

FROM PATRIARCHY TO PROGRESS: EXPLORING THE SHIFT IN ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN'S EDUCATION LED BY TUAN GURU IN LOMBOK-INDONESIA

Auliya Ridwan^{1✉}
UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya¹
✉ aridwan@uinsa.ac.id

Abstract:

This research, rooted in a 2022 fieldwork at Pesantren Nurul Haramain Lombok, explores the leadership of Tuan Guru Hasanain Juani. Overseeing both male and female segments of the Pesantren, Tuan Guru Hasanain distinctively prioritizes the female Pesantren, providing diverse skill opportunities. Female students (santriwati) engage in activities traditionally associated with males, including driving, waste management, archery, music production, and android application development, etc. The study delves into Tuan Guru Hasanain's approach, tracing it to his father's influence, emphasizing the central role of his mother in education. These early experiences shape Tuan Guru Hasanain's awareness of the significance of women's education, viewing it as an investment in shaping the future. Employing qualitative observation, the research analyzes the intricate interplay of cultural, familial, and educational dynamics shaping Hasanain's stance. This work contributes to the discourse on gender inclusivity in Islamic education, illustrating a tangible example of a Pesantren leader championing equality and empowerment through strategic educational emphasis.

Keywords: Pesantren Leadership; Islamic Education; Gender Equality; Women's Empowerment; Male Pesantren Leaders.

ملخص البحث:

تتبع هذه الدراسة من بحث ميداني أُجري في عام 2022 بالمدرسة الدينية نور الحرمين في لومبوك، وتستكشف قيادة الشيخ حسنين جويني. يُشرف الشيخ حسنين على كل من شرائح الطلاب والطالبات بالمدرسة، مُعطيًا الأولوية بوضوح لمدرسة الطالبات، ويُوفر لهن مجموعة متنوعة من فرص التعلم واكتساب المهارات. تُشارك الطالبات في أنشطة غالبًا ما تُرتبط بالطلاب الذكور، بما في ذلك القيادة، إدارة النفايات، الرماية، إنتاج الموسيقى، وتطوير تطبيقات الأندرويد، وغيرها. تُعمق هذه الدراسة في منهج الشيخ حسنين، مُعزية ذلك إلى تأثير والده الذي أكد على الدور المركزي لأمه في التعليم. لقد شكلت هذه التجارب المُبكرة وعي الشيخ حسنين بأهمية تعليم النساء، معتبرًا إياه استثمارًا في تشكيل المستقبل. من خلال الاستعانة بالملاحظة النوعية، تُحلل الدراسة التأثير الديناميكي لعناصر الثقافة، الأسرة، والتعليم في تشكيل مواقف حسنين. تُساهم هذه الأعمال في الحوار حول الشمولية الجندرية في التعليم الإسلامي، مُقدمة مثالاً حيًا لقائد مدرسة دينية يناضل من أجل المساواة والتمكين من خلال التركيز على التعليم الاستراتيجي

الكلمات الأساسية: قيادة المدرسة الدينية؛ التعليم الإسلامي؛ المساواة الجندرية؛ تمكين النساء. قائد المدرسة الدينية الذكر

INTRODUCTION

During my numerous trips to Lombok Island, I have come to see this place as a true paradise on earth. The rich soil of West Lombok, the plentiful water sources in West Lombok, the vibrant rice fields, the dense kangkong vegetables, the cocoa pods hanging from trees, the various wood products from the local industry, and the breathtaking beauty at the base of Mount Rinjani all contribute to the island's charm. Local stories about Lombok often describe it as 'feminine,' symbolizing fertility, abundant water, and prosperity (Smith, 2021). The captivating allure of Lombok Island is further enhanced by the harmonious blend of lush landscapes and cultural richness that envelops visitors in a truly enchanting experience.

Lombok is home to a predominantly Muslim community, renowned for its abundance of mosques, which has led to it being affectionately called the "Island of a Thousand Mosques" (Fahrurrozi, 2016; Firmansyah, Adha, & Masrun, 2019). The presence of Islam on the island has a significant impact on the residents there. The Islamic influence on Lombok extends beyond the architectural landscape adorned with many mosques; it also deeply shapes the cultural tapestry of the island. The longstanding tradition of Islamic boarding schools, or *pesantren*, plays a crucial role in imparting knowledge, safeguarding Islamic legacy, and nurturing intellectuals within the society (Fahrurrozi, 2016). These *pesantren* are not just places of learning; they are hubs that uphold local customs and identities, fostering a harmonious blend of religious dedication and native traditions that embody the spirit of Lombok's social dynamics.

The indigenous people of Lombok, who are known as the Sasak people, have their own perspectives on the connection between their tribes and Islam. In an interview, they mention that Sasak originates from the term Sak Sak, which signifies One One, representing the Shahādah (witness of faith) in Islam that acknowledges one God and one final messenger, the Prophet Muhammad PBUH (Sahabuddin, 2018). This viewpoint strengthens the intersecting identity of the Sasak tribe as a community that cherishes both their cultural heritage and Islamic faith, crafting a distinct and diverse identity.

In my understanding of Islam, women are highly valued and hold an important position in society. They are granted rights and responsibilities that are stressed in different teachings and practices. Within Islamic teachings, the attention given to women's rights and responsibilities highlights the core values of equality and justice in the religion. The respect and significance given to women in Islam are evident in various teachings and practices, illustrating a commitment to ensuring that everyone is treated fairly and with respect. Islam not only recognizes this, but also places a great emphasis on empowering women to actively engage in society, make meaningful contributions to their communities, and fulfill their duties while enjoying their rightful rights (Gregorian, 2016).

Sasak proudly embraces its unique identity as a tribe with strong connections to Islam. Even when Sasak marry Hindus and convert from Islam to Hinduism, there is a risk of losing their tribal recognition, being no longer called a Sasak (Sahabuddin, 2018). As the Sasak community greatly values Islamic principles, they should demonstrate their strong appreciation for education, especially for women. In the Islamic perspective, prioritizing education for women is of utmost importance. Unfortunately, there was a time in the historical and cultural journey of Sasak when women were not able to pursue education like men.

According to the view of a culturist affiliated with Nahdlatul Wathan, until the early independence of Indonesia, women held a position in society that was unfortunately considered second-class. They were restricted from pursuing education beyond a level lower than men and were typically assigned the role of "servants" within their families. This role mainly revolved around managing household tasks and caring for children (Husni 2018).

In raising awareness about education for women within a patriarchal society, the role of Tuan Guru in Lombok is truly significant. According to an ethnographic study conducted by Kingsley, it was discovered that the Sasak Society views the Tuan Guru as the educator of the community rather than just the leader of educational institutions like *pesantren* (Kingsley, 2014). This esteemed position of Tuan Guru grants both cultural and religious legitimation, as they are seen as guiding individuals towards salvation in the afterlife. As a result, the Tuan Guru is entrusted with imparting Islamic teachings to the

society, offering religious interpretations, and ensuring that the community adheres to the teachings of Islam as instructed by the Tuan Guru.

In a broad context, the establishment of schools and Islamic boarding schools was initiated by the founder of Nahdlatul Wathan (NW), Maulānā Syāikh Tuan Guru Kiai Hajjī Muḥammād Zainuddīn Abdul Madjīd, who is well known as Maulana Syaikh and has been featured in various publications (Azmi & Wardi, 2020; Fathurrahman, 2022; Smith, 2021). This article focuses on a case study highlighting the personal initiatives of a Tuan Guru in advocating for women's education on Lombok Island. By examining the efforts of Tuan Guru Haji Hasanain Juaini from Pondok Pesantren Nurul Haramain, this paper aims to explore how his family played a significant role in promoting education for women. This paper provides short description and discussion of how the issue of education and patriarchal culture intertwine in Sasak Society. Further exploration on the issue will be delivered in my upcoming publication.

A GLANCE OF EGALITARIAN ETHOS IN SASAK MUSLIM LEADERS

The culture of patriarchy in various areas in Indonesia can sometimes obstruct women from receiving educational prioritization (Budoyo & Hardiyanti, 2021; Farida, Aman, & Wardana, 2020). This can be seen in Lombok Island, where traditional gender norms often emphasize that women should focus on domestic responsibilities rather than education. Consequently, women frequently face disadvantages in accessing educational opportunities, i.e. going to schools. This further reinforces patriarchal patterns and restricts women's potential for pursuing academic and professional achievements. Unfortunately, not every Muslim leader has a strong commitment to giving priority to women's education in Islamic schools (Afrianty, 2019).

Tuan Guru Hasanain Juaini is the second-generation leader of the Pondok Pesantren Nurul Haramain in Lombok Barat. His father, Tuan Guru Juani Muchtar, was a devoted student of Maulana Syaikh, the founder of Nahdlatul Wathan (NW). According to Tuan Guru Hasanain, his father was one of Maulana Syaikh's most beloved disciples, a testament to his exceptional scholarly and religious qualities. Each of Maulana Syaikh's students was sent to different locations to spread Islam. Tuan Guru Juani was assigned to his hometown of Lombok Barat in the 1950s to fulfill this mission.

In the early days of Tuan Guru Juani's mission in Lombok Barat, educational institutions were scarce. This is where his role as a community educator (Kingsley, 2014) became evident. Tuan Guru Juani dedicated himself to providing free education to the local community. He went beyond teaching; he housed some of his students for free and even provided them with meals. Through these actions, Tuan Guru Juani demonstrated what it means to be a truly present and engaged teacher, integrating himself into the community and actively contributing to solving its problems.

The egalitarian role of Tuan Guru has deep roots. As recounted by Tuan Guru Hasanain, the lineage of Maulana Syaikh, the founder of NW, remains a mystery to this day. It is speculated that Maulana Syaikh might have descended from the Sasak local king. However, Maulana Syaikh intentionally kept his identity obscure to foster a sense of equality and approachability among the broader community. This approach aimed to instill confidence in the common people, assuring them that they, too, could pursue education alongside the nobility and contribute equally to society.

The egalitarian philosophy and practices of Maulana Syaikh were embraced by the family of Tuan Guru Juani Muchtar. In establishing Pesantren Nurul Haramain, equal treatment was provided to students from both his family and those outside his family. Tuan Guru Hasanain himself did not allow his own children to live at home while studying at Pesantren Nurul Haramain. His son had to reside in the dormitory with the other students, living a life of simplicity. Additionally, from the outset, the education at Pesantren Nurul Haramain prioritized female students. The facilities for female students were notably better than those provided to male students.

What is particularly interesting about this pesantren is that female students are taught many skills traditionally considered male domains in Sasak society, such as driving, waste recycling, Android programming, archery, and waste management, among many others. The overarching idea behind this is the belief held by Tuan Guru Hasanain's family that education for women is crucial because they will shape the future generations of the nation. Women will bear children, and much of a child's early years will be spent with their mother. Therefore, it is essential that women receive the best possible education.

In an interview about the family life of Tuan Guru Hasanain, he shared a touching story. When his mother fell ill for an extended period, she asked her husband to remarry so that someone could take care of him. However, Tuan Guru Hasanain's father, Tuan

Guru Juaini Muchtar, refused and said, “In your old age and weakness, I want to show you that you chose the right person to accompany you.” This statement reflects the deep respect and appreciation that Tuan Guru Hasanain’s family holds for women, not only as educators of future generations but also as individuals deserving the highest honor and respect within the family.

SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON FAMILIAL CULTURE AND APPRECIATION TO WOMEN

From sociological perspective, the narrative of Tuan Guru Hasanain and his family reflects how family plays in shaping the values, behaviors, and dispositions of the next generation. According to the theory of habitus, the ingrained habits, skills, and dispositions individuals acquire through socialization within their family environment play a crucial role in their development (Bourdieu, 1977). This theoretical framework helps us understand how Tuan Guru Hasanain’s values and egalitarian practices were cultivated within his family, especially considering the profound influence of his parents.

The story of Tuan Guru Hasanain’s father, Tuan Guru Juaini Muchtar, and his dedication to his wife during her illness, highlights the deep respect and high regard for women within their family. This behavior exemplifies the significant impact of parental behaviors on the next generation (Garcia, Sharma, Massis, Wright, & Scholes, 2018). The decision of Tuan Guru Juaini to remain by his wife’s side, even when she suggested he remarry, conveys powerful lessons in loyalty, respect, and the value of strong familial bonds. This aligns with the idea that parents’ actions and decisions play a pivotal role in shaping their children’s values and commitments.

The family’s practices also reflect the transmission of cultural capital (Lee & Macdonald, 2009). Cultural capital, which includes manners, attitudes, and self-assurance, is transmitted within the family and contributes to the reproduction of social order across generations. Tuan Guru Hasanain’s insistence that his son lives in the dormitory with other students, embracing simplicity, demonstrates the transmission of values such as humility, equality, and community living. These values are not just taught but lived, ensuring that they are deeply ingrained in the next generation.

Moreover, the prioritization of female students and the provision of superior facilities for them at Pesantren Nurul Haramain illustrates the family’s commitment to

gender equality and the empowerment of women, who emphasize the significance of family capital in influencing outcomes like access to higher education (Tan, Li, Wu, & Abbas, 2023). By providing female students with access to various skills traditionally reserved for men, the Pesantren fosters an environment where women can develop confidence and capabilities, aligning with the idea that the family acts as a primary source of cultural capital (Assulaimani & Althubaiti, 2021; Norodien-Fataar, 2016).

PROMOTING EQUALITY FOR WOMEN

The story of Tuan Guru Hasanain's family provides a compelling narrative of how deeply rooted patriarchal structures can be challenged and transformed to promote gender equality. This transformation aligns with social theories that emphasize the need for transformative processes to address existing power structures and gender norms.

One of the fundamental approaches to fostering gender equality involves addressing and challenging traditional gender roles and stereotypes. In the context of Tuan Guru Hasanain's family, the prioritization of female education and the provision of superior facilities for female students at Pesantren Nurul Haramain demonstrate a conscious effort to disrupt traditional gender norms. By teaching female students skills traditionally reserved for men, such as driving, waste recycling, and Android programming, the pesantren challenges the societal expectations that confine women to certain roles, meaning that critical awareness and education on gender equality are essential for questioning and dismantling patriarchal norms (Ntoimo & Isiugo-Abanihe, 2013; Suryanarayanan & Ramswamy, 2022).

Education plays a crucial role in empowering women and promoting gender equality. The emphasis on providing high-quality education to female students at Pesantren Nurul Haramain reflects an understanding of the importance of education in enhancing women's agency and opportunities. By equipping women with knowledge and skills, the pesantren empowers them to resist and challenge patriarchal structures, meaning that empowering women to question and resist patriarchal structures is crucial for promoting gender equality.

Economic development and social modernization are also linked to greater gender equality. While the primary focus of Pesantren Nurul Haramain is on education, the skills imparted to female students, such as Android programming and waste management, are aligned with modern economic demands. By preparing female students to participate in

various economic activities, the Pesantren contributes to their economic empowerment, which can drive shifts towards more egalitarian gender relations. However, economic development alone is not sufficient to address deeply entrenched patriarchal beliefs and practices (Ross, 2008). The holistic approach of combining education with skill development can therefore be seen as a more comprehensive strategy for promoting gender equality.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the story of Tuan Guru Hasanain and his family vividly illustrates the crucial role that family plays in shaping the values, behaviors, and aspirations of the next generation. Through the lens of sociological theories and concepts, we can see how the family acts as a powerful agent of socialization, transmitting cultural capital and reinforcing values that contribute to the continuity and adaptation of practices across generations. The egalitarian values, respect for women, and commitment to education evident in Tuan Guru Hasanain's family serve as a testament to the enduring influence of familial socialization.

The narrative of Tuan Guru Hasanain's family exemplifies how transformative processes can challenge and change patriarchal structures to promote gender equality. By prioritizing female education, challenging traditional gender roles, and empowering women through skill development, the family and their Pesantren embody the principles necessary for fostering a culture of equality. These efforts, combined with broader social and economic empowerment, can significantly contribute to dismantling patriarchal systems and promoting a more inclusive and equitable society.

The article written by Moh. Sholehuddin with the title "The Concept of Statehood in Al-Mawardi's Political Thought" which discusses the concept of Al-Mawardi's statehood with the relationship of ahl al-'aqd wa al-hall with the caliph. The article focuses on how good muamalah between leaders and their communities. The research results of the article are between the leader and his people who show social contract relations, as well as carrying out their roles with mutual benefit.

REFERENCES

- Afrianty, D. (2019). Rising Public Piety and the Status of Women in Indonesia Two Decades After Reformasi. *Trans Trans -Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia*, 8(1), 65-80. doi:10.1017/trn.2019.14
- Assulaimani, T., & Althubaiti, H. A. (2021). The Impact of Students' Cultural Capital on Their Learning Experiences in an EFL Programme in Higher Education. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics & English Literature*, 10(4), 77. doi:10.7575/aiac.ijalel.v.10n.4p.77
- Azmi, S., & Wardi, F. (2020). Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid: The Pioneer of Islamic Education in Lombok Community West Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia. *Khalifa Journal of Islamic Education*. doi:10.24036/kjie.v4i1.37
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (R. Nice Ed.). Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Budoyo, S., & Hardiyanti, M. (2021). Urgency of Strengthening Women Participation in the Building of Gender Justice Based Village. *Law Reform*, 17(2), 252-266. doi:10.14710/lr.v17i2.41751
- Fahrurrozi, F. (2016). Budaya Pesantren Di Pulau Seribu Masjid, Lombok. *Karsa Journal of Social and Islamic Culture*, 23(2), 325. doi:10.19105/karsa.v23i2.730
- Farida, I., Aman, & Wardana, A. (2020). Gender Inequality and Labor Market in Indonesia (Between 2014–2018). doi:10.2991/assehr.k.200130.040
- Fathurrahman, F. (2022). Perkembangan Madrasah Di Indonesia: Kajian Historis Pada Madrasah Nahdlatul Wathan Lombok. *Tajdid Jurnal Pemikiran Keislaman Dan Kemanusiaan*, 6(2), 255-273. doi:10.52266/tajdid.v6i2.1105
- Afrianty, D. (2019). Rising Public Piety and the Status of Women in Indonesia Two Decades After Reformasi. *Trans Trans -Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia*, 8(1), 65-80. doi:10.1017/trn.2019.14
- Assulaimani, T., & Althubaiti, H. A. (2021). The Impact of Students' Cultural Capital on Their Learning Experiences in an EFL Programme in Higher Education.

International Journal of Applied Linguistics & English Literature, 10(4), 77.
doi:10.7575/aiac.ijalel.v.10n.4p.77

Azmi, S., & Wardi, F. (2020). Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid: The Pioneer of Islamic Education in Lombok Community West Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia. *Khalifa Journal of Islamic Education*. doi:10.24036/kjie.v4i1.37

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (R. Nice Ed.). Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Budoyo, S., & Hardiyanti, M. (2021). Urgency of Strengthening Women Participation in the Building of Gender Justice Based Village. *Law Reform*, 17(2), 252-266. doi:10.14710/lr.v17i2.41751

Fahrurrozi, F. (2016). Budaya Pesantren Di Pulau Seribu Masjid, Lombok. *Karsa Journal of Social and Islamic Culture*, 23(2), 325. doi:10.19105/karsa.v23i2.730

Farida, I., Aman, & Wardana, A. (2020). Gender Inequality and Labor Market in Indonesia (Between 2014–2018). doi:10.2991/assehr.k.200130.040

Fathurrahman, F. (2022). Perkembangan Madrasah Di Indonesia: Kajian Historis Pada Madrasah Nahdlatul Wathan Lombok. *Tajdid Jurnal Pemikiran Keislaman Dan Kemanusiaan*, 6(2), 255-273. doi:10.52266/tajdid.v6i2.1105

Firmansyah, M., Adha, R., & Masrun, M. (2019). Transformasi Modal Sosial Ke Dalam Modal Ekonomi Dalam Upaya Pengentasan Kemiskinan (Studi Di Pulau Lombok, NTB). *Elastisitas - Jurnal Ekonomi Pembangunan*, 1(1), 16-23. doi:10.29303/e-jep.v1i1.4

Garcia, P., Sharma, P., Massis, A. V. D., Wright, M., & Scholes, L. (2018). Perceived Parental Behaviors and Next-Generation Engagement in Family Firms: A Social Cognitive Perspective. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 43(2), 224-243. doi:10.1177/1042258718796087

Gregorian, M. (2016). The rights of women in Islam: Examples of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Kingsley, J. J. (2014). Redrawing Lines of Religious Authority in Lombok, Indonesia. *Asian*

Journal of Social Science, 42(5), 657-677.

- Lee, J., & Macdonald, D. (2009). Rural Young People and Physical Activity: Understanding Participation Through Social Theory. *Sociology of Health & Illness*, 31(3), 360-374. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9566.2008.01138.x
- Norodien-Fataar, N. (2016). The Pre-University Pathways of Disadvantaged Students for Gaining Entry to University Study. *Education as Change*, 20(1). doi:10.17159/1947-9417/2016/568
- Ntoimo, L., & Isiugo-Abanihe, U. C. (2013). Patriarchy and Singlehood Among Women in Lagos, Nigeria. *Journal of Family Issues*, 35(14), 1980-2008. doi:10.1177/0192513x13511249
- Ross, M. L. (2008). Oil, Islam, and Women. *American Political Science Review*, 102(1), 107-123. doi:10.1017/s0003055408080040
- Sahabuddin, H. (2018, 23/10/2018) Islam in Lombok: Waktu Telu and Waktu Lima/Interviewer: A. Ridwan.
- Smith, B. J. (2021). Sufism and the Sacred Feminine in Lombok, Indonesia: Situating Spirit Queen Dewi Anjani and Female Saints in Nahdlatul Wathan. *Religions*. doi:10.3390/rel12080563
- Suryanarayanan, S., & Ramswamy, R. (2022). Women's Empowerment Through Skill Education and Entrepreneurship Development in the Handloom Sector in Mizoram. *Sedme (Small Enterprises Development Management & Extension Journal) a Worldwide Window on Msme Studies*, 49(3), 235-252. doi:10.1177/09708464221111978
- Tan, Q., Li, C., Wu, P., & Abbas, S. (2023). Family Capital, Social Stratification, and Access to Higher Education: An Empirical Study in Mainland China. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 13. doi:10.3389/fpsyg.2022.1035715
- Amin, M. (2016). Pemikiran Politik Al-Mawardi. *Politik Profetik*, 1.



The 2nd ICONITIES

International Conference on
Islamic Civilization and Humanities

Faculty of Adab and Humanities
UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya
28-29 May 2024