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Halaman 189 - 348

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## DAFTAR ISI

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FEMALE LEADERSHIP IN INDONESIAN *PESANTREN*

Zakiah ----- 199 - 210



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## DARI MEJA REDAKSI

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Syukur kepada Tuhan Yang Maha Esa—Allah Swt, Jurnal PENAMAS (Penelitian Keagamaan dan Kemasyarakatan) Volume 29 Nomor 2, Juli-September Tahun 2016 dapat diterbitkan dan hadir di hadapan pembaca.

Jurnal PENAMAS edisi kali ini menyajikan sebanyak 9 (sembilan) artikel, yang terbagi ke dalam artikel-artikel yang terkait dengan bidang kehidupan keagamaan, pendidikan agama dan keagamaan, serta lektur dan khazanah keagamaan. Ketiga bidang penelitian atau kajian ini tetap menjadi fokus Jurnal Penamas, karena sesuai dengan Tugas dan Fungsi kami sebagai lembaga penelitian dan pengembangan di lingkungan Kementerian Agama.

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Kami berharap artikel-artikel yang disajikan pada edisi kali ini, dapat memberikan kontribusi, baik sebagai bahan/dasar pertimbangan kebijakan di bidang pembangunan agama maupun pengembangan ilmu pengetahuan agama dan masyarakat secara umum.

Selamat membaca!

Jakarta, Juli 2016  
Dewan Redaksi



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## FEMALE LEADERSHIP IN INDONESIAN *PESANTREN*

### KEPEMIMPINAN PEREMPUAN DI *PESANTREN*

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##### **Abstrak**

*Perempuan telah terlibat dengan pesantren sejak beberapa tahun yang lalu, baik sebagai santri (siswi) maupun sebagai ustadhah (guru). Beberapa studi menunjukkan, bahwa sejarah keterlibatan perempuan di pesantren sudah dimulai sejak tahun 1916. Akan tetapi, lamanya keterlibatan tersebut tidak berarti perempuan akan mendapatkan kesempatan yang sama dalam posisi manajemen, karena kebanyakan pesantren dipimpin oleh kyai (seorang laki-laki). Artikel ini ditulis berdasarkan pada hasil penelitian pada dua pesantren, satu berada di Gresik Jawa Timur dan Brebes Jawa Tengah. Hasil riset menunjukkan, bahwa nyai (istri dari kyai) memimpin pesantren putri, sementara kyai sebagai pimpinan puncak dari pesantren putra dan pesantren putri. Pada level manajemen, nyai berada di posisi kedua setelah kyai. Dia mempunyai wewenang memimpin dan menjalankan pesantren putri serta mengajar santri putri.*

**Kata Kunci:** *Pesantren, kepemimpinan wanita, kyai, nyai*

##### **Abstract**

Women have involved in *pesantren* since many years ago whether as students or as teachers. Many studies revealed the history of the involvement of women in this educational institution which is stated that it started in 1916. However, the long engagement in this institution does not mean that women will have same opportunity in the management level since most of *pesantren* is chaired by a *kyai* (a man). This article based on the field research at two *pesantren* located in Gresik East Java and Brebes Central Java. In addition, data was gathered through documentary study. Finding of the research shows that *nyai* (wife of the *kyai*) lead a *pesantren* for female students, meanwhile a *kyai* is the top leader for both *pesantren* for male and female students. In the management, *nyai* is in the second level under the *kyai*. She has authority to run female *pesantren* and teach female students.

**Keywords:** *Pesantren, female leadership, kyai, nyai*

## INTRODUCTION

Female leadership in *pesantren* is an important topic to be discussed since women are part of the *pesantren's* development in Indonesia. Besides, *pesantren* has its own characteristics in which to some extents are unique and different from other educational institutions. Thus, to address this topic, a review of the tradition, value and uniqueness of *pesantren* in general is necessary. There are at least three characteristics of it namely: (1) the independency of *pesantren* leadership, (2) *kitab kuning*<sup>1</sup> and (3) a value system (Wahid 1997). These characteristics are placed as a starting point to understand the milieu in which woman participate in *pesantren* leadership.

It should be noted that over the period of time the discussion of *pesantren* has focused on the *kyai*,<sup>2</sup> *santri*<sup>3</sup> and *kitab kuning*. All these three things are recognized as the main components of *pesantren* that

influence much of the development of *pesantren*. For instance, Jamali (1999) and Gumiandari (1999) concentrated their study on *santri* facing modern challenges and hegemony. Zahro (2004) reviewed *kitab kuning* that played as a source of knowledge and its contribution. Zahro mentioned that this textbook contributes to improve the capability of *santri* in Islamic teaching (Zahro 2004). Geertz (1961), Rahardjo (1974), and Dhofier (1982) explored more about *kyai* as the key person in the *pesantren* development and changing process. Martin van Bruinessen (1995) wrote about *kitab kuning* used in *pesantren* and its relationship with the development of tarekat (group of people following mysticism) in Indonesia. In his study, Bruinessen looked and examined those *pesantren's* books that are kept at the KITLV library of Leiden University in the Netherland (van Bruinessen 1995). Zamakshari Dhofier (1982) wrote a thesis for his Ph.D about *pesantren's* tradition and life perspective of *kyai*. Meanwhile, Karel A. Steenbrink (1986) studied the dynamic and the changing in *pesantren*. He said that such alteration happened was not only because of religious causes but also other factors such as social, cultural, and political aspects.

On the other hand, woman particularly *nyai*<sup>4</sup> in *pesantren* have hardly ever been studied by many scholars. This is not because *nyai* does not contribute to such institutions but rather they might not see *nyai* as the important topic to be researched. In addition, it might be because of the patriarchal tradition of *pesantren*

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<sup>1</sup>*Kitab kuning* is a yellow book/a textbook written in Arabic and contained Islamic knowledge. This book is usually studied in *pesantren* and it plays as reference and syllabus for teaching. This book is generally printed on yellow paper, so that it is called yellow book (Dhofier 1997; Zahro 2004).

<sup>2</sup>*Kyai* is a Javanese word for male religious scholars/male leader of *pesantren* (Dhofier 1995). This term has also many other definitions; the first, it is a respectful title for Moslem scholars or leader of *pesantren*. The second, it is a title of sacred animals and materials such as inherited material of the palace and mystical animals from ancient faith. The third, this is a title for old people who are honored because of their social status (Suryo 2000).

<sup>3</sup>*Santri* means the student of *pesantren* (Muhaimin 1995). Besides, there are many views about the origin of the term *santri* such as an opinion that the word *santri* came from the word Shastri (Sanskrit language) means an expert of Hinduism book or an expert of the religious and science books, while others say that the word *santri* come from Tamil language meant religious teacher (Suryo 2000). While in Indonesian dictionary, *santri* means people who devout seriously or people who study Islamic teaching (Tim Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia 1997).

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<sup>4</sup>*Nyai* is a Javanese term which is used to call female religious leader/female Moslem scholars. This word is also utilized to name the wife of *kyai*. While in certain cases, this term is used as a title for an older woman (Echols and Shadily 1998, 392).

that influence on the research trend and its discourses (Srimulyani 2012). In the recent era, there is few writing about women in *pesantren*, for instance Khariroh (2010) wrote a thesis for her master degree entitled "Women movement in Indonesian *pesantren*, negotiating Islam, culture, and modernity". This writing is a case study on two Islamic boarding schools namely, Dar-al Tauhid Cirebon and Pesantren Cipasung West Java. These two *pesantren* are selected because they have women crisis center which focuses not only on the issue of women like violence against women, but also as a movement that challenge the patriarchy in the world of *pesantren* (Khariroh 2010, 19-20).

Tri Marhaeni Pudji Astuti (2010) wrote an article concerning on the gender construction in *pesantren*. She compared how gender is constructed in Indonesian and Malaysian *pesantren*. This study shows that in Malaysia men are responsible to work outside their house while women have to do the household chores or involve in the domestic work. In Indonesia, women have responsibility to do housework, but they can work outside too. Both *pesantren* have different argument on the issue of gender and the relationship between men and women. However, both agree that there is a social and cultural influence on how *santri* defined gender, men and women correlation (Astuti 2010, 125).

Women's leadership in *pesantren* was discussed by Eka Srimulyani in a book chapter edited by Blackburn, S. & Smith, B.J. & Syamsiyatun, S (2008). She depicts that women have played significant roles in *pesantren's* leadership. They fill the position as a leader because of their talent and the legitimacy from the influential men

closely related to them. She mentions that women in this institution should be careful in term of their behavior, their dress, their interaction with men, and maintain their roles as the household manager. In this case, women should follow the gendered Islamic rules (Srimulyani 2008). Furthermore, she also wrote a book entitled "women from traditional Islamic educational institution in Indonesia; negotiating public spaces (Srimulyani 2012). This book focused on the women especially *nyai* who empowers themselves with knowledge and how they negotiate their roles both in domestic and public space. This writing reveals the history and the journey of *nyai* in Pesantren Jombang East Java in which there is a concept of Ibuism (Javanese term for motherhood). It means that *nyai* is a mother for their own children and a mother for *santri*. In this *pesantren*, *nyai* also challenges the roles as the leader and manager of female *pesantren* (Srimulyani 2012).

Looking back at the history of *pesantren*, actually women have been involved in *pesantren* for quite a long time. It was started in 1916 when some *pesantren* introduced dormitories for girls (Dhofier 1995). This was the time when women had opportunity to study in this place which in turn created a demand for *nyai's* roles due to the fact that in most Indonesian *pesantren* the dormitories and classes for *santri* are separated based on sex. There is a class for girls and there is another class for boys. This rule is also applied in the boarding house. Along with this separation system, there are *pesantren putri* (*pesantren* proposed for girls) and *pesantren putra* (*pesantren* intended for boys). Both of these *pesantren* need to be managed by both *kyai* and *nyai*.

Hence, the involvement of *nyai* in *pesantren* cannot be denied. This article, then, argues that women in *pesantren* are significant to be studied especially how they involved in managing this institution and how they engaged in the leadership system in this educational institution.

### Conceptual Framing

*Pesantren* in Indonesia is one of the Islamic training centers for advance students. It has played crucial roles in shaping Indonesian community by providing teaching and education. In many cases, it has produced many *ulama* (Islamic scholars) and leaders in society as well as teachers of *madrasah*<sup>5</sup> (Dhofier 1995). Long before independent day, *pesantren* had been centers of Indonesian struggle for freedom. During the colonization era, many *kyai* became a motivator and a driver of the movement against colonizer, for example, Kyai Kholil from Bangkalan Madura, Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari from Pesantren Tebuireng Jombang East Java, Kyai Abbas from Pesantren Buntet Cirebon West Java, Kyai Bisri Syansuri from Pesantren Denanyar Jombang East Java, and Kyai Machrus Ali from Pesantren Lirboyo Kediri East Java (Zahro 2004). The existence of *pesantren* is, therefore, an integral part of Indonesian development.

It is important to state that the first *pesantren* was established by Syekh Maulana Malik Ibrahim in 1399. Such *pesantren* is proposed for not only educating people but also dissemination of Islamic teaching to the community in Java. Then, there were many

<sup>5</sup>*Madrasah* is religious schools where both secular and religious subjects are taught, administratively under coordination of the ministry of religious affairs (Dhofier 1995, 149-140).

*pesantren* built by some Moslem scholars such as Raden Rahmat (Sunan Ampel) who built a *pesantren* in Ampel Denta Surabaya East Java. Raden Patah developed a *pesantren* in Demak Central Java, and Sunan Bonang established a *pesantren* in Tuban East Java. The existence of *pesantren* have developed and improved continually (Muhtarom 2005).

The numbers of *pesantren* have increased gradually, for instance in 1979 it stood at about 4,135 and it grew to 6,579 in 1987. This growth was followed by the growing number of students; in 1978 there were only 677,554 and in 1987 it increased almost double to 1,213,739 students (Dhofier 1995). some *pesantren* are also supported by other Islamic educational institutions namely *madrasah ibtidaiyah* (elementary school), *madrasah tsanawiyah* (junior high school), and *madrasah aliyah* (senior high school) who have a great number of students (more than 3 millions). These formal schools have introduced both religious and non religious subject of study such as: English, Mathematics, Biology, Physic and so forth (Zuhri 1999). In 2014, it was reported that there are 13.336 *pesantren* (48,9 % out of the total) that only provide only an education of *kitab kuning*, and there are 13.954 *pesantren* that provide education of *kitab kuning* and other educational services (Kementerian Agama RI 2015, 132). Meanwhile, in 2014 the numbers of female students at the *pesantren* throughout Indonesia are 1.780.398 (48.72%) compared to male students that consist of 1.873.698 (51.28%) (Kementerian Agama RI 2015, 132).

In several places, *pesantren* have been supported by Islamic higher education institutions such as Ibrahimy Institute of Islamic Studies in Pesantren Syafi'iyah



Sukorejo Situbondo East Java, Darul Ulum University in Pesantren Darul Ulum Jombang East Java, Al Musaddadiyah Islamic College in Pesantren Al Musaddadiyah Garut West Java, Tribakti Institute of Islamic Studies in Pesantren Lirboyo Kediri East Java, Hasyim Asy'ari University in Pesantren Tebuireng Jombang East Java (Zahro 2004). Meanwhile, others are *pesantren* without formal education; they provide Islamic teaching with their own system of learning and mostly used *kitab kuning* as their references. This type of *pesantren* is usually called as *salafiyah* (traditional *pesantren*).

### Research Method

This paper was written based on the field research and a documentary study on several documents like books, articles, reports, essays and report of the previous research. Data was collected by interviewing some subjects in the *pesantren* and observation at the study area. Two *pesantren* namely: Daruttaqwa in Gresik East Java and Assalafiyah in Brebes Central Java were selected as the locus of study.

## RESEARCH FINDING AND DISCUSSION

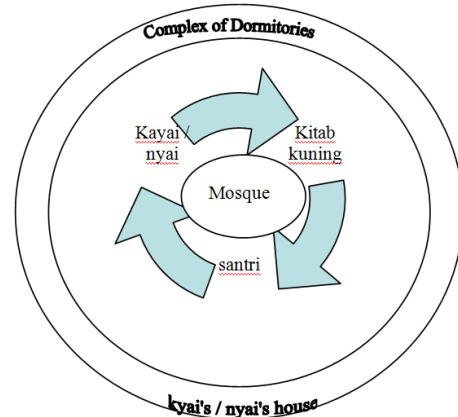
### *Pesantren*: Its Characteristics and Uniqueness

A large number of *pesantren* existing in Indonesia has formed a great tradition with its uniqueness. Many scholars label this tradition as sub culture (Wahid, 1999). The core components of *pesantren* consist of *kyai/nyai*, *santri*, and *kitab kuning*. These elements are complemented with a mosque and complex of dormitories as well as *kyai's/*

*nyai's* house. All of these aspects are bound together and interconnected each other.

Mosque is the center for all activities, and in this place people of *pesantren* pray and learn religious subjects. *Kyai/nyai* and *santri* have a close relationship as a teacher and students. While *kitab kuning* contained Islamic teaching plays as the subject of the study which in turn influence on the *santri's* knowledge and behavior.

Diagram 1  
*Pesantren* Milieu



The diagram 1 illustrates the *pesantren* sphere; each part of the components connects with another part. *Kyai* and *nyai* live in their house that is established in the *pesantren* complex. *Santri* live in the dormitories in the *pesantren* complex. Usually, all of the daily needs for the *santri* like food and bath are provided inside the complex. Moreover, the learning process is hold in a mosque and class rooms inside the *pesantren*. Indeed, this *pesantren* offers an integral system of education, so that *santri* do not have to go out from the complex in order to fulfill their need.

In most Indonesian *pesantren*, there is an independency in the leadership system which means the management and

the curriculum are handled by people in *pesantren* without any intervention from the outsiders including government (Wahid 1999). Habitually the oldest *kyai* becomes the leader of the *pesantren*. This *kyai* has full authority to run *pesantren*, as he is the person who teaches *santri* and becomes the leading manager of the *pesantren*. In addition, there are many other *pesantren* managed by a foundation which contains many people in the board structure. This type of structure is usually chaired by a director who is selected through an election.

The relationship between *kyai/nyai* and *santri* are generally based on trust. In this case, *santri* is always loyal to them for the reason that they wish to gain the grace of the *kyai/nyai*. There is a well known expression among *santri* "*sami'na wa aṭa'na*" (listening and obeying); this sentence means *santri* will listen to what the *kyai's/nyai's* saying and doing it. The obedience to them is the first attitude that should be learned by *santri*. In addition, *santri* must have certain characters such as respecting ulama (Moslem scholars) and the authors of *kitab kuning* (Wahid 1999; Zahro 2004).

*Kitab kuning* studied in *pesantren* is one of the efforts of this institution to keep and transfer knowledge from one generation to the next generation. These textbooks are originally from the past. They are mostly old books. This *kitab kuning* consists of various themes, for example, fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), tafsir (Qur'an exegesis), and grammar of Arabic language, philosophy, history and so forth. To study this reference, *santri* uses two methods, namely: *sorogan* and *bandongan*. The first way, one *santri* read the chosen *kitab kuning* in front of the *kyai/nyai* individually, then *kyai/nyai* will listen it

and will correct it if the *santri* make mistakes in explaining the text and its grammar. The second method, *bandongan*, *santri* listen to the *kyai/nyai* explanation collectively; in this way *kyai/nyai* read, translate, and explain the *kitab kuning* while *santri* listen and write those explanation and translation (Mochtar 1999; Muhaimin 1995).

Those *kyai/nyai-santri-kitab kuning* are interconnected elements of *pesantren* which then create a distinctive value system. For instance, there are concept of *barakah* (grace) and piety. Both of these concepts affect on the development and existence of the *pesantren*. The value of piety is used by *kyai/nyai* to motivate people and assist others. This value is transformed into real action by making solidarity among society with all social levels which is called social piety (Wahid 1999).

### **A Brief History of Female *Pesantren* in Indonesia**

Female *pesantren* in Indonesia is dated back in 1916 when some *pesantren* started to introduce dormitory for female *santri*. The first *pesantren* that accepted female students is a *pesantren* in Jombang East Java (Dhofier 1995). At that time, female pupils began to have chances to study in that place. In 1919 Kyai Bisri Syansuri opened a special class for women, after he built a male *pesantren* in Denanyar Jombang East Java. He realized that there was a significant progress in *pesantren* development, although at that time accepting women as *santri* is not common (Dahlan 2002). Kyai Bisri Syansuri, then, shared his responsibility with his wife, Nyai Khadijah. She was responsible to manage female *pesantren* and teach them,

while Kyai Bisri Syansuri led and managed a male *pesantren* (Dahlan 2002, 104).

In 1918, Nyai Dahlan, the wife of Kyai Dahlan (the founding father of Muhammadiyah organization) opened a dormitory for female students because at that time there were many women studying at a Pawiyatan school. This school was built by Kyai Dahlan in 1912 which is initially intended for male students known as Madrasah Ibtidaiyah Diniyah Islamiyah or Volk School Muhammadiyah. This school gained good response from Kesultanan Yogyakarta. In 1918 Kyai Dahlan received a land from Kesultanan Yogyakarta in Suronatan, then he built six classes for school and one place for praying. These two schools were developed to be: (a) a school for girls located in Kauman Yogyakarta, it named Pawiyatan school, and (b) a school for boys, it is located in Suronatan Yogyakarta, it is called Standar School Muhammadiyah (a five years of primary school) (Wahyudi 2002). Nyai Dahlan teaches religious learning and life skill for female students living in the dormitory. The religious learning includes theology, how to perform praying, and how to speech for disseminating Islam. Female *santri* learning at that place came from various regions such as Yogyakarta, Temanggung, Tegal, Pekalongan, and other cities (Wahyudi 2002).

In West Sumatra, Rahmah El Yunusiah established a Madrasah Diniyah Li al-Banat (a school for girls) in 1 November 1923. This school is aimed for teaching girls to have Islamic characters and to be a mother having capabilities in educating her children and to be a person having responsibilities in making prosperous society and nation based on the sake of God (Munawaroh

2002, 13). In the early period, this school had 71 students and then it experienced a rapid development with large number of girls entering this school. In the later period, there are some educational institutions that were built like an educational institution for Qur'anic learning, a kindergarten, a junior high school, Diniyah School consisting of *madrasah ibtidaiyah*/elementary school and *madrasah tsanawiyah*/junior high school. In 1937, *Kulliyat al-Mu'allimat al-Islamiyah* was developed (a school for preparing girls to be a teacher). In 1967 a university was built comprising faculty of education and faculty of dakwah (Munawaroh 2002, 2-3).

Those *pesantren* and its educational institution are pioneer of education for women. It aims for teaching women who have not got opportunities to study in the previous era. The goals of this education, as said by Rahmah El-Yunusiah, are an effort to educate women with religious learning and improve women knowledge in which they have less opportunity than men to study in the preceding time (Munawaroh 2002, 1). Meanwhile, Nyai Dahlan mentioned that women have the same right as men, they will responsible of their doing before God, they have rights to live and to gain education for improving their knowledge and skills (Wahyudi 2002, 62).

The history of this early female *pesantren* is actually part of women movement in Indonesia. Those leading figures of female *pesantren* are people who also played significant roles in empowering women and the founder of some women organizations. For instance, Nyai Bisri Syansuri is an initiator of Muslimat Nahdlatul Ulama (a women organization under Nahdlatul Ulama), and Nyai Dahlan is a founder of organization

called "*Sopo Tresno*" in which later is called Aisyiah in 1917 (a women organization under Muhammadiyah). Moreover, Rahmah El Yunusiah is actively involved in creating Sabililah and Hisbullah militia in 1919. She also participated in Tentara Keamanan Rakyat/TKR (People Defense Army) that is a main element of Merapi militia (Mufidah 2008).

The female *pesantren* develops continuously until now. There are many dormitory and schools for girls in *pesantren* along with male *pesantren*. This condition, then, opens another chance for women to participate in the management and teaching system in those organizations. *Nyai* and senior female *santri* start to teach female students and engage in managing the institution. This is because in most *pesantren*, there is separation between girls and boys in terms of learning process and dormitories. Generally, *nyai* plays as a chief and a manager of female *pesantren* with the help of selected students.

In the later period, some *pesantren* developed critical thinking and challenged the existing discourses by re-interpreting some subjects in *kitab kuning*. For example, Shinta Nuriyah at Ciganjur Pesantren re-examines: *kitab Uqu-al-Lujain* written by an-Nawawi. This book is widely used by *pesantren* as main reference in which to some extent some of the arguments in the book discriminate women. Meanwhile, in a female Pesantren al-Ma'syumiyy in Bondowoso combines a traditional and modern system of education. They teach student using *kitab kuning*, but at the same time they motivate their student to think critically and to re-interpret some subject consisting of bias gender. Furthermore, there are some

Non-Government Organisation (NGO) concerning on the societies and women issues are initiated by people of *pesantren*, such as Puan Amal Hayati, Rahima, Kapal Perempuan, and Wahid Institute (Maksum 2008).

### **Daruttaqwa and Assalafiyah; a Portrait of Modern and Traditional *Pesantren***

Pesantren Daruttaqwa is located at Jl. K.H. Syafi'i Gg. K.H. Kholil, Suci Manyar Gresik East Java. It was constructed in 1932 by K.H. Kholil, which is why in the early period this *pesantren* is known as Pesantren Kyai Kholil referring to the founder of this institution. After the death of Kyai Kholil in 1961, this *pesantren* was not operated because there is no generation that continued his legacy. In 1987, Kyai Muhammad Munawar Kholil, the grandchild of Kyai Kholil, initiated to develop this *pesantren* again and he named it as "Daruttaqwa".

During the early period of development, there is limited number of *santri* studying in this *pesantren*. Kyai Munawar Kholil looked for students by asking his friends to send their children for studying with him. The first generation of *santri* stayed in his house together with Kyai Munawar Kholil and his family. This is because there was no dormitory for them at that time. After the number of *santri* increased considerably, some rooms of dormitory were built. In the later period, there are not only male *santri*, but also female *santri* studying at Daruttaqwa. They came from various cities such as Lomongan, Gresik, Bojonegoro, Tuban, Jepara, Semarang, Surabaya, Jakarta, Malang, Madura, Kalimantan, and other

towns. In 2010, there were 500 of male *santri* and 280 of female *santri*. All of those *santri* stayed in the dormitory provided by Pesantren Daruttaqwa.

In 16 July 1994, a formal school was established, A Madrasah Tsanawiyah Daruttaqwa (a junior high school). This is established due to some considerations such as; there are many *santri* graduated from elementary school and they have not continued their study in the higher level, in the recent era children need not only religious learning but also other subjects offered by formal school. Thus, *santri* of Daruttaqwa have opportunities to study at *pesantren* and formal school. In 1 July 1995, a *Madrasah Aliyah* (senior high school) was established, and in 20 July 1995 a *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah* (elementary school) was built. In 28 November 1995, a *Raudlatul Athfal* (kindergarten) was built. Five years later, in 2000 they built a Daruttaqwa Islamic College. All these formal schools are managed by a foundation.

Daruttaqwa as *pesantren* offered religious learning like other traditional *pesantren*, and at the same time they provided formal schools like modern *pesantren*. Therefore, this *pesantren* can be recognized as a combination of both *salafiyah* and *khalafiyah pesantren*. In terms of management, it also represents both types modern and traditional system since the formal schools are managed by a foundation, while *pesantren* is managed by *kyai* and *nyai* with the help of senior students.

Pesantren Assalafiyah is located at Jl Ambari number 13 Luwungragi Bulakamba Brebes Central Java. This is a traditional

*pesantren* that teaches Islamic thought of scholars from the past and uses *kitab kuning* as references. This institution was established in 1940 by Kyai Sa'id. Then, it is continued by Kyai Manshur with the help of his son in-law named Kyai Ma'mun Ma'sum. This *pesantren* is supported with some *madrasah* (non-formal school) including; Madrasah Muta'alimin and Muta'allimat Mamba'ul Huda Assalafiyah established in 1992. This non-formal school is intended to teach students various Islamic knowledge like classical books, Qur'anic exegesis, theology, fiqh, hadiṣ, Arabic grammar and other subjects. In 2009, this *pesantren* had 339 female students and about 400 male students. This *pesantren* is lead by Kyai Subhan Makmun and his wife Nyai Lailatul Munawaroh.

There are various method of learning used in Assalafiyah, for example (a) classical system in which there are classes for the beginner until advanced students, (b) *bandongan* system; *Kyai* or teacher will read and explain the text in the book, while *santri* will listen and write those explanation, (c) *sorogan*, (d) *lalaran*; *santri* reciting some *nazam* (subject of study in the form of song lines) together before class begin. *Lalaran* is a good way to remember content of book easily due to the fact that they did it like singing a song. Some of those *nazam* are *Aqidatul Awam*, *Nazam Tauhid*, and *nazam Imrithi*, (e) discussion on certain topic of learned books.

The milieu of both *pesantren* Daruttaqwa and Assalafiyah is almost similar. They have mosque located at the center and surrounded by dormitories, while house of *kyai/nyai* is near the dormitories inside *pesantren*



complex. They also use *kitab kuning* as their references for learning process.

### **Pesantren Leadership; the Case of Daruttaqwa and Assalafiyah**

Generally, *pesantren* in Indonesia is privately owned by *kyai*, and most of them are lead by a *kyai*. The oldest *kyai* in such institution become the top leader who has full authority (Wahid 1999; Dhofier 1995). Indeed, over the period of times, the *pesantren* leader has developed a tradition that their sons' will be successor in *pesantren* leadership. These sons are given special attention; they are trained and educated so that they will ready to be principal later. Besides, the *pesantren* leader took the most able male students as their sons-in-law to arrange them as the prospective leaders (Dhofier 1995, 113-114). That tradition practiced in the *pesantren* become barrier for the woman including *nyai*, daughter of the *kyai* and most able female students to be the top leader of *pesantren*.

Woman, particularly *nyai*, usually becomes the leader of female *pesantren*. She handles this *pesantren* management. *Nyai* is helped by the *pesantren* organizers consisting of several chosen students. This organizer is lead by a leader called *lurah pondok*. This organizer has several people who fill several divisions whose different task. *Nyai's* authority is limited to this female *pesantren*, and she will only teach female students. In contrast, *kyai* has authority to manage both male and female *pesantren*. On certain occasion, he will also teach female students.

Daruttaqwa and Assalafiyah have also similar pattern in which these *pesantren* are owned by *kyai's* and lead by him. On the other hand, *nyai* is responsible for female *pesantren*.

*Nyai* specifically lead *pesantren* for girls. Meanwhile *kyai* certainly lead both of the *pesantren*. *Kyai* in this structural board is placed as the leader or it is usually called as *pengasuh pesantren*. He has authority to run the *pesantren*. Meanwhile, the organization of the *pesantren* has duties to manage certain activities relating to the students and daily activities of the *pesantren*. Besides, the senior students have tasks to help *kyai/nyai* in learning process, such as teaching several *kitab kuning* to the junior students. This model of *pesantren* board has several weaknesses; for instance, there will be a great dependency to a single person (*kyai*), and *nyai* should consult to *kyai* whenever she has to decide some matters related to *pesantren*.

### **Man and Woman in Pesantren Leadership**

As mentioned in the previous chapter, a *kyai* usually becomes the top leader of such institution based on various reasons. Firstly, the tradition practiced by some *pesantren* that a man will always be the leader of both male and female *pesantren*. This tradition is reproduced from generation to the next generation; as a result women are excluded. This tradition is supported by some arguments existing in the *pesantren* that "women have never been a leader in *pesantren*". *Nyai* has duties to implement several activities determined by *kyai*. Secondly, there is some religious teaching

used to support this situation such as the Islamic rule that man and woman are not allowed to meet directly. They cannot meet each other directly. They can meet each other only if there is a *satir* (barrier/filter). In this case, *kyai* has a chance to teach female students using a *satir*. On the other hand, *nyai* does not have the same opportunity as a man have.

Thirdly, there is no systemic reformation system in *pesantren* leadership. Usually the institutions will change the leader when the previous leader passes away. This is a kind of informal system; there is no specific candidate and requirement previously determined by *pesantren*. This situation refers to the term '*mengalir seperti air*' which means there will be a leader naturally by the time it is needed. People in *pesantren* and surrounding community will have common agreement who will be the next leader. There is some common conformity on the several prerequisites that should be fulfilled by the top leader of *pesantren* as follows; they must have capabilities on the Islamic teaching and general knowledge, and they must have leadership capacity too. All those requirements are not written or regulated, but people in *pesantren* agree on this matter.

Besides, there is also a common knowledge that the son of *kyai* will be the successor of *pengasuh pesantren*. If there is no son in the *kyai's/nyai's* family, the son in low will be chosen as the main leader.

### CLOSING REMARK

*Pesantren* is one of the Islamic educational institutions that have existed since many years ago. This has played roles in enhancing people knowledge and participating in Indonesia's struggle during independence era. This institution has its own characteristics and uniqueness including system of learning and leadership system. Women especially *nyai* (wife of *kyai*) have involved in management and leadership system in both *pesantren* Daruttaqwa and Assalafiyah. However, they have limitation in which they only deal with female *pesantren* and female *santri*. *Nyai* usually teaches only female students. On the other hand, *kyai* teach both male and female students. He also placed as the highest rank in the *pesantren* board. There are some reasons why this can be occurred, for instance there is no "formal" rule regarding leadership system and how to replace the top leader.

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