with the *nyai* as a sign of respect. Moreover, the *kyai/nyai*'s family has a high position and *santri* are very respectful of the *kyai/nyai*, but the *nyai* always teach and treat males and females equally in the *pesantren*.

As-sa'idiyyah 2 is part of the Bahrul Ulum community in Jombang and was founded in 2004 (*Pesantren*, BU 2010). Bahrul Ulum has many associated *pesantren*, each led by *kyai/nyai* with familial relationships. The Bahrul Ulum community also has private and government schools. The *santri* who study yellow book in a *pesantren* also study general subjects in a government or private school in the Bahrul Ulum community. Bahrul Ulum has authority over schools, but the *kyai/nyai* in each *pesantren* has the power and authority to manage their *pesantren*. Hence, every *pesantren* in Bahrul Ulum has different rules and characteristics under the umbrella of the Bahrul Ulum and has an affiliation with the NU.

The Bahrul Ulum was founded by Kyai Abdus Salam in 1838 with the name Telu Pesantren or Selawe Pesantren<sup>47</sup>, because the *pesantren* has three buildings and twenty-five *santri* (*Pesantren*, BU 2010). Kyai Abdus Salam traces his genealogy to King Brawijaya of the Kingdom of Mojopahit. After Kyai Abdus Salam passed away, the *pesantren* was continued by his sons-in-law, Kyai Ustman and Kyai Sa'id. Kyai Ustman concentrated on *tasawuf*<sup>48</sup> and Kyai Sa'id concentrated on *syari'at*<sup>49</sup>. Because Kyai Ustman did not have a son, some of the *santri* followed another son-in-law, Kyai Asy'ari, who moved to Keras village, known as Tebuireng Pesantren. Selawe Pesantren was led by the son of Kyai Sa'id, Kyai Hasbullah. Kyai Hasbullah owned an extensive farm and rice warehouse. Hence, the village was called Tambak Beras<sup>50</sup> and the *pesantren* became known as Tambak Beras Pesantren.

Kyai Hasbullah sent one of his sons and a daughter to study in another *pesantren* in Java, while the oldest son, Kyai Abdul Wahab, was sent to Mecca (*Pesantren*, BU 2010). After Kyai Wahab finished his study in Mecca in 1914, he developed the education system in Tambak Beras which included two *madrasah* (Madrasah Ibtida'iyah and Madrasah Mu'allimin Mu'allimat). In 1926, Kyai Abdul Wahab and Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari from Tebuireng Pesantren founded the NU, which has become one of Indonesia's largest Islamic organisations. In 1965, Kyai Wahab recalled his *pesantren* Bahrul Ulum, which has become the umbrella organisation

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<sup>47</sup> *Telu* and *selawe* is Javanese for three and twenty-five.

<sup>48</sup> *Tasawuf* is teaching material related to *Sufism* (the inner and esoteric dimension of Islam).

<sup>49</sup> *Syari'at* is subject material related to Islamic law.

<sup>50</sup> Tambak Beras is Javanese and is derived from two words: *tambak* means fishpond, and *beras* means rice.

for thirty-three *pesantren* and eighteen *madrasah*, each led by *kyai* and *nyai* who have a family relationship with Kyai Hasbullah (*Pesantren*, BU 2010).

As-sa'idiyyah 2 developed in the shadow of Bahrul Ulum as part of the broader NU family. As-sa'idiyyah 2 is led by Kyai Hasan and Nyai Umdatul Choirot (Nyai Umda). Nyai Umda is the daughter of Kyai Nasrullah, who was related to Kyai Wahab and through Kyai Hasbullah to the NU and Kyai Dahlan to the Muhammadiyah. She graduated from UIN (*Universitas Islam Negeri/The State of Islamic University*) Sunan Kalijaga in Yogyakarta and is active in NU women's organisations (Fatayat and Muslimat). Kyai Hasan studied at the Bahrul Ulum and graduated from *Madrasah* Mu'allimin Bahrul Ulum in 1976. He continued his studies in Jombang and taught in *pesantren*. Kyai Hasan also studied at the IKAHA (*Institut Keislaman Hasyim Asy'ari/Islamic Institute Hasyim Asy'ari*) Tebuireng Jombang. In 1981, Kyai Hasan became a civil servant in the Department of Religious Affairs and married Nyai Umda in 1985. Kyai Hasan has always supported the career of his wife and her activities in the Mu'allimat and NU's RMI (*Robitho Ma'ahid Al-Islamiyah/ Pesantren* Institute). Before they founded As-sa'idiyyah 2, Kyai Hasan and Nyai Umda managed his father's *pesantren*, As-sa'idiyyah 1.

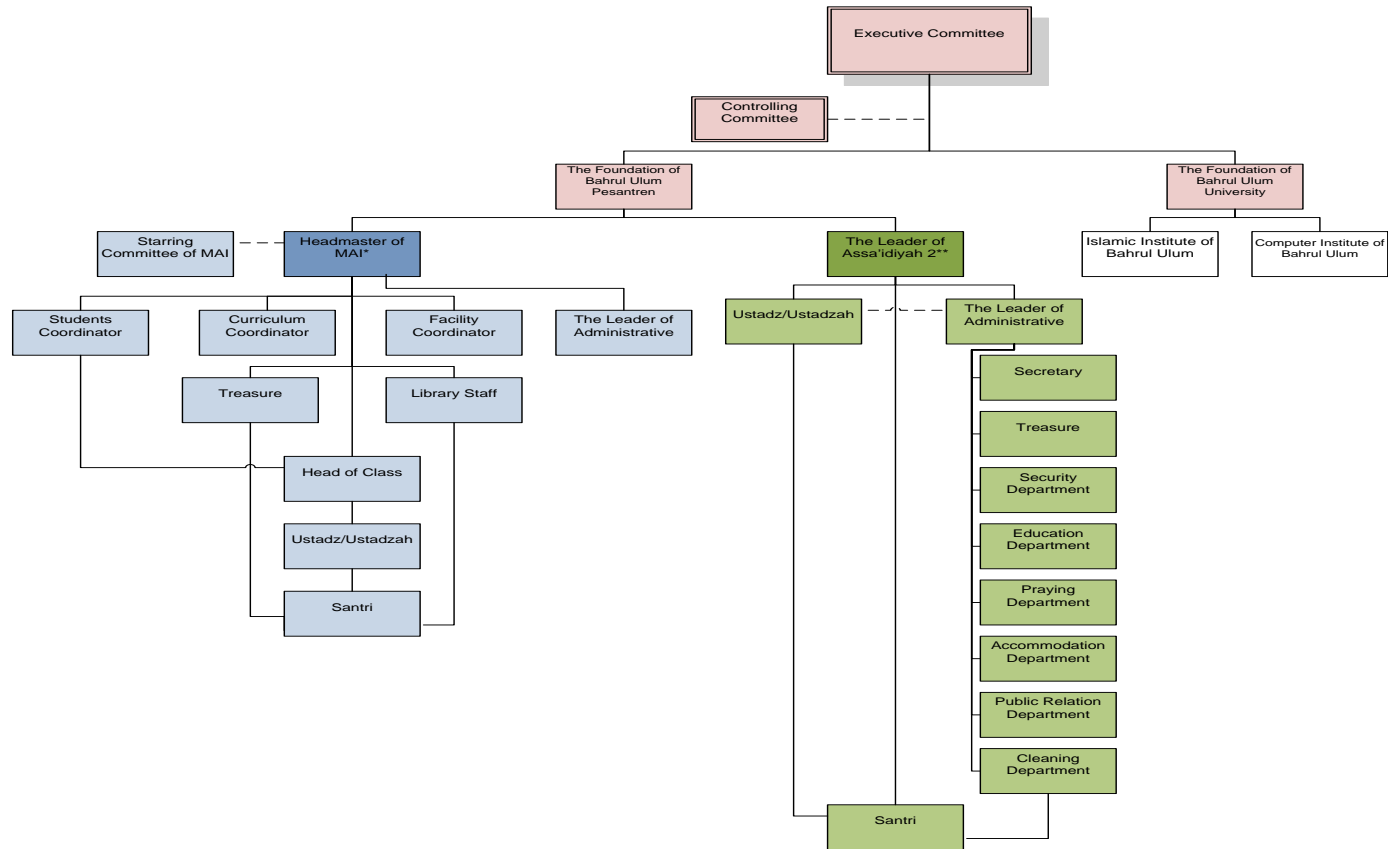
In 2002, Nyai Umda replaced her father as head of school in the MAI (*Madrasah Aliyah Al-I'dadiyyah/Senior high school Al-I'dadiyyah*). According to her husband, Nyai Umda is more creative in developing the *pesantren*'s curriculum (interview with Kyai Hasan, 28 November, 2010).

#### **4.3.1 Leadership and gender divisions of labour**

As-sa'idiyyah 2 has been developed as a *pesantren* based on gender equity, as well as the *pesantren* being a family institution. Nyai Umda and Kyai Hasan not only lead As-sa'idiyyah 2, but both of them also manage a *madrasah*: Nyai Umda is a leader of the MAI and Kyai Hasan is the headmaster of MAN (*Madrasah Aliyah Negeri/The State Senior Islamic High School*) Jombang. Both education institutions led by Nyai Umda (As-sa'idiyyah 2 and MAI) operate under the Bahrul Ulum Foundation (see Figure 4.6). As a result, the culture and values in both institutions reflect that of Bahrul Ulum, which also includes some other *pesantren*

in Tambak Beras that have a family organisational structure. However, the leaders of *pesantren* under Bahrul Ulum, including As-sa'idiyyah 2, have authority to manage their own *pesantren*. In Figure 4.6, only the dual organisational structure in As-sa'idiyyah 2 is depicted, because of the segregation of male and female boarding houses. The structures are identical, each with its own leader under the Bahrul Ulum foundation, while the MAI has one organisational structure for both male and female students.

**Figure4.6**  
**Organisational structure of As-sa'idiyyah 2 Pesantren and MAI**



Source: (Pesantren, A-si 2010c, 2010d; Pesantren, BU 2010:22;Ulum 2010c)

\**Madrasah* under Bahrul Ulum Foundation amounts to 22 schools. The leadership in MAI between male and female *santri* is not separated.

\*\**Pesantren* under Bahrul Ulum Foundation amounts to 33 *pesantren*. Generally the leadership of *pesantren* between male and female *santri* is separated including As-sa'idiyyah 2.

The leadership position of Nyai Umda in the MAI affords additional status because she is in charge of both male and female teachers, administrative staff and *santri*. In As-sa'idiyyah 2, Nyai Umda only leads females (*ustadzah* and female *santri*). Her role as a leader is a matter of debate in the Bahrul Ulum, because she is a woman and has a brother, who some consider should be leader.

Although many *nyai* are active in public life, the *pesantren* community still cannot accept a woman to lead male and female communities. They only accept women as a leader for female communities. If a woman has a brother, he has more authority to assume the father's position as leader.

Perhaps reflecting this community ambivalence, since Nyai Umda assumed the leadership of the MAI, the number of MAI students has declined. One of the MAI staff related:

After Kyai Nasrullah leadership, the MAI had a big problem related to the leadership system and the decreasing number of the students. Nyai Umda's leadership is a contradiction, because Nyai Umda is a woman, and it is not usual for a female to become a leader in an educational institution, particularly in Tambak Beras Pesantren. Nyai Umda develops the MAI with a new perspective. Nyai Umda developed the MAI as independent institution, whereas before it had been subordinate to the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat Bahrul Ulum. Nyai Umda made big changes in the MAI; as a result MAI has had a crisis in its management and education system. (Interview with administrative staff member and teacher in MAI, 30 November, 2010)

Nyai Umda has sought to attract more students by promoting outstanding students and supporting their further studies at universities in Cairo. She has also encouraged *santri* from As-sa'idiyyah 2 to study at the MAI and has sought research funding from the Indonesian Government. The community's attributes have not discouraged Nyai Umda from her endeavours to develop gender equity in the *pesantren* community.

In As-sa'idiyyah 2, the relationship between *kyai's/nyai's* family and *santri's* like one family. The *kyai* and *nyai* are parents and *santri* are their children. However, as a NU *pesantren*, *kyai* and *nyai* dominate the *pesantren*. The curriculum and activities in the As-sa'idiyyah 2 have to be approved by the *kyai/nyai*, who also appoint *ustadz/ustadzah* and administrative staff in the *pesantren*. The administrative staff are *santri* in As-sa'idiyyah 2, but some *ustadz* and *ustadzah*

have graduated from Bahrul Ulum as well as Tebuireng and Darul Ulum Pesantren in Jombang. Administrative staff have the responsibility for the *pesantren*'s rules and even sometimes design *pesantren*'s rules and make decisions related to reward and punishment (*Pesantren*, A-si 2010c, 2010d). However, overall they are responsible to the *kyai/nyai*. *Sowan* has become a culture in *pesantren* as is seeking guidance (*barokah*) from the *kyai* or *nyai* about further studies at university, employment or choice of marriage partners.

At the time of this research, Nyai Umda was more involved in the management of the As-sa'idiyyah 2 and the MAI rather than Kyai Hasan. As the daughter of a *kyai* and the wife of the current *kyai*, Nyai Umda has high status and power in the *pesantren* community. Thus she has been less active in women's organisations in the NU. Kyai Hasan also has responsibilities outside the *pesantren*. He is the leader of the MAN in Jombang, which is not part of the Bahrul Ulum community.

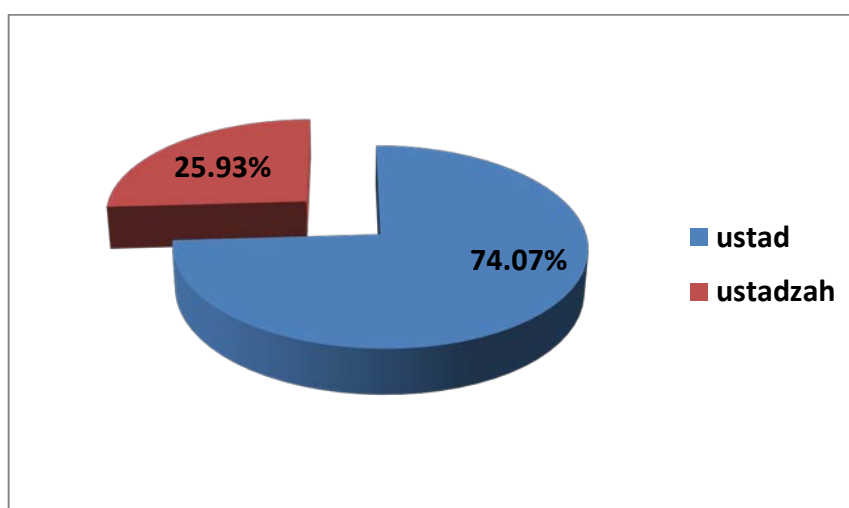
As-sa'idiyyah 2 has *ustadz* and *ustadzah* teaching *Al-Qur'an*. The yellow books are taught by the *kyai* and *nyai* who teach male and female *santri* in one mixed class. Nyai Umda encourages male *santri* to read and understand the yellow book, so they, in turn, will be able to teach the yellow book in the male *pesantren*. Nyai Umda teaches the yellow book to the male *santri* with an interpretation that reflects gender equity. She also selects the classroom teaching materials. Nyai Umda argues that the *kyai* usually teach Islamic studies with a gender biased interpretation, which she believes perpetuates the subordinate position of women in *pesantren* (interview with Nyai Umda, the female leader of As-sa'idiyyah 2, 3 December, 2010). In the eyes of the female administrative staff in As-sa'idiyyah 2, Nyai Umda is an agent of change. One of them related:

Nyai Umda wants to develop gender awareness among the female *santri* and she hopes the female students have an equal position with the males. I like the changes brought about by Nyai Umda, because *pesantren* also must change just as the world outside the *pesantren* has changed, so that it is not left behind in the modern era. (Interview with Sari, a member of female administrative staff in As-sa'idiyyah 2, 5 December, 2010)

In the MAI, led by Nyai Umda, males and females are taught in one class but seated separately, with most of the teachers being *ustadz* (74.07%), while *ustadzah* constitute only 25.93% of teachers (see Figure 4.7). Mostly *ustadz* and *ustadzah* have family relations with or have graduated from As-sa'idiyyah 2 and

As-sa'idiyyah 1. Usually, the best *santri* are asked by the *kyai* and *nyai* to teach in the *pesantren* after they complete their studies. The *santri* must accept this as a part of their *ta'dhim* to the *pesantren*'s leader. *Ta'dhim* toward *kyai* or *nyai* becomes one of the cultural values of the *pesantren*. Other *ustadz* and *ustadzah* have studied in Cairo or the Islamic Institutions in Jombang such as STAIBU (*Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Bahrul Ulum*/Islamic Institute under Bahrul Ulum), IKAHA Tebuireng Jombang and Undar (*Universitas Darul Ulum*/Darul Ulum University) Peterongan Jombang.

**Figure 4.7**  
**Composition of *ustadz* and *ustadzah* who teach in MAI**  
 N = 27



Source: (Ulum 2010a)

#### 4.3.2 *Santri* programs and activities

As-sa'idiyyah 2 has 120 *santri* in total: 51% female and 49% male (*Pesantren*, As-sa'idiyyah 2010b, 2010a). This differs from Nurul Huda and Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, where there are slightly more male *santri*. The roughly equal gender balance in the *santri* community of these three *pesantren* is in contrast with Assegaf's (2009) observation of feminisation in *pesantren*, where poor parents send their daughters because it is cheaper. The *santri* in this study do not come from the poorest sections of the community, particularly the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, where most students come from middle-class family backgrounds.

In the As-sa'idiyyah 2, the *santri* mostly come from East Java or Jakarta, Bandung or other cities in Java, and predominantly from middle and lower class family backgrounds. Most of the *santri* from As-sa'idiyyah 2 also study in the MAI or the MAN. Usually, Nyai Umda asks her *santri* to study in the MAI. One of the *santri* wanted to study in Mu'allimat (senior high school for females associated with the Bahrul Ulum), but Nyai Umda asked her to study in MAI (interview with Bunga, female *santri*, 2 December, 2010).

*Santri* wake up at *Subuh* time (see Table 4.3) and pray together – male and female *santri* in the same *musholla*, but in a separate location. Kyai Hasan always wakes both male and female *santri*. Kyai Hasan also leads *sholat berjama'ah* (praying together) and provides *tausiah*. When Kyai Hasan does not lead *sholat berjama'ah*, praying is led by *Gus* (the son of *kyai*) or one of the *ustadz*. A female cannot lead *sholat berjama'ah*, if the members are both male and female. Females can lead *sholat berjama'ah* if those praying are female. These rules reflect particular interpretations of Islamic teaching. Hence, when Amina Wadud<sup>51</sup> led prayer for male and female worshippers, she was sharply criticised by Muslims around the world.

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<sup>51</sup>Amina Wadud is one of the Muslim feminists who focus on *Al-Qur'an* exegesis and she graduated from universities in the United States and Egypt (Abdel-Halim 2008:119-20).

**Table 4.3**  
**Santri's activities in As-sa'idiyyah 2 Pesantren**

<b>Times</b>	<b>Activities</b>
<b>04:00 – 04:30</b>	Wake up and prepare for praying
<b>04:30 – 05:30</b>	Pray together ( <i>Subuh</i> time)
<b>05:30 – 06:30</b>	Learn yellow book
<b>06:30 – 07:00</b>	Prepare to go to <i>madrasah</i> and breakfast
<b>07:00 – 14:00</b>	Study in <i>madrasah</i> and pray together ( <i>Dhuhur</i> time)
<b>14:00 – 15:00</b>	Break (lunch)
<b>15:00 – 16:00</b>	Pray together ( <i>Ashar</i> time) and prepare for the next activity
<b>16:00 – 17:00</b>	Extra-curricular activities in school or general subjects
<b>17:00 – 17:30</b>	Break (dinner)
<b>17:30 – 18:30</b>	Pray together ( <i>Maghrib</i> time)
<b>18:30 – 19:30</b>	Learn yellow book and read <i>Al-Qur'an</i>
<b>19:30 – 20:00</b>	Pray together ( <i>Isya'</i> time)
<b>20:00 – 21:00</b>	Learn yellow book
<b>21:00 – 22:00</b>	Learn together about general subjects or religious subjects

Source: Observation

#### **4.3.3 Language use in the As-sa'idiyyah 2 Pesantren**

As-sa'idiyyah 2 conducts English and Arabic language classes in the dormitories. The language of daily communication and instruction is Javanese. However, both Indonesian and Javanese are used as the languages of instruction in the MAI. The use of three levels of Javanese is similar to that discussed in relation to the Nurul Huda. Javanese and Indonesian language classes are not held in the As-sa'idiyyah 2, but *santri* are able to speak among themselves in Indonesian and Javanese. Non Javanese *santri* usually use Indonesian, although sometimes Javanese *santri* will speak with non Javanese *santri* and use *ngoko*. In the *madrasah*, Javanese and Indonesian are used, but the teaching materials for the religious subjects are written in Arabic and general subjects use Indonesian language materials. Both English and Arabic are used in formal occasions such as graduation ceremonies and seminars. As-sa'idiyyah 2 has public speaking classes in English, Arabic,

Indonesian and Javanese for female *santri*; while male *santri* only use Javanese and Indonesian in public speaking classes. According to *santri* in As-sa'idiyyah 2, the male boarding house does not have *ustadz* who teach language classes. The *ustadz* assert that *santri* must be fluent in Indonesian and Javanese and *santri* preach in communities where people are fluent in Indonesian and Javanese (interview with Nafis, male *santri* in As-sa'idiyyah 2, 1 December, 2010).

The indigenous language, in this case Javanese, is important in the teaching of Islam, particularly in a rural community like the one from which most *santri* in As-sa'idiyyah 2 come. The teaching staff contribute to the quality of the *santri*. As an educational system, the *pesantren* is a form of cultural and social reproduction. The *ustadz* know their local community well and an ability to communicate effectively in Indonesian and Javanese is important in enhancing the understanding of Islam. Hence, the use of Javanese language not only reflects and preserves the hierarchal structure of *pesantren*, but also facilitates communication between the *pesantren* community and the Muslim society around the *pesantren*, especially the preaching of Islamic values.

In the As-sa'idiyyah 2, female *santri* have better facilities than male *santri*. The unequal distribution of language resources between male and female *santri* influences the quality (or otherwise) of the *santri* educated in the *pesantren*. Nyai Umda encourages women's empowerment, although she also supports male *santri* to develop their knowledge and capabilities. However sometimes, Nyai Umda pushes male *santri* to develop their confidence and skills. Nyai Umda asserts that male *santri* must demonstrate capacities and qualities; she believes that status should reflect capacity (interview with Nyai Umda, female leader As-sa'idiyyah 2, 27 November, 2010).

Language is not only a means of communication, but also a symbol of class, an indicator of patriarchy and identity as well as the level of religiosity. *Pesantren*, as Islamic educational institutions, use a number of languages for communication and study. Some *pesantren* use Arabic and Javanese, while others use Arabic and English. The languages are determined by the *kyai* and the *pesantren*'s traditions. Language use in these institutions also distinguishes the *pesantren* from the

general education system in Indonesia that uses only Indonesian as the language of instruction.

#### **4.3.4 Relations between As-sa'idiyyah 2 Pesantren and the community**

As a part of the Bahrul Ulum community, As-sa'idiyyah 2 not only educates the younger generation, but also empowers the Muslim community. For example, Nyai Umda has some staff from poor families and their children study in the *pesantren* with scholarships from the *pesantren*. The *pesantren* culture has become established in the community surrounding the Bahrul Ulum, including As-sa'idiyyah 2. Bahrul Ulum is an umbrella institution for As-sa'idiyyah 2, and has already educated numerous *kyai* and *nyai* in Indonesia as Muslim intellectuals and founded Islamic boarding schools in their region. Moreover, *santri* who graduated from As-sa'idiyyah 2 have founded other *pesantren* in Malang and Probolinggo in East Java. The As-sa'idiyyah 2 has developed a cooperative network with universities in Saudi Arabia and Egypt and this has enabled male and female *santri* to continue their studies in the Middle East.

The charisma of Kyai Abdul Wahab as *ulama* and one of the founding fathers of the NU is embedded in the Bahrul Ulum community. Members of the *pesantren* and broader NU community visit and pray at his grave (*ziarah*). The community around the As-sa'idiyyah 2 Pesantren is a rural community affiliated with the NU and respects the *kyai's/nyai's* families who are thought of as *barakoh*.

## Chapter 5

### Maintaining *Pesantren* Tradition: the Genealogical Connection of *Pesantren* Leaders and Intellectual Networking

This chapter examines the important roles of the genealogical connections of the *kyai* and *nyai* to develop and perpetuate the *pesantren* tradition that tends to be dominated by patriarchal culture. Moreover, the *pesantren* tradition is developed through intellectual networking within the *pesantren* community and outside the *pesantren*, which emphasises its preservation. This is because mostly *pesantren* leaders have an interest in maintaining their status quo.

#### 5.1 Genealogical Connection of *Pesantren* Leaders

*Pesantren* are indigenous Islamic educational institutions that have educated Muslims since the sixteenth century, when some of the aristocrats from the Mataram Kingdom in Central Java dedicated their lives as *santri* in Kudus, Central Java, as well as being the engine of social economic development (Ricklefs 2008:46, 357). According to Ma Huan's<sup>52</sup> report, the introduction of Islam in Java began in the Javanese Royal Kingdom before coastal Javanese converted to Islam, and the documentary evidence of the spread of Islam in Java can be seen by Muslim gravestones in Gresik, one of the most important East Javanese ports, in 1419 (Ricklefs 1993:5). The *wali sanga* (nine Muslim saints) were *ulama*, who played important roles in the Islamisation of Java, and adopted local culture or married local people to introduce Islamic teaching (Ricklefs 1985:40; Ali 1986:188; Ricklefs 1993:5, 10).

In the *pesantren* tradition, the practices of Javanese culture explain the function of religion, not only the relationship between people with God (*hablum minnallah*), but also relationships among people (*hablum minannash*). *Pesantren* seek to maintain Javanese traditions in Islamic society. In this research, the two *pesantren*

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<sup>52</sup>Ma Huan was the Chinese Muslim who visited the coast of Java in 1416, and left a report in his book "The Overall Survey of The Ocean's Shore" published in 1451 (Ricklefs 1993:5).

associated with the NU: Nurul Huda and As-sa'idiyyah 2, embody Javanese traditions, including *slametan*, that pray for God's protection of people's lives. For example: when Nurul Huda added a new room to the dormitories; when administrative staff make *bubur merah*<sup>53</sup> for *slametan*; and when Nyai Umda, the leader in As-sa'idiyyah 2, holds a *slametan* with neighbours and family to give thanks to God for the birth of her new grandchild. In this manner, the Javanese *slametan* becomes a part of religious and social activities in the *pesantren* community.

The founders of both As-sa'idiyyah 2 and Nurul Huda have genealogical connections with the *wali* (Muslim saint) in Java, who was famous as an Islamic preacher, and developed Islamic teaching through Javanese tradition and the Javanese royal family (see Figure 5.1). The founder of Nurul Huda, Kyai Manan, traces his family back twelve generations to Sunan Giri (Raden Paku) (Wardatul 2007:11). Sunan Giri was one of the *wali sanga* (nine Muslim saints) that spread Islam in Java and who was the son of Syeikh Maulana Ishak from Melaka and the princess of the Hindu Kingdom in Blambangan, Java (Ricklefs 1993:10). Moreover, the founder of both Bahrul Uloom and As-sa'idiyyah 2, trace their family genealogies to the brother of Sunan Giri, Sayyid Abdullah Faqih Sihabudin (see Figure 5.1). Kyai Abdussalam was a fourth generation descendant from Sayyid Abdullah Faqih Sihabudin, and Nyai Umda is a ninth generation descendant from Sayyid Abdullah Faqih Sihabudin. Kyai Manan and Nyai Umda have one genealogical connection from Syeikh Maulana Ishak. All have family trees that include a mixture of Islamic scholars (Maulana Ishak) and *priyayi* in the Javanese Kingdom (Blambangan Princess).

Furthermore, Kyai Dahlan came from both *kyai* and *priyayi* families (Burhani 2010:55). His father was Kyai Abu Bakar as a *khatib* in Yogyakarta Palace; his mother, Nyai Abu Bakar (Siti Aminah), was the daughter of Kyai Ibrahim who was a *penghulu* (the leader of functionary in Yogyakarta Palace). Hence, Muhammadiyah as a reformist movement still has strong relations with the Yogyakarta Palace and embodies Javanese aristocratic culture. Thus Kyai Dahlan descended from *kyai* and *priyayi* in Yogyakarta Palace and *abdi ndalem* (staff of

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<sup>53</sup>*Bubur merah* is a combination of sticky rice, palm sugar and coconut.

Yogyakarta Kingdom) and one of his wives was from the Yogyakarta Royal family, Ray Soetidjah Widyaningrum.

Kyai Dahlan also had a family connection with the founder of As-sa'idiyyah 2 (see Figure 5.2). The grandmother of Nyai Umda (Nyai Wardiyah) is a fourth generation descendant from Kyai Ibrahim who was the grandfather of Kyai Dahlan. Nyai Umda's family is related to both the Muhammadiyah founder (Kyai Dahlan) and the NU founder (Kyai Abdul Wahab). In addition, Bahrul Ulum as the umbrella institution for As-sa'idiyyah 2 has shared genealogy with the Mojopahit Kingdom<sup>54</sup> and the Mataram dynasty, as well as the Prophet Muhammad (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2). According to Abdullah (1986: 94) the relationship between *ulama* and *priyayi* in the palace reflected tension among the *priyayi*, with some preferring to identify as *santri* as an alternative set of beliefs. In the era of Sultan Agung of Mataram, the relationship between Islam and the palace was harmonious. This was challenged when Amangkurat I, Sultan Agung's successor, decided to align himself more closely with the Dutch; closer cooperation with the Dutch was opposed by some of the *ulama* (Abdullah, T 1986:94-5). The establishment of Islam in Java involved a complex network of genealogical relationships between *pesantren* and the Javanese Palace that reflected the rapidly changing sociopolitical structure.

In both As-sa'idiyyah 2 and Nurul Huda, the *pesantren* leaders are proud of their family genealogies and socialise the younger generation. The 'blue blood' genealogies from the *wali* and *priyayi* in Java is a source of pride in the *pesantren* family, particularly *pesantren* that are associated with NU as related by Nyai Umda, the female leader in As-sa'idiyyah 2 and Nyai Ummu, the female leader in Nurul Huda.

We have family relationships with Kyai Hasbullah and Kyai Dahlan. In our family we have a mixture of blue blood from NU and Muhammadiyah. My grandfather was a descendant from the founder of NU and from King Brawijaya, while my grandmother was a descendant of the founder of Muhammadiyah and the Yogyakarta Palace. I told my son and my daughter

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<sup>54</sup>Mojopahit Kingdom was a Hindu Kingdom based in East Java from 1293 to the 1500s with the last king as King Brawijaya V; Mojopahit's influence is thought to have extended throughout much of Southeast Asia. In the Golden Age of Mojopahit (1350–1389), Mataram was a part of the Mojopahit Kingdom (Ricklefs 1985:37, 41; Damono, Sondakh & Rochkyatmo 2005). In 1500 Mataram became a kingdom where Sultan Agung was one of the Kings of Mataram from 1613 until 1645, and his successor was Amangkurat I (see Figure 5.2) (Abdullah, T 1986:95).

that our family is descended from some famous Javanese *kyai* and from Javanese royalty, so that they understand their family's heritage. (Interview with Nyai Umda, the female leader of As-sa'idiyyah 2, 4 December, 2010)

*Abah* (My father) is descended from Sunan Giri, if I look at our family heritage; *Abah* has blue blood from *ulama*. (Interview with Nyai Ummu, the female leader of Nurul Huda, 11 November, 2010)

Both NU *pesantren* maintain an aristocratic hierarchy, and Nurul Huda, in particular, invokes a tradition in which the *santri* not only respect and obey to the *kyai* and his family, but also the *santri*'s behaviour and attitude toward the *kyai* resembles that shown to royalty in a small kingdom. In Nurul Huda, there is something of an aristocratic royal tradition, where the *santri* show their deference and respect to the *kyai* and *nyai* by kissing the hand and sitting on the floor in a lower position. In the classroom, *santri* sit on the floor and share the table with other *santri*, while the teachers who are mostly from the *kyai*'s/*nyai*'s family sit on chairs. As a result, there is little questioning of what is taught in Nurul Huda and As-sa'idiyyah 2. The silent acceptance is a sign of respect for the *kyai/nyai*. The deference and obedience evident in these two *pesantren* reflect the way these schools have identified with the *ulama* and *priyayi* traditions in Javanese Islam.

Moreover, the *kyai*'s/*nyai*'s family preserve and exemplify Islamic and Javanese kingdom tradition through intermarriage among *kyai* families, and particularly with *pesantren* that have a similar ideology. Intermarriage between *kyai* families in East, Central and West Java has been more intensive, contributing to integrating the maintenance of *pesantren* ideology and the development of new *pesantren* (Dhofier 1999:42-3; Srimulyani 2008a:134-5). Similar conditions prevail in Ngruki Pesantren in Solo, Central Java. This is a radical *pesantren*, which also has a similar strategy of intermarriage with families of similar ideological inclination (Letter from Cicik Farha<sup>55</sup>, 8 April, 2011).

Intermarriage is a tradition to maintain the 'blue blood' of the *kyai* elite in *pesantren*. Although Nyai Umda is an agent of change in As-sa'idiyyah 2, she still wants her children to marry into the *kyai*'s family as she explains:

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<sup>55</sup>Cicik Farha Assegaf conducted research in Ngruki Pesantren and she has a family relationship with Abu Bakar Ba'asyir. Cicik is one of the founders of Rahima (NGO that empowered the women's movement in Indonesia).

I said to my son that he should look for a wife who is not only beautiful, but she must be able to manage the *pesantren*. Yes, a wife should not only be smart, but also understand Islamic teaching and be able to read the Al-Qur'an, because she will have to organise the *pesantren*. As a result, family lineage and capability (*bibit, bobot*) must be considered. (Interview with Nyai Umda, the female leader of As-sa'idiyyah 2, 3 December, 2010)

The daughter of Nyai Umda married the son of the *kyai* in Denanyar, Jombang. The marriage consolidates a longstanding friendship between the two families.

Similarly, both daughters of Kyai Manan (who founded Nurul Huda) married the sons of *kyai* from *salaf pesantren*<sup>56</sup> in Pati, Central Java and Gading in Malang respectively. And the son of Kyai Manan (Kyai Khoirul) married the daughter of Kyai Abdullah Schal (*kyai* in *salaf pesantren* in Madura, East Java). Each *kyai* has connections with other *kyai*, and usually their sons or daughters meet with the other *kyai*'s family when they study in *pesantren*. According to one of the female *santri* in Nurul Huda, Kyai Khoirul was a friend of the brother of his wife when they studied in *salaf pesantren* in Java (interview with Ria, female *santri* in Nurul Huda, 3 November, 2010). The interlocking family relationships of families of similar ideology make it easier to maintain and develop *pesantren* as family institutions and thus preserve the status, lineage and ideology of their *pesantren*.

The intermarriage networks of *kyai* families, as mentioned, not only preserve their 'blue blood' status but also develop a professional network, because some *kyai* select a smart *santri* to be their son-in-law. For example: Nyai Umda, the female leader in As-sa'idiyyah 2, married with Kyai Hasan as a *santri* of her father, Kyai Nasrullah. Nyai Ummu, the female leader in Nurul Huda, married with Kyai Ibnu who was a *santri* of her father, Kyai Manan. Kyai Hasan and Kyai Ibnu do not come from a *kyai* family, but they were outstanding *santri* in the *pesantren* where they studied. The marriages of the daughter's *kyai* with the clever male *santri* facilitate the continuity of the *pesantren*'s tradition. A different situation is when the daughter of the *kyai* marries with the son of another *kyai*'s family. Commonly the daughter of the *kyai* follows her husband and develops a *pesantren* in her husband's family. This was the case with the oldest and youngest daughters from Kyai Manan, who

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<sup>56</sup>*Salaf pesantren* is a traditional curriculum and teaching methods that have subject material from yellow texts and some Islamic teaching without general subjects.

married into a *kyai's* family, and both followed their husbands and became *nyai* (female leaders) in their respective husband's *pesantren*. The blue blood of *ulama* in two *pesantren* and intermarriage among *kyai's* family maintain *pesantren* tradition that illustrates how patriarchal values continue to dominate and explains why women are still in subordinate positions. Javanese tradition still dominates in these *pesantren* with their family relationships with Javanese royal families and aristocracy as well as *ulama* and the *wali* who brought Islam to Java.

In contrast, in the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, the leaders do not have family relationships with the founder of this institution, and tend to emphasise professional education. The leader of Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat puts less stress on understanding family relationships because the development of this *pesantren* does not depend on the founding family. The *pesantren* tradition in the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat stresses the Muhammadiyah tradition that is maintained through intellectual networking by students who have graduated or by the Muhammadiyah *ulama*. Hence, the leadership in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat has no connection to the descendants of Kyai Dahlan. However, the extended family of Kyai Dahlan, who are not directly involved in the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, still value the family heritage. Ustadzah Jafnah, the granddaughter of Kyai Dahlan from his first wife, is also a teacher in Mu'allimaat and related:

According to the family story, Kyai Dahlan had four wives. The first wife was Bu Walidah who is still famous for her active involvement in the Muhammadiyah. The second wife was Nyai Rum from the Yogyakarta Palace, because Kyai Dahlan as a *khatib* in the Court and taught *Al-Qur'an*, and then Sultan asked him to marry his daughter. Kyai Dahlan was not brave enough to refuse the request of Sultan. The descendants of Nyai Rum are beautiful and have become teachers, a singer and a fashion model. But, the family from the first wife, they are mostly involved in the Muhammadiyah. The grandchildren from Kyai Dahlan live in Thailand, Holland Singapore and Israel, although some of them are only *Islam KTP*<sup>57</sup> but they consider themselves to be part of Kyai Dahlan family. Hence, they still used Dahlan as the family name. (Interview with Ustadzah Jafnah, teacher in Mu'allimaat, 2 October, 2010)

Kyai Dahlan's family is much more multicultural compared to the *kyai* families in the other two *pesantren* associated with NU. His descendants have not married

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<sup>57</sup>*Islam KTP* (*Kartu Tanda Penduduk*/the card as Indonesian citizen) means Islam only as identity, but not necessarily practising Islamic values in everyday life.

into the families of other *kyai*. The Javanese court culture of the Yogyakarta Palace exercises little influence on the traditions of Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat. Kyai Dahlan's relations with the palace have not been maintained. The contrast with the *kyai* family dominated and interlocking marriage networks of the other two *pesantren* is clear.

However, arguably Javanese *kyai* families are integrated into both *santri* and *priyayi aliran*. In contrast to the typology created by Clifford Geertz<sup>58</sup> *santri* and *priyayi* were depicted as distinct categories. Geertz (1960:6) defined *santri* as persons who have more devout Islamic beliefs and are generally related to trading and the peasantry, while *priyayi* reflect the influence of Hindu beliefs and practices with Islam and were related to the bureaucracy of the Javanese court and later the Dutch colonial administration. Geertz (1960) argued that *santri* and *priyayi* represented different traditions and values within Javanese Islam.

In this research, the influence of *santri* and *priyayi aliran* is in the genealogies of *kyai* families and these two traditions are perpetuated in the *pesantren*, especially the As-sa'idiyyah 2 and Nurul Huda, but less so in the case of the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat. Moreover, *santri* studied in this research partly come from farming families, but few come from trading families. The *pesantrens'* identification with the *priyayi* is through *kyai* family genealogies, rather than colonial or Indonesian bureaucracies. The identification with *santri* and *priyayi* family genealogies is related to hierarchy and authority in the *pesantren* community. In this study, Javanese cultural values are reflected in patriarchy and authority. Even, Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, as part of the reformist Muhammadiyah organisation, also have a strong relationship with the Yogyakarta Royal Court.

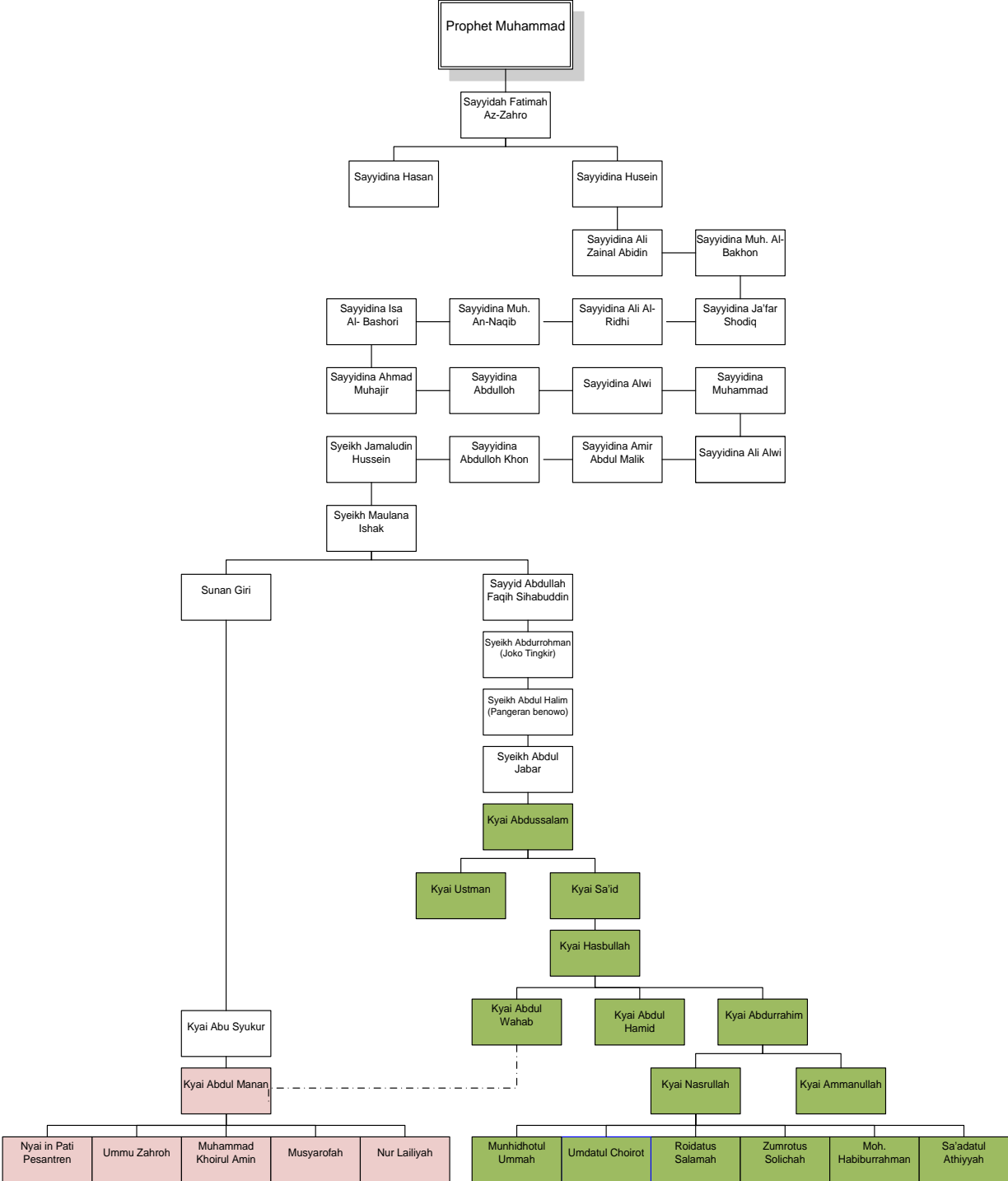
It is argued that the *pesantren* traditions and gender values instilled in *santri* reflect the *ulama* and *priyayi* traditions, particularly in the two *pesantren* associated with the NU: Nurul Huda and As-sa'idiyyah 2. However, in the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat greater openness and change is evident. Although Kyai Dahlan had a close relationship with the Yogyakarta Palace, subsequent leaders of the

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<sup>58</sup> Clifford Geertz conducted research in Mojokunto, Kediri in East Java in 1950s that categorised the religion of Java as three types: *santri*, *priyayi* and *abangan*.

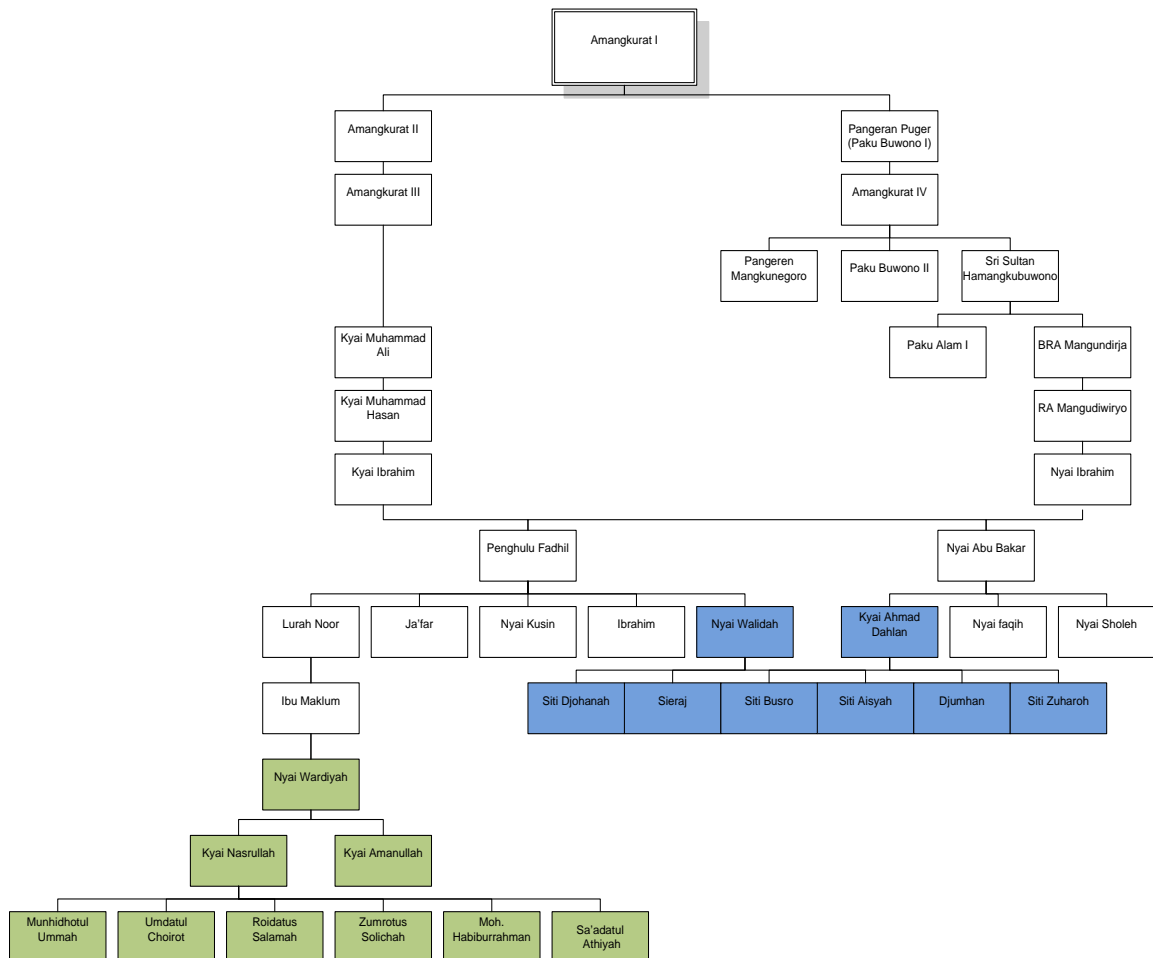
Mu'allimin and Mua'llimaat have sought to purify local traditions from Islamic teaching in the *pesantren*.

### Figure5.1



Source: (Wardatul 2007:11; Choirot 2010; *Pesantren*, BU 2010)  
Kyai Abdul Manan was a student of Kyai Abdul Wahab

**Figure 5.2**  
**Genealogical connections between the founding father of Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, and As-sa'idiyyah 2 Pesantren**



Source: (Wahyudi 2002; Choirot 2010; Widyastuti 2010)  
 Blue denotes the family of Kyai Dahlan. Green denotes the As-sa'idiyyah 2 family.

## 5.2 Relationship between the *Pesantren* tradition and intellectual networking

The growth of *pesantren* in Java was not only influenced by Javanese culture, but it has also been shaped by ongoing interactions with centres of learning in the Middle East, especially Mecca, where many Indonesian *kyai* have studied (Benda 1958:17). The numbers of *kyai* and their sons studying in Mecca increased after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. Some of those who embarked on a pilgrimage to Mecca stayed to further their studies (Benda 1958:17; Dhofier

1999:16). Since the nineteenth century, Wahhabism<sup>59</sup> has been the dominant doctrine in Mecca and its influence has spread to Indonesia through pilgrims and scholars (Glasse 2001:469).

In more recent times, Wahhabi influence has spread through Saudi funding of hospitals, orphanages, mosques, and educational institutions (Von der Mehden 1993:17-8; Delong-Bas 2004:3-4). The Muhammadiyah movement shares some characteristics with Wahhabism in that it seeks to revive Islam and purify it from the influences of local traditions that are regarded as *bid'ah*. It established educational institutions, hospitals and orphanages to empower Muslim society. Kyai Dahlan studied in Mecca in 1890 when Wahhabism dominated educational institutions (Von der Mehden 1993:14-5). Wahhabi's influence grew with the consolidation and unification of the Saudi state in the 1920s and 1930s (Burhani 2010:145). The Wahhabism movement inspired Kyai Dahlan to establish Muhammadiyah in 1912, even though Javanese cultural influences, particularly those of the Yogyakarta Palace, were important. Kyai Dahlan had grown up in the Yogyakarta Palace and held a position as *khatib* in the palace.

After Kyai Dahlan passed away in 1923, *ulama* from Minangkabau, West Sumatra asserted greater influence in the Muhammadiyah movement (Burhani 2010:158). Haji Rasul<sup>60</sup> was a prominent figure of Muhammadiyah in Minangkabau (Alfian 1989:246). Haji Rasul and Kyai Dahlan were different characters. Haji Rasul was a radical puritan and revivalist (Burhani 2010:135), while Kyai Dahlan was modernist, egalitarian, pluralist and open-minded (Widyastuti 2010:3-6). The puritanism of Haji Rasul had an effect on Muhammadiyah after the leadership of Kyai Dahlan; Haji Rasul did not give permission to conduct *tahlilan*, although when the father of Kyai Dahlan passed away *tahlilan* was conducted by Kyai Dahlan. Women were obliged to wear a veil and Muslim clothes, rather than the Javanese *kebaya*<sup>61</sup> (Peacock, James L 1979:259). It was a Minangkabau style of veil and Muslim clothes that became the uniform for Mu'allimaat students. The Mu'allimaat

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<sup>59</sup> Wahhabism was brought about by Muslim theologian, Muhammad ibn Abd Al-Wahhab, and has exerted considerable influence in the Saudi government since the eighteenth century. Wahhabism is a branch of Sunni with a predilection to the Hambali School as well as the conservative creed that assumed the importance of the existence Islamic purification to reconstruct the moral decline in Muslim society (Delong-Bas 2004: 9).

<sup>60</sup> Haji Rasul is the father of Buya Hamka, one of the famous figures in Muhammadiyah. Haji Rasul was born in Maninjau 1879 and passed away on 2 June, 1945 in Jakarta.

<sup>61</sup> *Kebaya* is a long sleeved blouse that is fastened with brooches rather than buttons and button holes.

communities identify as *jilbab Minangkabau* (Minangkabau's veil) and *baju kurung* (blouses with long sleeves).

The Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat mixed Islamic influences from the Middle East with Javanese and Minangkabau traditions. Similarly, in the *pesantren* associated with the NU, where some *kyai* had studied in the Middle East, Islamic and Javanese traditions were accommodated. In 1912, Kyai Wahab Hasbullah, senior leader of Bahrul Ulum, travelled to Mecca on a pilgrimage and studied for two years. On his return he established Tambak Beras (Bahrul Ulum) for the study of classical yellow book as teaching material, and *bandongan* and *sorogan* as teaching methods (Dhofier 1999:33; Barton 2002:40-1).

Kyai Khoirul, the leader of Nurul Huda, who had studied in Mecca at the same time, replaced his father as head of the *pesantren* and introduced more extensive studies of Arabic language and literature as well as promoting Arabic as the everyday language in the male boarding school. However, in the female boarding school, the teaching of Arabic was limited to conversation classes and memorising Arabic words. The influence of Kyai Khoirul's studies in Mecca was reflected in the strict segregation between male and female santri in the *pesantren*. Kyai Khoirul also encouraged his male santri to continue their studies in Mecca or elsewhere in the Middle East.

The tradition of Sunni<sup>62</sup> Islamic orthodoxy in Mecca also influences the *mazhab* (school of thought) that is followed by the *pesantren*. The Sunni tradition with Syafi'i *mazhab*, dominates in both *pesantren* As-sa'idiyyah 2 and Nurul Huda, whereas the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, as part of the Muhammadiyah, follows the Hambali *mazhab*. The differences between *pesantren* associated with the NU and *pesantren* managed by the Muhammadiyah not only affect different interpretations of Islamic teaching, but also religious identity in the *pesantren*. As-sa'idiyyah 2 and Nurul Huda, associated with NU, have modernist-Javanese and traditionalist Javanese orientations. The Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat of the Muhammadiyah have

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<sup>62</sup> Sunni believe the successor of the Prophet is Abu Bakar Ash-Sidiq (father-in-law of the Prophet) who was chosen democratically by the Medina people (Ahmed, AS 2002:56). Sunni have many rulers from the family of the Prophet (Quraysh) and qualification rules including four *mazhab*: Syafi'i, Hambali, Hanafi, Maliki (Nasr 2006:38).

a modernist puritan orientation, which seeks to practice Islamic teaching with minimal influence from Javanese culture. The Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat do not practice *slametan* that remain a central part of the traditions in As-sa'idiyyah 2 and Nurul Huda. Muhammadiyah regard *slametan* as a *bid'ah* (behaviour and attitude that was never conducted by Prophet Muhammad) that is a part of Javanese tradition, not Islamic practice.

Javanese culture dominates the NU *pesantren*, especially those in East Java, whereas Muhammadiyah *pesantren* promotean Indonesian identity that incorporates the values of regions throughout Indonesia. However, initially, under the influence of its founder, Kyai Dahlan, the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat was strongly influenced by the culture of the Yogyakarta Palace.

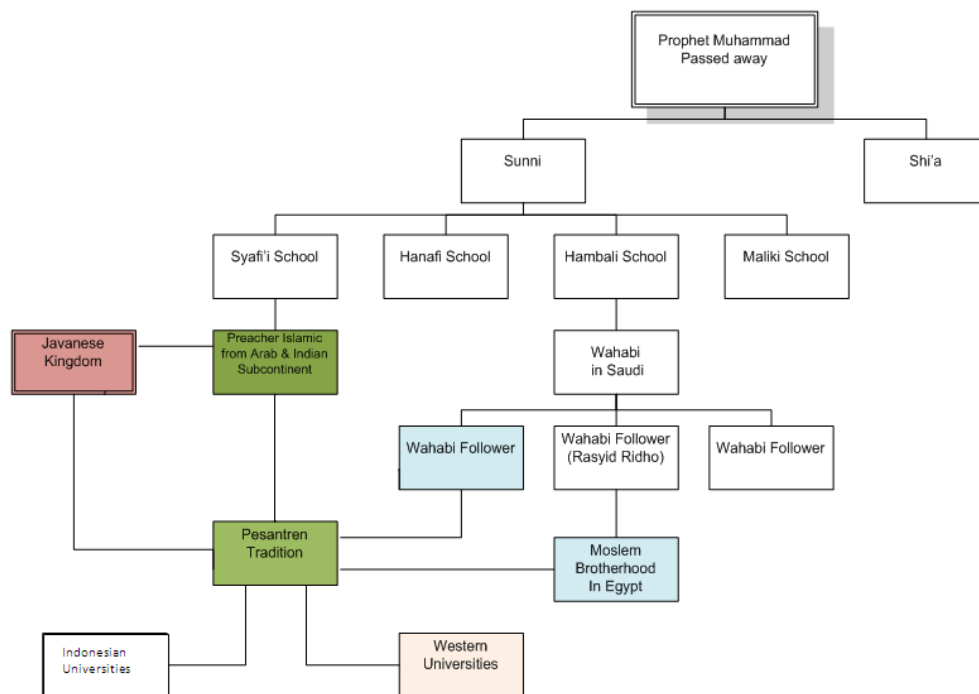
The Muhammadiyah emphasise Islamic puritan values, in part reflecting the influence of Muhammadiyah figures who studied in Cairo. After the First World War, sixty Indonesians studied in Cairo<sup>63</sup>; Indonesian students constituted 75% of the total students who came from Southeast Asia, and one of them was Abdul Kahar, *ustadz* in Mu'allimin (Nakamura 1977:2; Von der Mehden 1993:5). In 1925 Abdul Kahar studied in Cairo, aged sixteen, after finishing his study in Mambaul Ulum, Solo, Central Java, sponsored by his uncle, Haji Muchsin (Nakamura 1977:2). He studied Islamic law in Cairo, participated in student politics and founded the international Association of Muslim Youth; also he was actively writing for the journal *Seruan Al-Azhar* (Call of Al-Azhar). He returned and taught in Mu'allimin in Yogyakarta, having studied for twelve years in Cairo. He remained active in party politics and worked in the Department of Economic Affairs of the Yogyakarta Sultanate (Nakamura 1977:2). These situations explaine Mu'allimin has a figure who had experience with the movement of Islamic organisation in Egypt; as a result the Islamic puritan is still embedded in Mu'allimin.

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<sup>63</sup> Cairo was preferred by Indonesian students, because Cairo was the place of study, like in Mecca and Medina, but it was also the place to learn politics; as a result, they had the energy to support Indonesian independence (Von der Mehden 1993:5). The dynamics of the Islamic movement in Egypt was also supported by the emerging Muslim Brotherhood as an opposition organisation that was founded by Hassan al-Banna in 1928 and inspired by Islamic reformers such as Rasyid Ridho and Muhammad Abduh. The Muslim Brotherhood attempted to encourage the Muslim community to return to original Islam and retrieve the Islamic empire expanding from Spain to Indonesia (Davidson 1998:97-8). The movement of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt influenced some Muslim scholars from Indonesia in politics and education (Von der Mehden 1993:91).

The tradition of Indonesian scholars studying in the Middle East was not common among the daughters of *kyai*, who only undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca. Reflecting on the strong patriarchy of the *pesantren*, it has been sons of *kyai* who have studied in the Middle East. Most of the authors and interpreters of the yellow book are male and have studied in Mecca. The social settings of these centres of study in the Middle East have contributed to the gender biased interpretation of Islamic teaching that has developed in their *pesantren*.

**Figure5.3**  
**Intellectual networking, Javanese culture and *pesantren* tradition**



However, in the twentieth century the development of *pesantren* has not only been influenced by intellectual networking with centres of learning in the Middle East, but also by Western universities. Some graduates from the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat followed earlier generations of Indonesians and continued their studies at Al-Azhar University, Cairo. Ahmad Safi'i Maarif however chose the University of Chicago and Ohio State University in the United States for his postgraduate studies (Von der Mehden 1993:90; Ridwan 2010). Ahmad Safi'i Maarif, a leader in the Muhammadiyah from 2000 to 2005, inspired students in the Mu'allimin to further their education including the study of English and Arabic. In fact, English has

become the preferred foreign language for Mu'allimin students, as noted by the curriculum coordinator of Mu'allimin (interview with Ustadz Muhlish, 29 September, 2010). However, some Mu'allimaat staff considered that Ahmad Safi'i Ma'arif was too liberal and he has never been invited into Mu'allimaat (interview with Ustadzah Fitri, *musrifah* in Mu'allimaat, 27 September, 2010). This suggests the predominantly female teaching staff of the Mu'allimaat can be more puritan in their beliefs and more protective of their *santri*, than their male colleagues in the Mu'allimin.

The education backgrounds of the *ustadz* and *ustadzah* in the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat show an increasingly diverse intellectual network that includes Indonesian state universities as well as Islamic universities/institutes and Al-Azhar University. The graduates from Cairo have found good positions as *ustadz* and *ustadzah* in the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat including as curriculum coordinator and student coordinator. The influence of their studies at Al-Azhar University can be seen in the curriculum and rules in the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat. Ustadz Muhlish, the curriculum coordinator of the Mu'allimin, explains the changes he has introduced:

The basic Islamic teaching materials used in the Mu'allimin have not changed, but some of the references have changed. The Mu'allimin not only uses traditional yellow book, but also contemporary yellow book (*turots*) written by *ulama*. We encourage this spirit of this change in *turots*. The change is not revolutionary, but gradual. (Interview with Ustadz Muhlish, the curriculum coordinator of Mu'allimin, 29 September, 2010)

Ustadz Muhlish has sought to change the teaching methods in the Mu'allimin, along the lines of his experience in Al-Azhar University, where more contemporary yellow books were studied. He has also changed the Arabic language material for teaching Islamic studies and uses the indigenous yellow book, not combined with Indonesian. His ideas for the improvement of Arabic language classes have been supported by other *ustadz* in the Mu'allimin, who also want to arrest the declining standards of the students' competence in Arabic. In Mu'allimaat, Ustadzah Rita, the student coordinator, also studied in Cairo. She has changed the rules for female students, particularly for clothing in the *madrasah* and dormitories, and has introduced Middle Eastern styles of clothing.

The intellectual networking in As-sa'idiyyah 2 has also become more diverse. The founder of the Bahrul Ulum foundation was educated in Mecca (Pesantren, BU 2010), Nyai Umda graduated from UIN in Yogyakarta, and Kyai Hasan completed a Masters degree at the Islamic Institute in Jombang (interviews with Nyai Umda 27 November, 2010 and Kyai Hasan, 28 November, 2010). Nyai Umda has also developed a broad political network through her involvement in the RMI (*Robitho Ma'ahid Al-Islamiyah*/Pesantren Institute under NU) and Rahima (educational centre and Islamic information and women right), which opens up opportunities for developing gender awareness in the *pesantren* through re-contextualisation of Islamic teaching with gender equity values (interview with Nyai Umda, 27 November, 2010). Kyai Hassan and Nyai Umda also have experienced home stays in the United States and China (interview with Kyai Hasan, 28 November, 2010). This has inspired the development of English classes in As-sa'idiyyah 2.

However, the colour of Bahrul Ulum had been affected by the senior *kyai* who mostly learned Islamic teaching from the Middle East. *Pesantren* tradition, including the rules and curriculum, is a heritage from the *pesantren's* family. Although some of the rules in As-sa'idiyyah 2 have changed, the main rules persist such as the segregation system between male and female santri. But, Nyai Umda still provides the new discourse in Bahrul Ulum, particularly in As-sa'idiyyah 2, related to her leadership in MAI (*Madrasah Aliyah I'dadiyah*/Islamic senior high school) that is assumed uncommon in Bahrul Ulum community.

Although not educated in the Middle East, Nyai Umda has developed a cooperative network with universities in Egypt and Syria. Some of the *ustadz* and *ustadzah* in the As-sa'idiyyah 2 and MAI have studied at universities in Cairo. The son of Nyai Umda studied at UIN in Yogyakarta after being a *santri* at a *salaf pesantren* in Central Java, while the second daughter is currently studying at the Australian National University, after completing her undergraduate course at Muhammadiyah University in Yogyakarta. The third daughter has studied communications in Gajah Mada University, Yogyakarta. Nyai Umda's daughters have all completed Islamic studies in the *pesantren*. In addition, Nyai Umda has involved her daughters as cadre in the Rahima. The As-sa'idiyyah 2 has sought to perpetuate its traditions through a pattern of intermarriage with the children of other *kyai's* families, but it

has also provided educational opportunities for the *kyai*'s children to study at state, private and Islamic universities in Indonesia as well as international universities.

The founding father of Nurul Huda, Kyai Manan, received a *pesantren* education at Bahrul Ulum Jombang (Wardatul 2007; Pesantren, NH 2010h). His son studied in Mecca as well as in *pesantren*, while his daughters studied at the UIN as well as in *salaf* and modern *pesantren* including Bahrul Ulum, Lirboyo in Kediri (El-Yusufi, Hamrok & Rosyidah 2009; Tohari 2009). The youngest daughter of Kyai Manan, Ning Nur, also completed a Masters degree at UIN in Malang, although she had obtained a scholarship from UIN in Yogyakarta, but her father did not grant permission for her to study in Yogyakarta, because he thought Yogyakarta was too far away from Malang and not safe for a young woman (interview with Ning Nur, 26 October, 2010). Ning Nur initiated, but has not developed, language classes in the Nurul Hudadue to her responsibilities at her husband's *pesantren* in Gading Pesantren, Malang. The son of Nyai Ummu still studies in a *salaf pesantren* in Pati, Central Java, while the daughter of Kyai Khoirul studies in a modern Islamic school (interview with Nyai Ummu, 11 November, 2010).

The pattern of development in the three *pesantren* in this study has been influenced by the changing educational backgrounds of the *kyai*, *nyai* and their families as well as other figures in the *pesantren*. The education of *pesantren* leaders has become much broader. After a school-age education in *pesantren*, further studies have been undertaken in centres of learning at Middle East, Islamic and general universities in Indonesia as well as Western universities. The experience and knowledge from outside the *pesantren* has generated new ideas about developing *pesantren* in the modern era and as a response to globalisation.

Intellectual networking has influenced the process of changing traditions in the *pesantren*, particularly related to language use, teaching materials and methods. The intellectual networks have become more diverse; well-established practices of Indonesian scholars studying in the Middle East have been supplemented by members of *kyai* families and other *pesantren* graduates studying at private and state universities in Indonesia and Western universities. However, As-sa'diyyah 2 and Nurul Huda associated with the NU, show greater insularity and more limited intellectual networks than the Muhammadiyah *pesantren*. The social insularity of

the NU *pesantren* is reinforced by the practice of intermarriages among *kyai* families.

To conclude, this chapter asserts that the genealogy and archaeology of knowledge in three *pesantren* is crucial to recognising and identifying the ideology of *pesantren* in developing *pesantren* tradition. Intellectual networking in the three *pesantren* describes archaeology of knowledge and interpretation in each *pesantren* toward Islamic teaching. Genealogy of knowledge stresses the development of the *pesantren* tradition over time, including the development gender values and the efforts of *kyai* families to maintain and preserve their genealogy. Genealogy and archaeology are related as thought of Foucault that asserts that genealogy is a completion from archaeology (Tamboukou 2003:9).

## Chapter 6

### Gendered Identity, Power and Oppression: Clothing Traditions in *Pesantren*

This chapter explores the development of clothing traditions via cultural interrelations in three *pesantren*. Clothing is one way of representing identity and religious and cultural values, as well as being a symbol of status, class, power and gender. The clothing tradition not only illustrates the genealogical networking that preserves ancient traditions, but also elucidates the connection with the outside community, and with institutions that have the power to embed their values or ideology.

Local traditions (Javanese and Minangkabau in West Sumatra) as well as Indonesian culture influence clothing traditions in this research. In Javanese culture, commonly, men wear a formal suit, *jarik*<sup>64</sup> with batik patterns and headgear called *blangkon*, and women wear *kebaya* (long-sleeved blouses) and *jarik* without *kerudung*<sup>65</sup> (see Figure 6.1). These traditional Javanese clothes have been worn since the Javanese Kingdom era. Meanwhile, the traditional women's Muslim attire in Minangkabau consists of a longskirt, *baju kurung* (blouses with long sleeves) and veil (see Figure 6.2), and this developed after Islam expanded in Indonesia in the 13th century (Ricklefs 1993:4).

Indonesian costumes come from local culture, such as the *kebaya*, which was promoted by the first Indonesian president, Soekarno, as the national costume in Indonesia (Taylor 2008:108). In the Dutch colonial era, *kebaya* was worn by the wives of the Javanese Indonesian elite in formal ceremonies; and this continued in the New Order Era (1966–1998), when *kebaya* was commonly worn by the wives of the elite, female civil servants and wives of civil servants (Dharma Wanita) in formal ceremonies (Suryakusuma, JI 2004:218). In contrast, the Indonesian costume for males included a Western suit and headgear called *peci* (see Figure 6.3); black *peci* were also promoted by Soekarno as a national identity symbol for

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<sup>64</sup>*Jarik* is the Javanese wrap-around skirt for males and females; commonly *jarik* uses a batik motif which is the national costume, and since October 2, 2009, batik has been decided by UNESCO as one of the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. Hence October 2 is commemorated as Batik day.

<sup>65</sup>*Kerudung* is a headscarf for women but it does not conceal the neck.

Indonesian males, unrelated to religion (Taylor 2008:108). The Indonesian costume for females, particularly the *kebaya*, symbolised gender subordination (women as wives, subordinate to their husbands) and symbolised the restriction of women's movements (Suryakusuma, JI 2004:217-9). In contrast, males could choose to wear Western suits as a symbol of modernity and power like males in the Dutch Colonial era (Suryakusuma, JI 2004:218; Taylor 2008:86).

**Figure6.1**  
**R.A.Kartini (1879–1904) in Dutch colonial era and her**  
**husband, R.M.A.A. Singgih Djojo Adhiningrat**



They came from *priyayi* family in Javanese kingdom that wore traditional attire in 1903. R.A. Kartini wore a *kebaya* and *jarik* with batik pattern without *kerudung*, and her husband wore a formal suit and *jarik* and the headgear called *blangkon* (Takkyza 2008).

**Figure6.2**  
**(Mrs) Rahmah El Yunusiyah, founder of a girls' school, Dinijah Puteri, in Padang Pandjang in 1923**



She wore the traditional dress of Muslim women in Minangkabau, West Sumatra, which featured a long skirt, *baju kurung*, and veil with Minangkabau style (Udhe 2010).

**Figure 6.3**  
**The first Indonesian President, Soekarno, and his second wife, Inggit**



President Soekarno wore a Western suit and *peci*, Inggit wore *kebaya* and *jarik*. He promoted *peci* and *kebaya* as Indonesian costume (Shantika 2011).

The dress tradition of *pesantren* was also influenced by other cultures which saw their role as spreading Islam (see Figures 6.4 and 6.5). According to Ricklefs (1993:12), for example, the Islamic culture from India (Gujarat, Coromandel), South China, Arabia, Egypt and Persia influenced Indonesia. Islamic preachers from these countries introduced Islamic teaching and style of dress which was a mixture of traditions. The style of headgear for males in these countries such as *taqiyah* (skullcap) and turbans influenced some Indonesian Muslims, including the *kyai*. Moreover, the style of dress, particularly headscarves for females, has influenced Muslim women in Indonesia since the 1980s, in part as a result of the influence of the Iranian revolution in 1979 on the Islamist movement (Bahramitash 2004:509; Taylor 2008:111). However, in the 1980s female students in government schools were not allowed to wear a veil to school. The New Order Government of General Suharto tended not to support the display of Islamic values in the public sphere (Hefner 2000).

**Figure6.4**  
**Muslim headgear**



Far left: Men in Arabia, Kuwait, Jordan, Iraq and Palestine wear headgear called *kufiya* that was not worn by men in Egypt or Oman (Jewel 2008c). Second from left: the skullcap (*taqiyah* or *'araqiyyeh*) is commonly worn by men from Egypt and Syria (Jewel 2008c). Centre: The clothing style of men in Cairo, Egypt in 1938; turbans can be anything from 2m to 16m in length. In the latter case, the tarbush is often visible and the tassel hangs free. Turbans are common in Egypt (Jewel 2008a). Second from right: The famous Gujarati Muslim, Mohammad Ali Jinnah (1876–1948), the founder of Pakistan, wore traditional dress with turbans (Wikipedia 2011b). Far right: Chinese Muslims. The male wears a white skullcap and the women wear veils (Wikipedia 2011d).

**Figure6.5**  
**Headscarf styles**



Far left: Women wear the *abaya* (robes) and the *niqab* (veil that covers hair and face, except the eyes) on the Arabian Peninsula (Wikipedia 2011a). Second from left: Some Middle Eastern women wear a veil (a *khimar*) that is pinned under the chin and covers the head (Jewel 2008b). Centre: Palestinian women wear a veil called called a *shash* (Jewel 2008b). Second from right: Women in Egypt wore *burqas* (similar style to *niqab*) in 1920 (Jewel 2008a). Far right: Girl from Karachi, Sind, Pakistan wears a *salwar* (long pants), blouse and headscarf in 1870 (Wikipedia 2011c).

The traditional clothing of *wali sanga* (nine Muslim saints), as preachers of Islam in Javanese, emphasised traditions from Gujarat, India and Egypt, rather than Saudi Arabia, particularly their turbans, except for Sunan Kalijaga (see Figure 6.6), a son of Tumenggung Wilatikta, the *priyayi* in Mojopahit Kingdom, who tended to wear Javanese clothing (Ricklefs 1993:10). Meanwhile, Sunan Giri who has a genealogical connection with Nurul Huda and As-sa'idiyyah 2 emphasised the wearing of turbans.

**Figure 6.6**  
***Wali Sanga***



From above right to left – Sunan Giri, Sunan Bonang, Sunan Ampel, Sunan Kalijaga, Sunan Gunung Jati, Sunan Drajat, Sunan Muria, Maulana Malik Ibrahim and Sunan Kudus. They all wear turbans, except for Sunan Kalijaga who wears a *blangkon* (Javanese headgear) (To'til 2009).

Many cultures contributed to clothing traditions in *pesantren* and their interaction and negotiation with each other provided clothing styles. This differs from other formal schools in Indonesia, not only public or private schools, but also Islamic schools associated with the Indonesian Government. Interestingly, before July 1991, students in non-Islamic schools were prohibited by the Indonesian Government from wearing veils. But this was revised and the Department of Education and Culture released a new regulation whereby students in non-Islamic schools could wear veils (Abuza 2003:64; Smith-Hefner, Nancy J. 2007:379). Until the 1990s wearing the veil in the public sphere was unusual in Indonesia. *Kerudung* were more common, worn usually by older women who had completed the pilgrimage to Mecca. People assumed that a women wearing a veil in public was

an Islamist militant, an effect of government policy in the New Order era that intended to curtail the movement of Islamic radicals (Brenner 1996:675; Jones, C 2007:217). Hence, *pesantren* clothing not only had a unique style that was different from other educational institutions in Indonesia, but was also a symbol of political resistance from *pesantren* toward Indonesian educational policy. However, in the Reform era wearing veils has become much more common and represents not only Islamic piety but also the interpretation and construction of Islamic teaching in the community (Smith-Hefner, Nancy J. 2007:213-4). Moreover, Smith-Hefner (2007:214) stressed that the new style of wearing a veil is “a symbol of domestic seclusion”.

### **6.1 Three Waves of clothing tradition in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat**

Female students must wear the headscarf, a long blouse and a long skirt that covers their bodies that is assumed as their *aurat*. In 1920 when Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat were founded by Kyai Dahlan, the clothing for males in Muhammadiyah and Mu'allimin was the same. Kyai Dahlan wore Javanese *priyayi* style clothing that utilised the *jarik*, combined with a turban, which illustrated a pluralist person, while the other functionaries of Muhammadiyah wore Western suits (see Figure 6.7). Kyai Dahlan's dress style showed he was a *priyayi* in Yogyakarta Palace and an *ulama*; he also interacted with Boedi Utomo, an Indonesian nationalist organisation based on a Western system (Soedja' 1989:15), which could be seen from the clothing of his colleagues in Muhammadiyah.

Meanwhile, Nyai Walidah and females in Mu'allimaat followed Javanese traditions which included the *jarik*, *kebaya*, and *kerudung* that identified women as Muslims (see Figure 6.8). According to Taylor (2008:107) *kerudung* is the way of adapting to Islamic values, that is, a female Muslim should cover her hair.

**Figure6.7**  
**Kyai Dahlan and the functionaries of Muhammadiyah in 1921**



Kyai Dahlan is seated second from left. He wears elite Javanese clothes, *jarik* and turbans; note that some of the functionaries in Muhammadiyah wear Western suits (Widyastuti 2010:30).

**Figure6.8**  
**Kyai Dahlan and his wife, Nyai Walidah in 1922**



Kyai Dahlan (stands at the back) and Nyai Walidah (seated far left in the front row) with Muhammadiyah members who wear Javanese style (*jarik*, *kebaya*, *kerudung*) (Widyastuti 2010:6).

After Kyai Dahlan passed away, Muhammadiyah was led by Kyai Ibrahim, brother-in-law of Kyai Dahlan (1923–1933). During this era, Muhammadiyah had many

branches in Indonesia, including Minangkabau (Ridwan 2010), that provided a strong influence over Muhammadiyah cultures. After 1925, Muhammadiyah expanded in Minangkabau that was introduced by Haji Rasul (1879-1945), and Muhammadiyah in Minangkabau had connections with political practice rather than with Muhammadiyah in Java (Alfian 1989:240-6). Kyai Dahlan was a pluralist and a modernist, whereas Haji Rasul was a revivalist, a purist and a radical (Jainuri 1999:169). As a Muslim puritan, Haji Rasul was a Minangkabau who had a dominating influence in integrating some aspects of Minangkabau culture that were assumed to reflect Islamic values. For example, he forced females in Muhammadiyah to wear the veil and prohibited the wearing of the *kebaya* (Burhani 2010:133). This was because the *kebaya* revealed the female body shape, while one of the verses in *Al-Qur'an* (An-Nur: 31), interprets that women should wear loose clothing that covers the body.

In addition, in 1932 Majelis Tarjih<sup>66</sup> of Muhammadiyah decided that the obligation of Muhammadiyah's women was to wear *kerudung* or the veil as a part of their everyday clothing, and that women who leave their house for more than a day must be accompanied by a *muhrim* (Noer 1973:82). This exemplifies the changing tradition in Muhammadiyah that was influenced by purist figures who wanted to implement the purification of Islamic values, for women, rather than men.

Moreover, some of the Muhammadiyah figures, including Haji Soedjak, asserted in July 1934 at the Muhammadiyah Congress in Yogyakarta that the Muhammadiyah was a reformist organisation that had the objective of integrating Islamic values in all aspects of the Netherlands Indies (Penders 1977:265). This progressively affirmed Muhammadiyah as an Islamic reformist organisation influenced by Egyptian reformists like Muhammad Abduh and Rasyid Ridla (Nakamura 1976:98). In 1936 under the leadership of Mr. Mas Mansur, Muhammadiyah focused on maintaining its theology and ideology based on Islamic purity, and criticised Javanese traditions that were not related to Islamic values, such as belief in the paranormal and *slametan* (Burhani 2010:150-1). As a result, in the 1930s *priyayi* non-*santri* in Yogyakarta were less interested in the

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<sup>66</sup>Majelis Tarjih (Council of Religious Opinion) is the division in Muhammadiyah that has authority to create religious opinion and advice related to contemporary issues or problems in the Muslim community.

Muhammadiyah, because it was dominated by *priyayi santri* and merchants with different interests from *priyayi non-santri* (Burhani 2010:158).

During this era, a change occurred in Muhammadiyah that was influenced by Javanese to Minangkabau cultural factors, and religious factors, generated by increasing numbers of Muhammadiyah members graduating from the Middle East. This situation illustrates that the role of Yogyakarta palace decreased in Muhammadiyah after Kyai Dahlan's leadership, and the Javanese culture became a less dominant influence. Muhammadiyah's movement in the 1930s was also reflected in the clothing of Mu'allimin students: they wore long-sleeved shirts, trousers and *peci* (see Figure 6.9) rather than the *jarik* (Javanese clothing for males).

**Figure 6.9**  
**Mu'allimin students in 1930s**



These students wear the long-sleeved shirt, trousers and *peci* (Mu'allimin collection).

After Haji Rasul passed away in 1945, Minangkabau culture still influenced Muhammadiyah tradition, including Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, because some Minangkabau people became functionaries in Muhammadiyah; two periods of Muhammadiyah leadership (1953–1956 and 1956–1959) were led by A.R. Sutan Mansur from Minangkabau who was also the son-in-law of Haji Rasul (Kurniawan 2007:238; Ridwan 2010). During this time, Muhammadiyah became an Islamic reformist organisation and this made for a more distant relationship between

Muhammadiyah and Yogyakarta Palace (Burhani 2010:159-60). In the Muhammadiyah congress in 1959 in Yogyakarta, Muhammadiyah was declared an organisation based on Islam, which was a response to the debate about Indonesian state philosophy in 1959; whereas during the previous forty-seven years (1912–1959) the Muhammadiyah movement was without a written foundation (Ma'arif 2009).

This suggests that Muhammadiyah was a reformist-purity organisation. It also changed the female clothing in Mu'allimaat; in 1964, female students wore *kebaya*, *jarik*, and the veil following Minangkabau style (see Figure 6.10). This shows the influence of Javanese clothing traditions, which had somewhat declined, to be replaced by Minangkabau and religious fashions from the Middle East that were assumed to represent authentic Islamic values. However, female students still used *kebaya* as Mu'allimaat's uniform; president Soekarno promoted *kebaya* as truly Indonesian dress. Meanwhile, the changing of the headscarf from the *kerudung* to the veil was influenced by the character of some of Muhammadiyah's figures, and Muhammadiyah's movement that emphasised its Islamic purity, because the Minangkabau veil covered more hair. The veil of Mu'allimaat students was unique and emphasised the difference between Yogyakarta societies, particularly for female Muslims who commonly used *kerudung* to cover their hair.

The change in female clothing in Mu'allimaat in the 1960s was used to illustrate the ideology of Muhammadiyah as a pure Islamic organisation, which used Minangkabau culture as its preferred representation of Islamic values, rather than Javanese culture. Male figures in Muhammadiyah, including the *kyai*, had the authority to make decisions about female clothing because senior male figures in Muhammadiyah had graduated from the Middle East. They were assumed to have more understanding of Islamic teaching and the Muhammadiyah's soul. This shows that female attire reflected the level of religiosity and intellegentsia of the males. Female clothing demonstrated the power and authority of the male to maintain and manage the female sphere, which is one of the interpretations of the verse in *Al-Qur'an* (An-Nisa': 34), where men are assumed as leader by women.

**Figure 6.10**  
**Mu'allimaat students in 1964**



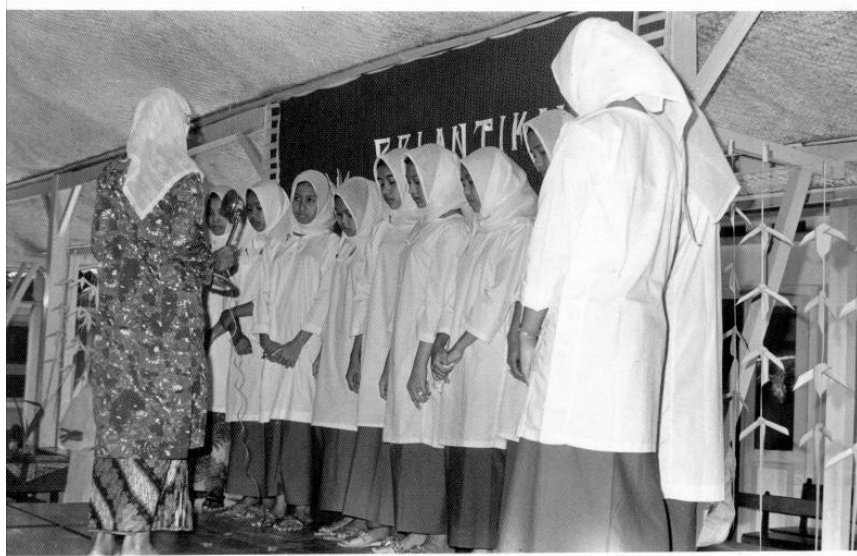
These students wear Javanese style clothes (*kebaya* and *jarik*) with a headscarf which follows the Minangkabau style (Mu'allimaat collection).

The character of Muhammadiyah was also evident in the more dynamic changes in Mu'allimaat clothing in the 1970s, which departed from Javanese tradition and adapted Minangkabau tradition for female Muslims because this tradition was more representative of Islamic values. It also showed Mu'allimaat students as a Muhammadiyah cadre with an identity that differed from general Yogyakarta society. The transition of clothing from Javanese to Minangkabau styles was emphasised, in the Mu'allimaat community, as they want to construct the ideal identity for Muslim woman. The clothing of female students started changing from Javanese to Minangkabau style (see Figures 6.11, 6.12 and 6.13), which included a long dress, *baju kurung* (long blouses), but the style of veil was more like the *khimar* (Middle Eastern veil) (see Figure 6.5).

The uniform of Mu'allimaat students in the 1970s was similar to that of students in the reformist girl's school, Dinijiah Puteri, in Padang Pandjang, founded in 1923 by (Mrs) Zainuddin Labai El Junasi who was Haji Rasul's student (Peacock, James L. 1992:56-8; Vreede-de Stuers 1992:56-8). The doctrine of the ideal female Muslim in the Dinijiah Puteri community was reflected in the Dinijiah's uniform for female students. It placed more emphasis on the characteristics of purity, following the uniform that was assumed to better represent Islamic culture than Javanese attire.

In the 1970s, female teachers in Mu'allimaat wore Javanese clothing, which included the *kebaya*, *jarik* and *kerudung*, and some teachers used a mixture of Javanese and Minangkabau attire that included headscarves or *baju kurung* following the Minangkabau style (see Figures 6.11 and 6.13). This illustrates the accommodation of Islamic values in local cultures, as well as the authority of those in Muhammadiyah who had backgrounds from both cultures. Female teachers could choose their attire, and some of them preferred Javanese clothing. Moreover, in the 1970s Aisyiyah, the women's wing of Muhammadiyah, was led by Prof. Siti Baroroh Baried, who grew up in Kauman, Yogyakarta and wore Javanese clothing. She succeeded in building numerous kindergartens and women's Islamic schools (Peacock, James L. 1992:44-5) and symbolised a successful female leader in Muhammadiyah who embraced the Javanese tradition. Also in the 1970s, Javanese attire was used by some female teachers and was still the dominant style in Yogyakarta. Yet female clothing in Mu'allimaat was illustrative of the gap between Mu'allimaat and the wider Yogyakarta community. Mu'allimaat attire became a unique characteristic in Yogyakarta as the centre of Javanese culture. Moreover, males in Mu'allimaat still wore Western suits with a tie or *peci* (see Figures 6.12 and 6.13). Male clothing tended to have the same characteristics in each period and emphasised both Indonesian and Western culture, which differed from female clothing which tended towards local culture.

**Figure 6.11**  
**Mu'allimaat students in 1972**



The students wear long dresses, *baju kurung* with Minangkabau style and veil, and the female teacher (front) wears *jarik*, with a long blouse and veil (Mu'allimaat collection).

**Figure6.12**  
**Male leader and students in Mu'allimaat in 1972**



(Mu'allimaat collection)

**Figure 6.13**  
**Teachers at Mu'allimaat in 1970s**



Male teachers wear Western suits and some wear *peci*. Female teachers wear clothes in the Javanese style – *kebaya*, *jarik* and *kerudung*, and one of the *ustadzah* (at the front) uses a headscarf following the Minangkabau style (Mu'allimaat collection). Female students (at the back) wear long skirts, *baju kurung* also following the Minangkabau style and veils like *khimar* (see Figure 6.6).

In 1979, the clothing of female students totally changed to follow the Minangkabau style, using not only the long skirt and *baju kurung*, but also the style of veil that was called *jilbab Minangkabau* (see Figure 6.14), while the female leader in Mu'allimaat, Ustadzah Siti Zunnah Asy (who led Mu'allimaat during 17 January, 1979 until 6 January, 1994) wore the Javanese style with a Minangkabau veil (see Figure 6.15). Female teachers adopted the Minangkabau style in some of parts of their clothing, such as blouses or headscarves, and they combined Javanese and Minangkabau styles. This demonstrates how female leaders and teachers in Mu'allimaat had the authority to determine their clothing, and use attire from both Minangkabau and Javanese cultures.

The Minangkabau attire representing Islamic values was embedded in Muhammadiyah through the changing of the uniform of Mu'allimaat students. The doctrine of Haji Rasul regarding the ideal female clothing had been internalised since the 1930s, not only in the Muhammadiyah cadre in Minangkabau, but also in the whole Muhammadiyah cadre. The hegemony of Islamic and local culture that

is assumed to represent Islamic values influenced this change in female clothing. However, there was selective borrowing, where the Minangkabau tradition, particularly a matrilineal kinship culture (Coster 1992:225; Blackburn 2004:8), did not absolutely replace the patrilineal culture of Javanese tradition. The cultural borrowing was selectively chosen according to their understanding of Islamic teaching that emphasised patriarchal culture.

The patriarchal stereotyping of males and females in Minangkabau prevails, which illustrates that males have more power and mobility in public areas, while females maintains subsistence activities in domestic areas (Coster 1992:233), and men like Haji Rasul had the authority to maintain and manage females including their clothing. This demonstrates that patriarchy can be an invisible culture, even where there are matrilineal values. Males did not claim to wear clothing that represented ideal Muslims; they still wore long-sleeved shirts and trousers, or wore Western suits with *peci* in formal ceremonies (see Figure 6.16).

The changes in female clothing in the 1970s strengthened the Muhammadiyah identity and Minangkabau culture also had a strong influence. In the broader context of Indonesian culture, it would seem unusual for regional fashion to influence the dominant Javanese culture in Indonesia. The figure of Aisyiyah in the 1970s who tended to wear Javanese clothing also influenced female teacher's attire, although the Minangkabau style that was used as student's uniform in Mu'allimaat was considered more Islamic by male seniors in Muhammadiyah. This situation identified women's power in Aisyiyah and Mu'allimaat as institution under Muhammadiyah that were dominated by patriarchal values; as well it showed how the women's movement had come of age in Muhammadiyah.

**Figure 6.14**  
**Female leader and students in Mu'allimaat in 1979**



These young women wear long skirts, *bajukurung* (long blouses) and veils following Minangkabau style. The female leader, Ustadzah Siti Zunnah (seated) wears *jarik*, *kebaya* and her veil following Minangkabau style (Mu'allimaat collection).

**Figure6.15**  
**Female leader of Mu'allimaat, Ustadzah Siti Zunnah Asy in 1979**



Siti Zunnah Asy (far right in front row) wore Javanese style (*kebaya*, *jarik*) and headscarf following Minangkabau style (Mu'allimaat collection).

**Figure6.16**  
**Mu'allimin students in formal ceremony on 23 October, 1986**



The student on the far right wears a Western suit and *peci*. The student in the middle wears a long-sleeved shirt and trousers (Mu'allimin collection).

Moreover, when I asked some students in Mu'allimaat why they wear veils and clothes that are different from other Muslims, they did not know the reason. Even the leader, who graduated from Mu'allimaat in 1982, did not understand why Mu'allimaat students wear blouses and veils in the Minangkabau style; also she was unaware of when the Mu'allimaat uniform changed from Javanese style to Minangkabau style.

Researcher: When I see some students here, their veil is long; I know when they wear it in dormitories.

Director: It is Minangkabau-style veil.

Researcher: Why do they wear a Minangkabau jilbab?

Director: It has long been the practice to wear this style of clothes and veil. This has all been a process; before the Minangkabau style, Mu'allimaat students wore a Javanese *jarik*.

(Interview with Ustadzah Fauziah, the female leader of Mu'allimaat, October 5, 2010)

Students follow the Mu'allimaat tradition from their seniors without understanding how and why they use Minangkabau tradition, and they recognise that their dress is not Javanese style, although they live in Yogyakarta as a centre of Javanese tradition, and most of the Mu'allimaat students are Javanese. Moreover, according to Ustadzah Erna (curriculum coordinator in Mu'allimaat), the Minangkabau attire is more closed and covers the body appropriately (interviewed on 29 September, 2010). Thus it is considered more 'Islamic'. Mu'allimaat is a modern *pesantren* with Muhammadiyah culture, but *pesantren* values (*sami'na wa atho'na*) are common to both NU *pesantren* and Mu'allimaat.

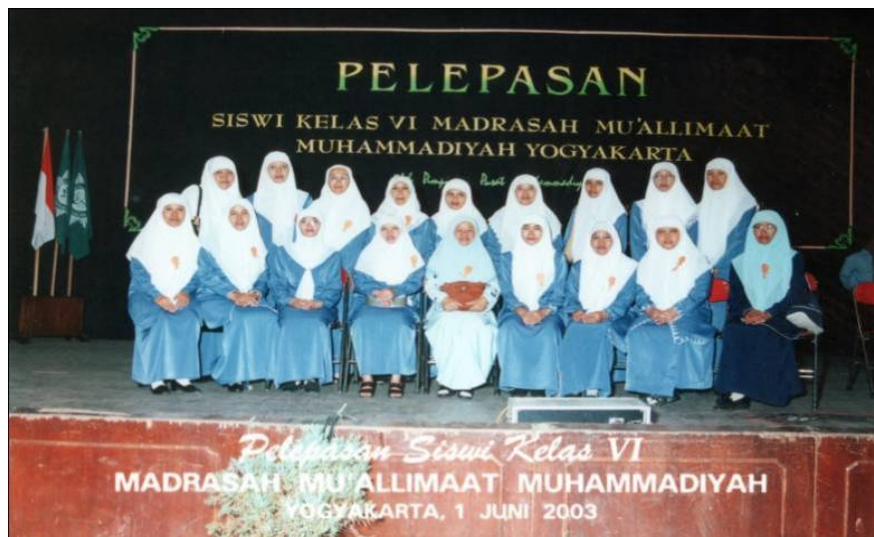
In 1995, the clothing of female teachers and female graduates from Mu'allimaat underwent a change: some still used Javanese attire and some wore long skirts, long blouses and *kerudung* or veils (see Figure 6.17). In contrast, in the same ceremony in the 1970s, females who graduated from Mu'allimaat used Javanese attire. Since 1991 when the Indonesian Government released a new regulation that students in non-religious schools could wear veils (Smith-Hefner, Nancy J. 2007:397), Muslim attire that consisted of a long skirt, long blouse and veil was more familiar in Indonesian society. Hence, this trend seemed to persuade female teachers in Mu'allimaat to change their attire, although some of them still combined this dress with Javanese style that included long blouses, long skirts and *kerudung* (see Figure 6.17).

**Figure 6.17**  
**Reunion committee Mu'allimaat students on 4 April, 1995**



This group consists of female teachers and some graduates from Mu'allimaat. Females in the back row wear Javanese tradition (*jarik*, *kebaya*, and *kerudung*), and females seated in the front row long skirts, long blouses and *kerudung* or veils (Mu'allimaat collection).

**Figure 6.18**  
**Female teachers in Mu'allimaat on 1 June, 2003**



These teachers wear long skirts, long blouses and veils (Mu'allimaat collection).

**Figure 6.19**  
**Male leader of Mu'allimaat, Ustadz Hamdan Hambali, with**  
**male teachers and administrative staff on 1 June, 2003**



Ustadz Hamdan Hambali (seated third left) was also the leader in Mu'allimin. He wears a Western suit, tie and *peci* and the male teachers and administrative staff wear long-sleeved shirts and trousers (Mu'allimaat collection).

In 2003, the attire of *ustadzah* in Mu'allimaat was undergoing a complete transition; they did not wear Javanese style clothing, but their uniform consisted of long skirts, long blouses and veils similar to Minangkabau style (see Figure 6.18). The veil is like the *khimar* which is worn by women in the Middle East (see Figure 6.5). In 2003, *ustadz* and administrative staff in Mu'allimaat did not change their clothing style; they wore long-sleeved shirts and trousers, or Western suits and *peci* (see Figure 6.19). *Ustadz* in Mu'allimin also wore similar attire. This is because some of the *ustadz* in Mu'allimaat taught in Mu'allimin, and Ustadz Hamdan was leader in both schools in 1997 (interview with Ustadz Hamdan, the steering committee of Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat Yogyakarta, 7 October, 2010). Ustadz Hamdan led Mu'allimaat from 22 March, 1998 until 10 May, 2005. Hence, the complete change in the attire of female teachers in Mu'allimaat probably happened in 1990s after the leadership of Ustadzah Siti Zunnah Asy, who tended to combine Javanese and Minangkabau style, or at the beginning of the leadership of Ustadz Hamdan in 1997, when *ustadzah* emphasised Minangkabau clothing style.

**Figure 6.20**  
**Formal ceremony to celebrate the second year of IPM**

**(Ikatan Pemuda Muhammadiyah/ The Association of Muhammadiyah Youth) in Mua'llimat in 2009**



The ceremony was conducted in the town square of Yogyakarta Palace. The female leader (front row, third right), is followed by the curriculum coordinator, student coordinator, female teacher and staff who all wear long skirts, long blouses with batik motif and veils. Male teachers and staff wear long-sleeved shirts with batik motif and trousers. Female students wear long skirts, long blouses and veils following Minangkabau style (Mu'allimaat collection).

**Figure 6.21**  
**Official ceremony in the new *Madrasah* Building of**  
**Mu'allimin on 4 June, 2008**



The male leader in Mu'allimin, Ustadz Ihwan (third left), and Safi'i Ma'arif, senior of Mu'allimin (far left) wear long-sleeved shirts with batik motif, trousers and *peci*. Actually, batik is utilised as *jarik*, but at the time batik was also used for blouses or shirts (Mu'allimin collection).

In formal ceremonies, *ustadz* and *ustadzah* in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat wear clothes with the batik motif as national identity (see Figures 6.20 and 6.21), and the

clothing of Minangkabau tradition remains the uniform style for Mu'allimaat students (see Figure 6.20). Currently, the uniform of *ustadzah* in Mu'allimaat includes a long skirt, long blouse and veil; some of the *ustadzah* even wear a long Middle Eastern style veil (see Figure 6.20). The long veil is commonly used by women who associate with PKS (*Partai Keadilan Sejahtera*/Prosperous Justice Party) as a specific characteristic; some of the *ustadzah*, including the coordinator student, followed PKS that has had a different ideology from Muhammadiyah, which infiltrated in Mu'allimaat since the 2000s. This situation also explained the dynamic of political Islam in Indonesia in the reform era since 1998. According to Taylor (2008:116) some Islamic organisations and parties have sought to purify Islamic values which has been reflected in a Muslim clothing style that is more Arabic in style. In this era many district governments have implemented *Perda sharia* that made wearing a veil compulsory for women (Salim 2003:224; Thompson 2006; Ichwan 2007:196; Kingsbury 2007; Parsons & Mietzner 2009; Marks 2010). As a result the wearing of veils represents the politics and ideology of Islam as well as the identity of the wearer.

Since the 2000s, Mu'allimaat was dominated by PKS that influenced Mu'allimaat's clothing style, and even in the general election in 2004 some of the Mu'allimaat people followed PKS. But, in 2010, the infiltration of PKS into Muhammadiyah was more subtle, after some education institutions under Muhammadiyah, including UAD (*Universitas Ahmad Dahlan*/Ahmad Dahlan University) in Yogyakarta, punished some lecturers and/or staff associated with PKS by releasing them from UAD. Although, Mu'allimaat did not conduct similar actions toward UAD, the regulation in UAD indirectly influenced Mu'allimaat, and as a result the cadre of PKS in Mu'allimaat is less evident.

However, some teachers in Mu'allimaat are still associated with PKS, and this condition has been affecting Mu'allimaat rules and systems, for example: clothing rules. This is because one of them has a strategic position as student coordinator who also graduated from Mu'allimaat and has a position as senior teacher. Hence, she has the authority to design rules related to clothing in *madrasah* and dormitories that tend to have PKS values: students should wear loose dresses and long veils and they should not wear long pants outside dormitories. In Mu'allimaat, the veil must be fastened over the chest and not be diaphanous; also females

should wear long skirts and long blouses as confided by Ustadzah Rita, student coordinator at Mu'allimaat, who has studied in Cairo:

We decided the students in Mu'allimaat would not be permitted to wear long pants. It does not mean prohibited. No! Actually, if the students wear long pants that are fuller with long blouses, it's okay. That's happened. But, if their clothes become shorter and shorter and does not cover their body (*aurat*), then we cannot control them. Hence, finally to educate our students, we decided the students would wear Muslim clothes that were more appropriate and feminine. We oblige the students to wear long skirts and long blouses, also their veil must cover their chests. We hope in the future students will become accustomed to clothes that accord with religious teaching. If our students wear short veils at home, these should not be brought to school. (The speech of Ustadzah Rita in formal meeting between parent's students and Mu'allimaat staff in Mu'allimaat, 25 September, 2010)

The changing of rules not only happened in relation to female uniforms in the *madrasah*, but also to dormitory clothing, because the student's coordinator in Mu'allimaat also has the authority to maintain clothing rules in dormitories. In a formal meeting in Mu'allimaat, the student coordinator was very careful to explain why clothing rules had changed to parents of students, particularly with regard to wearing long pants, because some of the mothers wore long pants. Also, in *Al-Qur'an*, it does not say that long pants cannot be worn by Muslim women. Moreover, the student coordinator explained that the changing of clothing rules was related to educating female students to become more feminine and to internalise ideal Islamic values (speech by the student coordinator in a formal meeting between parents and Mu'allimaat staff, 25 September, 2010). According to Irigaray (1985), the patriarchal system emphasises a signalling of femininity for females, and this is reflected in Mu'allimaat symbols of femininity are strengthened by Islamic values.

However, the changing of clothing in Mu'allimaat is not only related to Muslim identity and femininity symbols, but also PKS values that emphasise wearing loose dresses like robes and long veils. The PKS ideology, including clothing traditions, tended to be based on Egyptian culture where the Muslim Brotherhood was founded, which has similar characteristic to Muhammadiyah as an Islamic reformist organisation. However, PKS differs from Muhammadiyah in some Islamic rituals and traditions as evidenced in the distinctions between Muhammadiyah and NU; PKS also has the political ideology to establish *Daulah Islam* (Islamic state) that follows the political ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt (Nashir 2007:49).

Hence, some of the Muhammadiyah's branches and institution rejected the PKS infiltration, although some Muhammadiyah members agree with PKS existence in Muhammadiyah.

This situation has caused some of the PKS people in Mu'allimaat to be more careful to embed their ideology in Mu'allimaat. One of *musrifah*, who also graduated from Mu'allimaat, confirmed to Ustadzah Rita (the students coordinator) about her affiliation with PKS. Ustadzah Rita remarked: "what is the importance if I am PKS or not? The important thing [is that] we are Muslims and [we] struggle on the way of Allah" (interview with Ustadzah Fitri, *musrifah* in Mu'allimaat, 3 October, 2010). This identified the PKS person as more willing to choose an invisible identity; they can then continue to embed their ideology in Muhammadiyah through Mu'allimaat, particularly clothing rules, and some PKS members send their daughters to Mu'allimaat.

**Figure6.22**  
**Mu'allimin students wear *baju koko* (long-sleeved shirt for males), trousers and *peci* in 2010**



**Figure 6.23**  
**Mu'allimin students wear western suits and ties in 2010**



**Figure 6.24**  
**Mu'allimaat students and female teachers in 2010**



Mu'allimaat students wear skirts, white *bajukurung* (long blouses) and white veils following Minangkabau style. Female teachers wear long skirts, long blouses and veils (some veils are long like Middle Eastern veils).

Furthermore, the clothes of male students and teachers in Mu'allimin emphasise a Western style (business suit and tie) and Indonesian style with the *peci* as Indonesian headgear (see Figures 6.22 and 6.23) like the clothing of the Muhammadiyah figures in the first era (see Figure 6.7). Since Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat were founded, the clothing style for males and females have been different. The style of female clothing stressed local culture (Javanese and

Minangkabau) that also included aspects from Middle Eastern culture, which illustrates how local traditions that have patriarchal values and Islamic teaching have a gender bias that restricts women's power and mobility, and thus women maintain the patriarchal tradition. The Minangkabau tradition is the main culture that is embedded in female clothing in Mu'allimaat students, as well as the *ustadzah* in Mu'allimaat, who wear a similar style to Minangkabau, with long skirts and long blouses, and some of the *ustadzah* use a veil following the Middle Eastern style (see Figure 6.24).

Actually, the clothing tradition in Mu'allimaat was problematic for Mu'allimaat students; even some of the *musrifah* who graduated from Mu'allimaat were less comfortable with Mu'allimaat attire. They cannot criticise the clothing tradition and rules in Mu'allimaat, because they will be negatively labeled by the Mu'allimaat community, particularly the leader and coordinator (interview with Faiza, female student in Mu'allimaat, 5 October, 2010). Moreover, some of the *musrifah* in Mu'allimaat explain that their students want a female figure, as clarified by Fitri who had become *musrifah* for one year:

We really need a figure, not only a model with a vision, but also a model for how to wear clothes, because the female students don't understand the modes of clothing. The *ustadzah* tend to dress like our mothers, not in a very modern or young style. We like the *ustadzah* who are chic and fashionable. For example, previously we have had an *ustadzah* who was fashionable, nice to look at. She wore a rather old style shirt, but plaid and funny style and a Parisian veil. Now, the *ustadzah* wear old fashion veils, we probably want to follow them but this is not the fashion outside the *pesantren*. In here, we can wear that, but when we go outside, go to the mall, we look very old fashioned. We like the *ustadzah* who are fashionable and don't dress like our mothers, rather those who wear stylish clothing and colourful veils, pink, yellow, green. We are happy to have chic *ustadzah*. We need an *ustadzah* figure, who is fashionable and beautiful, but still has an identity as a Muslim woman. *Ustadzah* like that rarely care about their clothing. I think this is seen by students; consequently the *Ustadzahs'* clothing must be nice and can be a model for students. It is okay to be fashionable, but still have Islamic values. Actually, Mu'allimaat students really need a figure. I know the rules in Mu'allimaat are strict, but I think the rules in the Mu'allimaat come from another era, long passed. The rules can be changed, not stagnant all the time. I think the rules should be a little bit more modern, isn't this the era of education and freedom and not a time to restrict the creativity of students? It should be like that, and the teaching methods should also promote freedom. (Interview with Ustadzah Fitri, *musrifah* in Mu'allimaat, 27 September, 2010)

Actually, females in Mu'allimaat, particularly students and *musrifah*, want to find a female figure that is representative of a person in the modern era that is not only related to knowledge, but also style. This is because clothing offers a response to the modern era; particularly, at this time, the style of Muslim women's dress is less Islamic, it is like a fashion or mode rather than being founded on Islamic teaching. Hence, Muslim clothing becomes a fashion industry in the capitalist era, and students in Mu'allimaat want to follow the mode of Muslim clothes as illustrated by Muslim women in the modern era.

## **6.2 Changing the leader, changing the clothing: tradition in Nurul Huda Pesantren**

In the past, the clothing of the founder of Nurul Huda, Kyai Abdul Manan Syukur, emphasised Javanese and Indonesian traditions that consisted of a long-sleeved shirt, a *sarung* (a woven cloth that is used to cover the lower part of the male body) and *peci* (see Figures 6.25 and 6.26), but sometimes Kyai Manan wore white robes and turbans following the clothing tradition in the Middle East (see Figure 6.27). Moreover, the attire of Kyai Manan's wife, Nyai Ummi Hasanah, was the Javanese tradition consisting of *kebaya* and *kerudung* (see Figure 6.28). The clothing tradition of the founder departed from the first generation of Kyai Manan. At this time, the male leader of Nurul Huda and the son-in-law of Kyai Manan emphasised Javanese and Indonesian traditions including long-sleeved shirts for males called *baju koko*, *sarung*, and white *peci* (see Figures 6.28, 6.29 and 6.30); although Kyai Khoirul's guest, Syekh Muhammad bin Ismail from the Middle East, still wore Indonesian traditional style (see Figure 6.29). However, female leaders in Nurul Huda and female daughters of Kyai Manan tended to wear clothing that followed women's attire in the Arabian Peninsula including robes and veils (see Figures 6.28 and 6.31).

**Figure 6.25**  
**Founder of Nurul Huda Pesantren, Kyai Manan with other**  
***Ulama* in Java**



Kyai Manan (right) wears a long-sleeved shirt, *sarung* and white *peci* (Nurul Huda collection).

**Figure 6.26**  
**Kyai Manan with his *santri***



Kyai Manan and his *santri* wear long-sleeved shirts, *sarung* and *peci* (Nurul Huda collection).

**Figure 6.27**  
**Kyai Manan with Syekh Muhammad bin Ismail Zein al-Yamani al-Makkah al-Mukarromah from Middle East**



Syekh Muhammad visits Nurul Huda; Kyai Manan (right) and his visitor wear robes and turbans (Nurul Huda collection).

The male clothing at this time was similar to the founder's style, but the female clothing style was transformed from Javanese to Middle Eastern. Although, women in Nurul Huda do not have the opportunity to study in the Middle East, their clothing follows the style worn in the Middle East. Males who graduated from the Middle East emphasise Indonesian and Javanese styles. This illustrates the power and authority of males who graduated from the Middle East to embed Islamic values in females, not only through their interpretation about Islamic teaching, but also their perceptions of ideal clothing for female Muslims. Because males are educated, it is assumed they have more understanding of Islamic teaching and the Muslim community in the Middle East as the source of Islamic religion, whereas females can never know the actual lives of female Muslims in the Middle East, except when they conduct *haji* (pilgrimage) or *umroh* (small pilgrimage), even though these only occur in the holy cities in Saudi Arabia, Mecca and Medina.

The female clothing there shows that Nurul Huda has a leader who graduated from the Middle East and assumes that the female clothing in the Middle East represents the ideal Muslim identity. In this case, Kyai Khoirul, as a leader who graduated from Mecca, has embedded his knowledge and Middle Eastern culture in Nurul Huda, and the clothing style of his wife and his daughters is a symbol of his education and power. Moreover, the change in female attire in Nurul Huda has reflected the

education background of the leader. In Kyai Manan's era, he graduated from some Javanese *Pesantren*; as a result, the female attire tended to be traditional Javanese. Meanwhile his successor, Kyai Khoirul, had an education background from Mecca; consequently, female attire is more Middle Eastern. This situation shows how the changing leaders in *pesantren* affected changing values and tradition, because the leader has the dominant authority to maintain *pesantren* policy.

**Figure 6.28**  
**Kyai Manan and his wife, Nyai Hajjah Ummi Hasanah, and**  
**his first generation**



Kyai Manan wears Middle Eastern robes and turbans (also see Figure 6.16). His wife's clothing emphasises the Javanese tradition including *kebaya* and *kerudung*, and his daughters and daughter-in-law wear robes and veils, while his son and son-in-law wear *baju koko* and white *peci* (Nurul Huda collection).

**Figure 6.29**  
**Kyai Khoirul attends family meeting**



Kyai Khoirul mostly wears *baju koko*, *sarung* and *white peci* in and outside *pesantren* (Nurul Huda collection).

**Figure 6.30**  
**Kyai Khoirul with Syekh Muhammad bin Ismail Zein al-Yamani al-Makkah al-Mukarromah**



These men visited the tombs of Kyai Manan and Nyai Ummi Hasanah. Kyai Khoirul wears *baju koko*, *sarung* and *white peci*, and Syekh Muhammad wears a robe and turban (Nurul Huda collection).

**Figure 6.31**  
**Female leader of Nurul Huda Pesantren, Nyai Ummu,**  
**teaches her *santri* in classroom**



Nyai Ummu wears robes and veil, and her *santri* wear long blouses, long skirts and veils.

**Figure 6.32**  
**Other female class on the balcony of the dormitory is**  
**taught by *ustadzah***



This teacher also wears a dress like Nyai Ummu with a robe and veil. Female *santri* wear long skirts, long blouses and veils. They also have uniforms like their teacher; these uniforms are used once a month in *pesantren's* activities.

The attire of the female leader also influences some *ustadzah* in Nurul Huda who, when they teach in class, commonly use robes and veils (see Figure 6.32). The female *santri* have a uniform consisting of long skirts, long blouses and veils (see Figures 6.31 and 6.32); female *santri* also wear a Middle Eastern style uniform that consists of black robes and veils used in one of the activities in *pesantren* conducted once a month. The difference in education backgrounds between Kyai Manan and Kyai Khoirul influence the different clothing traditions, which means the *nyai* and her family tended to use the Middle Eastern style followed by female teachers and female *santri*. This shows that with the changing of leadership in the *pesantren*, the incoming leader changes the values and traditions in *pesantren*. However, patriarchal values are still embedded in Nurul Huda with different characteristics and dominant roles still upheld by the *kya'i*'s family.

In everyday lives the clothing of female *santri* includes long skirts and long blouses with veils. If female *santri* go to formal school outside *pesantren* they wear clothing similar to the *pesantren*'s uniform, but a different colour (see Figure 6.34). Females in Nurul Huda do not wear a veil when they sleep; when they go to the bathroom they must wear the veil, as stated by Fina, female *santri* in Nurul Huda. Fina is not altogether comfortable with this rule:

I don't have a problem with the clothing rules in *pesantren*, because in all *pesantren* it is always compulsory to wear a veil. But, I dislike it when going to the bathroom we also must wear a long dress, long clothes and veil, and can't wear long pants. Sometimes, the senior *santri* wear short sleeved clothes, as long as they still wear a veil. When a *santri* wears long clothes but she covers her hair with a towel, this is prohibited, even though her hair cannot be seen, but she is punished. However, *santri* wear short sleeved clothes through which her hand can be seen, why doesn't it matter? (Interview with Fina, female *santri* in Nurul Huda, 9 November 2010)

Fina accepts the clothing tradition in *pesantren*, because women must cover the whole body, and wear the veil. She understands that women in the *pesantren* must cover their body as a part of Islamic teaching, and she never questions the predilection of the *pesantren* clothing tradition, because *santri* in NU's *pesantren* tend to obey *kyai* and *nyai* without questioning or asking about the background to rules in *pesantren*: this would be impolite. However, she feels uncomfortable with clothing rules that sometimes lead to punishment toward *santri* who infringe the rules that they think cause discrimination, but she is scared to complain to the *pesantren* administration. This is because the characteristics of *pesantren*

leadership that have such strong power create *santri* who must be subservient to *pesantren* rules including *pesantren*'s clothing rules.

Furthermore, the style of *pesantren* clothing is designed by the female leader, Nyai Ummu; currently she wants to change the uniform in female *santri* to include batik motifs, but her husband, Kyai Ibnu, disagrees with her idea because batik is mostly worn by old people:

*Nyai*: The *santri* uniform in Nurul Huda Pesantren is white and green; I will replace it with batik.

*Kyai*: don't change it with batik.

*Nyai*: Is that bad?

*Kyai*: It is not appropriate for *santri*, it is better for them to wear colourful clothing because they are still young.

*Nyai*: Checkered pattern (*laughter*), so it looks beautiful.

*Kyai*: Yes, batik will make them look old, because batik is usually worn by old people.

(Interview with Nyai Ummu, the female leader of Nurul Huda, and her husband, Kyai Ibnu, 11 November, 2010)

Nyai Ummu wants to change the uniform in female *santri* because she wants to illustrate the Indonesian identity in Nurul Huda, because batik is Indonesian clothing. The batik motif has become popular in Indonesia after being decided by UNESCO in 2009 as one of the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity; not only old people wear batik clothes, but also young people use batik with modern designs. As a result, batik is not identical with old style or old people. However, Kyai Ibnu is second in authority to maintain female *santri* after Nyai Ummu; however, if Kyai Ibnu disagrees with the policy of Nyai Ummu, she cannot implement her idea. This illustrates how the power of the male leader and husband controls *pesantren* policy through his wife. Although, a female is a *pesantren* leader, the *pesantren*'s rules are still patriarchal, because the male has authority to manage *pesantren* indirectly, as well as the male's authority to interpret Islamic teaching which imposes limits on the women's movement in *pesantren*.

**Figure 6.33**  
***Ustadz* teaches male *santri* in language class**



*Ustadz* wears long-sleeved shirt, *sarung* and white *peci* and his *santri* wear the same.

**Figure 6.34**  
**Male and female *santri* in *Madrasah*, located outside Nurul Huda Pesantren in 2010**



Males wear shirts, trousers and *peci*, and females wear long skirts, long blouses and veils.

Moreover, the *ustadz* and male *santri* wear similar clothing by tradition, as the male leader follows the Indonesian Muslim style that is sourced from Javanese culture including *baju koko*, *sarung* and *peci*; but mostly they use white *peci* (see Figure

6.33), which means the colour of *peci* is the same as the colour of turbans in Middle Eastern headgear. The male clothing tradition is not only used in *pesantren* class, but also in daily activities in *pesantren*, and when they go outside *pesantren*, except when they attend formal school, they wear shirts, trousers and *peci* (see Figure 6.34). Actually, *sarung* becomes the unique characteristic of male *santri* in *pesantren* associated with NU. In Mu'allimin, commonly *sarung* is only used in prayer times, but in Nurul Huda, *sarung* is compulsory clothing for all *pesantren* activities, except for sport activities, when trousers are worn, as stated by a male leader in Nurul Huda:

In Nurul Huda, male *santri* must wear *sarung* and *peci*, even outside the *pesantren*. We must accept that rule. But, when we play soccer, we must wear trousers. Usually, from dormitory we still wear *sarung*, but we wear both, trousers and *sarung*. So, when we arrive at the sport field, we are already wearing trousers. Male *santri* are used to this situation. (Interview with Ustadz Chusin, the leader of male administrative Nurul Huda, 6 November 2010)

At this time, sport activities are conducted outside the *pesantren* complex, so male *santri* usually wear double clothing, that is, trousers and *sarung* when they go outside and *sarung* when they return to *pesantren*. They adhere to the *pesantren*'s rules, and they do not attract punishment from the security division in *pesantren*. The control of clothing is not only based on gender, but also the hierarchy of class that illustrates the level of power. The leader can control the whole of the staff and the *santri*; the *ustadz/ustadzah* and administrative staff can control *santri*. However, in formal school, male *santri* wear Western and Indonesian styles including shirts, trousers, and *peci* (see Figure 6.34). This is because the uniform in *madrasah* follows the rules of the Indonesian Government that favours Western style.

### **6.3 “Islam was Javanized”: the Clothing Tradition in As-sa’idiyyah 2 Pesantren**

As-sa’idiyyah 2 is a recently established *pesantren* under the Bahrul Ulum umbrella in Jombang. The senior *kyai* was not only Kyai Nasrullah, father of Nyai Umda, but also Kyai Abdul Wahab Hasbullah, brother of the grandfather of Nyai Umda, Kyai Abdurrahim. Kyai Abdul Wahab Hasbullah was one of the founders of the NU organisation; he changed the name Tambak Beras Pesantren to Bahrul Ulum

Pesantren at a time when many *pesantren* and formal schools were under the management of Bahrul Ulum. In the clothing tradition, Kyai Abdul Wahab accentuated the wearing of *jas* (jacket), *sarung* and turbans (see Figure 6.35); the jacket is adopted from Dutch colonial style, which was the clothing of Javanese elite as well as elite in *pesantren* who mixed Western and Islamic clothing traditions and culture to maintain their position in the transition era (Nordholt 1997:9).

**Figure 6.35**  
**Kyai Bisri Samsuri from Denanyar Pesantren Jombang and**  
**Kyai Abdul Wahab Hasbullah in 1960s**



Kyai Bisri Samsuri (centre) and Kyai Abdul Wahab Hasbullah (right) wear *jas*, *sarung* and turbans. Kyai Abdul Wahab Hasbullah was the brother of Kyai Abdurrahim, grandfather of Nyai Umda (Bahrul Ulum collection).

**Figure 6.36**  
**Father of Nyai Umda, also founder of MAI, Kyai Nasrullah**  
**and his Friend, Kyai from NU after attending NU meeting in**  
**Surabaya in 1990an**



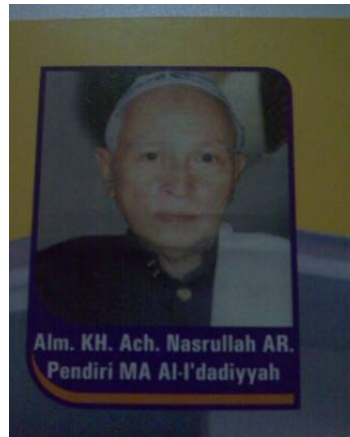
Kyai Nasrullah (left) wears trousers, long-sleeved shirt with batik motifs and *peci*; his friend wears a long-sleeve shirt, *sarung* and *peci* (As-sa'diyyah 2 collection).

**Figure 6.37**  
**Kyai Nasrullah and his wife, Nyai Zubaidah with his**  
**daughters and sons-in-law in Jakarta in 1994**



Kyai Nasrullah (right) wears trousers, a long-sleeve shirt with batik motifs and *peci*. His wife (far left) wears *kebaya*, *jarik* and *kerudung*. His daughter (second from right) wears a long blouse, long skirt and veil, and another daughter (second from left) wears a long blouse, long pants, and a veil like *kerudung*. Both sons-in-law wear trousers and shirts and one wears *peci* (As-sa'diyyah 2 collection).

**Figure 6.38**  
**Kyai Nasrullah in 2001**



Kyai Nasrullah wears *baju koko* and *taqiyah*. This picture was taken four months before he passed away (As-sa'diyyah 2 collection).

**Figure 6.39**  
**Mother of Nyai Umda, Nyai Zubaidah, 14 September, 2011**



Nyai Zubaidah wears *kebaya*, *jarik*, and *kerudung*.

Meanwhile, Kyai Nasrullah had a different tradition from another *kyai* in Bahrul Ulum: he tended to wear trousers, a long-sleeved shirt with batik motifs and *peci* in formal meetings outside *pesantren* or family meetings (see Figures 6.36 and 6.37). According to his wife, Nyai Zubaidah, he was good-looking and preferred to

wear formal clothing, though his son-in-law was less formal (interview with Nyai Zubaidah, 14 September, 2011). Sometimes within *pesantren* Kyai Nasrullah wore *sarung*, a long-sleeved shirt and headgear that tended to use a skullcap (*taqiyah*) style (see Figure 6.38), which is also the headgear that is used by males in Egypt and Syria. The clothing of Kyai Nasrullah tended to emphasise Indonesian rather than *pesantren* identity. He seemed to have different characteristics from *kyai* in Java, and this showed he had self-identity as a *kyai* that did not follow the clothing tradition in *pesantren* that was usually dominated by the Middle Eastern tradition that reflected the level of religiosity as a *kyai*. Hence, probably the character of Kyai Nasrullah, who emphasised difference from the *pesantren* tradition, inspired Nyai Umda as an agent of change in *pesantren*.

Furthemore, the clothing tradition of Nyai Zubaidah tends to wearing the Javanese style including *kebaya*, *jarik* and *kerudung* without much change, except for the style of tying the *kerudung*, which resembles wearing a veil (see Figures 6.36, 6.37 and 6.39). Her attire illustrates the domination of Javanese culture that is commonly utilised by *nyai* in Javanese *pesantren*, and senior *nyai* in Bahrul Ulum and Jombang *Pesantren* use Javanese attire in formal ceremonies (see Figure 6.40). The Javanese clothing tradition represent both Javanese and Islamic culture and is symbolic of *priyayi* (Islamic values implemented in Javanese tradition). As Penders (1977:236) asserted, “in many ways, Java was not Islamized, but Islam was Javanized.” Bahrul Ulum including As-sa’idiyyah 2 emphasises Javanese tradition in developing the Muslim community, and they are proud of their genealogical networking from *wali sanga* and the Javanese Kingdom. These *pesantren* are also associated with NU that perpetuates traditional or local culture in Islamic societies. Hence, no wonder senior *nyai* in Bahrul Ulum and Jombang *pesantren* still wear Javanese attire rather than Middle East attire.

**Figure 6.40**  
**Senior Nyai in Jombang Pesantren attend Graduation in**  
**STAIBU Jombang, 27 November 2010**



Senior *nyai* (seated in front row) still use Javanese clothing (*jarik*, *kebaya* and *kerudung*). For example: the senior *nyai* in Bahrul Ulum (right) and the senior *nyai* from Dahrul Ulum Pesantren, the first wife of Kyai Romli (centre). The senior *nyai* from Tebuireng Pesantren, the wife of Kyai Solahudin Wahid (left) wears a long skirt, long blouse and veil and she does not come from *pesantren* community in Jombang. Seated in the second row is Nyai Umda and some daughters of *kyai* in Jombang Pesantren, and seated in the third row is a female Muslim in Jombang and family member of STAIBU students.

In As-sa'diyyah 2, the *nyai* and her daughters, as well as female *santri* wear a veil, long skirts and long blouses (see Figure 6.41), but sometimes Nyai Umda and her daughters wear a veil like an untied *kerudung*; her neck is not covered like the style of the mother of Nyai Umda, Nyai Zubaidah (see Figure 6.37). The male leader, Kyai Hasan wears a jacket, *sarung* and *peci* and male *santri* wear shirts, *sarung* and *peci* (see Figure 6.42).

Similar to Nurul Huda, in their everyday lives the *kyai* and male *santri* in As-sa'diyyah 2 still accommodate Javanese and Indonesian tradition, although Kyai Abdul Wahab and Kyai Nasrullah (as senior *kyai* in As-sa'diyyah 2) wear turbans and skullcaps which follows the headgear tradition in Egypt, Gujarat in India and China, the countries that influence Islamisation in Indonesia (Ricklefs 1993:12).

Javanese tradition is still preserved by As-sa'diyyah 2 as a part of *pesantren* tradition. This asserts that patriarchal culture continues in this *pesantren* although Nyai Umda is an agent of change, but she also maintains some of the values of patriarchy. The female clothes in *pesantren* symbolise Islamic identity, a manifestation of piety, and they are an expression of women's subservient position

to men. Since As-sa'idiyyah 2 was founded in 2004, females have been wearing long blouses, long skirts and veils, because in this era the veil is common in Indonesian Muslim clothing. Since this *pesantren* was founded until now is a short time compared to Nurul Huda, Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat; as a result this *pesantren* has not seen a lot of change in the clothing tradition. However, the traditional style of *pesantren* attire still had differences with Muslim society around *pesantren* in which some of the females used long blouses, veil and long pants, not necessarily long skirt, if they would go outside.

**Figure 6.41**  
**Leader of As-sa'idiyyah 2 Pesantren, Kyai Hasan and Nyai Umda with female *santri***



Nyai Umda wears long blouses, long skirts and veils, as well as female *santri*.

**Figure 6.42**  
**Leader of As-sa'idiyyah 2 Pesantren, Kyai Hasan and Nyai Umda with male *santri***



Kyai Hasan wears jacket, *sarung* and *peci*, male *santri* wear formal clothes, *sarung* and *peci*. Nyai Umda wears long blouses, long skirts and veils.

Kyai Hasan is a leader in both As-sa'idiyyah 2 and MAN Jombang, and when he works in MAN Jombang, he wears a civil servant uniform including shirt, trousers and *peci* (see Figure 6.43). Sometimes in formal ceremonies, Kyai Hasan wears a Western suit with tie and *peci* (see Figure 6.44). Kyai Hasan adjusts his clothing according to his position and situation, emphasising Indonesian clothing with a Western style. Nyai Umda commonly uses similar clothing in and outside *pesantren*, and sometimes she wears blouses with a batik style as Indonesian identity (see Figures 6.44 and 6.45). Also the daughter of *kyai* in Bahrul Ulum has a similar attire tradition with Nyai Umda, which consists of a long skirt, long blouse and veil (see Figure 6.45).

**Figure 6.43**  
**Leaders of As-sa'idiyyah 2 Pesantren**



Kyai Hasan wears the Indonesian civil servant's uniform when he teaches in MAN Jombang; he is also a leader in MAN Jombang. Nyai Uda still wears a long skirt, long blouse and veil.

**Figure 6.44**  
**Nyai Uda and Kyai Hasan at formal ceremony for STAIBU graduation, 27 November 2010**



Nyai Uda (left) still wears a long skirt, long blouse and veil, but Kyai Hasan (right) wears a Western suit, tie and *peci*.

**Figure 6.45**  
**Nyai Uda teaches MAI *santri* in 2010**



Nyai Umda wears a long skirt, long blouse with batik motif and veil; female *santri* also wear similar clothing including long skirts, long blouses and veils, and male *santri* wear long-sleeved shirts, trousers and *peci*.

**Figure 6.46**  
Daughters of *Kyai* in Bahrul Ulum attend a formal ceremony  
in STAIBU, 27 November 2010



These women wear yellow veils, long skirts and long blouses with batik motifs as uniforms in formal ceremony, similar to Nyai Umda's clothing. They also have *pesantren* under Bahrul Ulum umbrella and they are female leaders in their *pesantren*.

Furthermore, as the uniform in MAI, female *santri* still wear the same style clothing as in *pesantren* including long skirts, long blouses and veils, while male *santri* wear shirts, trousers and *peci* (see Figure 6.45). This is because MAI is formal education

combined with *pesantren* and the Indonesian Educational Department. Hence, MAI not only follow the curriculum rules of the Indonesian Government, but also the uniform of *santri*. The clothing of male *santri* tends to follow Indonesian style that is a mixture of Western and Indonesian showing that the tradition for male clothing in *pesantren* tends to adjust to Western culture rather than Middle East culture. Since the beginning of *pesantren*, the clothing tradition of senior *kyai* in Bahrul Ulum has also been a mix of cultures including Javanese, Middle Eastern and Western (see Figure 6.35).

However, the clothing tradition in As-sa'idiyyah 2 is assumed as common in *pesantren* tradition by male and female *santri*, as well as Nyai Umda provides self responsibility and belief to *santri* related to utilising attire in the dormitory, as explained by a female *santri*, who is also a member of administrative staff, and a male *santri*:

The rules in As-sa'idiyyah 2 are less strict than other *pesantren*. Here, we can wear long pants in dormitories or wear short sleeved blouses as long as still proper; Nyai Umda does not prohibit it. Sometimes, female *santri* wear short pants, that is less appropriate. When we study in the *pesantren* or pray together, we must wear long skirts, long blouses and veil. Also when we are outside the dormitory must wear veil, because it can be seen from outside the *pesantren*. Nyai Umda gives freedom to *santri*, as long as it according to Islamic rules. (Interview with Nina, female administrative staff member in As-sa'idiyyah 2, 2 December, 2010)

In As-sa'idiyyah 2 usually male *santri* must wear *sarung* and *peci* outside *pesantren*, only at school (outside the *pesantren*) we can wear trousers. This is always the rules in *pesantren*. All *pesantren* in Bahrul Ulum have rules like this. (Interview with Huda, male *santri* in As-sa'idiyyah 2, 4 December, 2010)

Mostly *santri* accept the clothing tradition as the identity of a Muslim that is embedded by the *pesantren* leader. All female *santri* under Bahrul Ulum also wear similar clothing to female *santri* in As-sa'idiyyah 2: long skirt, long blouse and veil; commonly the colour of the uniform differentiates among *santri* from some *pesantren* under Bahrul Ulum (see Figure 6.47). The distinction between *santri* in As-sa'idiyyah 2 and other *pesantren* in Bahrul Ulum is clothing rules in dormitories. For example, in As-sa'idiyyah 2, female *santri* can wear long pants in dormitories, but in other *pesantren* female *santri* still wear long skirts.

However, the characteristics of *santri* in *pesantren* associated with NU (As-sa'idiyyah 2 and some *pesantren* under Bahrul Ulum, as well as Nurul Huda) are

similar: they have a high level of subservience to the *pesantren* leader. As female leader, Nyai Umda still has authority to maintain the clothing tradition in As-sa'idiyyah 2, and although some *ustadz* and *ustadzah* have graduated from the Middle East, robes are not commonly used. This situation has also caused Nyai Umda to be more powerful than *ustadz/ustadzah*; as well the attire tradition of senior *nyai* in Bahrul Ulum (that tends to wear local Javanese traditional style), has influenced the clothing tradition of females, particularly junior *nyai*. The extended *kyai* family in the Bahrul Ulum community remains a pervasive influence for the perpetuation of *pesantren* traditions.

**Figure6.47**  
**Female *santri* come from some *pesantren* under Bahrul**  
**Ulum in 2010**



These *santri* wear long skirts, long blouses and veils, the same as female *santri* from As-sa'idiyyah 2.

#### **6.4 The changing pattern of tradition**

The clothing preferences of the founder in three *pesantren* emphasised the mixture of local and Middle East traditions. This means that genealogical networking created the dominant culture in the clothing tradition, which is the combination of blue blood from the Javanese Kingdom and *wali sanga*. The first or senior generation in three *pesantren* emphasised a combination of local tradition and Islamic tradition, but they mostly accommodated Islamic culture, particularly in relation to the headgear or headscarf. The *nyai* in the first era tended to wear *kerudung* to cover their hair, to accommodate Islamic culture. Local culture was still an indigenous tradition that was implemented in the clothing tradition in the first

era. Meanwhile, *kyai* stressed the use of turbans to denote the identity of Islamic culture that was accommodated by the *wali sanga* and skullcap (*taqiyah*). This headgear tended towards the culture of Egypt, Syria and Gujarat in India, not Saudi Arabia, although most *kyai* graduated from Mecca in Saudi Arabia. Thus local culture and Indonesian identity was still embedded in the clothing tradition in the three *pesantren*, whilst Islamic tradition that was represented by Middle East culture, as a new culture, began to be accommodated in the clothing tradition in the Muslim community in Indonesia, particularly the *pesantren* community.

Female clothing in the three *pesantren* in this study has been changing from Javanese style to a mix of Indonesian, Minangkabau and Middle Eastern traditional styles. As-sa'idiyyah 2 emphasises the Indonesian Muslim style and includes long skirt, long blouse and veil worn like *khimar* and used by female leaders and family, as well as female *santri*, but sometimes the female leader and family wear a veil like *kerudung*. Senior *nyai* of As-sa'idiyyah 2 and some *pesantren* under Bahrul Ulum wear Javanised attire that represents *priyayi*, but retains Islamic values. This shows that Islam was Javanised, which was demonstrated in the clothing tradition, and asserts genealogical networking from the *ulama* and Javanese Kingdom; for *pesantren* associated with NU as a traditional organisation, there is an emphasis on preserving local tradition. The strong relationship among extended family in the Bahrul Ulum community creates the attire in this *pesantren* including As-sa'idiyyah 2, which follows Javanese and Indonesian tradition. The leadership types in Bahrul Ulum community emphasise a family institution and 'a one-man show' in which the *kyai/nyai* has strong authority. Consequently, the changing of tradition is related to the tradition of the founding father or senior *kyai* and *nyai*.

Meanwhile, Nurul Huda emphasises a combined Indonesian Muslim and Middle Eastern style. The female leader, her family and some *ustadzah* tend to follow the latter with robes and veils, while female *santri* wear a mixture of both styles. Although, this *pesantren* has similar genealogical networking and characteristics with As-sa'idiyyah 2 associated with NU, the clothing tradition is very different with senior *nyai*. The changing of attire in Nurul Huda is influenced by the *pesantren's* leader, Kyai Khoirul, who graduated from Mecca, Saudi Arabia, and the position of Nurul Huda is more independent and did not grow from an extended family tradition like As-sa'idiyyah 2. Consequently, the tradition in Nurul Huda, including attire, is

less controlled by senior *kyai* or *nyai*, and the founder had passed away. The type of leadership is similar to As-sa'idiyyah 2, tending toward the *kyai* figure and family institution; as a result, the change agent is the *pesantren* leader.

In contrast, in Mu'allimaat, the clothing of female *santri* follows Minangkabau and Indonesian styles, and female teachers favour Indonesian style, while some wear long veils which favour a Middle Eastern style. Minangkabau attire dominates the style of student's uniform in Mu'allimaat, because it covers the female body appropriately, and is more representative of Islamic values than Javanese attire. Minangkabau attire is symbolic of Islamic purity that is equivalent to the soul of Muhammadiyah's movement, particularly since the 1930s after Kyai Dahlan passed away. Muhammadiyah as the umbrella organisation for Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat has different characteristics from NU, where Muhammadiyah is characterised by professional leadership, modern organisation and the same time emphasises reformist-purity. Hence, the changing of clothing traditions in Mu'allimaat is more dynamic than *pesantren* associated with NU, and even Javanese culture does not dominate the clothing style in Mu'allimaat, which continues to develop in Yogyakarta as a centre of Javanese culture. All of the figures in Muhammadiyah, particularly in Mu'allimaat, have the opportunity to create change, where the tradition and history of the founding father does not influence the developing institutional culture. These characteristics of Muhammadiyah also make it easier for other ideology, including PKS, to infiltrate Muhammadiyah, particularly Mu'allimaat; as a result, since the 2000s, the clothing rules in Mu'allimaat have been influenced by PKS values with a different ideology to Muhammadiyah and NU. Muhammadiyah has experienced at least three waves of ideological and female fashion change: Javanese based on Yogyakarta palace, Minangkabau and PKS.

The dynamic changes in clothing illustrate how local cultures, Indonesian identity and Islamic values associated with the Middle East are negotiated and interact to persuade the hegemony of the ideal Muslim clothing to reflect all the culture's patriarchy. The multiple patriarchal values from various cultures interact to perpetuate male domination represented through the female clothing tradition. Because, female clothing still embeds patriarchal values, this shows that males still have higher positions, more power and the authority to manage the performance

of female. According to Nordholt (1997:9), clothing is not only a status symbol, but it reflects the level and transference of power. This means that the clothing tradition in three *pesantren* illustrate the authority of the *pesantren* leader or *pesantren* community to maintain a tradition that is different to the community outside *pesantren*, as well as showing that the *pesantren* has followers that are obedient and subservient to *pesantren* tradition. However, changes infemale clothing in these three *pesantren* demonstrate the unique characteristics of *pesantren* that make for differences between them and the community around them. This also strengthens the values and identity of *pesantren* as an Islamic institution that is distinct from general education and other Islamic schools in Indonesia.

Furthermore, the clothing tradition of males in the *pesantren* has also changed, but in less dynamic ways than for females. In the past, the founder of Nurul Huda wore the Javanese style including *baju koko*, *sarung*, *peci* and sometimes robes and turbans. The senior *kyai* of As-sa'idiyyah 2 wore a mixture from various cultures: Javanese (*baju koko*, and *sarung*), Middle East (turbans and *taqiyah*) and Western (jacket). At this time, in both *pesantren*, males still wore Javanese and Indonesian style that consisted of *baju koko*, *sarung* and *peci*. But, the leader of As-sa'idiyyah 2, Kyai Hasan, who was also a leader in MAN Jombang, usually wore Indonesian clothing favouring a Western style including shirt, trousers and *peci*. Informal ceremonies, he wore a Western suit with tie and *peci*; the *santri* in MAI also used a mixture of Western and Indonesian clothing styles. The attire of Kyai Hasan tends to adapt to various situations as a result of his interaction with communities outside the *pesantren* and his experience overseas in the United State and China. Kyai Hasan recognised that the United States is not an Islamic country, but argued that in some respects it was more 'Islamic' than Indonesia, with its Muslim majority. Another *kyai* who visited the United States made a similar observation that the United State is an Islamic country but without acknowledging it or declaring *shahadah*<sup>67</sup> (interview with Kyai Hasan, male leader As-sa'idiyyah 2, 27 November, 2010). In contrast with Nurul Huda leader, Kyai Khoirul, only interacts with *pesantren* and the Muslim society in Indonesia and Saudi Arabia. Consequently, he interprets Islamic culture in accordance with his experience, which represents

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<sup>67</sup> *Shahadah* is the Muslim declaration of belief in the oneness of God and acceptance of Muhammad as God's prophet- and messenger.

his attire in and outside Nurul Huda, as well as how this has influenced the attire of male *santri*.

In Yogyakarta, the clothing of the founder and the senior of Mu'allimin combines some styles from the Middle East, as well as elite Javanese, Indonesian and Western styles. Also, currently the male *santri* in Mu'allimin have a similar clothing tradition that follows Indonesian, Javanese and Western styles. Although the clothing tradition is a little different to that of the founder, clothing style is also influenced by senior figures in Mu'allimin and Muhammadiyah who have various backgrounds in education from the Middle East and the West, which is the type of leadership which emphasises professional and modern cultures. Conversely, in both As-sa'idiyyah 2 and Nurul Huda, the founders and male leaders have strong authority to maintain *pesantren*'s rules including the clothing tradition. However, the male clothing tradition in the three *pesantren* differs from that of the community outside the *pesantren*, and identity as male *santri* is still illustrated in their clothing.

In the three *pesantren*, the male *santri* continues to wear clothes similar to the founder or senior *kyai*, with differences only in the style of headgear; the founder or senior *kyai* wore Arabic headgear, whereas *kyai* and male *santri* currently wear Indonesian headgear. Among the three *pesantren*, the clothing of Mu'allimin is more contemporary than Nurul Huda and As-sa'idiyyah 2. The acceptance of the Indonesian Government curriculum in *pesantren* also influences male clothing that favours Indonesian with Western style. Female *santri* still wear a uniform that accentuates Islamic values, which is similar to the uniform of students in Islamic state schools, who also wear long skirts, long blouses and veils, but in different colours. This shows that in the Indonesian Muslim community, the female is maintained as representing Islamic values which tend towards the Middle East that is more patriarchal than the West. This means women emphasise the preservation of patriarchal culture that is strengthened by the interpretation of Islamic teaching; as a result, patriarchal culture is strongly expected to continue in the next generation.

However, the changing adaptation of clothing is also related to power, gender and class. Males in the three *pesantren* have more opportunities to study in the Middle East than females, but female clothing has tended to favour Middle Eastern culture. Male clothing however is not adjusting to this culture, but tends to mix Indonesian

and Western culture. This situation shows that the power of males to shape and embed Islamic values in the female community, including female clothing, imposes male authority on female Muslims and how they dress, because males (*kyai*) are assumed to have more understanding of Islamic teaching, and how it should be interpreted. Female attire and females are symbolised by the male as leader, father, husband and brother. *Santri* as students in *pesantren* have a position of weakness in the *pesantren* community that only follows and is subservient to the clothing tradition in *pesantren*. Hence, clothing not only has a gender bias, but it also has a class bias between the *pesantren* leader and *santri*.

To summarise, this chapter shows that clothing traditions are influenced by: genealogical networking, intellectual networking, class and the power of the *pesantren* leader to have an effect on *pesantren* rules related to the clothing tradition as well as patriarchal culture. And women's clothing represents the power of the *kyai* as related to his knowledge and authority in interpreting Islamic teaching. *Pesantren* clothing also asserts the accommodation of both cultures, Islamic and local (Javanese, Minangkabau and Indonesian), and these cultures further contribute to the shaping of gender values. Moreover, the changes in clothing reflect the identity of each *pesantren* including their religious values, cultural values, power and level of patriarchy.

## Chapter 7

### Gender Bias in the Panopticon Structure of *Pesantren*

This chapter discusses the physical structures of *pesantren* and the rules that have been designed to maintain and control *santri* within and outside *pesantren*. It will be argued that the power and authority of the *pesantren* leader is used both to perpetuate *pesantren* traditions and mediate the influences from outside *pesantren* and embed gender values and Islamic teaching among the *santri*. The rules and regulations of the *pesantren* govern all aspects of the *santri*'s lives in the *pesantren*. It is argued that the structure of the *pesantren* complex together with the rules sustain the leader's authority and function as a controlling system similar to Foucault's Panopticon that based on Bentham's concept (Foucault 1977:200-1; 1980:163).

#### 7.1 *Pesantren*: space and structure

Each *pesantren* in this study has a different style, but each complex consists of a dormitory, mosque or *musholla*, *madrasah* building, and the house of the leader. First, the dormitory provides accommodation and is located in the *pesantren* area. In the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, the dormitory is called *maskan*, while in the other two *pesantren*, As-sa'idiyyah 2 and Nurul Huda, it is called *pondok*. The dormitory is very important for *santri*, because they mostly come from another city, or in some cases, from another island. Male and female *santri* are segregated in separate dormitories. Dormitories are for daily activities (sleeping, eating and studying) and they are controlled by administrative staff and *ustadz/ustadzah* (male/female teachers). Generally, *santri* or the parents of *santri* contribute to the construction of the dormitory. In As-sa'idiyyah 2 and Nurul Huda, *santri*'s parents have funded construction. For example, in Nurul Huda, *santri* were obligated to buy calendars as donations to develop male dormitories. In the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, financial support comes not only from the *santri*'s parents, but also from Muhammadiyah and its supporters. For example, when the Mu'allimin school was damaged by earthquake in Yogyakarta in 2006, Mu'allimin was very successful in the recovery of their building and facilities over two years, with funding from Mu'allimin alumni and Muhammadiyah's colleagues including Taufik Kiemas, the husband of Megawati, who was Indonesian president from 2001 to 2004.

Second, the mosque or *musholla* is the space for daily prayers. But in some *pesantren* this space also functions as a classroom or meeting room. Third, the *madrasah* building is the space for studying Islamic subjects and in some *pesantren* general subjects. Fourth, the house of the *pesantren*'s leader is the space in which the *kya's/nya's* family reside within the *pesantren* complex.

#### **7.1.1 Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat: many dormitories in different areas**

In the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, the complex consists of *madrasah*, mosque, and dormitories. However, the house of the leader is not located in the same area as the student dormitories or *madrasah*. The student dormitories are located in different areas of Yogyakarta. Mu'allimin has ten dormitories and Mu'allimaat has thirteen dormitories (Mu'allimaat 2009b; Mu'allimin 2009b, 2010a). One average size room (3 x 5m) is shared by six to eight students and every student has a bed. The leader of the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat do not directly supervise student activities and the leader's house is some distance from the complex, but each dormitory always has a dormitory leader (*pamong*) who has a position as an *ustadz/ustadzah*, as well as the *musrif/musrifah* who manages and controls student activities in the dormitory. *Pamong* and *musrif/musrifah* reside in the dormitories and they enforce Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat rules, but the rules however were designed by the student coordinators. Students can meet with the *pamong* and *musrif/musrifah* when they need assistance related to the rules or have difficulties with subject material in the *madrasah*. However, the disparate locations of these dormitories mean that management and monitoring of student activities depends on the *pamong*.

The Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat only have one mosque for daily prayers and Friday prayers and the mosque is located in the same area as the Mu'allimin school building. However, all dormitories have a prayer room, which is also used to conduct other activities like reading *Al-Qur'an*, discussion and eating. The students have an obligation to conduct *sholat berjama'ah* (praying together) in the mosque or *musholla*, five times everyday. The *imam sholat* (prayer leader) is a student who schedules prayers. As a result, every student has an opportunity to lead the prayers, which is part of their education as a Muhammadiyah cadre.

### 7.1.2 Nurul Huda Pesantren: restricted spaces for female *santri*

The *kyai* and *nyai* of Nurul Huda reside in the *pesantren* complex that consists of dormitories for male and female *santri*, mosque or *musholla* and classrooms. In Nurul Huda, the *santri*'s boarding school and the house of the leader are in different buildings: the female leader's house is near the entrance to the female dormitories, and the male leader's house is in front of the entrance to the male dormitories. The position of the leader's houses facilitates control of the *santri*'s activities in the *pesantren*. The house of *kyai* and *nyai* is like a palace, to which only some *santri* have access including those who become *abdi ndalem* (*santri* who assist with domestic work in *kyai/nyai*'s house), *santri* who attend *Al-Qur'an* recitation class or those who are invited by the *kyai/nyai*. As well, the *santri*'s parents or guests of the *pesantren* cannot meet *kyai/nyai* in their house without an appointment; otherwise they wait in the visiting room in the female dormitories.

Male and female dormitory have a *musholla* for praying together five times every day, but on Friday prayer for male *santri*, they pray in the village mosque near the *pesantren*. The *musholla* in the male and female dormitories is also used as a classroom for *diniyah salafiyah* class, *qiro'ati* class (reading *Al-Qur'an*), and extracurricular activities in the *pesantren*. Given the limited space in classrooms, some of the early morning *qiro'ati* classes are conducted on the balcony of the boarding area. *Diniyah salafiyah* classes have two sessions with different *santri*. Some *santri* have a formal school schedule in the morning, and attend *diniyah salafiyah* class in the afternoon, while other *santri* have the formal school's schedule in the afternoon, and they attend *diniyah salafiyah* class in the morning. Classroom space has become a problem in Nurul Huda related to numerous programs and the increase in *santri*. Sometimes language class (Arabic and English) is conducted in the dormitories for *santri* who attend the bilingual program. Meanwhile, *tahfidz* class (*Al-Qur'an* recitation) is conducted in *ndalem* (the house of *kyai*) where male and female *santri* are in the one class, but separated.

Male and female dormitories are located in one area of the *pesantren* complex, but segregated. Male and female *santri* cannot meet together in *pesantren*; if they want to see each other, they must have a good reason and they can meet in the visiting room in the female dormitories. Male *santri* can enter the visiting space for the

female dormitories, but female *santri* are forbidden to access male dormitories. In the dormitory female *santri* still wear the veil; if they do not use the veil they are punished by the senior *santri*. One average size room (4 x 6m) is shared between twenty or thirty *santri*; some sleep in the front of the bedroom because there is not enough space. They sleep on the floor with thin mattresses which can be folded. Their attitude and behaviour in dormitories is regulated by *pesantren* rules that are designed by Nurul Huda's leader. The *kyai* and *nyai* have great authority and control over the *santri*, because they reside in one area.

### **7.1.3 As-sa'idiyyah 2 Pesantren: centrality of the leader's house**

Similarly, the leader of As-sa'idiyyah 2 resides in one area of the *pesantren* complex that consists of male and female student dormitories, a mosque or *musholla*, classrooms and the leader's house. The *pesantren* leaders manage and control the *santri*'s activities, although they are supported by administrative staff. The female dormitory is on the second level of the leader's house, while the male dormitory is at the back of the house, near the prayer room. One average size room (4 x 5m) is shared between ten to fifteen *santri* who sleep on the floor on thin mattresses. The design of the *pesantren* complex was created by Nyai Umda.

As-sa'idiyyah 2 has one prayer room that is used by male and female *santri* for praying together in *Maghrib*, *Isya'* and *Subuh* times. At the *Dhuhur* and *Ashar* prayer female *santri* commonly pray in the meeting room in the female boarding space that is also utilised as a classroom for reading *Al-Qur'an*, discussion, and other activities. Male *santri* also use the *musholla* for Islamic teaching class, learning and discussion. On Friday, male *santri* pray in the mosque in Bahrul Ulum *pesantren* or in the village's mosque.

The house of the leader has many functions in this *pesantren*, not only as the home of the *kyai/nyai*'s family, but also as a classroom, particularly for female classes. Kyai Hasan teaches male and female *santri* in one class, but they are separated: male *santri* in the prayer room and female *santri* in the dining room of *kyai/nyai*'s house. While, the female class that is taught by Nyai Umda uses the living room of the *kyai/nyai*'s house; other female classes taught by female teachers or senior *santri* use the meeting room in the female dormitories, whereas the male class that is taught by male teachers or senior *santri* uses the meeting room in the male

dormitories. As a result, all *santri* in As-sa'idiyyah 2 can access the house of the leader; some even have the feeling of being in their own house, because the *kyai* and *nyai* view their position as similar to that of the *santri*'s parents. However, the design of As-sa'idiyyah 2 complex is easier to control *santri*, particularly female *santri*, compared to Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat and Nurul Huda.

## **7.2 Rules of *Pesantren*: monitoring and controlling *santri*'s activities**

The rules of the *pesantren* are designed to internalise and socialise Islamic values in the *santri*. These rules regulate all aspects of student activities and the *santri* must follow them. These rules describe the hidden curriculum and ideology of the *pesantren*. For example, rules about *aqidah* (Islamic belief) in Mu'allimin (see Table 7.2) assert that the Mu'allimin as a Muhammadiyah school follows the Hambali *mazhab* that permits no accommodation between local traditions and Islamic values and differs from the Syafi'i *mazhab*, followed by the NU *pesantren*, which accepts these accommodations (Abdullah, AR 1997:50). The *aqidah* rules, particularly related to *ziarah* and *tahlillan*, show the differences in *mazhab* between Muhammadiyah and NU *pesantren* where Nurul Huda and As-sa'idiyyah 2 conduct these traditions.

In terms of clothing rules, particularly for female *santri*, the differences in the three *pesantren* represent respective gender values and ideology in interpreting Islamic teaching related to women's *aurat*. Female *santri* are permitted to wear long pants, but when they have a class in the dormitories, they must wear a long dress in Muslim style. The *santri*'s attitude and behaviour in dormitories is regulated by *pesantren* rules that are designed by the *pesantren*'s leader in the As-sa'idiyyah 2 and Nurul Huda, whilst in the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, rules are implemented by the student coordinator and *pamong*.

### **7.2.1 Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat: flexibility only for male students**

The Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat have rules in the boarding school and *madrasah* that relate to school uniform, clothing to be worn inside and outside dormitories, communication and leaving the *pesantren*, mass media and entertainment as well as morals and ethics. These rules involve punishment and rewards. If the student

in the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat perform well in the *madrasah* or their classes, they obtain points. Reward points are the mark of a successful student in the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, for winners in academic competitions at local or national level, as leaders in *madrasah* or dormitories, as a preacher in the Muslim community, and students are also recognised for excellent *Al-Qur'an* recitation. The reward points also can be credited against punishment points, but not all infringements can be converted with reward points, such as students not praying together, as well as some of the infringements related to morals, ethics and Islamic teaching. Students who have less than 100 punishment points are under the control of *ustadz/ustadzah* and *pamong*, whereas students who have more than 100 punishment points are under the control of the leader of Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat; if students have 151 to 200 points, they must attend a special conference that decides whether they should be expelled and they are asked to write a resignation letter from *madrasah* (interview with Ustadzah Fauziah, the director of Mu'allimaat, 5 October, 2010).

**Table 7.1**  
**Rules and sanctions for female students in Mu'allimaat**

No.		Rules	Punishment
1	<b>The uniform in <i>madrasah</i></b>	Students must use the uniform: - The veil in Minangkabau style that closes over chest - Long clothes in Minangkabau style - Long dress not clinging to body	2 points 2 points 2 points

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Female shoes in black colour</li> <li>- Long socks in white colour</li> <li>- The bag is not a backpack</li> </ul>	2 points 2 points 2 points
2	<b>The clothing in dormitories</b>	Inside or outside dormitories, students must wear: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The clothes cover <i>aurat</i></li> <li>- Business clothes, not clinging to body, not thin and not jean material</li> <li>- The veil closes over chest</li> </ul> In dormitories, students can wear: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Long dress or long pants</li> <li>- Long-sleeved clothes</li> <li>- Long dress and long clothes</li> </ul>	20 points 6 points 6 points 2 points 2 points 2 points
3	<b>Accessories and make-up</b>	Students are prohibited from: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Wearing accessories except gold</li> <li>- Abundant make-up</li> <li>- Having long nails or painted nails</li> <li>- Dyeing hair</li> <li>- Having haircut like male</li> </ul>	2 points 2 points 2 points 6 points 6 points
4	<b>Communication and transportation in <i>madrasah</i> and dormitories</b>	Students are prohibited from: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Correspondence, contact with males who are not <i>muhrim</i></li> <li>- Carrying mobile phones and communication equipment</li> <li>- Bringing, using and borrowing motor bike or car, except for <i>madrasah</i> activities when have licence to drive</li> </ul>	7 points 50 points 10 points
5	<b>Mass media and entertainment</b>	Students are prohibited from: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Watching TV except on holidays</li> <li>- Bringing or reading a book that causes immorality</li> <li>- Bringing radio, walkman, or tape recorder</li> <li>- Watching movie in cinema</li> <li>- Watching music concert</li> <li>- Taking a holiday or going outside dormitories or <i>madrasah</i> without permission</li> </ul>	2 points 2 points 2 points 20 points 20 points 10 points

<b>6</b>	<b>Akhlak (moral and ethics)</b>	Students are prohibited from: - Making appointment with males who are not <i>muhrim</i> - Dating with males who are not <i>muhrim</i> - Dating in private places - Smoking - Drinking alcohol - Using drugs - Adultery	10 points 50 points 100 points 50 points 100 points 200 points 200 points
<b>7</b>	<b>Organisation</b>	Students are prohibited from joining other organisations outside <i>madrasah</i> except with leader's permission	5 points

Source: (Mu'allimaat 2010c)

The clothing styles and colours for the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat students are different from student uniforms in other Islamic schools, and distinguishes them from their contemporaries in the community outside the *pesantren* where Javanese style clothing is common. The clothing rules embed stereotypes of masculinity and femininity, particularly if a female student is prohibited from wearing pants, jeans and sport shoes; this is because these items are considered male attire (see Table 7.1). Female students can wear pants and sport shoes when they have sport classes in the *madrasah*. These rules were introduced about five years ago by the student coordinator in the Mu'allimaat, Ustadzah Rita, who had studied in Cairo. Before she became a student coordinator, female students could wear pants, sport shoes and carry a backpack; even the character of female students tended to be masculine, as stated by a *musrifah*:

Typically, the Mu'allimaat students were happy wearing sandals and carry bags like the guys. Mostly, they wanted to be like tomboys. They used to be able to wear pants and T-shirts. Don't know, all this is banned now. Can't wear pants and carry a walkman and have to wear a long dress. The kids still like to be tomboys, but only restrained tomboy. The character of Mu'allimaat students emphasises masculinity, their sandals and bags are like males. Almost all female students want to show manly performance. In the past, we had permission to wear long pants and casual clothes. I don't know these rules are not applicable now; it is prohibited to wear long pants, carry own walkman, and must wear long dress. But, female students still tend to masculine aspects, but secretly masculine. (Interview with Ustadzah Fitri, *musrifah* in Mu'allimaat, 25 September, 2010)

Some of the *ustadzah* in the Mu'allimaat also disagree with the new rules that they consider unimportant, particularly related to wearing sport shoes and backpacks,

and one of the *ustadzah* always carries a backpack in the *madrasah* as an expression of her dissatisfaction with these rules. She feels very disappointed that changes to the rules have not been clarified with female students, as stated by Ustadzah Misma:

The rules are explained to the female students, for example: why can't they wear jeans? Why can't they wear trousers? These are personal things not related to masculine and feminine; this is how, I explain it to them. But, sometimes there are limits to our capabilities to help the female students understand. Why are they prohibited to wear jeans? Because jeans are untidy as they are worn often. This is related to how they are used and not related to the Islamic law which forbids jeans, no! The rules in the Mu'allimaat prohibit female student to wear long pants, but they often meet me with a different style of dress that includes long pants. They do not ask me, because they know my views. (Interview with Ustadzah Misma, female teacher in Mu'allimaat, 2 October, 2010).

The controversial issue about the rules in Mu'allimaat is related to the differences in ideology between teachers and the student coordinator. As a cadre school of the Muhammadiyah, the Mu'allimaat has many teachers who are members of the Muhammadiyah, while the student coordinator is associated with the PKS that has a different ideology from Muhammadiyah. In addition, the differences between the Muhammadiyah and the PKS has been the subject of books written by Muhammadiyah members, who argue that Muhammadiyah has a different ideology from the PKS and that Muhammadiyah, as an independent organisation, should not accept that Muhammadiyah is used for political purposes (Nashir 2007:44-51; Asy'ari 2009). However, some of the Mu'allimaat teachers and staff are associated with PKS. The ideology of PKS is embedded in Mu'allimaat's rules that effectively internalise the PKS ideology; under the influence of the PKS, clothing rules for female students impose an Egyptian style of Islamic clothing. In the Mu'allimin, some of the teachers are also associated with PKS, but the coordinators in the *madrasah* are Muhammadiyah cadre, and the values of the Muhammadiyah are reflected in the Mu'allimin's rules.

Rules in the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat are similar, but the punishments between male and female students are different (see Table 7.1 and 7.2). Males can go outside dormitories until 21:00, and females must return to dormitories before 18:00. The punishment points related to clothing rules for female students are stricter than for male students; female students will get from 2 to 20 punishment

points when they infringe the clothing rules, but male students are only punished if they infringe more than 3 times.

**Table 7.2**  
**Rules and sanctions for male students in Mu'allimin**

No.		Rules	Punishment
1	<b>The uniform in <i>madrasah</i></b>	Students must use the uniform: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Long-sleeved shirt with trousers and black <i>peci</i> (Indonesian headgear)</li> <li>- White socks and black shoes</li> </ul>	>3 times infringe, 1 point  >3 times infringe, 1 point
2	<b>The clothing in dormitories and prayer</b>	Students must wear: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The long-sleeved shirt, <i>peci</i> and <i>sarung</i> when praying together</li> <li>- Casual clothes and trousers inside and outside dormitories</li> </ul> Students are prohibited from: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Wearing jeans inside and outside dormitories</li> <li>- Wearing short trousers outside dormitories</li> </ul>	>3 times infringe, 1 point  >3 times infringe, 1 point  Confiscated and 3 points 5 points
3	<b>Accessories</b>	Students are prohibited from: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Using ring, choker, bangle or similar</li> <li>- Dyeing hair</li> <li>- Having tattoo</li> <li>- Having long hair</li> </ul>	Confiscated and >3 times infringe, get 1 point Cut his hair & 5 points 50 points Cut his hair & >3 times infringe, 1 point
3	<b>Communication and transportation in <i>madrasah</i> and dormitories</b>	Students are prohibited from: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Correspondence or contact with females who are not <i>muhrim</i></li> <li>- Carrying a mobile phone</li> <li>- Bringing, using and borrowing motorcycle or car, except for <i>madrasah</i> activities</li> </ul>	10 points  Confiscated & 10 points 30 points

<b>4</b>	<b>Akhlak (moral and ethics)</b>	Students are prohibited from: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Dating with males who are not <i>muhrim</i></li> <li>- Smoking</li> <li>- Stealing</li> <li>- Drinking alcohol, using drug, gambling</li> <li>- Adultery, homosexuality</li> </ul>	50 points  40 points 30 points to 100 points, depending on the case 100 points  100 points
<b>5</b>	<b>Mass media and entertainment</b>	Students are prohibited from: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Watching TV except on holiday or outside the dormitories</li> <li>- Bringing or reading books that cause immorality</li> <li>- Bringing radio, walkman, or tape recorder</li> <li>- Watching movie in cinema</li> <li>- Watching music concert</li> <li>- Taking a holiday or going outside the dormitories or <i>madrasah</i> without permission</li> <li>- Watching blue film or pornography on internet</li> </ul>	20 points  50 points  Confiscated and 10 points 20 points 20 points 20 points  70 points
<b>6</b>	<b>Aqidah (Islamic believe)</b>	Students are prohibited from: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Believing horoscopes and similar, and also visiting and asking about something or a problem related to paranormal</li> <li>- Having something that is assumed to be mystic</li> <li>- Visits to graves (<i>ziarah</i>)</li> <li>- Attending <i>slametan</i> for people's death (<i>tahlilan</i>)</li> </ul>	50 points   100 point 90 points 30 points

Source: (Mu'allimin 2009b, 2010a)

The differences between the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat are not only related to rules, but also school and dormitories facilities, the quality of teachers and the cadre system (informal discussion with Mu'allimaat students, 1 October, 2010). All these aspects affect on Mu'allimin regulations and the education system in Mu'allimin. Male students have access to newspapers, TV or radio, but can also access good books from the Mu'allimin's library and information from Mu'allimin's

colleagues, even from Muhammadiyah leaders. Female students have limited information from the Muhammadiyah or Aisyiyah (women's organisation in Muhammadiyah), although they can access newspapers every day, and watch TV once a week. The Mu'allimin students have more opportunity for wider discussion with other people outside the *pesantren*, and the rules in Mu'allimin are more relaxed, as explained by Ustadzah Fitri, who also graduated from Mu'allimaat in 2008:

Different from the Mu'allimin that has relaxed rules; it means they can do everything. They can meet girls and chat with them, so they can express their ideas. We pay the same tuition fees, but they have better facilities. (Interview with Ustadzah Fitri, *musrifah* in Mu'allimaat, 25 September, 2010)

The female students are aware of the gender discrimination between male and female students. Faiza, a student in Mu'allimaat who is also a journalist in the Mu'allimaat magazine, resents the restrictions placed on female students:

I feel greatly the differences between the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat. The Mu'allimin is very free. I asked the director of the Mu'allimin: "what is wrong with our sex? Is it because we are girls, we do not go to anywhere; we must stay in dormitory and *madrasah* all day. Why is the reason always because we are girls? Is it that a woman cannot lead? If someday a woman is a leader, does this mean that judgement day (*kiamat*) is near?" (Interview with Faiza, student in Mu'allimaat, 5 October, 2010)

Although in the Mu'allimaat, the female leader does not agree with gender equity and the only a minority of teachers support women's empowerment, gender awareness among female students emerges from a recognition of discriminatory rules between students in the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat. Female students want the Mu'allimaat leaders, particularly the student coordinator, to provide greater autonomy and self-reliance. Ema, a Mu'allimaat student, argued:

We only want the leaders to trust us. We will fully accept our responsibilities. Why are we not attending any activities outside the *pesantren*? And always the reason given is that we are girls. If this situation continues, when will we progress like the Mu'allimin students? (Interview with Ema, student in Mu'allimaat, 5 October, 2010)

The Mu'allimaat students not only criticize Mu'allimaat rules (particularly about clothing and restrictions on their mobility outside the complex, which they consider discriminatory between male and female students), but also they desire to express their ideas and have greater freedom of movement. The Mu'allimaat rules prohibit

students from joining other organisations outside the Mu'allimaat (see Table 7.1). This rule also applies to *musrifah* who are expected to focus on educating students in dormitories. *Musrifah* should not be distracted by involvement in organisations outside the Mu'allimaat, even students' organisations in their university, although this rule is ignored by some (interview with Ustadzah Fitri, *musrifah* in Mu'allimaat, 3 October, 2010).

Actually, male students also have the same opinions about the discriminatory rules between the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat. The Mu'allimin students can negotiate with *pamong* and *musrif* (male teacher and dormitory staff) about the rules in Mu'allimin, and *musrif* will often reduce the obligations in the *pesantren* for those students thought to be responsible. One of the male students, who is active in the IPM (*Ikatan Pemuda Muhammadiyah/ The Association of Muhammadiyah Youth*) related:

In the Mu'allimin we cannot use a mobile phone, but sometimes we are required to use one. When I was at the level two of senior high school and a committee member of the IPM, the IPM organised a competition. I had to contact the participants and others involved. If I used the telephone in the dormitory; I could only receive calls and not call people outside the dormitory. (Interview with Ave, student in Mu'allimin, 30 September, 2010)

But, one of the students explains that there is some favouritism with the implementation of rules in the Mu'allimin. Male students with good reputations, for example, are allowed to bring prohibited materials into the *pesantren*. Ridwan, one of the Mu'allimin students, who has a good relationship with the *musrif*, and some teachers in Mu'allimin relates:

Actually, we are not allowed bring a cycle, but with a little nepotism, if you are thought to be a good guy and trustworthy you wont be suspected if you bring in something that is banned. If, however, the student who brings in a bike is not well thought of, the bike will be confiscated. When I was a new student in senior high school in the Mu'allimin, I could bring my cycle as my teachers knew me well since junior high school and would have assumed that it owned by the IPM or the dormitory, whereas it was my cycle. (Interview with Ridwan, male student in Mu'allimin, 27 September, 2010)

The Mu'allimin rules are easily broken because of its location to a city with plural urban culture. Ustadz Mahdi, *musrif* in the Mu'allimin, related how these circumstances make the enforcement of the Mu'allimin's rules difficult:

Usually a *pesantren* is located in one area, but the Mu'allimin is different, with the dormitories are scattered throughout the city, and this creates many temptations. For example, student go to an internet cafe and access something forbidden, or go to Malioboro (a shopping strip) and drink alcohol, without anyone knowing. (Interview with Ustadz Mahdi, *musrifin* Mu'allimin, 30 September, 2010)

### **7.2.2 Nurul Huda Pesantren: male *santri* can negotiate more than female *santri***

Nurul Huda is an independent *pesantren* that does not use the Indonesian Government's curriculum. The principal objective of the *pesantren* is to control and monitor the *santri's* behaviour and attitude in the dormitories. Although Nurul Huda has good relationships with schools where some of their *santri* study, it is keen to control the *santri's* activities outside the *pesantren*. For example, Nurul Huda determines the time *santri* have to return to the dormitories after school classes. Also when *santri* attend extracurricular activities in the school they must ask permission from the administrative staff (see Table 7.3).

Furthermore, Nurul Huda has rules related to clothing, the timetable in the boarding school, use of electronic devices, and *diniyah salafiyah* class, *qiro'ati* class, *tahfidz* class, and Arabic and English language class. Every class or program in Nurul Huda has rules and sanctions when *santri* disobey rules. The clothing rules for females, for example, are the strictest among the *pesantren* in this research: female *santri* must not only wear the veil inside and outside the *pesantren*, but also outside the bedroom in dormitories, perhaps because female dormitory can be accessed by male *santri* who also work as cooking staff in the female dormitories known as *abdi ndalem*. Female *santri* are prohibited from wearing long pants in the dormitories, whereas male *santri* must wear long-sleeved shirts, *sarung* and *peci* in the *pesantren*. Usually, they wear trousers if they go to school or sports activities. The clothing rules of Nurul Huda are different from other local *pesantren* and Muslim society around this *pesantren*. However, when the *santri* from Nurul Huda attend classes in the *madrasah* they have to follow the clothing rules of the *madrasah*.

**Table 7.3**  
**Rules and sanctions for female *santri* in the Nurul Huda**  
**Pesantren**

No.	Rules	Punishment
1.	<i>Santri</i> have an obligation to:	Warning or <i>ta'zir</i> <sup>68</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> The punishments for *santri* that infringe the *pesantren*'s rules include cleaning the dormitories, bathroom, and washing clothes.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Wear <i>pesantren's</i> uniform veil that closes over the chest during <i>pesantren's</i> class</li> <li>- Wear a veil in and outside <i>pesantren</i>, even when going outside bedroom in dormitories with long clothes and long dress, not long pants</li> <li>- Go back to dormitories on time after study in formal school</li> <li>- Ask permission of administrative staff when attending extracurricular activities in formal school</li> <li>- Obey the rules of areas that can be accessed when going to outside <i>pesantren</i> for study in formal school</li> <li>- Pray together five times a day on time</li> <li>- Go back to <i>pesantren</i> on time after holiday or permission in teaching time</li> </ul>	<p>Help with administrative responsibilities, warning, <i>ta'zir</i>, fine or be non active as <i>santri</i> Warning or <i>ta'zir</i></p> <p><i>Ta'zir</i> or fine</p> <p><i>Ta'zir</i></p> <p><i>Ta'zir</i> or fine Fine</p>
2.	<p><i>Santri</i> are prohibited from:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Using a radio, tape recorder, game board, camera, mobile phone and books that do not have Islamic values</li> <li>- Stealing, drinking alcohol, smoking</li> <li>- Visiting a cinema, pub, café</li> <li>- Using hair colour</li> <li>- Dating with impolite behaviour such as kissing</li> <li>- Having special relationships with other female <i>santri</i></li> <li>- Buying food in the front of the dormitory</li> <li>- Using the public telephone in the dormitory for longer than ten minutes</li> <li>- Wearing gold accessories</li> </ul>	<p>Confiscated and fine</p> <p>Warning, <i>ta'zir</i>, fine or be non active as <i>santri</i> <i>Ta'zir</i>, fine or be non active as <i>santri</i> Crooked haircut Warning, <i>ta'zir</i>, fine or be non active as <i>santri</i> Warning, <i>ta'zir</i>, fine or be non active as <i>santri</i> Pay double the food price Warning</p> <p>Confiscated, or redeem with Rp 20.000</p>

Source: (*Pesantren* 2009b, 2009a)

Note: \$AUS 1 = Rp 9000

The changing rules in relation to female *santri* happened two years ago during new administrative staff changes in the female *pesantren*. The new rules must be reported to the *pesantren's* leader and have agreement from the leader, as explained by Ustazdah Wulan, the female leader of administrative staff:

The changing of programs always requires the agreement from the *pesantren's* leader. In Nurul Huda, we consult among the divisions, if all the administrative staff agrees with the new rules, we report to the *pesantren's*

leader. If the *pesantren*'s leader agrees with the new rules, we implement it. We report the new rules to the female leader, but commonly the *pesantren* leaders have already discussed the new rules among themselves. (Interview with Ustadzah Wulan, the leader of female administrative in Nurul Huda, 5 November, 2010)

In the past, female *santri* were able to use electronic devices and watch movies in the dormitories during the one week holiday known as *masa ruhshoh*, but during this research, these rules have not been implemented, because they were thought to have a negative effect. Ustadzah Wulan, the leader of female administrative staff, as well as a teacher in *diniyah salafiyah* class and *santri* in *Al-Qur'an* recitation related:

In the past, the female *santri* were permitted to use cameras and radios, also they could watch movies. After the exams, they did not have activities, so it was refreshing. Usually, the electronic devices were brought by their parents when visiting the *pesantren*. But, these things had negative effects; as a result these programs were cancelled. We review the programs of previous administrative staff, and every two years we evaluate programs and rules in the *pesantren* (Interview with Ustadzah Wulan, the leader of female administrative in Nurul Huda, 5 November, 2010)

The leader of female administrative staff was most familiar with the negative effect of *pesantren*'s rules, but it would be impolite if the researcher inquired about the negative aspects of the *pesantren*'s regulations. However, one of the *santri* in Nurul Huda was willing to discuss the matter:

In the past, we could watch movies in the dormitories, during *masa ruhshoh* it was very exciting we could bring cameras and take pictures. It should be well managed, if we get an opportunity like this. *Masa ruhshoh* is no longer permitted, because the female *santri* watched movies until 1:00, and the next day many *santri* did not attend prayers together at *Subuh* time. However, actually, the same thing happened when we did not watch a movie, many *santri* were still late for *Subuh* prayers. (Interview with Azizah, female *santri* and teacher in *qiro'ati* class in Nurul Huda, 5 November, 2010)

The perceived negative effects of *masa ruhshoh* prompted a tightening of the *pesantren*'s rules, and a renewed effort to educate female *santri* about Islamic teaching. Not all infringement of rules by *santri* are known about by *pesantren* leaders or administrative staff. Some of the *santri* endeavour to avoid detection, by, for example, leaving their mobile phone with the owner of a small shop near the *pesantren*; before going to *madrasah*, they collect their mobile phone from the shopkeeper and after finishing their study in the *madrasah*, they return it to the

shopkeeper (Fieldwork notes, 8 November, 2010). They pay the owner of the small shop to keep their mobile phone, but also for keeping their secret from other *santri* and administrative staff (interview with Fina, female *santri* in Nurul Huda, 9 November, 2010).

The rules for female *santri* have become stricter and they were more comfortable with the old rules, because they could schedule time outside the *pesantren* every week, as one female *santri* recalled:

If I were asked to choose, I would choose the old rules. Every Friday, each bedroom in the dormitories could go to the market, just for fun or to shop in the market, sometimes our friends would ask for something. But, we still wore *pesantren* uniform (Interview with Yasmin, female *santri* in Nurul Huda, 5 November, 2010)

The male *santri* have greater freedom. They can have dinner outside the *pesantren* while the female *santri* have both breakfast and dinner in the *pesantren*, as cooked by male *santri* in their role as *abdi ndalem*. Female *santri* must return to the *pesantren* by 17:00, while the male *santri* have greater freedom in leaving the *pesantren* at night. The differences in regulations are resented by some of the female *santri* as expressed by Yasmin and Azizah:

Male *santri* can go outside the *pesantren* without any restrictions. Every day, they go to the mall, it doesn't matter, as long as they attend *diniyah salafiyah* class. It is different for female *santri*: after finishing their classes at school, they must return to the dormitories, before *Maghrib* prayer. (Interview with Azizah and Yasmin, female *santri* in Nurul Huda, 5 November, 2010)

**Table 7.4**  
**Rules and sanctions for male *santri* in the Nurul Huda**  
**Pesantren**

No.	Rules	Punishment
1.	<i>Santri</i> have obligation to:	Warning or <i>ta'zir</i> Warning or <i>ta'zir</i> <i>Ta'zir</i> or get fine

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Wear <i>pesantren</i>'s uniform<sup>69</sup> during <i>pesantren</i>'s class</li> <li>- Wear casual clothes, <i>sarung</i> and <i>peci</i> in and outside <i>pesantren</i></li> <li>- Return to the dormitories after school classes</li> <li>- Ask permission from administrative staff when attending extracurricular activities at school</li> <li>- Obey the rules when going outside <i>pesantren</i> for study at school</li> <li>- Pray together five times a day on time and wear a white long sleeved shirt</li> <li>- Return to the <i>pesantren</i> on time after holidays</li> </ul>	<p><i>Ta'zir</i></p> <p><i>Ta'zir</i> or get fine</p> <p><i>Ta'zir</i></p> <p>Fine</p>
2.	<p><i>Santri</i> are prohibited from:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Using a radio, tape recorder, game board, camera, mobile phone and books that do not have Islamic values</li> <li>- Stealing, drinking alcohol, gambling, smoking</li> <li>- Watching music concert</li> <li>- Visiting a cinema, pub, or café</li> <li>- Dating with impolite behaviour such as kissing</li> <li>- Using public telephone in dormitory for longer than ten minutes</li> </ul>	<p>Confiscated and fine</p> <p>Warning, <i>ta'zir</i>, fine or be non active as <i>santri</i></p> <p>Warning, <i>ta'zir</i> or fine</p> <p><i>Ta'zir</i>, fine or be non active as <i>santri</i></p> <p><i>Ta'zir</i> or be non active as <i>santri</i></p> <p>Warning</p>

Source: (*Pesantren* 2009b, 2009a)

The implementation of *pesantren* rules female *santri* is less strict. The female *santri* who have privileges and rights are those who work as teachers and administrative staff in the *pesantren*, but this is still limited as compared to male *santri*. For example, it is prohibited to carry a mobile phone (see Tables 7.3 and 7.4), but administrative staff are given one mobile phone to co-ordinate their activities with the female leader and undertake their responsibilities. In contrast, almost all male *santri* who have work as a teacher or administrative staff have a mobile phone. Yusril, a male *santri* in Nurul Huda, who also teaches related:

For some time, there have been regulations from the *pesantren*'s leader, that those *santri* who taught *Al-Qur'an* and *diniyah salafiyah* classes and who worked as administrative staff could have a mobile phone. Male *santri* who

<sup>69</sup> *Pesantren* uniform for male *santri* is the long-sleeved white shirt, *sarung* and *peci*.

study at university can have a mobile phone as well, but only with permission. Usually, permission is granted by the *pesantren*'s leader. Those *santri* who use a motor bike, are studying at university or at a senior high school located some distance from the *pesantren*. (Interview with Yusril, male *santri* and teacher in *qiro'ati* class in Nurul Huda, 10 November, 2010)

According to Yusril and Ustadz Chusin (the leader of administrative staff), the rules for male *santri* are not strict like for female *santri*, and male *santri* still have the opportunity to negotiate the rules with the *pesantren* leader. For example, watching of movies in dormitories was prohibited by the *kyai*, but male administrative staff negotiated with the *kyai* to permit watching soccer matches on television. The male administrative staff endeavour to minimise *santri* going outside *pesantren* in the evening. The male *santri* can watch movies in the dormitories once a month, mostly Islamic movies chosen by the administrative staff. However, as explained by Yusril, these rules are there to be broken:

For almost everything in this *pesantren*, *santri* must ask permission. For example: *santri* have to ask permission to go to the internet cafe for their homework. While doing their homework, they can browse for things that are prohibited by the *pesantren*, but nobody is every going to know. (Interview with Yusril, male *santri* and teacher in *qiro'ati* class in Nurul Huda, 10 November, 2010)

The differences in rules are not only between male and female *santri*, but also between junior and seniors *santri*. For example, a *santri* who is twenty years old can smoke at certain times and in certain places as explained by a senior *santri*:

There have been some changes in the rules here. Previously, *santri* were prohibited from smoking. Now, *santri* can smoke when they are 20 years old. The smoking has to be discreet and not seen by younger *santri*; it can't be blatant. Like in a small quiet cafe where there are no younger *santri*. If there are younger *santri*, it is prohibited to smoke. There could be jealousy and it gives a bad example which could be followed when they are adults. (Interview with Yusril, male *santri* and teacher in *qiro'ati* class in Nurul Huda, 10 November, 2010)

The pattern of change in regulations for male *santri* in Nurul Huda is different from the female *santri*. Change in the latter is produced through evaluation, while the regulations for male *santri* are determined by the leader's attitudes, as explained by the leader of male administrative staff:

The founder of the *pesantren*, Romo Kyai [Kyai Manan] did not smoke, so smoking was prohibited. The current leader smokes, so *santri* over twenty

years old can smoke. (Interview with Ustadz Chusin, the leader of male administrative staff in Nurul Huda, 12 November, 2010)

The differentiation between male and female *santri* is also related to classroom activities. In the *tahfidz* class, the male *santri* have an *ustadz* who listens to recitations of the *Al-Qur'an* before they recite for the *kyai*, while female *santri* do not have an *ustadzah* as a tutor; usually they listen to each other before reciting for the *kyai*. In language class, male *santri* have an *ustadz* who uses creative and fun methods, such as singing and playing games until midnight, while the language class for female *santri* only involves memorising the words and conversation.

During the holidays, the female *santri* usually clean the dormitories and they still have extracurricular activities at night such as *qiro'ah* and *kaligrafi* class. The male *santri* however have sport activities outside the *pesantren* such as soccer and badminton. The female *santri* only have time on Friday to visit the graves of the *kyai/nyai*, while the male *santri* can visit these graves anytime. The grave visits denotes the charisma of the *kyai*, in the belief that *santri* will find *barokah* (blessing or reward from God).

### **7.2.3 As-sa'idiyyah 2 Pesantren: rules and autonomy for the *santri***

Similar to the other *pesantren* in this research, As-sa'idiyyah 2 also has rules related to clothing, the *pesantren's* activities and using electronic devices. According to an *ustadzah* and female *santri* in As-sa'idiyyah 2, the rules in this *pesantren*, including clothing rules for female *santri*, are less strict than other *pesantren* in Jombang in the Bahrul Ulum community (Interview with Ustadzah Riska and Zulva, female teacher and *santri* in As-sa'idiyyah 2, 26 November, 2011). Ustadzah Riska was a *santri* in another *pesantren* in Jombang that had strict rules about the use of electronic devices and access to mass media. In the dormitories of this *pesantren*, the female *santri* had to wear a long dress, but in As-sa'idiyyah 2 they can wear long pants. However, the clothing rules outside dormitories are similar for other *santri* in the Bahrul Ulum community.

In As-sa'idiyyah 2, the administrative staff have the responsibility to design the *pesantren's* rules and obtain the the *kyai's/nyai's* agreement, as explained by one of the female *santri* in As-sa'idiyyah 2 who also works as administrative staff:

All the rules in the *pesantren* have to be agreed to by the *nyai*. Administrative staff member have the authority to design the rules. After that, we meet to *nyai* to ask her agreement, if the *nyai* accepts the rules, we implement them. But, if the *nyai* disagrees, we amend them according to the wishes of the *nyai*. The female *santri* ask the agreement from the *nyai*, while the male *santri* need the agreement from the *kyai*. (Interview with Zulva, female *santri* and administrative staff in As-sa'idiyyah 2, 3 December, 2010)

**Table 7.5**  
**Rules and sanctions for female *santri* in the As-sa'idiyyah 2**  
**Pesantren**

No.	Rules	Punishment
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1.	<p><i>Santri</i> have obligations to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Read <i>Al-Qur'an</i>, pray together, <i>takror</i> (learn together in dormitory) everyday</li> <li><i>Ziarah</i> twice in a month</li> <li>Wear a veil when going outside the dormitory</li> <li>Return to the dormitory after study in formal school and are prohibited to go outside after that</li> <li>When <i>santri</i> go home: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ask permission to <i>pesantren</i>'s leader and administrative staff when <i>santri</i> go home</li> <li>Wear uniform veil or white veil</li> <li><i>Santri</i> must be picked up by parents</li> <li>Must wear a long dress, not pants</li> <li>Must be back to <i>pesantren</i> on time</li> </ul> </li> </ol>	<p>Fine Rp 1000-Rp 20,000</p> <p>Clean dormitories Reading <i>Al-Qur'an</i></p> <p>Punishment based on administrative policy</p> <p>Clean dormitories in 7 days</p> <p>Read <i>Al-Qur'an</i> Fine Rp 50,000 Fine Rp 50,000 Fine Rp 50,000</p>
2.	<p><i>Santri</i> are prohibited from:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Having a mobile phone</li> <li>Having contact with persons who are not <i>muhrim</i></li> <li>Contacting family in male boarding house; if they have someone they want to contact, it must be must in <i>ndalem</i> (<i>kyai/nya's</i> house)</li> <li>Stealing</li> <li>Watching TV except on holidays</li> </ol>	<p>Confiscated</p> <p>Clean bathroom and keep rubbish</p> <p>Punishment based on administrative policy points c-e</p>

Source: (*Pesantren*, A-si 2010d)  
Note: \$AUS 1 = Rp 9000

Although female *santri* cannot have mobile phones, there are some exceptions. For example, *santri* who study at university and *santri* in grade 3 of senior high school. The *pesantren* rules not only distinguish between senior and junior *santri*, but also for special *santri* whose parents have an important role in the *pesantren*, particularly in relation to funding for As-sa'idiyyah 2. Such a *santri* would get special treatment from Nyai Umda, even though this *santri* is not a student in grade 3, she can have a mobile phone (informal discussion with *santri* and administrative staff As-sa'idiyyah 2, 3 December, 2010). This situation makes other *santri* jealous, particularly administrative staff who think that the rules in *pesantren* are not effective, because the leader is not consistent in their application, which creates trouble in the dormitories. The female administrative staff minimise conflict in dormitories by buying a mobile phone, without Nyai Umda's permission, so that *santri* can send messages to their friends or parents.

The *santri* who study at university and in grade 3 in senior high school can have laptops or notebooks. Consequently, they can access music videos, movies and games in the dormitory and download them from the internet when they do not have classes. They not only download Islamic movies or music, but they also download Indonesian and Western movies and music. This contravenes the rules about watching TV during the holidays. The breaking of rules is not done in a confrontational manner. According to the administrative staff, this is not infringing the rules as long as it does not disturb *pesantren* activities, as a laptop or notebook is different from TV (informal discussion with female administrative staff in As-sa'idiyyah 2, 3 December, 2010). Moreover, Nyai Umda also wants to provide internet access in the dormitory. She wants her *santri* to be familiar with high technology and wants to minimise male *santri* going outside the *pesantren* at night to access the internet in cafes around the *pesantren* (Interview with Nyai Umda, the female leader of As-sa'idiyyah 2, 4 December, 2010).

Male and female *santri* are also subject to different sets of rules in the As-sa'idiyyah 2, with respect to going outside the *pesantren* and returning to dormitories. They must return to the dormitories after school and before 17:00. The male *santri* can leave the *pesantren* at night provided they return before 23:00 with permission from administrative staff or *ustadz* (male teacher). The female *santri* are not permitted to leave the *pesantren* at night, under any circumstances. Although, there are many differences in *pesantren*'s rules between male and female *santri*; according to female students in As-sa'idiyyah 2, this rule marks the biggest difference between males and females (interview with Sarah, female *santri* in As-sa'idiyyah 2, 3 December, 2010).

The male *santri* can have a mobile phone unlike the female *santri*, except for special female *santri*. All the male *santri* have mobile phones, but the phone must be kept by the *ustadz* in *pesantren* (Interview with Rafi, male *santri* As-sa'idiyyah 2, 1 December, 2010). Male *santri* can also use a radio and walkman, but they cannot turn on the radio, walkman or mobile phone during the *pesantren*'s activities. They will be punished if they use these devices during class and the devices will be confiscated (see Table 7.6). The punishment system for male *santri* is less clear than for female *santri*, in that male administrative staff have more

authority to decide punishment in *pesantren*. However, male administrators remain responsible to the *kyai*.

**Table 7.6**  
**Rules and sanctions for male *santri* in the As-sa'idiyyah 2**  
**Pesantren**

No.	Rules	Punishment
1.	<p><i>Santri</i> have obligations to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Read <i>Al-Qur'an</i>, pray together every day, and <i>ro'an</i> (cleaning dormitory)</li> <li>b. <i>Ziarah</i> every week</li> <li>c. Wear casual clothes and <i>peci</i> (Indonesian male's headgear) in and outside dormitories, and wear long sleeved shirt and <i>sarung</i> when praying together</li> <li>d. Ask permission to <i>pesantren</i>'s leader and administrative staff when <i>santri</i> go home</li> <li>e. If <i>santri</i> go outside from dormitory in the night after <i>pesantren</i> activities and they must come back to dormitories before 23:30</li> </ul>	<p>Read <i>Al-Qur'an</i> for three hours</p> <p>Read <i>Al-Qur'an</i> for three hours</p> <p>Punishment based on administrative policy</p> <p>Read <i>Al-Qur'an</i></p> <p>Punishment based on administrative policy</p>
2.	<p><i>Santri</i> are prohibited from:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Turning on radio, walkman and mobile phone during <i>pesantren</i>'s activities, and prohibited from turning on TV except on holidays (Monday, Tuesday and Friday)</li> <li>b. Playing soccer or another sport except on Tuesday and Friday</li> <li>c. Entering the female dormitory</li> <li>d. Contacting persons who are not <i>muhrim</i></li> <li>e. Smoking, gambling, alcohol and drugs</li> <li>f. Saving, bringing and circulating indecorous picture and similar</li> <li>g. Leaving prayer before praying together is finished</li> </ul>	<p>Confiscated and punishment based on administrative policy</p> <p>Punishment based on administrative policy (the same punishment in points b-g)</p>

Source: (*Pesantren*, A-si 2010c)

In praying together, *Kyai Hasan* always wakes male and female *santri* in the morning for *Subuh* prayer. Usually, *Kyai Hasan* knocks on the door of female dormitories and gives an advanced warning to *santri* to pray together, as well as the male *santri*. But male *santri* sometimes wake too late for praying together. *Kyai*

is very patient to educate *santri*; when he has disobedient *santri*, *kyai* only gives advice. In contrast, Nyai Umda is very strict with the *santri*, particularly male *santri*: when male *santri* wake late, Nyai Umda pours water over their faces. In this *pesantren* *kyai* and *nyai* are like parents. However, *santri* still respect their authority, and some of the *santri* still have relationships with the *pesantren*'s leader after they have graduated. Hence, the maintaining and controlling of the rules in As-sa'idiyyah 2 is similar to family.

The structures in the *pesantren* rules have been developed to educate and internalise Islamic teaching in *santri*. The three *pesantren* have similar rules related to clothing, mobility, communication, mass media and entertainment. *Pesantren* leaders seek to manage and constrain influences from outside the *pesantren* that, they believe, have a negative effect on the *santri*. These rules and regulations regarding clothing, though different in each *pesantren*, reflect Islamic values and the *pesantren*'s identity that distinguish it from the society outside. The infrastructure of the *pesantren* complex together with the rules seeks to perpetuate the *pesantren*'s traditions and sustain the authority of *kyai*.

Foucault (1980:39) described the system in a military school to control army cadets or in prison to control inmates, where the panopticon is used as a strategy to exercise power within an institution. These *pesantren* resemble Foucault's panopticon, not only related to the *pesantren* physical structures of the dormitories, house of the leader, mosque, and the school located in one area, but also related to the rules in a *pesantren* which are designed to integrate class rules with those of the everyday lives of the *santri*. Some of the *pesantren* rules are based on Islamic values, for example: clothing, *aqidah* and *akhlak*, and some rules reflect the personal habits and experiences of the leaders. The rules about smoking in Nurul Huda, for example, changed with the *kyai* and his personal habits. The rules about mobile phones and accessing the internet in As-sa'idiyyah 2 reflect the educational experience of Nyai Umda, its female leader, and her recognition of the importance of these technologies for the *santri*'s education. The more restrictive regulations of the other *pesantren* suggest less familiarity with the world outside the *pesantren* and associated anxieties about external influences. The integrated system in the *pesantren* explains how the leaders exercise their authority and the

*santri* always obey. The *pesantren* complex and rules in the three *pesantren* in this study are designed like a panopticon.

The panopticon system in the *pesantren* has a gender bias; the rules and complex system create more opportunity for male *santri* to access information and knowledge. According to Walby (1990:92), educational institutions continue to embed gender difference through the formal curriculum or hidden curriculum. A similar situation prevails in the *pesantren* complex and rules, which tend to construct gender bias, also create gender awareness among the female *santri*, who question why male and female *santri* have different opportunities and rules in the *pesantren*. The critical thinking of female *santri* in the *pesantren*, where the leader has not developed gender equity, is more evident than in the *pesantren* where there is a leader promoting gender awareness, because female students are marginalised and subordinated.

The stereotypes of femininity and masculinity are also embedded in the three *pesantren*, and depict female students as more subservient toward the *pesantren*'s stricter rules than male students. The quotes below from the *kyai* of Nurul Huda and As-sa'idiiyah 2, and a steering committee of Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat reflect the gender values and stereotypes of *pesantren* leaders:

My mother once said "the organising the female *santri* is easier than with male *santri*". This means that female *santri* are always prepared to follow the routine schedules. If the female administrative staff are told that tomorrow that these activities have to be undertaken, without any supervision, the instructions will be obeyed. (Interview with Kyai Ibnu, the husband of female leader in Nurul Huda, 11 November, 2010)

The female *santri* tend to be more subservient, more diligent and more committed. But, with the male *santri*, their disobedience is thought of as a sign of potency, and creativity. (Interview with Kyai Hasan, the male leader of As-sa'idiiyah 2, 27 November, 2010)

In terms of obedience the female students are much more so than the male students. Probably, this is because of their feminine instinct. In the Mu'allimin, the male students think that they can disobey the rules. (Interview with Ustadz Hamdan, steering committee of Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, 7 October, 2010)

The stereotypical female *santri* is constructed as a person who accepts all the *pesantren*'s rules and never complains about the dominant patriarchal system. Consequently, females find it is easier to take instruction than males, and this

reinforces the subordinate position of females in society. Males however are stereotyped as strong and they never surrender to uncomfortable situations. The application of traditional teaching methods in *pesantren* and the internalisation of Islamic teaching are more effective in the socialisation of female *santri* than their male counterparts.

## Chapter 8

### Patterns of Gender in *Pesantren*: Critical Conversations between Patriarchy and Feminism

This chapter argues that the pattern of gender in *pesantren* is one of the effects of the *pesantren* curriculum which includes subject material, teaching methods and interpretations of Islamic teaching that is taught to and embedded in *santri*. This is a critical issue in relation to the Muslim feminist's movement, because the *pesantren* is an educational institution that educates young Muslims. Muslim feminists expect organisations, such as PUAN Amal Hayati, P3M and FK3, to play a significant role in encouraging and embedding gender awareness and gender equity (Muttaqin 2008:80, 90).

In addition, each *pesantren* has the authority to maintain and encourage gender awareness in their community. But, few *pesantren* recognise this authority and accept this objective. The term 'gender' tends to carry negative connotations in the *pesantren* community, because it is associated with the ideology of Western liberalism. In the three *pesantren* in this research, only the female leader in As-sa'idiyyah 2 takes a gender perspective in interpreting Islamic teaching to *santri*. Meanwhile, the leaders in the other *pesantren*, Nurul Huda, Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat still follow classical interpretations from Islamic teaching that tend to favour patriarchy.

Each *pesantren* is responsible for designing its own curriculum, although the Indonesian Government has regulated Islamic schools (*madrasah*), so curriculum content comprises 70% general subjects and 30% religious subjects (Indonesia 2008c). However, some of the *pesantren* have developed a curriculum in response to changes in contemporary society, while nevertheless retaining *pesantren* values and ideology. Billah (1992) claims that *pesantren* do not share a standard curriculum and assessment system. The three *pesantren* in this study have their own distinct curriculum. However, a small number of *pesantren* are interested in improving gender awareness. In this research, only Nyai Umda, the female leader in As-sa'idiyyah 2, is conscious of and encourages gender equity, although she has barriers in developing gender equity related to the patriarchal system in the *pesantren* community.

Patriarchal ideology influences how the *pesantren* design their curriculum. Nyai Umda, for example, selected the yellow book for teaching to emphasise his own interests, as Kyai Hasan explains:

In teaching yellow book, I do not teach to *santri* the the texts that I disagree with; throughout my career, I never read or taught yellow book that I am not interested in, which means that I have not had to bother about interpreting them [meaning the *kyai* has not bothered with texts about gender equality]. The teaching of yellow book is important to create knowledge. The yellow book I teach I interpret according to contemporary values. Accordingly, I always teach and discussion with the *santri* about how we should behave in this era through the text of the *Al-Qur'an*. I also combine traditional yellow book and modern yellow book. (Interview with Kyai Hasan, the male leader of As-sa'idiiyah 2, 27 November, 2010)

In As-sa'idiiyah 2, the curriculum design and the choice of of yellow book comes under the authority of the leader, along with other aspects including:

- content *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence)
- *tauhid* (Islamic theology that belief in the oneness of God)
- *hadith* (the traditions purporting to preserve the decisions, actions and utterances of the Prophet Muhammad)
- *akhlaq* (Islamic ethics)
- *tafsir* (*Al-Qur'an* exegesis)
- *tasawuf* (the material teaching related to the inner and esoteric dimension of Islam)
- Arabic language.

Through the teaching of yellow book, it is hoped to align the attitude and behaviour of *santri* with Islamic teaching and Javanese culture. For example, some of the material of *akhlaq* teaches attitude and behaviour to teachers including *kyai* and *nyai*, parents and old people, and emphasises respect and subservience to elders such as *kyai/nyai* and parents. The teaching of yellow book in As-sa'idiiyah 2 is related to the purpose of *pesantren*. Thus yellow book become a contextual approach through which *santri* will have the capability to employ Islamic teaching in the era of globalisation. As-sa'idiiyah 2 also claims that its emphasis on language and yellow book is a unique characteristic of its curriculum. The male leader of this *pesantren* prevails when deciding the selection of yellow book.

However, during 2010 Nyai Umda encouraged four or five elite male *santri* to read and interpret yellow book from a gendered perspective in a special class. Nyai Umdais attempting to increase and instill gender awareness in promising male *santri*. Her expectation is that the male *santri* in this special class will someday pass on their gender knowledge to other male *santri* or the *pesantren* where they will teach (interview with Nyai Umda, female leader in As-sa'idiyyah 2, 1December, 2010).

A different situation prevails in MAI, where the curriculum is a mixture designed by the religious department, the educational department and the *pesantren*. MAI has the overall aim of developing Islamic education that is based on religion, language and life skills for continuing education in universities in Indonesia or overseas (particularly the Middle East) (Ulum 2010c). Consequently, the dominant subjects in MAI, particularly for *santri* at levels 1 and 2, is Islamic teaching, while *santri* at level 3 are given a balance of general subjects and religious subjects, because they are studying towards a national examination (*ujian nasional*) in their final year of learning. The religious subjects from the Department of Religious Affairs, including *Al-Qur'an Hadist*, *fiqh*, *aqidah* and *akhlaq*, are taught at levels 1, 2 and 3, and the local subjects also contain religious subjects that perpetuate *pesantren* and religious traditions (Ulum 2010d, 2010b).

In MAI the religious subjects are given more teaching time than general subjects, although MAI follows the Indonesian Government curriculum because it wants *santri* to be educated in Islamic knowledge, but also provide them with an education certificate that is accepted by the Indonesian Government. General subjects such as mathematics, Indonesian language and anthropology are taught in order to prepare *santri* for the national examination (Ulum 2010b, 2010d). The negotiation about subjects in the curriculum between the *pesantren* and the Indonesian government is part of the effort by MAI, as a *madrasah* that can confer a formal certificate which is accepted by the Indonesian Government, and this certificate can be used by *santri* to gain entry to university.

Nyai Umda has the singular authority to decide on the curriculum. Although MAI has a vice-headmaster and curriculum coordinator, Nyai Umda still dominates all the decisions, particularly regarding the curriculum, as explained by Ustadzah Riska, a female teacher in MAI and As-sa'idiyyah 2 who graduated from MAI:

The development of the curriculum is a cooperative process, but one dominated by Nyai Umda. Thus it is all in her hands, if she does not agree it does not happen. Hence, in a meeting it is an important thing to know if Nyai Umda agrees with something or not. On occasions, some of the MAI staff do not agree with her decision. (Interview with Ustadzah Riska, female teacher in MAI and As-sa'idiyyah 2, 2 December, 2010)

A similar situation exists at Nurul Huda, where the *pesantren* leader has the authority to create the blueprint for the curriculum, which is not associated with the curriculum regulations of the government. The curriculum contains Islamic religious subjects similar to those of As-sa'idiyyah 2 including:

- *fiqh*
- *tafsir*
- *hadist*
- *tauhid*
- *akhlaq*
- Arabic language that contain: *nahwu* (Arabic grammar) and *shorof* (Arabic morphology). (*Pesantren*, NH 2010h)

The teaching of Islamic values is ultimately designed to create a generation of graduates that have been taught *Al-Qur'an* and clear Islamic ethics, as well as being able to employ the values of *Al-Qur'an* (*Pesantren*, NH 2010h). Hence, general subjects such as Indonesian language, and mathematics are not taught and *santri* study these in *madrasah* around Nurul Huda that offer Indonesian Government curriculum. This is a compromise between Nurul Huda and the government, which recognise certificates from institutions that have curriculum that complies with the Department of Religious Affairs and National Education. This means that *santri* in Nurul Huda who study in *madrasah* can continue their study at university.

According to Kyai Khoirul, there is a limited role for government in Nurul Huda; even the founder, Kyai Manan, disliked accepting funding from the government because he is worried that the legitimacy (*barokah*) of his *pesantren* will be lost if government funds cannot be considered *halal* according to Islamic jurisprudence (*syubhat*) (letter from Kyai Khoirul, male leader Nurul Huda, 19 May, 2011). Moreover, Nurul Huda has one curriculum coordinator, Ustadz Ghofur, to maintain and manage the curriculum for male and female *santri*. However, the overall

content and design of the *pesantren*'s curriculum is decided by the *pesantren* leader:

The yellow books we use come from the *pesantren*'s leader. The leader decides which yellow books are utilised in *pesantren* and these are the only ones we use. Some of yellow books were written by Kyai Manan [the founder of the *pesantren*]. So, it is all settled by the *Kyai*, all the yellow book that have been studied previously were his choice of what had to be studied. We tell the *santri* which yellow book the *Kyai* has chosen as the compulsory texts. (Interview with Ustadz Ghofur, the male teacher and the curriculum coordinator of Nurul Huda, 7 November, 2010)

As a male leader in *salaf*<sup>70</sup> *pesantren*, Kyai Khoirul has more opportunity to make curriculum decisions in the *pesantren* than Nyai Ummu, because he is assumed to understand more about Islamic teaching, having graduated in Mecca, while his sisters (including Nyai Ummu) studied at Indonesian *pesantren* and universities. The behaviour and attitude of females in *pesantren* are determined by males through the curriculum, because males have hegemonic control over what women can and should do. However, according to Kyai Khoirul, he simply follows the ideology of *ahlus sunnah wal jama'ah*<sup>71</sup> as clarified below:

I do not have special criteria or considerations to the selection of yellow book such as *tafsir*, *fiqih*, the knowledge about *Al-Qur'an* etc. The important thing is that the chosen yellow books have identification with *ahlus sunnah wal jama'ah* teaching. In future, the design of curriculum Nurul Huda will maintain emphasis on *salaf pesantren*, although we do not leave out the modern or the improvements of technology. (Letter from Kyai Khoirul, the male leader of Nurul Huda, 19 May, 2011)

The ideology of *ahlus sunnah wal jama'ah* has become the main characteristic of the people or *pesantren* associated with the NU. Kyai Khoirul is a son of Kyai Manan who was educated by *kyai* in NU *pesantren*. He follows the ideology of his father, as a *kyai* who grew up in the NU tradition. Moreover, the senior *kyai* (*kyai sepuh*) or fathers mostly imbue the NU tradition in the younger generation, including about the ideology of *ahlus sunnah wal jama'ah*, and the junior *kyai* must respect and be subservient to senior *kyai*. Kyai Khoirul maintains the key characteristics of Nurul

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<sup>70</sup>*Salaf pesantren* has traditional curriculum and teaching methods that have subject material from yellow texts and some Islamic teaching without general subjects.

<sup>71</sup>The ideology of *ahlus sunnah wal jama'ah* (literally, follower of the example of the Prophet Muhammad and majority of community) is a term commonly utilised by Sunni to differentiate from Shia or other Islamic groups. According to Kyai Abdurrahman Wahid (1996), *ahlus sunnah wal jama'ah* is one of the doctrines in the NU organisation. As well, it is an essential characteristic of the traditionalist notion (Barton 1996: 117).

Huda's emphasis on being a *salaf pesantren* because he wants to perpetuate the ideology of his father as the founder (letter from Kyai Khoirul, the male leader of Nurul Huda, 19 May, 2011).

In the *pesantren* associated with NU, such as Nurul Huda and As-sa'idiyyah 2, the leader manages the institution like a patriarchal family. The characteristics of their leadership emphasise authoritarian values, seniority, obedience and the *kya's* blue blood. Family members play key roles in the *pesantren's* operations and commonly play familial roles with *santri* and staff. Meanwhile, the teachers, staff and *santri*, as a community, accept and are subservient towards the *pesantren* leader's decisions.

In contrast, in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, which are professional institutions, the curriculum of the *pesantren* is not decided by the leader, nor does it follow the leader's personal ideologies. Both have a curriculum design team with a curriculum coordinator assisted by experienced teachers with understanding of the soul and the purposes of Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat. The curricula come from three sources: the religious department, the education department and the *pesantren*, as explained by Ustadz Mifta, the senior male teacher, and Ustadzah Erna, curriculum coordinator in Mu'allimaat:

In principle, we attempt to combine general education and religious education, and we integrate into one teaching program the curricula from the Department of Religious Affairs, the Department of National Education and the *pesantren* itself, as it is reflected in the classical yellow book. The effect of this amalgamation of curricula is burden of time. Students have classes for 56 hours every week. We have a responsibility to the Departments of Religious Affairs and National Education as the educational authorities in Indonesia. Perhaps, we still maintain the soul and the spirit of independence that was the initial purpose for which Mu'allimin was founded. We tend to see the accommodation of government's curriculum with Muhammadiyah values, not as being based on the percentage determined by the government. To the extent that the curriculum from the Department of Religious Affairs is consistent with Muhammadiyah values, we use it. But, if it is not, we do not use it. (Interview with Ustadz Mifta, male teacher in Mu'allimin, 27 September, 2010)

In the Mu'allimaat, with respect to the general subjects we comply with the instructions from the the Department of Religious Affairs, but for local subjects, we design these in accordance with our goals related to Islamic teaching and Muhammadiyah ideology. The curriculum for general subjects is the same from the Department of National Education and the the

Department of Religious Affairs, but religious and local subjects in the Mu'allimaat are in greater part designed by ourselves and are different from other schools. We decide curriculum based on vision, goals of the Mu'allimaat, so this is not decided by any one person. (Interview with Ustadzah Erna, the curriculum coordinator of Mu'allimaat, 29 September, 2011)

Curriculum decisions are based on the culture in Muhammadiyah. Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat is a teacher training school which teaches five basic competencies: science and social science, personal skills, social awareness and Muhammadiyah values and beliefs (Mu'allimin 2009a:12-4). The choosing of the subjects from government curriculum is not only based on government regulations, but also correlates with Muhammadiyah values. In Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, the proportion of religious subjects is more than 30%, because local subjects are a part of the general subjects that each school has the authority to design. As a result, they have the opportunity to manage religious subjects including yellow book and *kemuhammadiyah* (Muhammadiyah as an ideology) as local subjects (Mu'allimin 2008; Mu'allimaat 2009a, 2010e). The combination of curriculum from three sources means the duration of class time is longer than average. The general subjects including mathematics, biology, chemistry and physics are taught at all levels, as well as religious subjects: *hadist*, *fiqh*, *aqidah*, *akhlak*, *Al-Qur'an* (Mu'allimin 2008; Mu'allimaat 2009a, 2010e).

The desire of the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat to accommodate material from all three sources has created a heavy workload for students, with twenty-six subjects at level 3 in MA (*Madrasah Aliyah*/ Islamic senior high school). They also have classes in their dormitory and memorise *Al-Qur'an* (interview with Ridwan, male student in Mu'allimin, 27 September, 2010). Moreover, this curriculum design includes the standard criteria for completion of their study. Students must pass national exams in the sciences, social sciences and religion studies (Mu'allimin 2008; Mu'allimaat 2009a, 2010e).

The design of curriculum and how the yellow book are chosen and taught in the three *pesantren* illustrate how they maintain and embed their tradition and Islamic teaching in *santri* and eventually in their communities. Gender material is not specifically addressed, but teachers have the discretion to incorporate gender issues in their teaching, however this is rare. For example, although Nyai Umda is head of MAI, she does not offer gender subjects, but she develops gender

awareness through the teaching materials for *tafsir*. A similar condition prevails in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, where some of the teachers develop gender awareness through the teaching materials for *fiqh*. Nyai Umda and Ustadzah Misma believe that the interpretation of Islamic teaching with gender values is important to teach in class, without it being written in the curriculum, because they have the authority to maintain subject materials and teaching methods.

But these are unusual teachers using slightly unorthodox methods of drawing attention to the issue of gender in conventional classrooms. In doing so, they subvert the patriarchal norms which are embedded throughout all three *pesantren* to varying degrees. Their aim is to introduce these perspectives covertly without drawing attention to themselves or their endeavours, and in this way to assist *santri* to consider the dynamics of gender in their religious, educational and everyday lives.

### **8.1 Paradox: women's public roles preserve male dominance**

Gendered roles, private and public, become important in the gender patterns, because they are part of the social fabric. In the Javanese tradition, in particular, women are assumed as secondary to their husbands. The construction of gender roles in *pesantren* is not only according to social or familial practices, but also constructed by *kyai* or *nyai* families. The discourse and the representation of the *kyai/nyai* family becomes part of the gender pattern, particularly in *pesantren* associated with NU, where the leader is a figure to whom others show respect and subservience. The gendered roles also construct a symbolic barrier between males and females in the community, and are furthered by the interpretation of Islamic law and local culture. It is inadequate, when discussing gender patterns in *pesantren*, only to examine influences that come from Islamic law, as previously discussed, since the *pesantren* tradition is expanded by the combination of Islamic culture, local culture and Western culture which join together to create the *pesantren* tradition.

In Mu'allimin, the male *fiqh* teacher believes that domestic roles are not exclusively the responsibility of women. He discusses this in class, as explained by Ustadz Asep, senior teacher in Mu'allimin:

Usually, I discuss with students, is it the responsibility of the wife to cook, wash, and iron? Is there anything in Islamic teaching? Are there any verses in the *Al-Qur'an* and *hadist* that say women are responsible for the kitchen, bedroom, and bathroom (*dapur, kasur, sumur*). However, we know that the obligation of the man is to be the provider, but do that which is provided have to be prepared? I have a lot of experience with *kyai*, they say that if you eat, don't forget your wife, if you buy clothes, don't forget to buy for your wife. This means there is no obligation for women to cook. I usually cook, and it is not an embarrassment if I am cooking. The obligation of a wife is to be obedient to her husband, and we must consider the condition of our wife. We understand this issue from more from experience, rather than literature. As a result, Islam does not say that the obligation of a wife is to cook, wash and iron. Cooking and washing are the responsibilities of both husband and wife. (Interview with Ustadz Asep, male teacher in Mu'allimin, 2 October, 2010)

Ustadz Asep explains that in Islamic teaching, domestic roles are the responsibility of both males and females. A male can be more responsible for the domestic sphere than the female if his *kyai* approves. Mu'allimin students however still believe that women should predominantly have domestic roles as Faris, a Mu'allimin student who also has position as a leader of IPM (*Ikatan Pemuda Muhammadiyah/The Association of Muhammadiyah Youth*) explains:

According to me, it is okay that women work outside the home, but she shouldn't forget her personal responsibility as a woman organizes the household. Because, however the time of women is mostly with the family, moreover their kids tend to look to their mother. (Interview with Faris, male student in Mu'allimin, 30 September, 2010)

Faris believes that a mother can work in the public sphere but that she should prioritise her family. In reality, teachers like Ustadz Asep, are not entirely adequate for internalising ideal Islamic values in Mu'allimin students because they do not only learn about yellow book in class, but they also observe the gender roles around them in the Mu'allimin and within their own families, which are still dominated by traditional patriarchal culture where domestic roles are typecast as feminine and public roles as masculine.

The effect of the educational system in Mu'allimin is also felt by Ustadzah Misma, a female teacher in Mu'allimaat, who is conscious of how patriarchal hegemony is embedded in the way of thinking in the Mu'allimin community:

I see my friends from the Mu'allimin; when they have a family, seemingly their authoritarian character that must be serviced. This is very apparent from the stories my friend relate. An example from the Mu'allimaat graduates: one woman married with a man graduated from Mu'allimin, actually she had been

an activist, but after the marriage she lost her activism. I frequently discuss this issue. This also becomes an issue about the gender understanding in teaching processes. I worry, because I see this is how the authoritarian leader is produced. Actually, my husband graduated from Mu'allimin. Because I am often observed by some people, who say to my husband "excuse me, why are you dominated by your wife?" In the beginning of my marriage it was like that. And then, I met with the person who said this to my husband and I asked, "What is about domination? If you see my husband going to market, at the same time I am talking with my son, what are the alternatives? My husband can go to the market at any time, but the opportunities I have to talk to my son is[sic] limited because he lives in the Mu'allimin dormitory." So, the reconstruction of this problem is not simple, because this is the way of thinking. (Interview with Ustadzah Misma, female teacher in Mu'allimaat, 3 October, 2010)

Ustadzah Misma is conscious that the patriarchal values in Mu'allimin are embedded in the students, particularly when they have a family which emphasises a traditional gender division of labour. It is not surprising then that patriarchal values become the main Mu'allimin values because all the teachers and administrative staff are males. There are no female role models and this situation is compounded by everyday life in the society outside the *pesantren* which is also dominated by the patriarchal system.

Moreover, the endogamous marriage pattern in the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat community encourages the preservation of patriarchal and Muhammadiyah traditions that are entrenched in students. Endogamous marriage is common in *pesantren* communities, not only in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, but also in As-sa'idiyyah 2 and Nurul Huda. In Nurul Huda, for example, the founder (Kyai Manan) suggested to his *santri* that they marry among the Nurul Huda community, since they will share a similar belief system, and some of the *ustadz* have wives who graduated from Nurul Huda (interview with Ria, female *santri* in Nurul Huda, 3 November, 2010). The model of endogamous marriages had been conducted by the *pesantren*'s leader in Nurul Huda and As-sa'idiyyah 2: Nyai Ummu and Nyai Umda both married the *santri* of their father's. Their marriages thus perpetuated the long established traditions of their *pesantren*, and so they continue their father's work.

Ustadzah Misma is one of the people who has endeavoured to increase the gender awareness of Mu'allimaat students. She is aware that the system in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat reinforce patriarchal values, and she attempts to develop the critical

thinking of Mu'allimaat students through class materials and pedagogy. She not only teaches *fiqh*, but also stimulates discussion about women's position in Islam, and the women's movement in the Muhammadiyah organisations. She develops curriculum with gender equality through *fiqh* and she criticises the Mu'allimaat policy where it reflects PKS values. Her activities in Aisyiyah are a model for the Mu'allimaat students. As a result, Ustadzah Misma expects her students will recognise the potential roles of women in Islam from her thought and activities (Interview with Ustadzah Misma, female teacher in Mu'allimaat, 3 October, 2010). Mu'allimaat students enjoy being taught by Ustadzah Misma, because she encourages critical thinking, is empathetic, provides advice and is a good role model (interview with Faiza, female student in Mu'allimaat, 4 October, 2010).

However, the teachers in Mu'allimaat are diverse: some of them believe that Mu'allimaat is led by females and that this will have a positive effect on students in relation to women's position in society. Women in Mu'allimaat have good positions, as Ustadzah Unik explains:

They are just seen as workers, many of whom are men. Those who make my drinks are man [sic], the cleaners are men, and the services provided to all teachers here are done by men. As a result, they do not see women in a subordinate position because here the teachers are mostly women, indeed the leader is a woman. In the Mu'allimaat the leader must be a woman. (Interview with Ustadzah Unik, *pamong* and female teacher in Mu'allimaat, 27 September, 2010)

Men in Mu'allimaat are mostly blue collar staff, while females dominate as white collar staff both in authority and numbers, which according to Ustadzah Unik enables the Mu'allimaat students to see that women can have senior positions in institutions. This situation signals the beginning of change where students are aware of ideal gender roles in society. Yet females who have jobs in the public domain still have an obligation to manage their domestic lives, as Ustadzah Erna explains:

We do not have the schedule for regular meetings between the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat staff, because to arrange time for meetings is difficult. Because the Mu'allimin teachers are males, sometimes they have meetings at night. But, at night we look after our homes. The Mu'allimin teachers have many meetings at night and are more flexible with their time. Men do not have to look after their households at night. (Interview with Ustadzah Erna, the curriculum coordinator of Mu'allimaat, 29 September, 2010)

The gendered stereotypes are not changing and women can have double or sometimes triple responsibilities which become a burden; for a woman who has a job in the public domain, she must manage domestic work, the workplace, and the community (community activities are conducted by women such as *pengajian* (Islamic member meeting), *arisan* (the meeting of housewives in a small residence area to credit lottery)).

There is a similar situation in Nurul Huda: *santri* assume that women can have paid employment, but they are also expected to maintain the domestic area, as explained by Azizah:

For me there is no problem with a woman working, provided that she does not forget her obligations to her husband such as cooking and caring for the children. Sometimes, in urban areas, women forget about their children and use a baby sitter. Don't do this, pity the children. But, in these times, women also have opportunity to pursue higher education; this is not an issue, because study is an obligation in Islam. In the colonial era, Kartini fought for women's access to higher education, yet women remain poorly educated. For me, there must be equality between men and women. (Interview with Azizah, female *santri* in Nurul Huda, 5 November, 2010)

Azizah grew up in a Javanese family, where her mother had a job and raised small children. Azizah believes that the ideal woman can manage both public and domestic responsibilities, and can also be well educated. She is an example of a *santri* with experience and knowledge of women's roles ranging from the nuclear family to society and to *pesantren*.

According to Kyai Khoirul, a female can work in the public domain but she must receive permission from her husband to do so (letter from Kyai Khoirul, male leader in Nurul Huda, 19 May, 2011). This level of subservience is also discussed by Nyai Ummu, female leader in Nurul Huda, to her husband when she said she wanted to go to university:

Nyai Ummu: Actually, I want to have a higher education and travel widely, that would be great. Sometimes, I am jealous if I meet a smart person.

Kyai Ibnu: Its best to do what there is as well as possible. What we have in this *pesantren* is enough; we have many *santri* and it is more important to improve the *pesantren's* quality. Don't think about anything else.

Nyai Ummu: okay, many things have to be managed in the *pesantren*.

(Interview with Nyai Ummu, the female leader of Nurul Huda and her husband, Kyai Ibnu, 11 November, 2010)

The responsibility of Nyai Ummu is to manage the female *pesantren*; she only leaves the *pesantren* when she has a meeting, and usually she goes with her husband. As a wife, she is very respectful to her husband; and as a person that grew up in a *pesantren* community with NU tradition, the subservience toward the husband is critical (*sami'na wa atho'na*). Moreover, in Nurul Huda, the tradition of the female is as a figure who assists her husband to maintain the *pesantren*.

It is different in As-sa'diyyah 2, where the female leader also has activities outside including in Muslimat (women wing organisation of NU). The women in Bahrul Ulum (the umbrella organization of As-sa'diyyah 2) have many activities, not only as leaders, but also as political activists, and within social organisations as explained by Kyai Hasan:

Here, the women are active in politics and have successful careers in the national parliament and as Muslimat leaders in Jakarta and East Java. If they are not in politics, they are active in the community and social organisations. It is interesting and has become a pattern I have observed, the daughters of the *kyai* in Bahrul Ulum (*ning*), although they have married outside Jombang, they have become active in politics in Pasuruan, Malang and Yogyakarta. So, the influence of the *Kyai* of Bahrul Ulum *Pesantren* is widespread. At present, some of the grandchildren of Kyai Wahab (the senior *kyai* of Bahrul Ulum) have become community leaders in Jember, Pasuruan and Probolinggo. All of them have positions in *pesantren*; their personalities have made a great impression. (Interview with Kyai Hasan, male leader in As-sa'diyyah 2, 27 November, 2010)

The high mobility of *nyai* in Bahrul Ulum affects some *nyai* in Jombang. Hence, when Nyai Umda went overseas, Kyai Hasan supported her, because he also has a mother who is an activist in the women's organisation in NU and he perceives his mother as an independent woman. However, Nyai Umda's daughter complained about activities outside the *pesantren*, until she became a teenager, when she became proud of her mother as she explains:

When I was toddler, I complained to my mother, she slept with me on the night, but on the morning my mother was not beside me. After I was teenager, it does not matter, I am happy because not many of my friends' mothers are like my mother. I am proud to have my mother travel and even go overseas. (Interview with NingNova, the daughter of Nyai Umda, 27 November, 2010)

Nyai Umda was key to her daughter's future and she offered her a life course which moved away from traditional expectations: she is studying towards a higher degree in Australia. This shows how the *kyai* family is changing as a response to modernisation. Some *santri* in As-sa'idiyyah 2 still recognise Nyai Umda as a housewife figure, who successfully manages her family as well as the institution, and Kyai Hasan as an ideal leader and household head:

It can be said that Nyai Umda has a perfect family. *Ibu* (Nyai Umda) can manage her household, and Kyai Hasan also has responsibilities to the family. Besides, Abah (Kyai Hasan) is a *kyai* who has *pesantren* as well as smart children, and he can lead his family while Ibu is successful as a housewife. (Interview with Wardah, female *santri* in As-sa'idiyyah 2, 3 December, 2010)

Wardah clearly admires men and women who undertake traditional as well as leadership roles. The figure of Nyai Umda as seen by Wardah is a mother and housewife, and the hegemony of gender roles not only provides discourse, but also provides real roles for men and women in society.

## 8.2 Women's leadership: the debatable issue that never ends

Leadership is one of the gendered patterns in *pesantren* that is still a debated issue in the Muslim community in relation to interpreting *Al-Qur'an* (verse An-Nisa': 34).<sup>72</sup> This verse was the justification for males dominating females. For example, when Megawati became the Indonesian presidential candidate in 1999, some of the Islamic parties, including PPP (*Partai Persatuan Pembangunan/United Development Party*) and KAMI (*Partai Kebangkitan Muslim Indonesia/Indonesian Muslim Awakening Party*), disagreed with having a female president based on this verse. PKB (*Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa/Nation Awakening Party*), however encouraged women to stand for president, and joined with PDI-P (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan/Indonesian Democracy Party-Struggle*) to promote Megawati as presidential candidate (Suryakusuma, 2004:145-7). The situation in 1999 showed how Islamic teaching was became made a justification in

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<sup>72</sup>The verse A-Nisa': 34 said *Arrijalu qowwamunna alla nisa bima fadholallohu ba'duhum ala ba'dhin, wa bima anfaku win amwalihim....* Mostly in the *Al-Qur'an* in Indonesia the meaning to verse An-Nisa': 34 is "males are the leaders of females, because the God has blessed males with more than female, and because males spend their wealth on females..." (kaum laki-laki itu adalah pemimpin bagi kaum perempuan, oleh karena Allah telah melebihkan sebagian mereka (laki-laki) atas sebagian yang lain (perempuan), dan karena mereka (laki-laki) telah menafkahkan sebagian dari harta mereka...).

the campaign of presidential candidates, and Islamic teaching was interpreted for political interest.

*Pesantren*, as one of institutions from which Muslim scholars emerge, still have differences about leadership, particularly in relation to providing meaning and interpreting verse An-Nisa':34. Commonly the *kya'*'s opinion becomes the reference point and political intent in local or national elections (Wagiman 1997:105; Dhofier 1999:35; Endang 2005:82; Kholifah 2005:188-9; Karim 2008:157; Srimulyani 2008b:81). Moreover, the *kya'*'s political preferences are followed at grassroots level (Endang 2005:216). Kyai Khoirul, the leader of *salaf pesantren* Nurul Huda, believes that men should ideally lead women, but accepts the idea of a female leader with the same capability:

According to the *sunnatullah* (the law of the God), there are two reasons commonly given as to why men have more responsibilities and lead women: first, because the God had created men superior as desired by God. Second, because of men's superiority, men are the breadwinners. However, God also has desires that are not related, normally to the *sunnatullah*, such as *karomah* (grace, thaumaturgic gift and charisma) that is the amazing thing. So, women president is not a problem, if she is capable and can defeat men. In verse (surah) An-Nisa: 34, the meaning of "more than" can explain this situation, because it does not exclude the possibility that God created a superior woman who can be included as "less than", so this surah has the meaning of majority and minority. (Letter from Kyai Khoirul, the male leader of Nurul Huda, 19 May, 2011)

The leadership issue is never openly discussed in Nurul Huda: in *diniyah salafiyah* classes, the emphasis is on discussion about *fiqh* such as the attitude and behaviour of *santri* to *kyai/nyai*, *ustadz/ustadzah* or parents (Interview with Ustadzah Khiyatul, 7 November, 2010 and Azizah, female *santri*, 5 November, 2010). Kyai Khoirul teaches the *tahfidz* class, but he never discusses the interpretation of *Al-Qur'an*, because *diniyah salafiyah* classes also have a *tafsir* subject. Nurul Huda emphasises that women can only lead women, but men can lead in both the men's and women's community.

In As-sa'idiyyah 2, the concept of leadership is not the only discussion point in class, but also the leadership of Nyai Umda in MAI as a female leadership figure, as well as the response of Bahrul Ulum to the opportunities for and obstacles to women leaders. Moreover, the leadership of Nyai Umda in MAI actually is controversial for other reasons: first, she has a brother who usually replaces the

father and second, MAI is an institution with both males and females which is uncommon in terms of a female leading a male and female community. This is discussed by Ustadzah Riska, female teacher in MAI:

Initially, the leader in MAI was the brother of Nyai Umda, it is inconceivable that a women could be a leader here. But I don't know why, probably *Ibu* has outstanding skills and experience. At that time, Nyai Umda had a conflict with her brother. It was complicated, because one of Nyai Umda's family frequently was absent. (Interview with Ustadzah Riska, female teacher in MAI and As-sa'idiiyyah 2, 2 December, 2010).

As a person who grew up in *pesantren*, Ustadzah Riska has the perception that a female cannot be a leader in a male and female community. According to Nyai Umda, her father, Kyai Nasrullah saw her as a persistent and consistent person, with strong leadership capacities and argued that the meaning of *arrijalu* and *an-nisa* in surah An-Nisa: 34 emphasises character, rather than sex:

My father told me, don't misunderstand the term *arrijalu*. The important thing is resoluteness. My father knew me as a persistent person; I have fought all the way to the capital city. I do everything although I have lots of conflict, and I also had conflict with my father. I read my father's yellow book related to the concept of leadership, but the social structure has persisted. (Interview with Nyai Umda, the female leader of As-sa'idiiyyah 2, 1 December, 2010)

Kyai Nasrullah suggested the meaning of the term *arrijal* refers to masculine character, not males, and *an-nisa'* refers to feminine character, not females. Consequently, either can be a leader, if they have the characteristics of logical thinking, strength, and independence. Hence, the interpretation of the verse An-Nisa: 34, also has become a doctrine by Nyai Umda to develop gender equity in *pesantren* community, as shown by a male *santri* when I asked about the interpretation of this surah:

Nyai Umda always explains that *arrijal* is not only for males, but is more about masculine characteristics; sometimes a female has masculine characteristics that are *arrijal*, sometimes a male has feminine characteristics and is *an-nisa'*. So, a male is not superior, sometimes he has a more subordinate position than a female. Mostly, *salaf* (traditional) *kyai* believe that women are led by men. When Nyai Umda explained this *surah*, my thinking was opened up, in reality there different interpretations. (Interview with Nafis, male *santri* in As-sa'idiiyyah 2, 1 December, 2010)

Others believe that Nyai Umda's perception of Islamic teaching is accurate as Ustadzah Riska (who studied in Cairo) explained:

I understood from *Ibu*, about yellow book and their interpretation, that women do not have to be inferior and leaders do not have to be men. In fact, *Ibu* is also a woman activist. What we see reflected in *Ibu* is true. (Interview with Ustadzah Riska, female teacher in MAI and As-sa'idiyyah 2, 2 December, 2010)

The leadership of Nyai Umda is unusual, particularly in Bahrul Ulum, because her father provided a strong recommendation that she lead MAI. This makes her an agent of change, not only in relation to her position, but to encourage gender equity and women's empowerment with the *kya*'s approval. However, not everyone in Bahrul Ulum agree that women should be leaders. Some argued that whilst women can have public leadership roles, their domestic roles should take precedence as Ustadz Yusuf explains:

I think it does not matter if a woman becomes a leader, as long as she can manage all her responsibilities, including the family. If a woman is in the political area, and then she becomes a leader, she cannot maintain her responsibilities with her family, Like the Javanese saying: "looking for something small, losing something substantial". I think the essential responsibility for women is their family; other matters are optional, if meritorious (*sunnah*). However, some people say that verse An-Nisa': 34 only relates to prayers, in which women cannot become an *imam* (a leader). There is no Islamic teaching that says women can lead men at prayers together. I had been seeking an argument in Islam, because there has been much debate about this. I had been looking for a *hadith*, but until now, I have not found anything, and if I find it, I am not sure how to choose an interpretation. I prefer to choose the opinion that man must lead women. (Interview with Ustadz Yusuf, male teacher in MAN Bahrul Ulum, 4 December, 2010)

Although, he agrees with women becoming leaders, this excludes mixed prayers. Ustadz Yusuf as both teacher and *kya*' has the authority to choose Islamic teaching or the material in yellow book that he considers significant. This situation shows how individual males invest in the patriarchal system.

A similar situation prevails in Mu'allimaat, where female leadership is still a sensitive issue although it is led by a woman. But, the Mu'allimaat community tends to agree that a woman should not lead a mixed gender community, rather that women can only lead women. Hence, the discourse about the ideal female leader in Mu'allimaat is introduced gradually to Mu'allimaat students as Ustadzah Unik explains:

I do not come from a *pesantren*, I grew up in Muhammadiyah from the Youth organisation and am accustomed to being open minded. And then, I worked in a *pesantren* that is identical to insularity, so I must gradually introduce new notions including about women's leadership. Although I have colleagues from the *Majelis Tarjih*, I regularly discuss this issue. But, in principle the person who has the best qualities, male or female, can be a leader. So, I talk with my students along these lines. I have explained to members of the IPM that the leadership concept does distinguish between male and female. It does not mean if you are female, you cannot do anything. The important thing is to play a role in the Muslim community, to lead oneself, and lead other people. (Interview with Ustadzah Unik, *pamong* and female teacher in Mu'allimaat, 27 September, 2010)

The leadership in Mu'allimaat is a model of how women can be leaders, but only in a community of women. Hence, Ustadzah Unik emphasises the capability and quality as characteristics of leadership without citing gender. Mu'allimaat tends to educate and encourage leadership skills of students as asserted by Latifah:

Outside the Mu'allimaat, I often listen to debates about the distinction between male and female, but in the Mu'allimaat we do not compare male and female, but we know a woman also can be a leader, women also have skills. So, in Mu'allimaat, we learn a lot of things that educate our leadership, such as organisation and competition. We are independent; we can lift a table and this is common. (Interview with Latifah, female student in Mu'allimaat, 1 October, 2010)

Latifah believes Mu'allimaat enables female students to become independent personalities who can be leaders. However, the perspective of Mu'allimin students is different. They tend to reject the prospect of women as leaders because Islamic values emphasise men as leaders; and if a woman leads this is caused by the unavailability of a man as Ridwan explains:

In Islam, the leader must be a man; this means women cannot be a leader. Women can be a leader only in emergency conditions. So, when there is a male with the capability and high quality, why should the man not become the leader? I felt disappointed when Megawati was president. (Interview with Ridwan, male *santri* in Mu'allimin, 27 September, 2010)

Similarly, Taufik also asserted that female leaders tend to have more weakness than advantage because of their domestic responsibilities as explained below:

Why in Islam should a woman not be a leader? For example, a woman is a leader of an organisation; she must attend meetings from morning until night. If a woman is a leader, doesnot she think of her obligations to her family, because in her house, she also has responsibilities. Because of her organisation, she does not go home until night; how is this seen by society?

This is not useful. In Islamic values, the prevention of damage is preferred to the pursuit of advantage. (Interview with Taufik, male student in Mu'allimin, 30 September, 2010)

The domination of males in Mu'allimin as leaders, teachers and staff perpetuates masculine culture and values. Muallimin and Mu'allimaat students observe and learn about gender roles through their studies. However, the female students in Mu'allimaat are more conscious of the gender values promoted in both Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat. The gender segregation in these institutions embeds patriarchal values because the Mu'allimaat system is still dominated by these values, represented in the curriculum and the rules, and women who are educated in this environment tend to preserve the patriarchal system.

### 8.3 Polygamy: Demonstrating male power

In this discussion, the term 'polygamy' refers to 'poligyny' (marriages with more than one wife at one time). Polygamy is a significant issue in *pesantren*, and is of great interest to feminist organisations in Indonesia including PUAN Amal Hayati (Muttaqin 2008:113). Mostly, Muslim males use An-Nisa': 3<sup>73</sup> as justification for polygamy and patriarchal values more generally (Muttaqin 2008:35-6), although in the next verse (An-Nisa': 129<sup>74</sup>), God provides a warning related to human desire when conducting polygamy. The understanding should follow both verses, and in other places *Al-Qur'an* emphasises monogamy. Polygamy is one of the patterns of gendered power in the Muslim community and particularly in *pesantren*.

Now relatively common in Islamic society, even before Islam penetrated Indonesia, in the Javanese tradition, *priyayi* had a lot of *selir* (secondary wives) (Blackburn 2004:113). In the Old Order era (1945–1965), Soekarno approved of polygamy and then in the New Order era (1965–1998), the Indonesian Government implemented the 1974 Marriage Law<sup>75</sup> which attempted to limit and discourage

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<sup>73</sup> Verse An-Nisa': 4 has a meaning "Then marry from among (other) women such as are lawful to you [even] two, or three or four of other women who If you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly (with them) then only one."

<sup>74</sup> God says in verse An-Nisa: 129, "You are never able to be fair and just between women even if that were your ardent desire."

<sup>75</sup> In the 1974 Marriage Law (section 3-5), males can conduct polygamy if the court provides permission with the conditions: the wife cannot conduct her obligation as a wife, the wife is disabled or gets sickness that is irremediable, and the wife cannot have a baby. When a husband sends a proposal to the court, he should have standard criteria: the agreement from his wife/wives; the guarantee of the husband as breadwinner by wife/wives and children; the guarantee that husband is able to be fair to his wife/wives and children. But, the agreement from his wife/wives is not necessary for a husband if it is impossible to ask his wife/wives for permission, and she can

polygamy among civil servants (Blackburn 2004:130, 3). But, the implementation of this law still creates inequality between men and women, because of the pressure on women to provide permission for her husband to take other wives (Katjasungkana 1997). In the Reform era (from 1998 onwards), the Indonesian Government still ignored polygamy. Even Megawati (the daughter of Soekarno, Indonesia's first President, who was himself polygamous), closed her eyes to the fact that her own vice-president, Hamzah Haz, had three wives (Blackburn 2004:136). The Indonesian feminist movement's concern about polygamy is related to its results including: economic, sexual, psychological, social, legal law, religious inequality (Blackburn 2004:115), and the resulting repression of women which includes violence (Muttaqin 2008: 112).

In Jombang, polygamy among *kyai* remains a common practice and according to Nyai Umda can be understood in these terms:

Among the Jombang *Pesantren* there are many types of *kyai* family. Some of the wives can have activities outside the *pesantren*, but the husbands marry many women, but this is usual. In some of families, the wife is not given permission to go outside and he does not marry again. But, in others the wife is prohibited from going outside, but the *kyai* marries with many women, all of them residing in one house. In one, the wife is very skinny and manages the *pesantren* from Junior Pre School Play Group until University as well as the *pesantren*'s finance, whether sufficient or not, if insufficient, this wife has to look for more funds. This wife graduated with a Masters degree, while the *Kyai* only has an Undergraduate degree. Both of them are from a *kyai* family, although they have the same position and the equal bargaining position, this is of no influence. He married again with one of his *santri* who he had frequently taught. His only activity is to meet with *pesantren* visitors. This is actually a personal problem. We have discussed among the *nyai*, so we can lessen the *nyai*'s burden. Probably, if the *kyai* had more to do, he would think about polygamy less and be less displeased with his *nyai*. Sometimes, we have discussions about women's reproduction health, including the problem of polygamy. So, we can only minimize this problem. (Interview with Nyai Umda, the female leader of As-sa'idiiyyah 2, 27 November, 2010)

Many *kyai* families show the vulnerability of women's position in patriarchal culture. The reality of polygamy expressed by Nyai Umda is not generated by the position of women as marginalised; women as *nyai* have the capability to maintain

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not become a person to the agreement; or a husband can not find information from his wife more than two years or the others reasons that become considerations by the court.

*pesantren*, and the husband is often less able. Hence, *kyai* want to show that they also have power through polygamy. It is an instrument to demonstrate male power and authority in the *pesantren* community. Blackburn (2004:112) argues further that polygamy is related to the relative power within marriages. This is affirmed by Ning Nova, the daughter of Nyai Umda:

In the Bahrul Ulum, there are a lot of polygamy problems, one *kyai* who has a clever wife and she is cleverer than him, but he engaged in polygamy. Probably, seen from outside the *pesantren* his wife is cleverer, so, polygamy is a distraction. He is only showing off his power, although she is clever, but what can she do when he conducts polygamy? However, the wife manages his *pesantren*. Finally, they divorced, and his *pesantren* was devastated, because during the marriage the wife managed his *pesantren*. (Interview with Ning Nova, the daughter of Nyai Umda, 27 November, 2010)

Polygamy is a way for *kyai* to demonstrate their authority, although some of their wives have considerable administrative skills and play significant roles in the management of the *pesantren*. In this case, Bahrul Ulum has many figures of *nyai* in public, particularly in the political arena, as well as *nyai* having the main roles to maintain and manage the *pesantren*. Hence, polygamy becomes a way of *kyai* countering the growing influence of the women's movement. In Bahrul Ulum, polygamy becomes a complicated problem in the *kyai*'s family, and influences women's psychology, the social economics of the *pesantren* and the processes of teaching and learning.

In contrast, the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat community does not follow polygamy, because the leaders tend to monogamy as clarified by Ustadz Mifta:

In Mu'allimin, the male teachers are not brave enough to engage in polygamy. I observe it is influenced by culture where it is rare that the Muhammadiyah figures conduct polygamy. (Interview with Ustadz Mifta, male teacher in Mu'allimin 20 July, 2010)

This teacher emphasises the Mu'allimin leadership at this time, because the founder, Kyai Dahlan had four wives, and his second wife was from Yogyakarta Palace and was assumed as a present for the Sultan (Widyastuti 2010:8), which Kyai Dahlan could not refuse (interview with Ustadzah Jafnah, the grandchild of Kyai Dahlan, 5 October, 2010).

However, the effect of polygamy not only affects what happens between Kyai Dahlan and his wives, but also when he passed away. Some of his grandchildren

while alive could inherit the family name, but were not publicly acknowledged as they were illegitimate, as Ustadzah Jafnah, one of the grandchildren explains:

Dealing with the emotional problems from polygamist families creates complications in society. It is the family from the first wife that has a special position. Kyai Dahlan said that when we live, we must work hard and don't be jealous. This was his suggestion to his clan, but some of the families still have jealous feeling. We only provide the understanding that until now if we are recognised by society as family of Kyai Dahlan, it is because actually we still manage Muhammadiyah, not only to show off as Kyai Dahlan's family. Moreover, in the last time during the processes of producing Kyai Dahlan's movie, some of the families had a dispute. There was complaint because only Nyai Walidah was showed in his movie, though Kyai Dahlan had other wives. Our family had a conflict because of his movie. (Interview with Ustadzah Jafnah, female teacher in Mu'allimaat and the grandchildren of Kyai Dahlan, 5 October, 2010)

This illustrates that polygamy creates a negative effect on the family, and fairness among the wives is difficult. Islamic teaching and the interpretation of holy texts is utilised to perpetuate polygamy, patriarchal values and provide more advantage for males. The *kyai* is a person who has authority to interpret and embed Islamic teaching that emphasises patriarchal interpretation in the *pesantren* community.

In conclusion, the patterns of gender in the *pesantren* community create triple burdens and a subordinate position for women: domestic work, in the workplace and in the community that are dominated by males with superior positions of power. Women have limited opportunity in the public domain, and whilst accepting the domination of males, may lead in the women's community. Exceptions, like Nyai Umda, are caused by the fact she has family networking with *kyai*, and enjoyed the strong recommendation from her father, Kyai Nasrullah. *Pesantren* curriculum emphasises patriarchal values and these are embedded in *santri* to preserve the patriarchal system. However, women as agents of change like Nyai Umda and Ustadzah Misma utilise three issues – the position of men and women in society, women's leadership, and polygamy – to encourage gender awareness through reinterpretation of Islamic texts that are different from the mainstream interpretations in the *pesantren* community. It means they change the context and substance of the curriculum to convey the message that Islam teaches gender equality, but they do not change the name of subject material in the curriculum.

## Chapter 9

### Muslim Feminists: Agents of Change in *Pesantren*

This chapter argues that *pesantren* have undergone a process of change conducted by change agents through developing gender awareness, although *kyai* and their families still retain power and authority in *pesantren*. The transforming of tradition in *pesantren* as conducted by Muslim feminists is controversial.

In previous research, feminism has been associated with Western liberalism that is assumed irrelevant to Indonesian culture (Sadli 2002; Wieringa 2002:46-7; Blackburn 2004; Brenner 2011:484). This research tends to use the term 'Muslim feminist' rather than 'Islamist feminist'; this is because the developing gender equity in *pesantren* emphasises a reinterpretation of Islamic teaching as a priority of their movement, rather than the political objectives that are common to Islamist feminists. However, the term Muslim feminist is still uncommon in *pesantren*, despite the fact that women conduct women's empowerment classes to develop gender awareness, which is part of the agenda of the feminist movement. But the development of gender equity in *pesantren* is not a movement; it is only conducted by some figures as agents of change. Moreover, women in *pesantren* who develop gender awareness choose not to be conceived of as Muslim feminists. An example is Nyai Umda, a female leader in As-sa'idiiyyah 2. She asserted that she has different characteristics from Muslim feminists in the West like Amina Wadud<sup>76</sup> as she explained below:

I am not like Muslim friends from Western countries who believe that women can be a leader at prayers in mix-gender situations, in this respect, we have different traditions. I think in the West, this is possible. For example, Amina Wadud is a brilliant reciter of the *Al-Qur'an* in the United States; probably she is dissatisfied when she is led by a male in praying. (Interview with Nyai Umda, the female leader of As-sa'idiiyyah 2, 27 November, 2010)

Nyai Umda defines herself and *pesantren* traditions as having different characteristics from Muslims in the Western world, particularly, Muslim feminists.

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<sup>76</sup>Amina Wadud is one of the Muslim Feminists who focus on gender and *Al-Qur'an* studies. She was born in the United State and graduated from the University of Michigan, Cairo University and Al-azhar University in Cairo, Egypt. She is an Associate Professor of Islamic Studies at Virginia Commonwealth University in Richmond, Virginia (Abdel-Halim 2008:119-20).

The *pesantren* tradition emphasises learning Islamic teaching; as a result, male and female are similarly qualified to read *Al-Qur'an*, and mostly males in *pesantren* have more opportunity to learn Islamic teaching. This situation creates and sustains male authority in *pesantren*, and males are assumed to have more capability to lead both male and female prayer. According to Nyai Umda this differs from Western countries, particularly in the United States where Amina Wadud lives, and where not many Muslims have an understanding of Islamic teaching including reading *Al-Qur'an*. Amina Wadud has an Islamic education from Egypt and the United States, and this enabled her to become a prayer leader, despite her sex. Although both Nyai Umda and Amina Wadud have a similar intention to develop women's equality in Muslim society, they have different methods and strategies. Nyai Umda asserts that the *pesantren* has an autonomous identity and unique characteristics that are different from similar institutions in Western countries. Nyai Umda has the characteristics of a Muslim feminist, although she rejects the term.

This chapter will discuss Muslim feminists' motivation, strategies, and the obstacles they face in developing gender equity in *pesantren*. In the three *pesantren* in this research, only one woman leader, Nyai Umda, has the awareness and motivation to struggle for gender equity.

### **9.1 Contextualisation of Islamic teaching and injecting the gender virus: strategies of Muslim feminists in *Pesantren***

Nyai Umda is one of the active Muslim feminists who network with the *kya'i*'s family. Since she was a teenager, Nyai Umda was centrally involved in activities in student organisations in *pesantren* including KPM (*Keluarga Pelajar Madrasah/The family of student in madrasah*) and IPPNU and held leadership positions in both. In 1983, Nyai Umda studied in UIN Sunan Kalijaga in Yogyakarta; here, she studied *tafsir* that gave her greater understanding of male and female positions. Hence, she believes Islamic teachings emphasise gender equality. If gender inequality happens it is because of the interpretation of people who tend to patriarchal values and the culture of society that creates different roles between males and females. As a student in UIN, she was also active in PMII (*Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia/The Indonesian Islamic student's movement*), an independent

organisation where mostly its members have backgrounds from NU, and she became a leader in PMII in Syariah Faculty and as an education coordinator in PMII Yogyakarta. Her education and organisational experience developed the critical thinking of Nyai Umda, particularly gender awareness.

Her involvement with organisations continued after she finished her studies at UIN in 1987; she joined RMI (*Robitho Ma'ahid Al-Islamiyah/ Pesantren* Institute under NU), and at the same time, she was selected vice leader of Fatayat in Jombang. In RMI, Nyai Umda had a position as coordinator of *Unit Pelayanan Pesantren Putri* (Division of Women *Pesantren* Service), and she learned about the *pesantren's* management and developed gender awareness around the women in *pesantren*, particularly *nyai*, as part of a program for this division. The experience of Nyai Umda in RMI developed her awareness about women's position in *pesantren*, and the subordinated and marginalised women's position in *pesantren* culture with regard to polygamy and domestic violence. These situations encouraged Nyai Umda to develop gender awareness and equity, particularly in *pesantren*.

At the same time, 'gender' was a topical issue in Indonesia. RMI conducted seminars about gender issues that invited the *pesantren* community. Her association with Mr. Masdar Farid Mas'udi<sup>77</sup>, an Indonesian Muslim scholar, created an opportunity to acquire in-depth knowledge related to gender issues in Indonesia. She was invited by Mr. Masdar to attend a seminar about the reproductive rights of women, which raised Nyai Umda's awareness of women's rights and position. In the 1990s, she was motivated to focus on Mr. Masdar's program that related to women's empowerment. She also attended the young Muslim scholar cadre's program in Jakarta for eighteen months, led by Kyai Husein<sup>78</sup>, which discussed the contextualisation of yellow book including a gendered understanding.

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<sup>77</sup>Mr. Masdar Farid Mas'udi is one of the Muslims from NU who introduced critical interpretation of yellow texts and he is also a previous director of P3M (Perhimpunan Pengembangan *Pesantren* dan Masyarakat/Union for *Pesantren* and Community Development) that used *pesantren* networking for conducting discussion programs about *fiqh an-nisa'* (women Islamic jurisprudence) with an emphasis on gender values, as well as discussing women's rights, reproductive health and domestic violence (Muttaqin 2008: 73-75; Brenner 2011: 483).

<sup>78</sup>Kyai Husein is a leader of a *pesantren* in Cirebon, West Java, as well as founder and head of Fahmina Institute that is concerned with the develop of gender equity in *pesantren* and the Indonesian community through reinterpretation of yellow texts, empowerment and education in society.

Because of her knowledge and experience, Nyai Umda was frequently invited to seminars about gender issues, particularly related to the contextualisation of yellow book, and she had the spirit to expand gender awareness, especially women's reproductive health, and developed critical thinking toward yellow book including *uqqudduluzain* (the Book of Marriage). In 1997, she was asked by Mr. Masdar to be a speaker at a seminar on women's reproductive health in Morro in the Philippines, and attended an international congress on AIDS in Asia and the Pacific in Manila. Her attendance inspired Nyai Umda to develop women's awareness, as she explained:

After I attended in Mr. Masdar's program, I was interested in women's issues. But, I am not radical like some friends (Indonesian Muslim feminists) who leave their family and do not respect their husband. I am not like that, because, we have a strong religious foundation. I emphasise contextualisation that is enough for me, demolition is unnecessary, because demolition would disrupt the established social structure and we would not be accepted. It is important is to be accepted and encourage males to understand simple issues about gender. And then, the implementation is when our *santri* have families and that they are fine with their families. I am not assertive, I teach only from the contexts of the yellow book. (Interview with Nyai Umda, the female leader of As-sa'idyyah 2, 27 November, 2010)

Nyai Umda reasserts she has a self-identity that is different not only from Muslim feminists in Western countries, as explained earlier, but also from Indonesian feminists and Muslim feminists, such as Prof. Musdah Mulia, lecturer in UIN (*Universitas Islam Negeri*/State Islamic University) Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, who tends to be radical in interpreting and developing women's empowerment; some of her statements even cause controversy in the Indonesian Muslim community. For example, she argued that homosexuality is in the rules that are designed by God and as a result, Islam should accept it; she accepts temporary marriage and marriage with different religions, as well as rejecting polygamy and explaining that marriage is not a part of Islamic teaching (Tunny 2010; PZ, Trib & Hib 2011). She was awarded an International Nobel Women of Courage prize by the United State Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, in Washington on 8 March 2007 (PZ, Trib & Hib 2011). Because of her radical ideas and her award, some Indonesian Muslims see her as an agent of Western thought. However, Musdah Mulia has asserted that her ideas are inspired by former Indonesian president, Abdurrahman Wahid, and she is deeply concerned about humanitarian issues in Indonesia (Tunny 2010).

Nyai Umda believes that the foundation of Islamic teaching in *pesantren* creates differentiation among Muslim feminists within and outside *pesantren*, and also between other feminists in Indonesia. Nyai Umda creates a distinction between her identity and that of feminists outside the *pesantren* who tend toward Western ideology. This seems part of an approach of Nyai Umda in developing gender awareness more covertly, which emphasises the characteristics of the *pesantren* tradition and makes it more straightforward for her to embed gender ideology, as well as minimising conflict and controversy about her position as a leader in MAI; this latter situation is assumed unusual in the *pesantren* tradition because she leads a mixed gender community and she has a brother.

Although, in Bahrul Ulum, a lot of *nyai* have positions as leaders in *pesantren*; as parliamentary members and executives in Islamic organisations, they appear to be symbols of the powerful *kyai* family. However, they do not have strong authority in the *pesantren* because they have a lot of external activities; as a result, *kyai* feel they still have the authority to manage the *pesantren* and educational institutions under the *pesantren*. But, their external positions of authority have changed the perceptions of these women in their own *pesantren* and have shown that women can also have roles in the public sphere and be agents of change. In contrast, Nyai Umda not only leads *pesantren*, but she also teaches and empowers *santri* in her *pesantren* and some educational institutions under Bahrul Ulum. Hence, the thought of Nyai Umda building gender awareness has a strong effect, because she involves herself in all *pesantren* and *santri* activities; she also spends time visiting *santri* houses when *santri* have a problem. Thus Nyai Umda has an in-depth relationship with both her *santri* and their families.

However, according to a *santri* in STAIBU (*Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Agama Islam Bahrul Ulum*/Islamic Institute of Bahrul Ulum), who was taught by Nyai Umda, some *santri* in STAIBU are shocked at the approach of Nyai Umda in interpreting Islamic teaching, as explained by Affan, one of the male *santri*:

Here, only Nyai Umda teaches about gender. The first time, we were taught by Nyai Umda, we were shocked by her approach in interpreting *Al-Qur'an*, in which the texts in *Al-Qur'an* were understood in the contemporary context. I think ideas about gender issues have emerged because woman re over confident about their intellectual powers. In future, this will be a concern when women become more intelligent and convey their knowledge to the common people and destroy their thinking. It will become a doctrine. That women must

be equal with men, this is not an appropriate idea to be announced in public. Gender issues are for people of high intellectual levels, but not for the ordinary people. This means we should be speaking to people according to their intellectual abilities. (Interview with Affan, male *santri* in STAIBU, 2 December, 2010)

The response of Affan toward Nyai Umda seems negative, although he asserted that gender issues emerge from over confidence in women's intelligence. He thinks Nyai Umda's ideas are uncommon in society, particularly in a *pesantren* community, and her thinking is considered by Affan as a threat to the male position in the community. It seems the success of Nyai Umda in promoting gender equity has been limited by the strength of the *pesantren* tradition, in which male leaders have great authority in religion, education, economics and political and domestic spheres. Although, as a *santri*, Affan has a position under Nyai Umda, he is still hostile to the thought of Nyai Umda. As a part of the male community in the *pesantren*, he has an interest in preserving the patriarchal system that is assumed in the *pesantren*, where women have the second position: they should be obedient to men as *kyai*, *ustadz*, grandfather, father, husband and brother. The leadership of Nyai Umda is disruptive to the *pesantren* tradition because of her position as a daughter of senior *kyai* in Bahrul Ulum, as well as having the support of her father. As a result, although she has conflict with her brother and finds negative response from the *pesantren* community, she has been struggling for gender equity in *pesantren* through her teaching methods in interpreting Islamic teaching, and encourages her family and *santri* to pursue higher education including overseas.

Nyai Umda utilises the contextualisation of Islamic teaching to develop women's equality, which means to provide interpretation toward Islamic teaching including yellow book according to these situations in this era. The experience of Nyai Umda in a lot of organisations and her position as an assistant in her father's *pesantren* for over eighteen years provided her with the opportunity to establish As-sa'idiyyah 2 in 2004 that was managed with her husband. She developed a culture of gender equity that still continues and is conducted through her methods and interpretation toward Islamic teaching. She emphasises the contextualisation of Islamic teaching as one of the strategies in developing gender equity, rather than a reconstruction of Islamic teaching. This is because, according to Nyai Umda, reconstruction questions and changes the established social structure in society; as a result the

society, particularly the *pesantren* community, would reject her notion. In addition, Nyai Umda encourages males in *pesantren* to understand gender roles in their everyday lives as one of the ways to develop gender awareness. Nyai Umda makes the effort to extend gender awareness to her *santri* and continually provides the doctrine of gender equity to *santri* as given in her explanation below:

The important thing is to spread the virus about gender to the *santri*. I do this whenever I teach in class. What's important is to provide the doctrine about gender. It is up to them to accept it or not, but the gender virus will be in their thinking. Someday, they will think about this themselves when they have finished their *pesantren* education and they live in society. I hope the gender virus that I embed in the *santri* at this time will exist in their minds forever. (Interview with Nyai Umda, the female leader of As-sa'idiyyah 2, 27 November, 2010)

She is aware that, to the *pesantren* community, gender issues are still associated with feminism, hence she uses the idiom of 'gender as a virus' that seems a subversive idea in the *pesantren* system; she also never uses the term 'gender' in class or in the *pesantren* community. Usually, she refers to gender inequality which is the familiar term used in *pesantren*. For example, she explained to her *santri* that in the household, women should still have a job outside the home, although in Islam men are leaders in the household and have the responsibility as breadwinners. However, according to Nyai Umda, couples should cooperate to contribute to the household economy including domestic work. These explanations are the method and strategy of Nyai Umda in her contextualisation of Islamic teaching. Through contextualisation of Islamic teaching, Nyai Umda expects that gender values will be embedded in *santri*, and they will always consider them, even after graduation.

Furthermore, Nyai Umda stressed that she used other strategies to expand the 'gender virus' in everyday activities:

However, I think perhaps the everyday activities embed gender awareness rather than the doctrine. For example, in *pesantren* ceremony, if female *santri* perform in front of male *santri*; this is uncommon. Sometimes, male *santri* are not confident to perform in the front of female *santri*. I say these boys are like roosters in a school yard (*jago kandang*). At school, I tease the boys that in *pesantren* ceremonies, if it is only the female *santri* who have the confidence to perform, someday males will be marginalized. Usually, if there is a performance by ten *santri*, only two are male *santri*, and always the female *santri* are dominant. I often say, who is called a *kyai* is a man. Sometimes, male *santri* feel proud with a masculine identity, but they do not

want to show their superiority in intellectual fields unless they are pushed, some want to, others are too shy. If girls are given a task they work seriously, but boys are just satisfied being boys. I say to male *santri*, once you have demonstrated your masculinity, so what's next? Actually, this type of man is not the type we look for. In *pesantren* ceremonies, commonly it is the female *santri* who have the responsibilities on the stage including as the MC who speaks English. I tell the female *santri*, this type of man outside the *pesantren*, you don't need to be afraid. I say things to boost the spirit and confidence of the (female) *santri*. There are no protests when I speak like this. (Interview with Nyai Umda, the female leader of As-sa'idiyyah 2, 27 November, 2010)

As a female leader, Nyai Umda has the authority to create opportunities where female *santri* have the chance to demonstrate their capability in mixed gender audiences. This is an uncommon practice in *pesantren* which normally follow a segregation system. The presentation of female *santri* at front of stage is a strategy of Nyai Umda to develop self-confidence and empowerment. Nyai Umda also provides inspiration to male *santri*, but the inspiration emphasises negative labels about male thought and behaviour that reduce their self-confidence. However (according to Nyai Umda), all the people in *pesantren* support her efforts in changing the *pesantren* tradition. She represents the figure of extended family from Kyai Nasrullahin NU tradition: the *kyai* family has a high position so that *santri* should be obedient toward what is said by the *kyai* family. Hence, in MAI, Nyai Umda also has the authority to dismiss male teachers who are seen as incompetent to teach in MAI, and to look for female teachers:

The design of the curriculum in the MAI has been established for a long time, and when national curriculum was developing, we adjusted the teaching materials and developed the competence of teachers. When I looked for competent teachers, I mostly looked for female teachers. In the past, I was the only female teacher; all the other teachers were male. Commonly, the teacher of *nahwu* (Arabic grammar) was a male teacher, but at the moment, I have a female teacher to teach *nahwu* and have dismissed the male teacher. If a male teacher disagrees, I tell him, you are free to resign from the MAI, because I have a female teacher to teach *nahwu* who designed the module for *nahwu*. Meanwhile, the male teacher did not have a module that he had written. Some of the male teachers, I dismissed because they were less active in MAI. (Interview with Nyai Umda, the female leader of As-sa'idiyyah 2, 27 November, 2010)

The female teachers in *pesantren* usually have family networking with *kyai*, and Islamic teaching subjects tend to be taught by male teachers who are assumed to have better Islamic knowledge than females. Hence, no wonder the leadership beginning for Nyai Umda in MAI was controversial and not accepted by some

people in *pesantren*. When Nyai Umda wanted to dismiss one of the male teachers in MAI, because he did not have enough time to teach intensively in MAI, her mother disagreed, and said “Umda, I want him to still teach in MAI, although only once a week because he wants to serve this *pesantren*, and so he can see me every week” (interview with Nyai Zubaidah, 14 September, 2011). Nyai Umda did not dismiss him. This shows the influence of senior *nyai* and illustrates the power and authority of senior figures in *pesantren*, as well as the obedience of juniors or a daughter to her parent. Although, Nyai Umda is an agent of change, she cannot reject the whole *pesantren* tradition because she is also a part of that tradition.

The effort of Nyai Umda to develop gender equity has changed some *pesantren* traditions. She endeavours to educate her *santri* and to realise the dream of her father to generate male and female *santri* as *ulama*. Hence, she has a program to provide scholarships for some *santri* from poor families to study in her *pesantren*, and she expects all her endeavours will create *santri* with social sensitivity.

Another example of a feminist educator can be found in Mu'allimaat Yogyakarta. Ustadzah Misma struggles to develop gender awareness in Muhammadiyah, particularly in Aisyiyah and Mu'allimaat. She develops curriculum in Mu'allimaat that has a foundation of gender equity, as she explains:

From the founding of the Muhammadiyah, it had been apparent that Muhammadiyah did not distinguish between male and female. So, it becomes our foundation to develop curriculum. I understand that a century ago, Muhammadiyah considered that there are not distinctions between male and female. This has become the basis for understanding Islamic teaching and does not emphasise gender differences. So, as a teacher in *fiqh*, I do not explain this is for males, and this is for females. But, I explain these are the texts and these are the contexts as my methods of teaching at the Mu'allimaat are through the subject materials. (Interview with Ustadzah Misma, female teacher in Mu'allimaat, 3 October 2010)

Ustadzah Misma grew up in a Muhammadiyah family from Minangkabau where the people have a strong relationship with the development of Muhammadiyah. She believes Muhammadiyah admit an equality position between male and female and this is because Kyai Dahlan as a Muhammadiyah founder encouraged Aisyiyah and Mu'allimaat to educate young women. The Mu'allimaat was founded in 1920 by Kyai Dahlan to provide education for women during the colonial era. He also founded the Mu'allimin to educate men (Mu'allimaat 2009b:2; Mu'allimin

2009b:3; Ridwan 2010). This shows in the beginning of Muhamadiyah, Kyai Dahlan sought to develop equal opportunities for both male and female students. Mu'allimaat, Aisyiyah and Nasyi'atul Aisyiyah reflect in Muhammadiyah's commitment to support the empowerment of women.

Moreover, Ustadzah Misma is proud of the Kyai Dahlan family, and she has been inspired and learned a lot from them, particularly Ustadzah Jafnah, who is his grandchild, and who is her colleague in Mu'allimaat. The figure of Kyai Dahlan and his wife, Nyai Walidah, inspires Ustadzah Misma to encourage women's empowerment. She has a similar strategy to Nyai Umda in developing gender equity that emphasises the contextualisation of Islamic teaching including *fiqh* that is taught by Ustadzah Misma. She assumes some *fiqh*, particularly *fiqh muammalah*<sup>79</sup> that is commonly related to contemporary issues, is strategic material for developing critical thinking in her students, as related by Ustadzah Misma:

*Fiqh* has two categories: *fiqh ibadah*<sup>80</sup>, and *fiqh muammalah*. In *fiqh ibadah*, there is no flexibility, but in *fiqh muammalah*, we discuss contemporary issues that are become as teaching methods for how the students access the developing of the *Ulama's fatwa*<sup>81</sup> as contemporary *fiqh* that we discuss in class. So, the discussion starts from observable phenomena. I assume *fiqh* is product of human thinking, and I make it simple to teach it. These ways of thinking continue to motivate my students for them to explore *fiqh* as a decision making process in Islamic law, not as the source of Islamic law. It is a processes of making decisions. I tend to explain that Islam is universal. I emphasise that the differences in Islam are related to methodology, not texts, and understanding of texts; some Islamic scholars use different methods, so the product of Islamic law is different. These become the foundation of how Muhammadiyah recognises the position of male and female. (Interview with Ustadzah Misma, female teacher in Mu'allimaat, 3 October 2010)

Ustadzah Misma is of the opinion that *fiqh* becomes an important subject to develop gender awareness in Mu'allimaat students, not only their understanding about the content of *fiqh*, but also the archaeology of *fiqh* that investigates different interpretations of texts in Islamic teaching. Generally, in the Muslim societies, *fiqh* is seen as the source of Islamic law that must be obeyed without critical discussion,

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<sup>79</sup>*Fiqh Muammalah* is a part of Islamic jurisprudence that regulates the relationship among people such as Islamic rules on transaction, Islamic law in banking or other commercial institutions.

<sup>80</sup>*Fiqh Ibadah* emphasises the relationship of people with God, such as praying, fasting.

<sup>81</sup>*Ulama's fatwa* is the result of discussing Islamic scholars related to contemporary issues, such as the law of smoking and money interests in banking.

and some Muslims believe it is taboo to criticise *fiqh*. An examination of the archaeology of *fiqh* becomes a starting point to understand the position of males and females in the Islamic community that are commonly unequal, and that has caused the interpretation of Islamic teaching to be dominated by patriarchal values. Actually, *fiqh* is subject material in the whole *pesantren*, but the teaching method to learn it in each *pesantren* is different. Hence, the teachers in *pesantren* have important roles to explain the position of *fiqh* in Islam. Nyai Umda and Ustadzah Misma concentrate on the problem of gender inequality in Muslim society. Most Muslims, particularly the *pesantren* community, assume that yellow book are like *Al-Qur'an* and therefore there is no need to question the truth of yellow book. However, according to Nyai Umda and Ustadzah Misma, yellow book are products of human thinking that interpret holy texts, and the interpretations of Islamic scholars are influenced by their background of education and society, which determines the construction of yellow book. Both of them are not only concerned about gender equity, but also reinterpreting Islamic teaching so that values of greater gender equality are given a legitimacy in Islamic teaching in order to make these values more readily acceptable in the *pesantren* community. It is this process of promoting change through Islamic teaching that makes this process better understood with the concept of Muslim feminism.

In contrast in Nurul Huda, the teaching methods of *fiqh* emphasise the content of *fiqh*, not the archaeology of *fiqh*. This creates *santri* in Nurul Huda who are more obedient to Islamic teaching, and without critical thinking or gender awareness:

When I taught *hadith* in third class, this is still *hadith* at a basic level such as praying and fasting. We did not discuss women as leaders in the political sphere, and we seldom discuss issues like this. (Interview with Ustadzah Khiyatul, female teacher in Nurul Huda, 7 November, 2010)

According to Ustadzah Khiyatul, the teaching of *fiqh ibadah* based on *hadith* emphasises learning the content of the texts, and *fiqh muammalah* explains the texts; the context is rarely discussed. Sometimes, they understand *fiqh* is something that is followed, like holy texts. The tradition of critical thinking had been developing in Nurul Huda as *salaf pesantren*, particularly in female *santri*, because the *kyai* and *nyai* were believed to have high status in *pesantren*, not only as leaders but also as those who most understand Islamic teaching. As a result, the

teaching of *kyai* and *nyai* is like instruction from a king that should be obeyed, without questioning the truth.

Although Nurul Huda is similar to As-sa'idiyyah 2 that is based on NU, they differ in their approach to culture outside the *pesantren*: As-sa'idiyyah 2 is more open to changing traditions than Nurul Huda. However, Nurul Huda also provides the opportunity for *santri* to study in formal schools outside. The leader of Nurul Huda has developed strong networks with other *salaf pesantren* and Islamic institutes with a similar *salaf* ideology. In contrast, the leader of As-sa'idiyyah 2 has networked not only with the *pesantren* community, but also with progressive Muslim scholars that inspire Nyai Umda in developing gender equity. The *kyai*'s family in As-sa'idiyyah 2 has various educational backgrounds: *pesantren*, Islamic universities/institutes, state university and Western university, that have more influence in making changes to the *pesantren* tradition. The different characteristics of each *pesantren* contribute to these changes including developing gender awareness.

## 9.2 Patriarchy and Islamic purity: the barriers of Muslim Feminism

As female leader, Nyai Umda feels she does not experience obstacles in the *pesantren* community to developing gender equity (interview with Nyai Umda, 29 November, 2010). This is because As-sa'idiyyah 2 is affiliated with the NU in which *kyai* and *nyai* have absolute authority and power in their community. This is in contrast to the situation where *pesantren* are part of the Muhammadiyah. But, when her daughter was studying in Australia, Nyai Umda felt that she encountered much resentment and opposition from within the Bahrul Ulum community, particularly criticism from the *kyai* from *salaf pesantren* and the son of the *kyai*, who is the same age as Nyai Umda. She related:

There are many obstacles faced by people who want to make changes in *pesantren*, particularly from inside the *pesantren*. Many sons of *kyai* who are the same generation as me feel insecure in their positions when the *pesantren* has a person like me. Because, they usually become number one in the *pesantren*, and this is no wonder, because until now they have been commonly educated for speaking on the front stage, becoming a leader and representing *pesantren* everywhere. As a result, if a woman has outstanding quality in *pesantren*, they feel to have a rival. It is not unusual that they attempt to denigrate and will say "what will you want to be, study in a school

that is led by a woman?" This is an effort at character assassination, not only for me, but also for my *santri*. Moreover, when my daughter studied overseas (Australia), one of the *kyai* *salaf* was angry with me and my husband, we were strongly criticized. Finally, we no longer recognised him as a *kyai*. He said: "it is inconceivable to educate your daughter in a Western country where non-Muslims live?" But, in fact, I knew his children were taking French language courses. What's the point? He said it is not permissible to study overseas, yet his children are studying French, which is impossible without his support, because he pays for it. The nice people ask me "what is your secret to have smart and successful children? But, if people do not like me, they tend to make negative comments. If we are successful, people rarely recognise our achievements, regarding it as a coincidence. (Interview with Nyai Umda, the female leader of As-sa'idiiyah 2, 14 September, 2011)

However, the patriarchal system in the Bahrul Ulum community, which serves as an umbrella organisation for a number of *pesantren* in Jombang including As-sa'idiiyah 2, demonstrates the influence of Nyai Umda's leadership, particularly in the MAI, as reflected in the views and experiences of administrative staff and female teachers discussed in the previous chapter. They asserted that the leadership of Nyai Umda in the MAI over the male and female community created conflict in the MAI and in the extended family of Nyai Umda. In their observations, women still have subordinate positions even if they have great capacities. Women are regarded as threats to the dominant position of men in the community. The men, particularly the *kyai*, have an interest in preserving patriarchal culture because it sustains their dominance and privilege. Moreover, a *kyai* in a *salaf pesantren*, with its stronger patriarchal values, retains greater authority than a *kyai* in a *khalaf pesantren*. The *kyai* of *salaf pesantren*, within the Bahrul Ulum community, tends to be critical of Nyai Umda's leadership roles and her gender values.

Some of the *kyai* are aware of the opportunities for further study in Western countries for female graduates of *pesantren*. They fear that Western education will encourage the adoption of gender values that go against Islamic values. This situation is different when females continue their education in the Middle East, as it is assumed that Islamic countries have cultures similar to the *pesantren* tradition; as a result, when these females complete their study they will still preserve *pesantren* tradition including patriarchal values. However, some people who graduated from the Middle East are also agents of change in *pesantren*, but this is assumed as change according to Islamic values. Hence, when the daughter of Nyai Umda has the opportunity to be involved in higher education overseas, some

of the *kyai* feel insecure and make assumptions about Western countries, as non Muslim countries, where it is inappropriate for *pesantren* families to study, which hinders the progress of women in the public sphere and in education, as has happened in the case of Nyai Umda's family. Moreover, negative reaction from the *kyai* in Bahrul Ulum caused the daughter of Nyai Umda to leave her family for a short period, with her husband taking care of her baby, and staying in Jombang.

However, the explanation of Nyai Umda above seems common among other *kyai* family who are also competing for higher education overseas, not only in the Middle East, but also in Western countries that are assumed to have high prestige. The whole situation illustrates that *kyai* in *salaf pesantren* have started to open their minds to Western concepts, although they have not confessed this openly. Moreover, this shows that changes in *pesantren* are also influenced by many cultures: Javanese, Indonesian, Middle Eastern and Western, since learning a foreign language means not only learning another language, but also learning about another culture.

A similar situation prevails for Ustadzah Misma who also has experienced obstacles from the patriarchal system in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat. The system in Mu'allimin is very patriarchal in both values and organisational structure. And although the organisational structure is dominated by females in Mu'allimaat, the value system is still based on patriarchy. For example, Mu'allimaat students are not allowed to leave the dormitories after 17:00 and they are prohibited from wearing long pants outside dormitories. This shows the leadership in Mu'allimaat continues patriarchal values that had been embedded in this institution and this situation also affects Mu'allimin, which does not accept female teachers, but Mu'allimaat accepts males and females as teachers and staff. The different composition of teachers and other staff in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat provided the effect of transferring knowledge related to the interpretation of Islamic teaching and gender values. The wider gender bias in Mu'allimin becomes concern for Ustadzah Misma as her explanation shows:

Whoever I ask why the Mu'allimin does not accept female teachers, there is no one who can give a clear response. I worry this will bias values, and it's a concern. I always suggest this to the Mu'allimin. Because I am active in the Muhammadiyah and the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat is under the Muhammadiyah, I always raise this problem. Why can the Mu'allimin not

provide a clear answer? I think they are arrogant. As a result, their understanding about the differences of male and females influences their decision making. I think they are not honest. For ten years I have discussed this problem. When IPM conducts workshops, I am always asked to be a speaker. Because they know my good thinking and they believe in the success of developing cadre with female teachers who really understand the problem. However, Mu'allimin students do not have female figures. But, actually there is not only this problem, there are many related problems. So, I hope that discussion is the basis of change. When we discuss, there are matters that must be pressed, so that there will be change. If we only write on the blackboard what has to be done, there will be little change. (Interview with Ustadzah Misma, female teacher in Mu'allimaat, 3 October, 2010)

The personnel in Mu'allimin perpetuate the system that is absolutely dominated by males, except for cooking staff. The segregation system is a strong reason for rejecting females as teachers in Mu'allimin, and the leader of Mu'allimin asserted that in the future Mu'allimaat also will have a structure that is "absolutely female" as his explanation illustrates:

According to history, Kyai Dahlan separated Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat in 1934 in the hope that females would be more empowered. As a result, the Mu'allimaat managed itself with females in authority. In my understanding, in future Mu'allimaat is expected to be absolutely female like Mu'allimin is totally male. But, this is a process, I do not know why Mu'allimaat still combines male and female, but in the last 3 or 4 years there has been an effort to have reduced the number of male teachers in the Mu'allimaat. The objective of this endeavour is that there will only be male teachers in the Mu'allimin and females in the Mu'allimaat. For example in the Mu'allimaat at this time, the director and all coordinators are female, while previously there were both males and females. At the moment, Mu'allimaat has changed policy, and this situation has empowered females in the Mu'allimaat. In the future Aisyiyah will have more authority to manage the Mu'allimaat. (Interview with Ustadz Ihwan, the male leader of Mu'allimin, 7 October, 2010)

The organisational structure in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat is still open to debate; Ustadz Ihwan and Ustadzah Misma have different opinions relating to the system in both educational institutions that have one umbrella organisation. The concept of the segregation system in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, as explained by the Mu'allimin leader above, indirectly provides obstacles in developing gender awareness in both *madrasah*. The Mu'allimin leader emphasises the history of Kyai Dahlan who separated Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, which looks like the founder's vision became traditions that should preserve Mu'allimin as absolutely for male community, whereas, vice versa, Mu'allimaat is only for female community. Moreover, he provides meaning that women's empowerment is more effective if

Mu'allimaat is only maintained by females like in Mu'allimin. The perspective of gender tends to be illustrated in symbols that the female has a strategic position in Mu'allimaat, but the system and the way of thinking is still patriarchal. For example, the rules in Mu'allimaat still have a gender bias, and the majority of executive members of the steering committee of both Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat are male, and consequently the policies in both *madrrasah* tend to favour masculine values. Hence, Ustadzah Misma disagrees about maintaining the system in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat that tends to gender bias. However, the policy and curriculum in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat affect each other, because mostly the people in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat have family networks, and tend to follow endogamous marriage patterns.

Furthermore, Muslim feminists in Mu'allimaat face obstacles from other ideologies (PKS<sup>82</sup>) which infiltrate Mu'allimaat, and from some staff and student coordinators associated with PKS. PKS infiltrated Mu'allimaat; this was a similar situation to that found in Nakamura's research (2010:13) in Kota Gedhe, Yogyakarta, which asserted that Muhammadiyah was the main target of PKS and PKS ideology was embedded in all the Muhammadiyah institutions including the youth and student organisations, educational institutions from kindergarten through to university, and Mosque committees.

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<sup>82</sup>PKS was founded in 2003 that replaced PK (*Partai Keadilan/The Justice Party*) that was assumed to have failed to find the threshold requirement as a contestant in the general election 2004, because PK only won 1.4% of the vote in the 1999 legislative election (Shihab & Nugroho 2008:238). In 1999, PK identified itself as a party based on Islam as the ideology and platform of the party and PK did not recognise *Pancasila* (the Indonesian state philosophy) in its program, but PK did also not support the Islamic state explicitly (Diederich 2002 and Waluyo 2005 in Shihab & Nugroho 2008:245). PK did not support a woman as president because it interpreted Islamic teaching that women should not be a leader if it is possible to have a male (Damanik 2002:301). It also encouraged the implementation of *sharia* (Islamic law) on all Muslims and tended to exclusivity in relation to non-Muslims and provided negative stereotypes of Western countries (Shihab & Nugroho 2008:252). According to the secretary and one of the founders of this party, Anis Matta, the spirit and idea of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt affected the building of PK ideology (Furkon 2004:vii-viii) that emphasises establishing an Islamic state through implementation of *sharia* that became a basic doctrinal and campaign message to eradicate corruption, collusion and nepotism (Sebastian 2004:264; Nashir 2007:47; Shihab & Nugroho 2008:238-9, 47; Hefner, Robert W 2009:76). Moreover, another founder of PK, Abdi Sumaithi, asserted that PK does not adopt the notion of Muslim Brotherhood, but applies the thought of it in Indonesia (Rahmat 2008:121). Abu Abdurrahman Al Thailibi (2006) in Nashir (2007:5) stressed that PK is the phenomenon of the emergence of an Islamic ideology movement based on Muslim Brotherhood. Hence, PK is seen as a fundamentalist Islamic party (Sidel 2008: 345), and the PK method to implement Islamic teaching seems a reflection of the movement of Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt (Rinaldo 2008a:1792; Hefner, Robert W 2009:74-5; Muhtadi 2009:639). However, as a new party in Indonesia, PK has followers developed through the groups involved in religious activity in some campuses since the 1980s, called *tarbiyah*, which means education (Nashir 2007:20; Shihab & Nugroho 2008:238; Hefner, Robert W 2009:75). In 2004, the accepting of a woman president was a compromise in Indonesian politics; as a result, based on political considerations, PKS changed its ideology and Anis Matta asserted that men or women have equal position in the constitution (Damanik 2002:303).

In 2004, PKS dominated Mu'allimaat in Yogyakarta and some of the educational institutions under Muhammadiyah including UAD (interview with Ustadzah Fitri, *musrifah* in Mu'allimaat Yogyakarta, 29 September, 2010). This infiltration has affected the curriculum and rules in Mu'allimaat which reflect PKS ideology about clothing and the process of educating the Muhammadiyah cadre in the Mu'allimaat. This situation shows that the patriarchy values not only remain strong in this institution, but are also changing with the influence of the PKS ideology. In Mu'allimaat, there is reluctance to invite some figures from Muhammadiyah, whereas Mu'allimin emphasises Muhammadiyah figures, embedding Muhammadiyah values in Mu'allimin students, as explained by Fitri, *musrifah* in Mu'allimaat:

In the case of inviting Mr. Syafi'i Ma'arif, who is famous as a liberal, it is easier for Mu'allimin as he is a graduate. As a result, Mu'allimin students have an image of the thinking of someone recognised as a liberal. The graduates of the Mu'allimaat also want to invite Mr. Safi'i, because we want to have similar knowledge. But, he is a liberal, he can not come here. The people in Mu'allimaat seem to make distinction, because he is liberal, so he can not come! The situation in Mu'allimaat is like this. Commonly, in the processes of cadre development we invite some people from Aisyiyah, only local figures. (Interview with Ustadzah Fitri, *musrifah* in Mu'allimaat, 27 September, 2010)

Ustadzah Fitri is of the view that the executive in Mu'allimaat tends to place limitations on their students, creating networks with people assumed to have Western ideology like Mr. Syafi'i Ma'arif. He was a former leader in Muhammadiyah and also graduated from Ohio State University and Chicago University (Ridwan 2010). It seems the executive in Mu'allimaat is very selective in inviting figures outside Mu'allimaat, even figures from Muhammadiyah. According to Ustadzah Fitri, this is because some of the persons in Mu'allimaat who are associated with PKS have strategic positions that have an effect on policy in Mu'allimaat.

This becomes an object for critical inquiry for some students in Mu'allimaat. While they study in an educational institution under Muhammadiyah they do not feel like a Muhammadiyah cadre. As a result, the Muhammadiyah values are less embedded in Mu'allimaat students, and PKS ideology dominates the Mu'allimaat system. Moreover, in the legislative election in 2004, mostly students in Mu'allimaat followed the political affiliation of the *pamong*: if the *pamong* was associated with PKS, the students chose PKS and if the *pamong* was associated with PAN (*Partai*

*Amanat Nasional*/The National Mandate Party), the students chose PAN (interview with Ustadzah Jafnah, female teacher in Mu'allimaat, 5 October, 2010).

PKS has tried many strategies to realise its purpose in the political sphere, and the effect of PKS cultivating votes in the legislative election was more influential in Muhammadiyah than in NU. This is because NU followers are more fanatical and obedient toward *kyai* (assumed as charismatic figures) than Muhammadiyah members, as well as the NU ideology that emphasises traditional values that are different from PKS ideology which favours Islamic reformist thought that is similar to Muhammadiyah. Hence, when the central executive of Muhammadiyah found out about the infiltration of PKS into some institutions under the Muhammadiyah umbrella, they provided an ambiguous response. A grandchild of the Muhammadiyah founder, Ustadzah Jafnah, relates:

The central executive of Muhammadiyah was shocked by the dominance of PKS in the legislative election in 2004, but this was only a matter of discussion, because they also have different factions. Some of them considered PKS good organisation; it is okay if Muhammadiyah joins with PKS. But, others asserted we had our own identity, why would we use another identity? (Interview with Ustadzah Jafnah, female teacher in Mu'allimaat, 5 October, 2010)

The ideology of both organisations, Muhammadiyah and PKS, is still dominated by patriarchal values. Founder of Muhammadiyah Kyai Dahlan and figures in Muhammadiyah have been influenced by the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. The latter also has had an effect on PKS. Moreover, as Islamic conservatives, PKS tend to confront the Muslim feminist movement because they view these feminists as Islamic liberals (Brenner 2011: 485); this means PKS has a different school of thought from Muslim feminists, particularly in relation to gender issues and equality. PKS still accepts the concept of gender equity as emphasised in the texts written in *Al-Qur'an*, while Muslim feminists mostly attempt to reinterpret the holy text, while some even try to reconstruct the holy text.

The Muhammadiyah established Aisyyah and Nasyiatul Aisyyah as its women's organisations that encouraged women's empowerment and the Mu'allimaat as a part of its education organisations sector, promoting greater equality of opportunity for female students. Since the 1990s, both organisations have been concerned with gender issues, for example, the empowerment of women workers in

Yogyakarta's health education program, when Muhammadiyah was unaware of this issue (Baried 1986:152-3; Syamsiyatun 2007:89). However, the movement of Aisyiyah was controlled by Muhammadiyah figures dominated by men (It 2005:287) because Aisyiyah is not an independent women's organisation (Baried 1986: 147). Muhammadiyah started to open up to gender issues in 1995, when the head of Majelis Tarjih (Council of Religious Opinion), Mr. M. Amin Abdullah, recruited persons from both Aisyiyah and Nasyyatul Aisyiyah as a strategy to encourage women's empowerment, but some of Muhammadiyah's executive members rejected this agenda (Doorn-Harder 2006:11; Syamsiyatun 2007:89-90). These situations show Muhammadiyah has various ideologies that are different between Muhammadiyah and the women's organisations in Muhammadiyah, as well as among and within its divisions. The executive and official members of Muhammadiyah are male dominated and perpetuate patriarchal culture, while women in Aisyiyah and Nasyyatul Aisyiyah focus on gender issues. Consequently, both patriarchal and gender equity values are debatable in Muhammadiyah for different stakeholders. Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat have various competing ideologies that embed patriarchal and gendered values. The type of organisation and leadership in Muhammadiyah emphasises professional criteria; and the figure of *kyai* is not like in NU, that has strong power and authority. This contributes to an overall effect of PKS infiltration in Muhammadiyah, which is still debated by its members: some encourage this infiltration and others reject it.

However, some local executives of Muhammadiyah in Kotagede, Yogyakarta fought against the PKS infiltration through an article in *Brosur Lebaran* (the brochure of Islamic celebration after Ramadhan month) in 2006 with the heading: "It's time no longer to remain silent!" as an expression of displeasure toward PKS that creates huge damage in Muhammadiyah, and this seems to be succeeding in eliminating PKS from Muhammadiyah (Nakamura 2010:19-20). According to the former chairman of local Muhammadiyah, Yatiman Syafi'i, who was interviewed by Nakamura in 2007, "PKS just used the Muhammadiyah's facilities and resources for its own political purposes", which is different from other Muhammadiyah members who associated with PAN, PPP, PDI-P and Golkar, which did not exploit Muhammadiyah (Nakamura 2010:19-20). A similar situation prevails in UAD in Yogyakarta, where staff who had an affiliation with PKS were released; as a result the authentic Muhammadiyah ideology is still embedded in UAD as a university

under Muhammadiyah. But, these actions by local executives of Muhammadiyah in Kotagede and UAD in Yogyakarta were not followed by Mu'allimaat in Yogyakarta that still maintains some of the people who were associated with PKS; even in 2007, according to one of the *musrifah*, Ustadzah Fitri, Mu'allimaat was dominated by PKS (interview with Ustadzah Fitri, 29 September, 2010). However, these approaches to rejecting PKS ideology seems to have had an effect on PKS people who work in Mu'allimaat, and they are more covertly embedding their ideology. These situations reflect that PKS as an Islamic political party still holds Islamic ideology that was inspired by the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, and it attempts to embed this ideology at grassroots level in Indonesian Muslim and Islamic organisations, including Muhammadiyah, to cultivate votes in the legislative election.

In 2008, PKS started nominating female cadre as candidates in several local elections and it had some women in parliament, although it did not have explicit gender patterns (Rinaldo 2008a:1793; Shihab & Nugroho 2008:252). However, women in PKS assert that, based on *Al-Qur'an* texts, males and females are naturally different; hence they have different roles. They believe Islamic teaching emphasises women in the domestic sphere, although it also permits the public sphere including the political arena; they also stress that the spirit of Muslim Brotherhood influences both male and female roles in PKS (Rinaldo 2008a:1788-9, 93). The founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hassan Al Banna, stressed the segregation between males and females in educational institutions, private meetings and a "campaign against ostentation [sic] in dress and loose behaviour" (Wendell 1978:126). Thus it seems PKS wants to employ Egyptian culture that assumes representation of Islamic values which emphasise women's roles in the domestic sphere and men's roles in the public sphere; this means women have a subordinate position and men have strong authority and position in family and society.

In Mu'allimaat, some PKS members attempt to embed the gender ideology of PKS as an Islamic movement that is assumed to be related to Islamic teaching, and they emphasise a complete understanding of Islamic teaching, but they tend to understand it as textual, not contextual, which means that Islamic teaching, particularly *Al-Qur'an* and *hadith*, was understood by the meaning of the texts

without the archaeology of texts. This situation is a barrier to embedding Muhammadiyah ideology and the gender awareness that is developed by women in Aisyiyah like Ustadzah Misma. She feels like a marginalised person in Mu'allimaat, and her notions are assumed irrelevant (interview with Ustadzah Misma, 3 October, 2010). Although, she has a strategic position in Aisyiyah and Muhammadiyah, she does not have the authority to influence the policy in Mu'allimaat. This is because the control by those who are affiliated with PKS ideology is still dominant, and this situation also affects the ambiguous response from the central executive of Muhammadiyah, as previously explained by Ustadzah Jafnah.

The characteristic of Muhammadiyah that accentuates professional leadership possibly leads to differing opinions among members, including those related to the infiltration of PKS ideology. The ambiguous response in the central executive of Muhammadiyah provides an opportunity for those in PKS to penetrate their ideology into Muhammadiyah, and Mu'allimaat is one of the Muhammadiyah institutions affected by this situation. Muhammadiyah and PKS have similar characteristics in that they are both Islamic reformist organisations, which is why some people seem to accept PKS ideology in Muhammadiyah. But, some of the literature related to Muhammadiyah and PKS, written by some figures in Muhammadiyah, asserted that Muhammadiyah has a different ideology from PKS, since PKS has a political ideology to establish an Islamic state that is different from Muhammadiyah as a social organisation in Indonesia since the Dutch colonial era; and Muhammadiyah as an independent organisation does not accept the ideology of organisations that use Muhammadiyah for political purposes (Nashir 2007:44-51; Asy'ari 2009). This is why some people in Muhammadiyah reject the infiltration of PKS ideology.

Moreover, the infiltration of PKS has an effect on building gender awareness in the Muhammadiyah cadre, which is commonly conducted by Aisyiyah as the women's organisation under Muhammadiyah. Ustadzah Misma, as one of the executive members of Aisyiyah, has been struggling to develop gender awareness in Mu'allimaat. Ustadzah Fitri, *musrifah* in Mu'allimaat, asserted that Ustadzah Misma receives less encouragement from Muhammadiyah people. This is because some people in Mu'allimaat are less aware about developing gender equity and the

infiltration of the PKS in organisational structure of the Mu'allimaat further limits the possibility for changing gender values, as explained by Ustadzah Fitri below:

Ustadzah Misma has been struggling like before, but she does not have friends. While, the Muhammadiyah people in the Mu'allimaat are getting old, as a result they only teach in class. Only small numbers of the young male and female teachers have a background in the Muhammadiyah, and they are part of the organisational structure in Mu'allimaat, hence they can not do many things. The people in Mu'allimin also can not do much as the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat form one foundation under the Muhammadiyah, but are managed differently and separately. The director of Mu'allimaat is less cooperative with Mu'allimin, she is like a puppet. The Mu'allimaat students recognise that and Mu'allimin people agree. We also have an alumni network, but it is difficult to involve themselves the Mu'allimaat, but the Mu'allimin alumni can participate in some activities in Mu'allimin, so they can do something in the Mu'allimin. (Interview with Ustadzah Fitri, *musrifah* in Mu'allimaat, 1 October, 2010)

The effect of PKS ideology not only provides a barrier to Ustadzah Misma as a Muslim feminist, but also as an Aisiyah executive. According to Ustadzah Fitri, Ustadzah Misma faces limitations in embedding Aisiyah ideology that has an agenda to empower women in Muhammadiyah; even some persons in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat who are actually part of the Muhammadiyah cadre do not support her. Organic solidarity tends to happen within institutions under Muhammadiyah and within Mu'allimaat; as a result, PKS is not assumed to be the common enemy that endangers Muhammadiyah ideology. The explanation of Ustadzah Fitri reflects personal and group interests that prevail in this institution rather than organisational interests, which become Muhammadiyah ideology, including Aisiyah, as the common consciousness of its members. This situation is also felt by Mu'allimaat students who believe that Mu'allimaat does not reflect as a cadre school of Muhammadiyah. They think that the changing of some of the rules and the system in Mu'allimaat including clothing rules, the processes in building the Muhammadiyah cadre and the limitation in student activities are caused by the policy in Mu'allimaat that is dominated by those associated with PKS (informal discussion with Mu'allimaat students, 1 October, 2010).

Furthermore, in 2011 Ustadzah Fitri asserted that PKS is more dominant in Mu'allimaat, and some of the *musrifah* (herself included) have resigned from Mu'allimaat. Ustadzah Fitri is one of the *musrifah* who has the spirit to support gender awareness and critical thinking in Mu'allimaat students. Ustadzah Fitri

explained that she resigned because she has a responsibility to finishing her study in UAD; but she also asserted that *musrifah* are under huge pressure and their responsibilities in the dormitories are ambiguous; they do not accept obvious rules from the *madrasah*, but they have a lot of rules and responsibilities that must be conducted relate to their attitudes, and clothing that are based on PKS ideology (interview with Ustadzah Fitri, 18 September, 2011). For example, *musrifah* should wear long veils and robes, and they must maintain a good attitude within and outside dormitories. Ustadzah Fitri is of the view that these situations create some *musrifah* dissatisfaction, because some of the rules, particularly related to attitude are indefinite, and they are only based on likes and dislikes of the student coordinator in Mu'allimaat who is associated with PKS.

Furthermore, some PKS members currently have meetings in the Mu'allimaat dormitory that are led by Ustadzah Rita, as explained by Ustadzah Fitri:

At the moment, the condition in Mu'allimaat is more complicated as it seems the organisational structure is more dominated by PKS people, but they are not outspoken because they are fearful of recognition. Moreover, some of the new *musrifah* come from the PKS. Ustadzah Rita has moved into new dormitory of Mu'allimaat; I frequently pass her dormitory, and I often see some of the PKS members meeting with her husband in her dormitory. Probably, Ustadzah Rita is influenced by her husband who does not come from Mu'allimin, but he is a fanatical follower of the PKS, who was expelled from the UAD. And then, they moved into the Mu'allimaat, so I have negative feelings about them. Some of *ustadzah* in Mu'allimaat said that they were not against Ustadzah Rita, although she does not agree with Muhammadiyah, she does not endanger the Muhammadiyah. But, her husband is very opposed to Muhammadiyah. However, the husband has strong influence on the wife; Ustadzah Rita is not a PKS follower, but her husband is a PKS member, and he effects Ustadzah Rita. For example: in the past, IPM conducted a demonstration about Palestina in 2009, Mu'allimaat students in the dormitory led by Ustadzah Rita did not get permission to attend it. But, in fact, Ustadzah Rita followed the demonstration conducted by PKS, not that of the Muhammadiyah. The *ustadzah* in the Mu'allimaat knew about this. (Interview with Ustadzah Fitri, the former *musrifah* in Mu'allimaat, 18 September, 2011)

PKS seems to utilise Mu'allimaat as an educational institution for embedding PKS ideology and educating PKS cadre plus the function of Mu'allimaat as a cadre school of Muhammadiyah is diminished. Besides, the infiltration by PKS in Mu'allimaat creates an ambiguity in Muhammadiyah's identity, since people who have graduated from Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat are assumed as Muhammadiyah cadre, but some of them also have a position as PKS cadres.

According to Ustadzah Fitri, several Mu'allimaat teachers do not recognise Ustadzah Rita as a PKS member because she is Mu'allimaat alumni; if the ideology of PKS is embedded in Ustadzah Rita, this is more than likely caused by her husband as a follower of PKS who has strong power. These strategies of PKS to develop power at grassroots level are very effective because they use people within Muhammadiyah, particularly females; as a result, PKS has not only changed Muhammadiyah ideology, but has also created obstacles for Muslim feminists. It would seem that the agents of change within Mu'allimaat are not only Muslim feminists, but also Muslim puritans, based on PKS ideology.

The whole situation relating to the obstacles faced by Muslim feminists in As-sa'idiyyah 2 and Mu'allimaat is not only about the conflict of notions between Islamic and/or Indonesian culture and Western culture, but also within the Islamic community. Huntington's notion (1998:217-8) that asserted a dichotomy between Islam and the West toward dominant ideology is not completely addressed in this research, which is also looking at the conflict between ideological notions within the Muslim community. People who are comfortable with the status quo to use Western stigma that are assumed to be secularism and irreligiosity, as explained by Huntington (1998:213), for rejecting Muslim feminist's notions; also they tend to label Muslim feminists as Western agents. Meanwhile, Muslim feminists emphasise that the obstacles they encounter are conflicts within Muslim society. On the other hand, this situation reflects the interests within the Muslim community, particularly in *pesantren*, in which each figure is obsessed with embedding and perpetuating dominant ideology in the *pesantren*. This means that the struggle of Islamic progressives like Nyai Umda and Ustadzah Misma encounter barriers from conservative persons within their organisation or community who defend the *pesantren* tradition. Even Mu'allimaat face obstacles from PKS ideology that is different from Muhammadiyah. The various ideologies within the Muslim community emerge and clash as part of the effort to find superior power in this community.

### **9.3 Muslim feminists as inspirational figures for *santri***

Although Muslim feminists in Mu'allimaat, like Ustadzah Misma, experience barriers within the Mu'allimaat community, her figure provides inspiration for

Mu'allimaat students. This is because she always encourages Mu'allimaat students to build on critical thinking and gender perspectives as explained by Fitri, *musrifah* in Mu'allimaat:

We have one favorite teacher, like the loved teacher, her name is Ummi Misma. She is the inspiring figure for Mu'allimaat students, because she is a woman who has many activities everywhere including in the Aisyiyah and other divisions of Muhammadiyah. She often talks about Aisyiyah activities, and she has good ideas. She teaches with a discussion method, and the subject of discussion depends on the students. She always provides space to talk about gender equality, about the true positions male and female in Islam. Although, almost all the Mu'allimaat teachers are females, their views are similar and see women as mother figures in a household, and they teach with old teaching methods, they only explain and write about the subject material without motivation. While, Ummi Misma is the inspiring figure. (Interview with Fitri, *musrifah* in Mu'allimaat, 27 September, 2010)

Ustadzah Misma is assumed, by Ustadzah Fitri, an ideal teacher that has a lot of experience in Aisyiyah and Muhammadiyah that is communicated to Mu'allimaat students; as a result, the soul and ideology of Muhammadiyah is as a reformist organisation, based on modern values, which are embedded in Mu'allimaat students as a Muhammadiyah cadre; as well, Ustadzah Misma develops gender awareness with discussion that encourages *santri* to think critically.

Moreover, according to Ustadzah Fitri, the style of Ustadzah Misma is different from other teachers, who are still dominated by masculine values and traditional teaching methods. Some of the Mu'allimaat students assert that mostly teachers only teach in class without providing a spirit or Muhammadiyah values, though they also require the soul of Muhammadiyah in teaching learning that exemplifies Mu'allimaat as a cadre school of Muhammadiyah (informal discussion with Mu'allimaat students, 1 October, 2010).

However, there are only a few figures like Ustadzah Misma, and numerous obstacles toward Muslim feminists create Mu'allimaat students who are more critical and aware of gender bias. Mu'allimaat students feel different from Mu'allimin in the system of cadre and school, as asserted by female student, Faiza, who is also an activist in IPM:

I am not crying, but I feel only shame. I said to Mr. Ihwan (male leader in Mu'allimaat), "why are Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat so very different including the cadre system and school system?" I feel very different, the Mu'allimin is

very liberated. (Interview with Faiza, female student in Mu'allimaat, 1 October, 2010)

Actually, Faiza is very disappointed with the system in Mu'allimaat; as an activist in IPM she understands the cadre system in Mu'allimin, and she wants a similar system in which Mu'allimaat students also have the opportunity to invite persons from the central executive of Muhammadiyah, like Safi'i Ma'arif or Amien Rais. In the opinion of Faiza, this is very important in building the character of the Muhammadiyah cadre. Likewise, the school system in Mu'allimaat, including the rules in school and dormitories, is very different from Mu'allimin; as a result, Mu'allimaat students have limitations in accessing information and following competitions outside the *pesantren* as a part of developing their knowledge. Hence, based on the overall conditions in Mu'allimaat, no wonder Ustadzah Misma becomes an inspirational and popular figure.

A similar condition prevails with Nyai Umda in As-sa'idiyyah 2; some of her *santri* replicate her ideas, particularly those related to Islamic teaching from a gender perspective as explained by Nafis, male *santri* in this *pesantren*:

At the moment, many female *santri* imitate Nyai Umda in explaining their ideas. Some of the male *santri* also have similar ideas, they have extensive ideas that are not focused on one issue but numerous issues related to males' and females' positions. (Interview with Nafis, male *santri* in As-sa'idiyyah 2, and a leader of student's organisation in MAI, 1 December, 2010)

Nafis is of the view that to develop gender equity through contextualisation of Islamic teaching influences the way of thinking as Nyai Umda's *santri* demonstrate when they explain the problem from numerous viewpoints. However, not all *santri* accept her notions; some of them, particularly male *santri*, disagree with this contextualisation of Islamic teaching as asserted by Nafis below:

But, sometimes, male *santri* reject Nyai Umda's ideas, why does Nyai Umda have the way of thinking like this? This is wrong. When Nyai Umda interpretes *arijallu qowwamu ala nisa'* (An-Nisa: 34), they ask why does Nyai Umda struggle to explain like this? This verse absolutely explains why man is superior, for example husband and wife, where the wife must give obedience to her husband. If her husband conducts domestic violence or tends to be authoritarian, the wife does not have the right to express herself; hence, the wife must not challenge his position. The important thing is male must have the high position and authority. I have similar ideas with them, but women can go outside with restriction. Although men have power, they

should be not arbitrary. I hope only Nyai Umda has notions like that. If other people have the way of thinking like her, it does not matter. But, in here it is only Nyai Umda who has the notion like that; some of the male *santri* reject her thought. If most of the *ustadz* are like Nyai Umda, probably most male *santri* would not like it. So, I think only Nyai Umda has ideas like that, I do not hope other persons do. It is conditional; it does not mean that we do not want this, because, through Nyai Umda, we also have a broader way of thinking. (Interview with Nafis, male *santri* in As-sa'idiyyah 2, and a leader of student's organisation in MAI, 1 December, 2010)

Nafis explained that most male *santri* still believe in the traditional interpretation of Islamic teaching, particularly verse An-Nisa: 34, which assert the male as leader, so it is not necessary to reinterpret it. This seems like a male *santri* attempt to reject the reinterpretation of Islamic teaching that influences their position in society, where males commonly have power that is based on culture and religious values. Male *santri* are aware of the implications of the contextualisation of Islamic teaching, particularly in some of the Islamic values that preserve the patriarchal system, which threatens their status quo in society. But, According to Huda, the disagreement of male *santri* is not revealed to Nyai Umda, because as a *santri* they should show respect and obedience towards a *pesantren* leader, as well as teachers. Hence, in the classroom when they disagree with Nyai Umda's notions, they tend to keep quiet. Commonly, when this situation happens, Nyai Umda asserts her idea and asks *santri*'s opinions, and they say "yes, we agree". These attitudes of *santri* are a part of a tradition in *pesantren* that emphasises embedding the values of *sami'na waatho'na* (we listen and we are obedient) toward *santri*. Hence, no wonder Nyai Umda feels she does not find obstacles in *pesantren* in building gender equity, because she has a particular position as *nyai* (female leader) and the daughter of *kyai* that becomes social capital, enabling her to effect change in the *pesantren*. In this case, the patriarchal system has two sides that have different functions: it provides a positive effect that becomes a safe position for a *pesantren* leader to change the tradition, including building gender equity. However, it also has a negative effect as a barrier for Muslim feminists who are assumed, mostly by *kyai*, irrelevant to *pesantren* tradition.

Furthermore, some of the female *santri* also feel the teaching method of Nyai Umda in developing gender awareness is like in university. Hence, sometimes they do not understand the explanations of Nyai Umda as asserted by Zulva, female *santri* and student in MAI:

Nyai Umda teaches *santri* like in university; her teaching methods and language are of a high level. Sometimes, I am confused. But, from Nyai Umda, we know what happens outside *pesantren* that we never knew before, such as temporary contract marriages, violence against women in families. (Interview with Zulva, female *santri* and administrative staff in As-sa'idiyyah 2, 3 December, 2010)

According to Zulva, in MAI class, Nyai Umda sometimes uses terms assumed by her *santri* as high level language, such as logical thinking and contexts in understanding Islamic teaching. Actually, Nyai Umda wants to educate *santri* in reinterpreting Islamic teaching with an investigation of contexts from texts of Islamic teaching, in which Foucault's concept is known as the archaeology of knowledge. However, Nyai Umda also provides enlightenment toward *santri* relating to information or issues outside *pesantren* including gender issues. These are very helpful in expanding the *santri*'s knowledge that tends to be limited to their lives and activities only in *pesantren* with little opportunity for accessing information outside the *pesantren*. Sometimes, the conditions in As-sa'idiyyah 2 that has a leader like Nyai Umda creates *santri*, particularly female *santri*, and makes them less aware and critical toward social problems in *pesantren*, because they have a safe position in a *pesantren* in which Nyai Umda seems to provide more support to female *santri*.

But, other female *santri* who study in As-sa'idiyyah 1 (the *pesantren* that was founded by the father of Nyai Umda) explained that Nyai Umda teaches yellow book that relate to cases in everyday life as explained by Fadillah:

Nyai Umda teaches *tafsir* Tibian that discusses about women and was written by her father. She explains this yellow text through cases in everyday lives, so this is more real and clearer. (Interview with Fadillah, female *santri* in As-sa'idiyyah 1 and student in MAN, 4 December, 2010)

Fadillah is of the view that contextualisation of Islamic teaching tends to become the emphasis of Nyai Umda in interpreting yellow book; as a result, *santri* understand Islamic teaching, not only as from a textbook, but also contextually as it actually happens in real life. This method encourages *santri* to better understand Islamic teaching as well as leading to fewer gaps between the message and implementation of Islamic teaching, because *santri* also learn about the archaeology of knowledge from Islamic teaching. In developing gender equity Nyai Umda seems inspired by her father, who wrote yellow book that were related to

women's issues in the Islamic community, and she continues to teach this to her *santri*.

In contrast, Nurul Huda does not have figures in building gender equity; as a result, the rules and facilities in the *pesantren* provide more opportunities for male *santri*, and female *santri* have a marginal position. This situation creates female *santri* in Nurul Huda who are more critical toward the *pesantren*'s problem and their gendered position. For example, female *santri* (among themselves) discuss the different dormitories and facilities of the male *santri* that are better than those offered to female *santri*; as well, the teachers in the male bilingual class are more qualified and they feel these conditions are unfair. But, they never complain to administrative staff, teachers or the *pesantren* leader, because this is impolite in *pesantren* tradition. Moreover, when the material of Islamic teaching is assumed to have gender bias, female *santri* know it is not fair. As explained by female *santri*, Yasmin:

I think we never discussed about women as leaders or women working in the public sphere. Commonly, we ask about issues that are similar with that. For example: inheritance in Islamic rules, we ask why a women only gets a half from what a men gets? So, we usually ask why are the rules like that? It is not fair. Sometimes, *ustadz* explains it, but if he doesn't know, he said that he will look for it in yellow book, because he is afraid to give a wrong answer. (Interview with Yasmin, female *santri* in Nurul Huda, 5 November, 2010)

So, *santri* are aware of gender bias that happens in the rules or subject material in *pesantren*. But, *pesantren* tradition makes *santri* more inclined to keep their thoughts toward *pesantren* problems to themselves and the teacher tends to respond less to critical thinking from *santri*. As a result, the value that "we listen, we are obedient" is more embedded in *pesantren*, and *pesantren* leaders or teachers accentuate it to preserve the tradition.

In conclusion, this chapter argues that Muslim feminists in *pesantren* have an identity that is different from Indonesian and Western feminists. They seek to develop gender equity with more emphasis on substance than symbols. As Muslim feminists working in *pesantren*, they have developed strategies for changing gender values through the reinterpretation and contextualisation of Islamic teaching, as well as injecting "the gender virus" into *santri*. They tend to utilise soft strategies to change the substance of *pesantren* curriculum that embed gender

inequality, so they do not provoke opposition. As agents of social change, Muslim feminists have experienced barriers from patriarchal structures and values as well as PKS ideology that is different from NU's and Muhammadiyah's ideologies. The infiltration of PKS in the Mu'allimaat not only challenges established Muhammadiyah ideology, but also the development of gender equity. PKS ideology reflects Islamist puritanism that is contrary to Muslim feminism. However, Muslim feminists are inspiring figures for *santri* in developing critical thinking and gender awareness.

## Chapter 10

### Conclusion

*Pesantren* are Islamic educational institutions with a patriarchal structure. This research shows that *pesantren* maintain and continue to reproduce through genealogical and intellectual networking to preserve and develop their values and traditions. However, activists within *pesantren* have also generated change that relates to the curriculum and gender values. These changes are in part a response to the changing world outside. Some traditional gender values are perpetuated: women as wives, mothers and domestic workers, and men as breadwinners, and leaders of the household and in the public sphere. However, some *pesantren* women have had the opportunity to access higher education in Indonesia and overseas, and some of them have become executive members in Islamic organisations, political parties and in legislative roles, reflecting gender shifts. This shows that *pesantren* preserve their traditions, even though they accommodate different values. But, the process of accommodation and regeneration is managed and negotiated by *kyai* as dominant authority figures. As a result, patriarchal structure still pervades the *pesantren* tradition.

#### 10.1 Changing gender values in *Pesantren*

The main research question has investigated the roles of Muslim feminists in *pesantren*, as well as their strategies and the obstacles they confront. This research was conducted in the *pesantren* associated with two largest Indonesian Muslim organisations: NU and Muhammadiyah, where the latter is more professional in its organisation and uses the curricula designed by the Indonesian government. The NU affiliated *pesantren* are organised more as family institutions with the design of curricula in the hands of the *kyai/nyai*. In this research, a few people in *pesantren*, particularly women, have developed gender awareness and instilled more equal gender values. However, the activism by a few women in *pesantren* does not constitute a movement, but rather key female figures are agents of change. For example, As-sa'idiyyah 2 has a female leader (*nyai*) who is an agent of change and a similar situation prevails in the Mu'allimaat with Ustadzah Misma, who is active in developing gender awareness. Both of them reinterpret holy books in order to develop greater gender equality in the *pesantren* community,

not for implementing *sharia* as political objective. Muslim feminism does not have the political objective of implementing *sharia* as is the case with Islamist feminism (Karram 1998: 10-1). The agents of change in this research focus on transforming gender values and practices with a legitimacy in Islamic teaching in order to make these values more readily acceptable in the *pesantren* community. Although, a movement is not evident in the *pesantren* studied in this research, but the changing gender values only can be conducted by agents of change, because they have position and authority in *pesantren* as a member of *kyai* family or as a teacher, as in the case of Ustadzah Misma. It is this process of promoting change through Islamic teaching that makes this process better understood with the concept of Muslim feminism.

Unfortunately, Nurul Huda has no Muslim feminists, but this situation, paradoxically, has generated critical thinking about gender values among female *santri*, who are aware that male *santri* have more opportunities to access information and knowledge. The awareness of female *santri* is caused by their interaction with the community outside the *pesantren* when they study in the *madrasah* with male and female *santri* in the same class and share facilities. Despite the fact that Nurul Huda has a cooperative relationship with several *madrasah* in the neighbourhood, the *pesantren* leaders have limited control over their *santri*, the curriculum and classroom teaching in the *madrasah*.

The agents of change in As-sa'idiyyah 2 and Mu'allimaat are different from women's empowerment in Al-Muayyad Windan Pesantren in Solo, Central Java. This *pesantren* has focused on offering economic assistance to women inside and around the *pesantren* to establish small businesses (Pohl 2006:405-6). Also, the Al-Firdaus Pesantren, Siraman Central Java, as a radical *pesantren*, has empowered women's economic independence and some of them have even provided economic support to the *da'wah* movement of their husbands as *kyai* or *ustadz* (Assegaf 2009). According to Permani (2011:257) *pesantren* is a potential agents of change in Indonesia not only through the education system, but also in socioeconomic and political arenas.

Moreover, of the two women who are active as agents of change, Nyai Umda is more powerful: this is because she is a daughter of a *kyai* and the wife of the present *kyai*. She has the authority to make changes from her position as a female

leader; also she comes from an educational and organisational background outside the *pesantren*. A similar situation prevails in Srimulyani's research (2008b) in that the opportunity for women as leaders in Seblak Pesantren in East Java was made possible through support from the *kyai*, which means that a genealogical network with the *kyai*'s family provides the possibility for women to generate change.

The attempts by some women to develop gender equity reflect the agenda of Muslim feminism. However, Nyai Umda asserts that she identifies with the *pesantren* rather than with feminists in Western countries or Muslim feminists, who are active outside the *pesantren*. She also clarifies that her strategies in developing gender awareness are different, and these strategies are realised through contextualisation and the reinterpretation of Islamic teaching in class, as well as injecting "the gender virus" among her *santri*.

Nyai Umda understands the *pesantren* tradition and community; so she uses 'a soft strategy', rather than a confrontational approach. She does not want to be identified as a 'Muslim feminist', as this is a sensitive term in the *pesantren* and this would make change more difficult. Nyai Umda's strategy is to work within the *pesantren* system.

Moreover, she uses her family position to generate change; for example, she encourages her daughter to continue her Master's degree in Australia, and prepares her youngest daughter as a cadre in Rahima. This shows that the networking of NGOs and *pesantren* in developing gender awareness influences changing gender values. Muttaqin's research (2008) asserts that since the 1980s some Muslim feminist organisations have developed important agendas and approached *pesantren* in introducing gender equity. Although NGOs are not active in the three *pesantren* in this research, their spirit and ideology is evident in Nyai Umda's approach. Moreover, this study shows that it is individuals who are agents of change and play major roles in the process of change, rather than NGOs, particularly in As-sa'idiyyah 2. Previous research explained the process of change in some Javanese *pesantren* since the late 1970s as influenced by NGOs that networked with *pesantren* (Van Bruinessen & Wajidi 2006:222-4), which suggests that change was dependent on organisations outside the *pesantren*.

Nyai Umda has sought to minimise discrimination between male and female *santri* in her *pesantren*'s rules and policies. In general, the rules for female *santri* in Nyai Umda's *pesantren* are less strict, compared with the other two *pesantren* under study. Moreover, Nyai Umda has encouraged her *santri* to think about interpreting Islamic teaching in terms of greater gender equity. Nyai Umda understands that *pesantren* need to change, but that change is easier from within.

However, Nyai Umda encounters obstacles from people within the *pesantren* community who assume that her approach is influenced by Western feminism and threatens the status quo. Whereas, Nyai Umda considers the gender ideology within *pesantren* as being dominated by patriarchal values, and that her opponents defend the patriarchy.

It is a different situation for Ustadzah Misma in the Mu'allimaat: she has less authority and power to develop gender awareness. Although, she is an insider and has a position as an executive member of Aisyiyah; she does not have a strategic position in the Mu'allimaat as compared to Nyai Umda's. She encounters barriers from people within Mu'allimaat and Muhammadiyah who are still dominated by patriarchal values and the PKS (*Partai Keadilan Sejahtera*/Prosperous Justice Party) whose ideology is influenced by the Muslim brotherhood in Egypt (Furkon 2004:vii-viii; Al Thailibi 2006 in Nashir 2007:5; Rinaldo 2008a:1792; Hefner, Robert W 2009:74-5; Muhtadi 2009:639). PKS has infiltrated Mu'allimaat since the early 2000s, and it would seem that Mu'allimaat is used by the PKS to influence Mu'allimaat's students, some of whom become teachers in Muhammadiyah schools, and some become members of PKS. PKS also influences the style of female clothing in the Mu'allimaat.

PKS infiltration is similar to that identified in Nakamura's research (2010) in Kota Gedhe. However, the findings from both studies differed in responses toward PKS activities. The Muhammadiyah in Kota Gedhe, for example, opposed the infiltration of PKS, which used the Muhammadiyah as a political vehicle (Nakamura 2010). However, the Muhammadiyah in the Mu'allimaat was ambiguous in its attitudes towards the PKS. Indeed some teachers thought PKS had a similar ideology to Muhammadiyah, while others thought the Muhammadiyah was not a political party like the PKS. However, some Muhammadiyah members, like Haedar Nashir (Nashir 2007:52) and Al-Asy'ari (2010:33-5), asserted that Muhammadiyah

had to be protected from the PKS because this will ultimately damage Muhammadiyah's ideology. They argued that the Muhammadiyah had to avoid the fate of SI (*Sarekat Islam*/Islamic Association) in 1921<sup>83</sup>, when it was infiltrated by the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party).

This research has contributed to the discussion about the relationship between PKS and Muhammadiyah, where implementing new ideas about gender is a contested area. This approach departs from Nakamura's research, which focused on the effect of PKS infiltration in Muhammadiyah that damaged the organisation. This research has also explored the effect of PKS toward Muslim feminists in Muhammadiyah for embedding gender awareness and Muhammadiyah's ideology. In terms of gender ideology, PKS, Muhammadiyah and Aisyiyah have differences. The platform of Aisyiyah is different from Western feminism in that the latter encourages male and female equality in all spheres with universal values, while Aisyiyah promotes gender equity based on Islamic values.

Gender values in the Mu'allimaat reflect the contestation of three ideologies. First, Muslim feminism in Mu'allimaat not only encounters barriers from the status quo patriarchy, like in As-sa'idiyyah 2, but also from a modern organisation that emphasises the values of Islamic puritanism. Moreover, the strong influence of PKS gendered values in the Mu'allimaat helps to explain a pattern of changing values that is not linear in the direction of gender equity. This means that the ideology of PKS emphasises a puritan patriarchy in opposition to Muslim feminist ideology in developing gender equity, and this could possibly become the dominant ideology due to the underlying similarities with traditional patriarchy. This situation suggests that the established patriarchal values have been given a new puritanical dimension.

This research has argued that *pesantren* conservatives who espouse patriarchal values and who disagree with Muslim feminists' ideas use, paradoxically, Huntington's idea (1998) about the dichotomy between East (Islam) and West, to

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<sup>83</sup>SI was established by Muslim traders in Solo, Central Java on November 11, 1911, and grew rapidly into a mass political movement during the 1910s. In 1921, SI was divided in two groups: SI *putih* (white SI) and SI *abangan* (red SI) as a result of PKI (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*/ Indonesian Communist Party) infiltration in SI (Benda & McVey 1969:100; Noer 1973:126; Effendi 2010:73-7).

stigmatise Muslim feminists as agents of Western influence. This has been an effective strategy to contain the influence of Muslim feminists in the *pesantren*. However, in contrast to Huntington's dichotomy of East and West, the three *pesantren* in this research have accommodated Indonesian, Middle Eastern and Western values in developing their traditions as reflected in the changing clothing conventions and curricula. The implications are that the opposition some Muslims feel toward Western values is not a clear distinction, but rather a clash of civilisations (Huntington 1998). Western cultural values can thus be integrated into a harmonious whole, as Islam has been integrated into Javanese culture.

This study has not directly investigated the conflict between Islam and the West, but the discourse about gender and Muslim feminism in *pesantren* is, to some extent, framed within this broader ideological contestation. In the three *pesantren* in this study there remains strong support for the preservation of patriarchal authority and gender values, and indeed in the case of the Mu'allimaat there is an endeavour to embed more puritan gender values. However, this research examined how 'agents of change' in the Mu'allimaat and As-sa'idiiyah 2 have sought to change gender awarenesss and values through re-interpreting Islamic teaching, rather than with reference to feminist ideologies.

Resembling Foucault's Panopticon that based on Bentham's concept, the discussion of *pesantren* physical infrastructure and rules show how the *kya's* authority is used to control *santri*—a system that "controls the people or a mechanism to induce in the people a conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power. The resistances to the panopticon are tactical and strategic terms in which each offensive from the one side serves as leverage for a counter-offensive from another" (Foucault 1980:163). However, this research has shown that the Panopticon also has a gender bias, where the rules for female *santri* are stricter than those for male *santri* and embed notions of masculinity and femininity. One example is the position of male dormitories, which are more accessible than female dormitories, and male *santri* can access female dormitories, but female *santri* cannot access male dormitories. The Panopticon system is integrated between *pesantren* rules in *madrasah* and dormitories. The important point I am making here relates to the design of *pesantren* structures and the segregation between male and female *santri* determined by *pesantren* leaders,

and this seems very effective in perpetuating the patriarchal system. As poststructuralist perspective asserts that femininity and masculinity are a discourse related to power and knowledge (Paechter 2001).

In terms of dress codes, *pesantren* have engaged in selective cultural borrowings from Javanese and Islamic (Middle Eastern), Western and Minangkabau clothing styles. From the Dutch colonial era until today, some males in *pesantren* had been wearing Western suits or a mixture of Western and Javanese clothing. But these styles are not adopted by females, and the Western suit was used by males from the elite *priyayi*. Thus it would seem that the borrowing from Western culture invokes some discrimination on the basis of gender and class. In the 1960s, the Mu'allimaat decided that Minangkabau dress styles reflected Islamic values and were appropriate for female students, so Javanese dress styles previously worn were replaced. Interestingly, the Mu'allimaat borrowed the style of female clothing from the Minangkabau culture, not the matrilineal values. The changing of clothing traditions through selective cultural borrowing have been determined by males as *pesantren* leaders. In this case, the clothing tradition is a symbol of gender, patriarchal values, as well as the hierarchy of class, power and social control by male leaders of the *pesantren*.

Moreover, female dress also related to state policy, where in the New Order era (1966–1998), the use of veils also reflected the regime's gender values. First, state regulations related to the wearing of the veil, which in the New Order era was identified with radical Islam, and sought to curtail the influence of political Islam (Brenner 1996:675; Jones, C 2007:217). Second, in *pesantren* dress codes showed the power of the *kyai* in maintaining *pesantren* rules, as well being as a symbol of political resistance from *pesantren* towards Indonesian Government policy. This study has shown that clothing for women is a manifestation of the power of men and a way of preserving patriarchal values. All of these situations assert that power and knowledge are utilised by men for justification of their policies, particularly related to Islamic values.

Since the nineteenth century, the tradition of Islam in Java, particularly for males, has not only been influenced by intellectual networking with the Middle East, but also with the West through Dutch colonialism. These cultural interactions have both served to sustain patriarchal values and enable change in the *pesantren* tradition.

In the 1920s, some *pesantren* expanded their curricula from religious subjects to include general subjects such as mathematics, history and Dutch language (Dhofier 1999:18). In 1927, Kyai Dahlan founded the *Kweekschool* (Teacher Training School) that taught religion and general subjects (Nagazumi 1972:73; Alfian 1989:170); moreover, the name of *Kweekschool* was the same as the Dutch schools for native teachers in Indonesia (Alfian 1989:170; Chauvel 1990). As well, the teaching methods of *Kweekschool* were adopted from Dutch schools (Fadjar 2003:142).

Since the twentieth century, some *ulama* (Muslim scholars) have not only pursued their studies in the Middle East, but also in Western countries. These more diverse intellectual influences are reflected in the language programs of *pesantren*, teaching Javanese, Indonesian, Arabic and English. The teaching of Arabic has a particular status in *pesantren*, as it is the textual language in Islamic teaching, as well as a language of communication. Nurul Huda, even as a *salaf pesantren*, has adopted English as part of its language program and illustrates how *pesantren* have responded to Indonesian, Middle Eastern and Western cultures. However, these language programs are more progressive for male classes in Mu'allimin and Nurul Huda, enabling male students to have more access to new knowledge and information than females. The signs and symbols of modernisation it would seem are equivalent with male values, where only males can use Western suits and foreign languages are used more progressively in male classes; hence the changing tradition in *pesantren* also has more opportunities for males. This is because males, particularly the *kyai*, have dominant roles and functions as decision makers. In this modern era, the hybrid culture is a mixture of thoughts from different cultures which promotes the internationalisation of education for some people in *pesantren*, as well as the modernisation of technology and mass media. Although, *pesantren* have limitations in accessing modern technology and media, *pesantren* still negotiate with the environment outside *pesantren* and adopt some modern technology. This accords with the arguments of Holmes, Hughes and Julian (2007:473), on migration, commodity exchange, global media and telecommunication as the main agents of cultural globalisation. This also explains that *pesantren* as religious communities are not closed culturally; even though the changing tradition is carefully controlled by *kyai*. The *kyai* has the authority to control patterns of change and has a strong influence in negotiating change.

This study also explored the ways in which *kyai* maintain *pesantren* traditions through the genealogical networking emanating from *santri* and *priyayi aliran* that interact with each other through family lineages. From the three *pesantren* examined in this study, it can be seen that the genealogical networking of *pesantren* leaders is a mixture of the hereditary lineages of Muslim scholars (*ulama*) and aristocratic elites (*priyayi*) of the Javanese Kingdoms. In this research, Geertz's theory (1960) related to *aliran* in Javanese society was utilised as a framework for analysis. Geertz's research identified both *santri* and *priyayi aliran* as distinct, whereas in this research, the *kyai* families in the three *pesantren* came from or identified with both *santri* and *priyayi aliran*. The *kyai* families from Nurul Huda and As-sa'idiyyah 2 seek to strengthen their status and legitimacy by tracing their genealogies from both *aliran* which predates the Dutch colonial era.

This study has contributed significant insights into how *santri* and *priyayi aliran*, in Javanese society and particularly in the *pesantren*, have unique characteristics which have undergone dynamic change in the developing Muslim society in Java. These insights have also showed that the *pesantren* maintain and manage their traditions from both *aliran*. As a result, these three *pesantren* are not only influenced by Islamic beliefs but also Javanese values. As Pender (1977:236) argued, the embedding of Islamic values was not accomplished in Javanese society, but Islam was Javanised, and according to Kumar (1985:11) this condition was "the Javanisation of Islam". Besides, Islam in Java was recognised as a syncretic religion (Van Bemmelen & Grijns 2005:125; Van Dijk 2005:133), which is a tolerant way to implement Islamic teaching (Van Dijk 2005:133). This study illustrated the ways in which Islam continues to be Javanised: initially in the three *pesantren*, the clothing tradition of male and females that combined both Islamic and Javanese values, and more recently, the senior *kyai* and *nyai* in As-sa'idiyyah 2, who still wear attire that combines both traditions. As-sa'idiyyah 2 and Nurul Huda are dominated by the Javanese language and cultural values. Javanese is the language of instruction in *pesantren* in Java whereas all other educational institutions in Indonesia, state or private, use Indonesian as the language of instruction and daily discourse.

Moreover, *pesantren* maintain and combine both traditions from *santri* and *priyayi*, for example, *slametan* is combined with Islamic teaching to express gratitude to

God. This tradition is conducted particularly by *pesantren* that are associated with NU, not Muhammadiyah, which argues that this is *bid'ah* and prohibited in Islam. This also illustrates the various kinds of Islam in Java: NU, to which As-sa'idiyyah 2 and Nurul Huda are affiliated, and Muhammadiyah have different values in implementing Islamic teaching. Within the NU and *pesantren* associated with the NU, Javanese cultural values and practices are accommodated within Islam teaching.

Although Javanese values dominate the *pesantren* tradition, especially in the NU-affiliated *pesantren*, this does not mean there is little change in *pesantren*. *Pesantren* regenerate themselves through intellectual networking; since the nineteenth century some of the *kyai* have pursued their education in Middle Eastern countries. Hence, the Islamic values in Javanese Muslims were adopted from Middle Eastern culture including Hejaz, Egypt, as well as the Indian subcontinent. But from Lim's perspective (2008:271), the beginning of Indonesian Islam signalled influences from Egyptians, Arabs of Gujarat, and Lamabar in Indian and South Indian Muslims. Thus it would seem that Hejaz, particularly Mecca, did not have roles in developing Islam in Indonesia. However, this study has confirmed that Hejaz (Mecca) has had intellectual networking with some *ulama* in three *pesantren* who came to Mecca, not only for pilgrimage, but also to continue Islamic studies since the 1900s.

This intellectual networking influences the *pesantren* curriculum including subject material that is based on Islamic teaching and yellow book, as well as teaching methods which tend to use *bandongan* and *sorogan*, so that teachers are the centre of learning. Moreover, the tradition in writing, translation and interpreting of yellow book tends to preserve patriarchal values with *kyai* having dominant roles as author and interpreter, because they are assumed to have outstanding Arabic knowledge. This is similar to Hurin's notion (2003) that asserted that the yellow book that are written by *kyai* tended to control the attitudes and behaviours of *santri*. These conditions show that the understanding of Arabic determines the hierarchy of power in *pesantren* to some extent. However, Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat not only use traditional yellow book, but also contemporary yellow books that are written by *ulama* from the Middle East. These contemporary texts are studied in Arabic and translated in Indonesian. This is different from van

Bruinessen's research (1990) that argued that *pesantren* tended to utilise yellow books that were written before the twentieth century or early twentieth century, and he even identified yellow book as traditional curriculum with translation use *pegon* with Javanese, Sundanese and Madurese. This show the changes in translating yellow book in *pesantren* affiliated to the Muhammadiyah is influenced by some teachers who graduated from the Middle East. As well as this institution uses less Javavese, culturally and linguistically, than the other two *pesantren* that are associated with NU, As-sa'idiyyah 2 and Nurul Huda. These patterns of development suggest that Islam in Java has accommodated local cultural values and traditions (Javanese and Indonesian), and *pesantren* are key institutions in this process. As well, the intellectual networking of *pesantren* is a part of this process of accommodation and continues the values of a syncretic Islam in Java.

Patriarchal values still exist in *pesantren*, but there is also change towards developing greater gender equity. The changing gender values within *pesantren* studied in this research reflects the influence of the agents of change who work through the reinterpretation of Islamic teaching that is different from the mainstream in the *pesantren* community. These reinterpretations foster more equal gender values that are better understood with the concept of Muslim feminism. This situation shows that the values of Muslim feminism have influenced teaching and practice in *pesantren*.

## **10.2 Future study**

This research has some limitations that relate to the obstacles of Muslim feminists encounter from Islamic organisations like NU and Muhammadiyah, as well as the PKS. Hence, future research should be related to women's empowerment and programs in NU and Muhammadiyah, particularly the gender mainstreaming program, and the encouragement and response of Muhammadiyah and NU toward women's organisations, especially related to their programs in the Muslim community. This is because in both NU and Muhammadiyah, the senior leaders and executive members are men, but also the gender values of these institutions tend to emphasise the traditional gender values. The research shows that people in the three *pesantren* have different interpretations of verses in the *Al-Qur'an* relating to women issues, which have stimulated a debate about gender values.

Hence, an investigation about women's empowerment in *pesantren* that is not associated with NU and Muhammadiyah, such as Jami'yyat al-islah wal-Irsyad, Persis, and radical *pesantren* will be important. Gontor Pesantren in Ponorogo, East Java is an example of a *pesantren* that combines NU and Muhammadiyah values (Bruinessen 2004). Further research will help to develop a better understanding of changing gender awareness. It is important to explore changes in the traditions and curriculum of *pesantren*.

Although Nakamura's research and this study have both discussed the infiltration of PKS in Muhammadiyah, future research needs to explore more widely the response of Muhammadiyah towards the PKS movement in other regions in Indonesia, because Muhammadiyah has branches in all regions in Indonesia and they are little understood. Research should also be conducted on the PKS movement in other Islamic organisations and other institutions in Indonesia in developing and maintaining PKS cadre. There are some indications of increasing PKS influence in NU-related organisations, where some *santri*, who have graduated from As-sa'idiyyah 2, have adopted PKS values and styles of clothing, particularly for women. And the big question remains unanswered: Can PKS infiltrate NU and other traditional Islamic organisations?

Future research could explore the views of PKS members toward their movement in Muhammadiyah and other Islamic organisations in Indonesia. These studies also should focus on the ideology in the PKS and the strategy of the PKS to maintain and develop their female cadre at grassroots and political levels.

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