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Leadership of Women Scholars in The Tradition of Pesantren in Madura: A Study on The Transformation of Patriarchy to Matriarchy in Pesantren

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Abstract: *In the tradition of pesantren in Madura, usually the leaders and caregivers of islamic boarding schools are often dominated by patriarchy (kyai leadership), this is undeniable because patriarchy has become a tradition of islamic boarding schools. It can be proven, that when there is a change of leadership and caregivers of the pesantren, it must be dominated by a man. However, from the presence of many islamic boarding schools in Madura, there is an al-huda islamic boarding school in pamekasan where the leader is a woman (matriarchy). As for this research, it uses a qualitative approach with the type of field research. Meanwhile, data collection techniques use observation, interview and documentation techniques. The data analysis technique uses data reduction, data presentation and drawing conclusions. So the result of this research is the transformation of patriarchy to matriarchy in the al-huda islamic boarding school through family deliberations, having a clear vision and mission motivation, having broad scientific insight and being able to face problems well.*

Keywords: *Leadership Transformation; Patriarchy; Matriarchy; Pesantren Al-Huda.*

INTRODUCTION

Madurese clerics are often identified with Kiai (male) because he is the one who accommodates all the problems that exist in the surrounding community. This also happens in Islamic educational institutions, especially in boarding schools in Madura[1]. We can see the reality, even the average pesantren in Madura is led by a Kiai (male). Because he has a charismatic attitude and exemplary attitude for all students who board in his pesantren. But, in the succession of Kiai leadership in pesantren, it is inseparable from the support of Nyai (female) beside him. Where a Nyai always fully supports improving the quality and quantity of the development of pesantren led by a Kiai (male)[2]. In this case, it is clear that Nyai (women) also have a role in the growth of pesantren.

In the tradition of Kiai (male) leadership in this pesantren. It turns out that there are pesantren that are cared for and led directly by Nyai, this shows that women can also become leaders who tend to be in the assumption of society that women are weak, undeveloped, and cannot lead. From this assumption, it turns out that there is one pesantren in Madura that is led by a woman, namely Pondok Pesantren Al-Huda Sumber Nangka Duko Timur Pamekasan[3]. This proves that women (Nyai's mother) also have an important role in the development of pesantren in Madura. She is Nyai Aisyatul As'adiyah, one of the granddaughters of Kyai As'ad Sukorejo.

Nyai aisyatul as'adiyah is a person who has led the al-huda pesantren for a long time. Her presence on the island of Madura, especially in Pamekasan, has a positive impact on the development of Islamic education in Pamekasan. His presence also had a good impact on the social community of Pamekasan. As for some of his involvement in both education, social, and government, including; First, he is the caretaker of a charismatic boarding school in Pamekasan, which so far the caretaker of the boarding school is identified with men. Second, she became a single fighter who continued her parents' struggle to manage the institution. In the social community, she is the

[1] Achmad Mulyadi, "Perempuan Madura Pesisir Meretas Budaya Mode Produksi Patriarkat," *KARSA: Jurnal Sosial Dan Budaya Keislaman* 19, no. 2 (2012): 200–213.
[2] Abdul Rahim, "Peran Kepemimpinan Perempuan Dalam Perspektif Gender," *Jurnal Al-Maiyyah* 9, no. 2 (2016): 268–95.
[3] Mohammad Takdir, "Kiprah Ulama Perempuan Nyai Hj. Makkiyah As'ad Dalam Membentengi Moralitas Umaat Di Pamekasan Madura," *'Anil Islam* 8 (2015): 72–97.

administrator of the Nahdlatul Ulama' (NU) organization, she is also active as a political party politician[4].

This research is categorized in the type of field research with the paradigm of Bernard M. Bass' Transformational Leadership theory[5]. The approach in this research is descriptive qualitative where the research interprets and analyzes phenomena, all events, community activities, sensations, and people's perspectives both individually and collectively.

In this study, researchers used three data collection techniques, namely, 1. Observation: Where researchers come directly to the research site actively and transparently. so that with this data collection, information can be received by researchers properly and informants feel a comfort with the presence of researchers. In this observation, the researcher uses non-participant observation because the researcher is not directly involved in the existing structure at the al-huda boarding school, Sumber Jackfruit Ban Pamekasan. 2. Interviews, where in this case researchers use 2 types of interviews, namely instructor interviews, and non-instructors. Namely, the researcher has prepared the questions to be asked or even the researcher makes his questions if deemed important. 3. Documentation, where this last data collection method is used by researchers to clarify the description of the data needed by researchers[6]. both during observations, interviews, and taking pictures related to women's leadership in the Pondok Pesantren Sumber Nangka Duko Timur Pamekasan.

After the researcher collects the data properly, the researcher analyzes the data which is done interactively and continuously to the roots, so that the data is valid and credible. As for this data analysis activity, researchers use three steps: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing or data verification[7].

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Basic Concepts of Gender Equality in Pesantren

The existing debate on the issue of gender equality has two paradigms: some are in favor and some are against. Despite this polemic, the notion of gender is sometimes

[4] Interview with Nyai Aisyatul As'adiyah, "Transformasi Patriarki Ke Matriarki Di Pondok Pesantren Al-Huda" (PP. Al-Huda, 2022).
[5] Bernard M. Bass, *Ethics, Character and Authentic Transformasional Leadership Behavior* (New York: Leadership Quarterly, 1999).
[6] Suharsimi Arikunto, *Prosedur Penelitian Suatu Pendekatan Praktek*, III (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 2000).
[7] Sugiyono, *Metodologi Penelitian Pendidikan Kuantitatif-Kualitatif Dan R&D* (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2010).

misinterpreted by those who reject this issue. Another mistake also appears in an interpretation of the usefulness of gender itself. Some academics consider gender as a form of God's nature and others see it as a construct that is directly constructed by society due to cultural influences[8].

Gender equality itself historically began with a grammatical classification of objects according to their respective sexes, especially in the languages of Europeans. But along with its development, a European scientist Ivan Illich used this gender sentence to distinguish verticular society both in terms of language, behavior, thoughts, food, space, time, objects, means of production, and so on[9]. The word gender in Indonesian is a form of an English word that means sex (gender). But in other literature, it is explained that gender and sex are different where gender is a difference that appears in a man and a woman who can be understood by their behavior with the interference of culture in the social life of the community.

Gender equality here is a trait or characteristic inherent in both men and women that is constructed through social life or local cultural influences. Among the examples are that women are known as gentle, beautiful, emotional, and motherly while men tend to be stronger, rational, male, and mighty[10]. These traits and characters are interchangeable due to social and cultural factors. Thus this change can occur from time to time and from one place to another even from one social class to another. This change is known as gender, which is a concept concerning the roles and responsibilities of each individual according to their gender which changes with adaptation to social society and surrounding culture[11]. In other words, gender issues are determined in the social realm, so this gender ideology is the ideology of the nation that participated in building the idea of this country's identity.

The use of gender equality in a feminist discourse was first spoken by Anne Oakley. The difference between sex and gender is that sex is closely related to certain biological

[8] Trianah Sofiani, "Access to Justice for Victims of Dating Violence: Gender Perspective," *Sawwa: Jurnal Studi Gender* 16, no. 1 (2021), https://doi.org/10.21580/sa.v16i1.5143.
[9] Aurora Virgonia Niswar, Rozidateno Putri Hanida, and Roni Ekha Putera, "Regulation Improvement of Right to Education Policy for Street Children in Padang City," *Sawwa: Jurnal Studi Gender* 15, no. 1 (2020), https://doi.org/10.21580/sa.v15i1.4822.
[10] Asna Husin, "Women of Aceh: The Struggle for Peace and Justice," in *Economic Empowerment of Women in the Islamic World: Theory and Practice*, 2020, https://doi.org/10.1142/9789811212154_0015.
[11] 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), https://doi.org/10.21580/sa.v16i2.8063.

and physical characteristics while gender is an idea that gives a clue to a system of roles of the two sexes so that both can relate to integration due to influences in the social, political, economic and cultural environment[12]. In its history, the beginning of this gender issue was people who were not interested in distinguishing between sex and gender[13]. where the perception of society at that time had the assumption that gender differences were a form of sex differences. The existence of a sexual division of roles and work is a reasonable view, but by its development, recently there has been a difference between the expression of sex and gender due to cultural influences[14]. Thus, gender is an idea used to define the differences between men and women that are constructed by social or cultural influences between these two sexes. It has a significant impact on men and women in their positions, roles, and traits that are always changing.

Principles and Values of Gender Equality in Pesantren

The issue of gender equality is a sacred term to be uttered by educational practitioners, feminist activists, social activists, politicians, and even government officials[15]. The terms gender equality and justice in practical terms are always interpreted as inequality between men and women. Thus the term gender equality is often associated with the term discrimination against women, oppression of women, and unfair treatment of women[16]. this term that will result in emotional attitudes, and resentment and trigger sympathy and empathy for women. Therefore, there is a women's emancipation agenda among social activists and so on for behaviors that tend to hurt women.

In the understanding of the general public, the term equality often creates an ambivalent paradigm of equality in all roles of community life and a paradigm of

[12] Allison Milner et al., "Gender Equality and Health in High-Income Countries: A Systematic Review of Within-Country Indicators of Gender Equality in Relation to Health Outcomes," *Women's Health Reports*, 2021, https://doi.org/10.1089/whr.2020.0114.

[13] Asim Iqbal et al., "Gender Equality, Education, Economic Growth and Religious Tensions Nexus in Developing Countries: A Spatial Analysis Approach," *Heliyon* 8, no. 11 (2022), https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2022.e11394.

[14] Wahyudin Wahyudin, "The Dynamics of Gender Equality: The Girls Ddi Mangkoso Islamic Boarding School in South Sulawesi," *Musãwa Jurnal Studi Gender Dan Islam* 19, no. 1 (2020), https://doi.org/10.14421/musawa.2020.191.99-108.

[15] Serena Tagliacozzo and Ilaria Di Tullio, "Gender Equality Plans (GEPs) as a Framework to Devise Gender Equality Measures for Disaster Research," *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction* 60 (2021), https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2021.102294.

[16] Mieke T.A. Lopes Cardozo et al., "Silent Struggles: Women Education Leaders' Agency for Peacebuilding in Islamic Schools in Post-Conflict Aceh," *Journal of Peace Education* 19, no. 2 (2022), https://doi.org/10.1080/17400201.2022.2052826.

biological differences where men and women are not always the same between the two[17]. For this reason, the issue of gender equality is part of social construction in contemporary times[18]. With that, gender differences will not have an impact on differences in gender roles and behavior at the social level of a multi-paradigm society. Understanding the paradigm of gender equality issues is done to eliminate the issue of discrimination against women and injustice against women to achieve the function of the messenger of Allah Swt. on this earth.

Pesantren management is the most important part of the process of developing and managing the pesantren itself. Usually, the most active role in managing this pesantren is a caregiver and pesantren leader (Kiai/Nyai) where he is a central, authoritative figure and is the center of all policies and changes in the pesantren itself[19]. So all learning materials taught by Kiai and teachers are a direct recommendation from a pesantren leader. Usually, the materials taught in pesantren are Islamic sciences and other general sciences to add insight and knowledge to the students.

Gender equality education in pesantren is a deepening to the students of the importance of life that integrates each other between the abilities of men and women[20]. Education is a conscious effort made by an educator to help and guide the growth and development of students while gender is an idea that distinguishes men and women by doing a social or cultural construction where this is associated with the biological characteristics of each sex which has an impact later on the position and role of both in social life.

The application of gender equality in boarding school education is an implementation and use of opportunities and opportunities between the two sexes, both men and women, to get good guidance in the form of the development and growth of students systematically and regularly by the direction of maturation of students through the process of teaching, training and there is an outpouring carried out by teachers on the

[17] Nurul Salis Alamin et al., "LEADERSHIP EDUCATION AT PONDOK MODERN DARUSSALAM GONTOR PUTRA CAMPUS 1 , PONOROGO," *Attanwir: Jurnal Kajian Keislaman Dan Pendidikan* 15, no. 1 (2024), https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.53915/jurnalkeislamandanpendidikan.v15i1.

[18] Alfian Rokhmansyah, *Pengantar Gender & Feminisme* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Garudhawaca, 2022).

[19] Amin Fadlillah and Ibanah Suhroardiyah Shiam Mubarokah, "Strengthening Women's Rights among Students: Case Study at The Pondok Pesantren of Tahfidz Al-Qur'an Ebqory Jember," *An-Nisa': Jurnal Kajian Perempuan Dan Keislaman* 15, no. 1 (2022), https://doi.org/10.35719/annisa.v15i1.70.

[20] Moh Mahbub and Kamila Adnani, "The Role Equality of Nyai In The Development of Islamic Boarding School (Pesantren) (Case Study of Al-Huda Islamic Boarding School , Doglo , Cepogo , Boyolali Regency)," *Buana Gender* 7, no. 2 (2022): 139–55.

importance of gender equality to develop the abilities and personality of students to the level of maturity[21]. Gender equality education is carried out both in the classroom and outside the classroom by educators who take place forever so that it is easily internalized in students.

Historical Setting of Pesantren Al-Huda Sumber Nangka Larangan Pamekasan

Al-Huda boarding school is one of the oldest boarding schools. This pesantren was founded in 1907 by KHR. Zainuddin which is located in Sumber Nangka, East Doku Village, Larangan District, Pamekasan Regency, East Java. Pesantren al-huda sumber nangka is commonly known by the community as pesantren Bher Nangka (Sumber Nangka)[22]. Because behind this pesantren there is a river whose water is abundant for consumption and is used as a source of water to irrigate the rice fields of the local community. So that the community is called the source of Sumber Nangka.

In its history, after the death of KHR. Zainuddin was then continued by KHR Mudzhar in 1920-1945. Then continued by his son named KH. Drs. Ahmad Shidqi Mudzhar from 1945 to 2002. After the music died, it was replaced by the wife of KH. Drs. Ahmad Shidqi Mudzhar, namely Nyai Hj. Makkiyah As'ad, who is the daughter of KHR. As'ad Syamsul arifin Salafiyah shafi'iyah sukorejo situbondo for 5 years (2002-2007)[23]. From 2007 until now it has been replaced by her daughter named Nyai Hj. Aisyatul As'adiyah to develop the al-huda boarding school, source of nagka larangan pamekasan. This boarding school now consists of several levels of education from Early Childhood Education (PAUD) to Vocational High School (SMK).

Transformation of Patriarcy to Matriarchy in Pesantren Al-Huda Larangan Pamekasan

According to Bernard M. Bass, there are four components in transformational leadership theory as follows: First, Inspirational Motivation; in this case, a leader must have a very clear vision of the mission by having a good vision of the mission to be internalized in team members[24]. The leader here can create a clear picture of the future

[21] Siti Fatimah, "KEPEMIMPINAN PEREMPUAN DALAM PERSPEKTIF AL- QUR'AN," *Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 5, no. 1 (2015): 90–102.
[22] Interview with Nyai Aisyatul As'adiyah, "Transformasi Patriarki Ke Matriarki Di Pondok Pesantren Al-Huda."
[23] Interview With Ustadzah Siti Fatimah, "Transformasi Patriarki Ke Matriarki Di Al-Huda" (PP. Al-Huda, 2022).
[24] Bernard M. Bass, *Ethics, Character and Authentic Transformasional Leadership Behavior*.

state optimistically to be achieved and can encourage members to raise expectations and improve themselves to achieve the vision and mission desired by the leader.

The vision and mission desired by the leaders and caregivers of the al-huda Islamic boarding school is for the teachers and students to have good morals and good knowledge insights. as stated by Nyai Aisyatul As'adiyah:

> *"adapun mekanisme perubahan yang dilakukan disini, dengan musyawarah antar internal keluarga pesantren dan para guru. dengan mengedepankan segala pertimbangan sesuai dengan rekam jejak dari para keluarga dhelem. Terutama memiliki visi dan misi untuk menjadikan para guru dan santri memiliki akhlak yang mulia dan wawasan keilmuan yang bagus"*[25].

Second, Idealized Influence; where a leader is useful as a role model for its members. In this case, a leader is not only a monitor or an orderer but can provide a real example for his members. This is by the statement of siti fatimah as the minutes of the leadership change of the al-huda boarding school. The statement is as follows:

> *"biasanah enggi. Karena katoronan kak dintoh se a ghembang aghi paponapah se bedeh e lemabaga kak dintoh. Enten, se kak dhimmah bisasos antar lalakek otabeh bhebinik.se penting andhik tatakrama se bhegus..."*[26].

Third is intellectual Stimulation; as a leader, he must have good knowledge and insight to encourage his members to be creative in managing an institution. This is by the recognition of ustadz Rafiuddin:

> *"sokkor alhamdulillah, kalaben kepemimpinan bu nyai kak dintoh sangat bhegus padeh sareng pimpinan kyai. Malahan kalabhen bu nyai, benyak pengembangan pendidikan e al-huda kak dintoh karena ka elmuan se terros e yasah sareng ibu nyai"*[27].

The above, by the documentation that researchers found, that the education of the leader and caregiver of the al-huda Islamic boarding school up to school in strata 2 (S-2). That with the education and degrees he has obtained, it is an achievement of scientific ideas and rich experience of his scientific insights to develop the al-huda boarding school.

Fourth is individualized Consideration; where a leader can involve himself, and offer support and encouragement for problems that occur among team members both

[25] Interview with Nyai Aisyatul As'adiyah, "Transformasi Patriarki Ke Matriarki Di Pondok Pesantren Al-Huda."
[26] Interview With Ustadzah Siti Fatimah, "Transformasi Patriarki Ke Matriarki Di Al-Huda."
[27] Interview with Ustadz Rafiuddin, "Gaya Kepemimpinan Nyai Aisyatul As'adiyah" (PP. Al-Huda, 2022).

individually and collectively. This is applied by Nyai Aisyatul As'adiyah in solving problems in the al-huda boarding school. As the expression of Ustadz Syafi'uddin, one of the MTs al-Huda teachers:

> *"manabi bedeh permasalahan masalah pondug al-huda, biasanah e runding aghi sareng eng diah ka sadhejenah ghuruh otabeh ka guruh se andhik tanggung jawab ka permasalahnah"*[28].

Leadership Style of Madurese Women Ulama' in Managing Pesantren Al-Huda Larangan Pamekasan

In the 1970s women's leadership began to be felt by enterprising academics to voice gender equality. As a result, women's leadership can be implemented with a transformational leadership style with this style, women leaders are more motivating and reflect good morality in assisting and nurturing their subordinates[29]. Women leaders provide scientific contributions in encouraging their members to achieve all the goals they want together. with the encouragement of motivational factors and good behavior provided and exemplified by female leaders.

Women's leadership provides more responsibility than a man. This is because there is a very high level of intuition in women compared to men. In addition, women receive less formal training from various agencies and have the opportunity to develop institutions/agencies in the workplace than men[30]. It is on this basis that women's leadership in Islamic boarding schools can be a benchmark to be used as a basis for considering a woman to become a leader with a transformational leadership style.

According to Engkoswara and Aan that democratic leadership style is a leadership style that has an emphasis on excellent interpersonal relationships. In the sense that as a leader treats its members can be able to develop according to the potential possessed by each individual[31]. Thus the leader can guide, direct, discuss, and participate in total to the total activities carried out by his subordinates with very intense communication.

In line with Zainal Arifin's statement that democratic leadership is leadership that has mutual attachment between leaders and team members to achieve the desired goals

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[28] Interview with Ustadz Syafi'uddin, "Gaya Kepemimpinan Nyai Aisyatul As'adiyah" (PP. Al-Huda, 2022).
[29] Hasanatul Jannah, *Ulama Perempuan Madura* (Surabaya: Diva Press, 2020).
[30] Israpil Israpil, "Budaya Patriarki Dan Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan (Sejarah Dan Perkembangannya)," *Jurnal Pusaka: Kahzanah Keagamaan* 5, no. 2 (2017): 141–50, https://doi.org/10.31969/pusaka.v5i2.176.
[31] Ade Irma Sakina and Dessy Hasanah Siti A., "Menyoroti Budaya Patriarki Di Indonesia," *Share : Social Work Journal* 7, no. 1 (2017): 71, https://doi.org/10.24198/share.v7i1.13820.

together[32]. This leadership usually conducts deliberations by exchanging ideas to get a solution for all policies to be legalized together. The statement above is by the leadership style applied by Nyai Aisyatul As'adiyah, who often deliberates on problems in the al-Huda Islamic boarding school. As his statement:

> *"gaya kepemimpinan yang saya terapkan tidak jauh beda dengan kepemimpinan demokratis dengan melakukan musyawarah secara intens dalam mencapai tujuan bersama dan memecahkan sebuah permasalahan"[33].*

The above statement is in accordance with the recognition of ustadz rafiuddin, about the discussions held by Nyai Aisyatul As'adiyah in finding solutions to problems in the al-huda boarding school. As his statement:

> *"sami-sami bhegus, karena bedeh tindak lanjut se sanget tegghih untuk atingkat aghi lembaga al-huda. Manabi bedeh masala, beliau langsung a musyawah aghi ka dhen kauleh.."[34].*

Thus, the leadership style of Nyai Aisyatul As'adiyah that is applied is a democratic leadership style to absorb and accommodate all the thoughts of the members to then find solutions together to develop the al-Huda Islamic boarding school, especially to broadcast Islamic values.

CONCLUSION

From the description above, the author can draw the following conclusions: ***First,*** the transformation of patriarchy to matriarchy in the al-huda Islamic boarding school by conducting *Dhelem* family deliberations, having a clear vision and mission motivation, having broad knowledge insights, and being able to face problems well. ***Second,*** the leadership style of madurese women ulama' in managing Islamic educational institutions in Al-Huda sumber nangka duko Timur larangan pamekasan is a democratic leadership style.

[32] Hasanatul Jannah, "Pondok Pesantren Sebagai Pusat Otoritas Ulama Madura," *Jurnal Al-Hikmah* 17, no. 1 (2019): 91–108, https://doi.org/10.35719/alhikmah.v17i1.9.
[33] Interview with Nyai Aisyatul As'adiyah, "Transformasi Patriarki Ke Matriarki Di Pondok Pesantren Al-Huda."
[34] Interview with Ustadz Rafiuddin, "Gaya Kepemimpinan Nyai Aisyatul As'adiyah."

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