

GENDER REFORM IN PESANTREN LEADERSHIP IN MADURA: FROM PATRIARCHAL DOMINATION TO MATRIARCHY

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Abstract. Pesantren in Madura traditionally have a patriarchal leadership structure, where men, especially kiai, dominate leadership and decision-making positions. However, along with social change and increased awareness of gender equality, there has been a paradigm shift towards the inclusion and empowerment of women in pesantren leadership. This study aims to understand and analyze the stages of patriarchy to matriarchy change in Madurese boarding schools, to understand and analyze the paradigm shift in determining leaders in Madurese boarding schools, and to analyze the supporting and inhibiting factors in the practice of matriarchy in Madurese boarding schools. This research is a descriptive qualitative research with a case study research type. The data collection techniques used observation, interview and documentation techniques. While the data analysis uses data reduction, data presentation and conclusion drawing. The results of this study are that the stages of changing patriarchy to matriarchy in madura Islamic boarding schools go through the initiation stage, adaptation stage and implementation stage. As for the paradigm shift in determining leaders in Madurese boarding schools with increased access to education, gender awareness, the influence of globalization and socio-cultural dynamics. While the supporting factors in the

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practice of matriarchy are through massive education, an increase in women's education, the dynamics of internal pesantren problems and inhibiting factors due to resistance from conservative groups, gender bias and gender stereotypes.

Keywords. Gender Reform, Patriarchy, Matriarchy, Pesantren

INTRODUCTION

Pesantren is an Islamic educational institution that has its own characteristics in Indonesia, where pesantren have education and local cultural practices that are still preserved in pesantren. Education that is characterized by teaching students through classical books (yellow books) and local culture with a boarding school leadership system dominated by a kyai or led by a man. In particular, Islamic boarding schools in Madura still preserve local culture with the leadership of a kyai to organize and manage the boarding school. In the survey data mentioned that there are about 861 boarding schools spread across the island of Madura both starting from the western end of the bangkalan district to the eastern end of the sumenep district¹. Where the average boarding school leader is led by a kyai (male). Interestingly, of the hundreds of boarding schools on the island of Madura. There are about two boarding schools that are led directly by a Nyai (Female)².

From the study above, the transformation of patriarchy to matriarchy in two pesantren is very important because it can provide a description and exploration of the dynamics of power change and provide a new discourse for pesantren educational institutions to empower women in the scope of education which can have implications for the wider community, especially in Islamic educational institutions. In the case of previous research, it has been shown historically that boarding schools in Madura are dominated by patriarchy³. So this shows that the boarding school leadership system

¹ Hasanatul Jannah, *Ulama Perempuan Madura* (Surabaya: Diva Press, 2020).

² Fiqih Arvani Abd. Azis, "Ratusan Pesantren Di Madura Apel Serentak Sambut HSN 2022," *AntaraJatim* (Pamekasan, 2022).

³ Israpil Israpil, "Budaya Patriarki Dan Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan (Sejarah Dan Perkembangannya)," *Jurnal Pusaka: Kahzanah Keagamaan* 5, no. 2 (2017): 141–150.

still uses the kyai (male) leadership tradition. However, along with the times there are signs of a paradigm shift in pesantren due to the increasing insight of public knowledge and the emergence of gender equality issues in Indonesia⁴. So it is characterized by the existence of matriarchal practices in madurese boarding schools. In addition, the existence of matriarchal practices in Madurese boarding schools is due to changes in people's attitudes towards gender roles, the influence of female leaders and an ideal managerial system between men and women. One of them is in Al-Huda Pamekasan boarding school and Aqidah Usumuni Sumenep boarding school.

Although this matriarchal practice is still full of pros and cons and still has shortcomings in Madurese boarding schools. But at least it can provide a scientific discourse to encourage policy makers and women to have an equal position with men to develop the nation through the management of educational institutions⁵. In this research, the author wants to describe the stages of changing patriarchy to matriarchy in Madurese boarding schools and wants to explain the paradigm shift in determining pesantren leaders in Madura and can understand the supporting and inhibiting factors in the practice of matriarchy in Madurese boarding schools.

In this research, the author will use descriptive qualitative research with a case study approach that has a gender theory paradigm. The location of this research is at the Al-Huda boarding school in Pamekasan⁶. In order to obtain relevant and specific data, researchers use 3 data collection techniques, namely observation, interviews and documentation⁷. while the data analysis uses data reduction, data presentation and conclusion drawing. So that this can be a reference for researchers to record, understand and report this research data⁸.

⁴ Andri Sutrisno and Dina Salsabela, “Konsep Kesetaraan Gender Perspektif Fatima Mernissi,” *Sophist : Jurnal Sosial Politik Kajian Islam dan Tafsir* 4, no. 2 (February 15, 2023): 225–241.

⁵ Hasanatul Jannah, “Pondok Pesantren Sebagai Pusat Otoritas Ulama Madura,” *Jurnal Al-Hikmah* 17, no. 1 (2019): 91–108.

⁶ Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, Dan R & D* (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2013).

⁷ Suharsimi Arikunto, *Prosedur Penelitian Suatu Pendekatan Praktek*, III. (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 2000).

⁸ Moleong, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif / Penulis, Prof. DR. Lexy J. Moleong, M.A. | OPAC Perpustakaan Nasional RI., Remaja Rosdakarya*, 2018.

Stages of Change from Patriarchy to Matriarchy in Madura Island Islamic Boarding Schools

The change from patriarchal to matriarchal structure in Madurese boarding schools is an interesting case study to be discussed carefully. Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia are very close to patriarchal traditions. In particular, the people of Madura have a patriarchal social structure. Where the role of men is very dominant in family and community life. Even Islamic boarding schools also apply patriarchal traditions. Where the madurese kyai has a very central role in organizing the lives of the students to the religious life of the social community. Changes from patriarchal to matriarchal structures in Madurese boarding schools require time and patience⁹. Discussions about gender equality must continue to be carried out to increase awareness and understanding among all parties concerned. This change will not only benefit women but also the pesantren itself, by adopting a more inclusive and innovative approach, which will ultimately improve the quality of education and social life in the pesantren environment.

The change from patriarchy to matriarchy in Madurese pesantren is a gradual process influenced by various social, cultural, and internal factors. Despite facing many challenges, this change has a positive impact on women's empowerment and innovation in pesantren education¹⁰. Pesantrens that successfully make this change can be a model for other Islamic educational institutions in adopting a more inclusive and gender-equitable approach.

In general, in Madura, a kyai has great authority in making decisions both in pesantren and in community life. However, along with the development of science, women also have a very good role for the development of pesantren or even society. So that a Nyai can have trust for the madurese community and then there is a change in male leadership to female leadership in madurese pesantren. The stages of changing patriarchy to matriarchy in madurese Islamic boarding schools are as follows:

⁹ Dahniar Th. Musa, Rupita Rupita, and Nikodemus Niko, "Taboo of Madura Women: Patriarchal Construction in Madurese Tradition," *Sawwa: Jurnal Studi Gender* 16, no. 2 (2021).

¹⁰ N Nurhilaliati, "Kepemimpinan Perempuan Dan Edupreneurship Di Pondok Pesantren Al-Kautsar Ranggo Pajo Dompu," *Qawwam* 11 (2017): 13–23.

1. Initiation Stage: where at this stage due to the initial awareness of the importance of the role of a Nyai (Woman) in the boarding school environment. this is in accordance with UR's statement that Nyai Aisyatul As'adiyah always guides and discusses with the students. thus, this fosters a woman's self-leadership spirit to be confident in leading and playing a role with the students¹¹.

In addition, it is also due to the provision of space for participation in educational activities and the management of the boarding school. as this was said by BR that after the departure of his father and mother (KH. Mahfudz and Nyai As'adiyah), Nyai Aisyatul As'adiyah often conducted recitations and teaching with the students¹².

2. Adaptation Stage: At this stage, a woman is given the mandate to become a structure in the pesantren either as the head of the school or as a daily administrator in the pesantren environment. Thus, according to the SF that nyai aisyatul as'adiyah was once the head of the al-huda larangan pamekasan Islamic education foundation¹³.

In addition, due to the involvement of women in various aspects of policies in the boarding school, such as Nyai Aisyatul As'adiyah who is also involved in the deliberation of the management system policy of Pesantren Al-Huda larangan Pamekasan.

3. Implementation Stage: where women began to have support from the pesantren environment, both teachers, students and the community to be the leader of the pesantren with a very long discussion in determining it. This is in accordance with UR's statement that there was a deliberation conducted by the head of the foundation along with teachers in the pesantren environment.

¹¹ Interview with Nyai Aisyatul As'adiyah, "Transformasi Patriarki Ke Matriarki Di Pondok Pesantren Al-Huda" (Pamekasan: PP. Al-Huda, 2022).

¹² Bapak Riyadi, "Patriarki Ke Matriarki Di PP. Al-Huda Pamekasan" (Pamekasan: PP. Al-Huda, 2022).

¹³ Interview With Ustadzah Siti Fatimah, "Transformasi Patriarki Ke Matriarki Di Al-Huda" (Pamekasan: PP. Al-Huda, 2022).

Paradigm Shift in Determining Pesantren Leaders in Madura

The paradigm shift in determining pesantren leadership in Madura is an interesting and complex phenomenon. The pesantren tradition that is thick with patriarchal values has begun to change along with the growing social, cultural, and educational dynamics. The paradigm shift in determining pesantren leadership in Madura is a gradual process influenced by various social, cultural, and educational factors. Despite facing challenges, this change has a positive impact on women's empowerment and innovation in pesantren education¹⁴. Pesantren that successfully make this shift can be a model for other Islamic educational institutions in adopting a more inclusive and gender-equitable approach. This shift reflects the adaptation of pesantren to the evolving social dynamics, as well as strengthening the role of pesantren as progressive agents of social change.

Traditionally, the leadership of pesantren in Madura is held by a male, usually a kiai who has full authority in all aspects of pesantren life, from teaching to management. Leadership is often also passed down within a family, where the kiai's son is considered the rightful successor¹⁵. This reinforces the patriarchal structure of pesantren leadership.

The paradigm shift in determining leaders in Islamic boarding schools is as follows:

- a. Increased Access to Education: As more women gain access to higher education, including religious education, they become more competent and ready to take on leadership roles.
- b. Gender Awareness: Increased awareness of the importance of gender equality and women's empowerment in various fields, including education and religion, is driving changes in the way leadership is viewed.
- c. Influence of Globalization: Interaction with the outside world and exposure to various global ideas and practices that are more inclusive and egalitarian also affect the leadership paradigm in pesantren.

¹⁴ Wahyudin Wahyudin, "The Dynamics of Gender Equality: The Girls Ddi Mangkoso Islamic Boarding School in South Sulawesi," *Musāwa Jurnal Studi Gender dan Islam* 19, no. 1 (2020).

¹⁵ Mohammad Takdir, "Kiprah Ulama Perempuan Nyai Hj. Makkiyah As'ad Dalam Membentengi Moralitas Umat Di Pamekasan Madura," *'Anil Islam* 8 (2015): 72–97.

- d. Social and Cultural Dynamics: Social and cultural changes in Madurese society, including the increasing role of women in public life, contributed to changes in the leadership structure of pesantren¹⁶.

Supporting and inhibiting factors in the practice of matriarchy in Madurese boarding schools

The supporting factors for women's leadership practices are as follows:

1. Massive education: Increased awareness of gender equality among the community, including in the pesantren environment, encourages changes in social structure. This is as found in the observation that teachers at the al-huda boarding school often socialize the importance of gender equality education.
2. An increase in women's education: More and more women are getting higher education and returning to serve in pesantren. This helps change the perception and role of women in pesantren. As according to FZ, Nyai Aisyatul As'adiyah's education now has a master's degree and is active in politics.
3. The Dynamics of Internal Pesantren Problems: The dynamics within the pesantren itself, such as the need for updated teaching methods and more inclusive management, are also drivers of change. Where with the presence of nyai aisyatul as'adiyah can discuss in the management of educational development of Al-Huda pondok pesantren larangan pamekasan.

The barriers to women's leadership can be divided into three parts as follows:

1. Conservative group resistance: Some groups within the community and the pesantren environment may resist these changes because they are considered to be against tradition.
2. Gender bias: gender gaps may still exist in some aspects, ranging from access to resources and recognition of women's contributions.

¹⁶ Ade Irma Sakina and Dessy Hasanah Siti A., "Menyoroti Budaya Patriarki Di Indonesia," *Share : Social Work Journal* 7, no. 1 (2017): 71.

3. Gender Stereotypes: an unbalanced judgment that men are rational, powerful and have leadership skills while women are intuitive, gentle and find it difficult to make choices¹⁷.

CONCLUSION

As for the conclusions in this study, the researchers can describe them as follows:

1. That the stages of changing patriarchy to matriarchy in madurese Islamic boarding schools go through the initiation stage, the adaptation stage and the implementation stage.
2. That the paradigm shift in determining leaders in Madurese boarding schools with increased access to education, gender awareness, the influence of globalization and socio-cultural dynamics.
3. That the supporting factors in the practice of matriarchy are through massive education, an increase in women's education, the dynamics of internal pesantren problems and inhibiting factors due to resistance from conservative groups, gender bias and gender stereotypes.

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¹⁷ Asna Husin, "Women of Aceh: The Struggle for Peace and Justice," in *Economic Empowerment of Women in the Islamic World: Theory and Practice*, 2020.

are errors in the writing of this article, please forgive and corrections will be made if necessary. Hopefully it can spread goodness through the writing of this article and as a form of improving the quality of the author's self.

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