



Social Construction of the Power Relations of Sole Parenting of Nyai in the Solo Raya Pesantren

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Abstract

The position of women remains a sensitive topic, both within and beyond the *Pesantren*. This research aims to examine the social construction of the power relations of the Nyai whose Kiai has left behind. This research uses a descriptive qualitative method with snowball sampling. Data collection techniques use interviews, documentation, and observation. The subjects in this study were 4 Nyai from Singoludiro Islamic Boarding School, Al Mubarrok Islamic Boarding School in Boyolali, Qoshul Qur'an Islamic Boarding School in Klaten, and Nyai Al Muayyad Islamic Boarding School in Solo. Social construction consists of three stages. First, externalization occurred during the adjustment period following Kiai's marriage. Second, the objectification stage is carried out by considering the needs of the *Pesantren*. Nyai then continued Kiai's public role as a wife. It is a sign that a devoted wife must continue Kiai's struggle. The third stage of internalization occurs when Nyai is fully aware of Nyai's position as the sole caregiver in the *Pesantren*. The parenting pattern used by Nyai is still the same as the *Pesantren* criteria in providing complete care for Kiai and Nyai. What differs is that the actor caring for him is now a single actor. The connection between power relations and knowledge production is shown in various forms. It can be seen from Nyai that inherent capital, such as capital, cultural capital, and intellectual capital, can produce knowledge according to their basic abilities. This ability was developed through the production process that Nyai and Kiai underwent while living together and through the initial skills they had when managing their care in the past. The notable finding is that Nyai's parenting patterns tend to mirror those adopted from Kiai.

Keywords: Social Construction, Power Relations, Nyai, Parenting, Pesantren

Introduction

Pesantren is an Islamic boarding school, one of the oldest educational institutions in Indonesia, that plays a vital role in internalizing social values in society. *Pesantren* also provides an interesting context for teaching values and culture to students. It is both conservative and modern. *Pesantren* can offer a distinct space without eliminating its culture, including the religious teachings it embodies. There is a shift in views regarding values, whereby *Pesantren* are seen as limited to old-fashioned, conservative, and ancient or traditional places of education. Currently, *Pesantren* can evolve into a more modern *Pesantren*, dynamic in its approach to change (Laksono, 2017; Salim, 2020). *Pesantren* are educational institutions led by a Kiai and assisted by his family. They are an important part of Kiai's life, a place for Kiai to develop and preserve teachings and traditions, and to influence society. *Pesantrens* are among the educational institutions that influence and determine the national education process (Supriadi, 2014).

The position of women remains a sensitive topic, both within and beyond the *Pesantren*. The discussion of women in *Pesantren* will indirectly reflect on the position of Islamic women in Indonesia. It is because socially, most of the public is still limited by patriarchal thinking that views women as inferior and only responsible for the domestic sphere (Marhumah, 2012). Therefore, the contemporary context of *Pesantren* dynamically reflects the times, shaping views and assumptions about women becoming freer and more equal in the internalization of Islamic values within *Pesantren*. At this level, gender in *Pesantren* is treated as an attribute inherent in men and women within the operationalization of culture, which sometimes provides a distinction (classification) within the social structure and helps to view gender differences in society. Furthermore, this refers to the nature, functions, social roles, rights and responsibilities, and behavioural limitations inherent in men and women as cultural aspects that surround them (Marhumah, 2012).

One gender movement in Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) is growing through the efforts of a female figure, Nyai Hindun Annisah. Nyai Hindun Annisah initiated a community for dialogue and the exploration of women's potential within the *pesantren* environment. This community, called FASANTRI, helps develop and express the potential of women within the *pesantren*. Through FASANTRI, developments within the *pesantren* environment have brought about positive change, particularly in realizing the concept of a more gender-responsive *pesantren* (Afiah, 2024).

On the other hand, many believe that the *pesantren* education system is gender-based. It also applies to the *pesantren* leadership structure. However, Kiai (Islamic scholars) often explain that men and women are God's creatures and have equal standing before Him. Thus, women's positions are now seen as determining their social roles, including leadership within the *pesantren*. It can be seen in several *pesantren* led by women, such as the Seblak *Pesantren* and the Nahdlatul Wathan *Pesantren* (Srimulyani, 2025).

Nyai has an important role in *Pesantren*. In addition to her role as the Kiai's wife, caring for her children, Nyai also fulfils her social role by caring for the students. Therefore, Nyai, who in social construction is always positioned as the second sex. Nyai holds a position no less important than Kiai. Nyai carries out a double burden of care. The figure of Kiai, who is in the gender realm, is the party that dominates and exercises significant "control" or influence over the role of Nyai. Although Kiai and Nyai both carry out the function of care, there is a difference in the dichotomy of the domestic and public realms between the roles of Nyai and Kiai. The existence of *Pesantren* also refers to the position of Kiai and Nyai as holders of authority who carry out roles in instilling values of justice for women. However, most people still view how social policies are developed, created, and implemented as being done by men, namely the Kiai and Ustaz. It is indirectly influenced by a strong view of religious texts, leading to the belief that religion is a fixed body of teaching and is challenging to use to advance and actualise social justice and humanity. However, in certain respects, a Nyai is seen as contributing to the success of a *pesantren*. In this case, the progress of a *pesantren* is not only the result of the Kiai's efforts. However, it is also supported by the Nyai, especially in the management and teaching of Islamic doctrine to female students through classical readings of the yellow book (Machmudi, 2005).

Research titled "Leadership of Female Ulama During the Pandemic at the Kebon Jambu Ciwaringin Islamic Boarding School and the Al Baqaroh Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School shows that the leadership of a Nyai (Islamic religious leader) plays a significant role in the management and learning systems of the Islamic boarding schools. Nyai Masriyah Amva is known for her

independent leadership and for leading both male and female students. Her leadership style is characterised by democracy and openness. Nyai Masriyah is open to welcoming guests from various backgrounds, including those of different faiths. It demonstrates that Islamic educational institutions are not limited to a specific group. Islamic boarding schools can be considered more inclusive because they are open to many countries and communities (Muzayanah & Anggraeni, 2023).

In the communication process between Kiai-Nyai, there are many interesting things to study. First, how influence or control can be observed in Nyai's decision-making; second, to what extent the intervention process occurs. The third is about why this role is considered adequate and not so exposed in the public domain. It means that the importance of the role and position of Nyai in the *pesantren* does not make the public in general call a particular *pesantren* owned by a Nyai figure, but rather that the Kiai is the caretaker of a particular *pesantren*. In this section, it is clear that the Kiai's power (hegemony) relates to society and appears dominant. Therefore, this study wants to discuss how power relations are formed in the scope of the *pesantren*, in the context of power relations between men and women that occur when a *pesantren* is cared for by Kiai-Nyai as its caretakers, and what if a *pesantren* is only cared for by Nyai because the Nyai who is caring for it has experienced a divorce-death of the Kiai.

Through the researcher's initial observation, it was discovered that several *Pesantrens* had students' care carried out solely by a Nyai, without a Kiai. For example, Nur Khodijah 1, An Najah, and Nur Khodijah 3 at the Mambaul Ma'arif Denanyar Jombang *Pesantren*. After the death of K.H. Shahib Bisri, K.H. Mujib Shahib, and K.H. Iskandar, the wives of the Kiai at the *Pesantren*, namely Nyai Nadliroh (Mbah Nadhir), Ning Raudhah, and Nyai Iskandar, became the sole caregivers. After the man's death, the wither struggle in the *Pesantren* continues to this day. The next interesting point is that the care model changed between Kiai's lifetime and the period after Kiai's death. If during the Kiai's lifetime, the Kiai directly took on his role as the leader of the family and the *Pesantren*, then after the Kiai's death, the Kiai's role would be indirectly taken over by the Nyai. In this case, the care referred to is the domestic care of Nyai's biological children, as well as public-sphere care for the students at the *Pesantren*. The context of the care of the students is based on the moral responsibility of the Nyai to the Guardian of the Students, who, in terms of kinship, are mostly not blood relatives. The existence of Nyai in her social role is related to how values regarding gender responsiveness develop in a *Pesantren*. The existence of a power relationship in student care, whether direct or indirect, will influence students' perspectives in the *Pesantren* environment. On the other hand, not all *Pesantrens* can internalize gender responsiveness in its entirety. It may be related to the patriarchal scope, which is indeed less at peace with the concept of gender and equality. This argument holds that the social scope is not entirely objective because it is built on individual subjectivity shaped by the occurrence of the interaction process. Thus, the scope of society can be created and maintained through the actions and social interactions that occur (Laksono, 2017).

The Kiai is the central figure and is also said to be a brand—market for the image of a *Pesantren*. Kiai is considered superior in leading *Pesantren* and is the highest peak within its structural and cultural system. However, this view aligns with the conventional and traditionalist perspective of Islam, which, in turn, influences the selection process for teachers in *Pesantren* (Dhofier, 2015). In this regard, some *Pesantren* are managed and led by men. It has implications for the management of teaching. Male teachers can teach both male and female students, whereas female teachers cannot. Except that, in a context that tends to be specific, for example, in certain competencies,

there are no competent male teachers, then these female teachers can become teachers for male student classes (Marhumah, 2012)

The leadership aspect in *Pesantren* is considered to be passed down to boys. If there is a female *Pesantren* caretaker, then this caretaker is usually a successor who continues the care of the *Pesantren* and not the previous original caretaker. Girls are given fewer opportunities to gain the right to power in leading the *Pesantren*, so women in power relations within the *Pesantren* experience subordination. In another context, Islamic teachings that are permanently developed in *Pesantren* tend to place men above women; at this level, *Pesantren* and Islam are embedded in a culture perceived as privileging men (Sumadi, 2017; A. Y. Prasetyawan and Lis, 2019). Sumadi (2017) explains that women's obedience to men is often interpreted as a view of life constructed through *Pesantren*. The breadth of knowledge possessed by women is also considered not to be a matter of *ijtihad* for women. When referring to the context of gender in Islam, there is a bias that cannot be separated from the conditions of the social environment around it, including the *Pesantren* environment. The existence of *Pesantren* is seen as a miniature of life for students before they enter the community to carry out their social roles and functions.

As an institution, *Pesantren* also supports Islamic preaching activities and serves as a place or means for students to socialize. In addition, *Pesantren* serves as a channel for cultural selection and social control (Tamam, 2015), facilitating the internalization of received values. *Pesantren* are agents of moral, spiritual, and humanitarian development (Dhofier, 2015). This level explains that *Pesantren* should be able to become agents in fighting injustice (Kusdiana, 2017) including regarding gender justice in the *Pesantren* environment due to the gender bias that often appears, so it is hoped that the existence of *Pesantren* will be able to build gender awareness and gender mainstreaming (Hambali, 2017) for students through care, both through Kiai and Nyai.

Pesantren are then seen as part of religious-based educational institutions that also help spread educational values in various forms, both traditional and modern. The argument is that every educational institution is expected to be a crucial and strategic place for instilling justice-based values, including gender justice values for male and female students (Muhammad, 2014; Ahmad Yusuf Prasetyawan and Lis, 2019). Therefore, it is important to understand the position of *Pesantren* as a religiously based educational institution, as evidenced by the continued presence of Nyai after the Kiai's death. The purpose of this research is to describe the social construction of the power relations of women (Nyai) in *Pesantren*. This research focuses on Nyai, whose Kiai has left.

Previous research has generally focused on the role of Nyai in leadership within *Pesantren*, particularly in the context of the *Pesantren*'s empowerment and development. However, further study of how Nyai's leadership, which is linked to caregiving, has not been conducted. Therefore, this research will fill gaps and provide a more comprehensive account of the variation and development of prior similar research. This study employs a descriptive qualitative research design to provide a picture of societal reality, based on the subject's meaning and understanding. The subjects of this research are limited to the locus of *Pesantren* in the Soloraya area, with the criteria that several *Pesantren* as samples are *Pesantren* that are cared for by a Nyai (the wife of a Kiai who has passed away). In addition, another criterion is that the Nyai who cares for the *Pesantren* is seen as having an active and dominant role in the daily implementation of the *Pesantren*. To be more precise, the object of this research is the social construction of power relations among women (Nyai) in the caregiving process in *Pesantren*.

Literature Review

Women in *Pesantren*

Women are further assessed as a source and civilization for the world. This statement refers to the sentence "Al-Mar'ah 'Imad al-Bilad. Idza Shaluhah Shaluhah al-Bilad, wa Idza Fasadat Fasada al-Bilad", which means that women are pillars for the country; if they are good, then the country will be good, and if they are damaged, then the country will be destroyed. Moreover, the meaning of "shall" appears, indicating the aspect of piety. It is meaningful for the concepts of moral goodness (personally or socially), physical and mental health, intelligence at the logical level, and the ability to actualize oneself in all spaces and activities (domestic and public). In addition, this is also implemented in the practice of fulfilling the rights and obligations taught by the Prophet Muhammad SAW, one of which is in the concept of the Medina Charter regarding several principles in Ramallah, namely: 1) the principle of brotherhood which states that humans come from one origin; 2) the principle of helping and protecting each other; 3) the principle of protecting the weak and persecuted; 4) the principle of advising and motivating each other; 5) and the principle of religious freedom (Ahmad Yusuf Prasetyawan and Lis 2019).

Social Construction

Berger and Luckmann introduced the theory of the construction of social reality in the book *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. The social process described by Berger and Luckmann can be seen in human actions and behaviors that continuously create reality and are experienced subjectively together. The theory of social construction is based on phenomenology, the thought of Edmund Husserl, which then influenced Berger's thinking.

Society is formed by humans who continuously react to their former selves, thereby creating social norms. On the other hand, humans are the result of society. Berger has three stages in the dialectical process: first, externalization, namely the adjustment of humans to the world, both physically and mentally. Second, objectivation, namely the human-formed meaning of reality in the externalization process, is a material for belief, with meaning embedded in it. Third, internalization, namely the withdrawal of objective reality into the individual, so that the structure of the social world influences the subjective reality of the individual.

The dialectic of humans and society is explained through the three stages above. The first is externalization, which is the continuous adjustment of humans to the world, both physically and mentally. Humans are social beings who must express themselves within society. It is what is then called externalization. The second is objectivation, which can occur when the product of externalization becomes a fact. Although the origin of culture is grounded in subjective human awareness, its existence transcends human subjectivity. It means that culture has an objective reality. The third is internalization, the individual's effort to reabsorb reality and transform it from the structure of objective reality into that of subjective reality. Through externalization, society is a product of humans. Through objectification, humans become real and acquire characteristics. Through internalization, humans are products of society. The social construction process described by Berger and Luckmann unfolds through three stages of human and social dialectics: externalization, objectivation, and internalization. The dialectical process unfolds in a dynamic society that continues to move. This process involves society as a subject that contains cultural values, including reality, beliefs, and actions, which greatly influence the dialectical method of

humans and society. Therefore, the dialectical process will be internalized, leading to distinct perceptions within each *Pesantren* (Alfanani, 2017).

The theory of social construction is explained as an analytical tool in this research, which explains that the self is part of social construction. Individuals are seen as active agents in the process of socialization and identity formation. Social construction is based on constructivist philosophy. It is where constructivism becomes a social construction, understood as cognitive work that interprets the world of reality through social relations between individuals and the environment, whereby individuals build their own knowledge of reality based on the knowledge structures they have previously acquired (Bungin, 2014). In relation to this social construction, the concept of power relations in *Pesantren* is identified as a variable for study in the research. The power relations in question are rooted in the context of Kiai-Nyai care in *Pesantren*, and in how care is carried out only by Nyai after the Kiai has died (divorced-dead). At this level, there is a close relationship between knowledge and power. Power determines the direction of knowledge, and conversely, knowledge is shaped by power; there is no knowledge without power. Discussing gender socialization in *Pesantren* is shaped by social construction.

Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann (Salim, 2020) argue that the individual self is part of an active social construction shaping identity formation, including socialization. This concept is based on constructivism, as part of the individual's cognitive system for interpreting the reality of the world and life. In this case, a social relationship forms between individuals and their surroundings, both with other individuals and with their environment. Furthermore, everyone will construct the reality they perceive through the knowledge structure they previously held. It is what is then described as social construction, grounded in constructivism. In fact, the concept of society is formed by the views of individuals who externalize themselves through their behavior. In this context, individuals will express their subjectivity over one another through repetitive behavior and refer to habits. It is also explicit in how communication is carried out in interpersonal interactions. A person will be seen building communication with others based on the types of people they encounter. It is what is called a person's uniqueness, which can become a common habit in society, forming an institution (Engkus, 2009).

The formation of society, in general, arises from externalization and objectification by its members. Individuals externalize themselves through their interactions with the external environment. Furthermore, individuals engage in objectification as part of the externalization that constitutes an objective reality external to themselves. It continues with the internalization process, which allows the reabsorption of the existing objective world into the individual's subjective consciousness, so that what this individual believes becomes a product of society. Therefore, a dialectical process of relationships forms between individuals and social structures: individuals who interact to create social products, in turn, influence those with whom they interact (Salim, 2020).

In *Pesantren*, students form themselves through the lived and believed reality within the *Pesantren* institution. Each student will believe in the existence of a construction of reality formed in the *Pesantren* based on their respective meanings, in accordance with the values, norms, and/or rules agreed upon in the *Pesantren*. Furthermore, Engkus (2009) stated that an institution creates roles and behaviors that align with the expectations of its members. It is also constrained by the legal framework governing several of its roles, ensuring that the institution occupied serves as a social control mechanism that can be maintained and educated for the next generation.

Power Relations

Foucault argues that power is exercised and maintained, understood as a strategic field that operates and spreads across every social relation. When the power strategy works, there are rules, regulatory systems, and people who relate to one another. Power is not only found in political life but also in *Pesantren* (Fauziah & Afrizal, 2021). Foucault's view concerns historical studies of scientific discourse on sexuality. It also reinforces Foucault's claim that power and knowledge are dynamic (Rouse, 2006). An institution, how social roles develop, is related to the concept of habits: the behavioral and habitual expectations of individuals involved in it, including the existence of law as an institution that regulates roles. The existence of social actors in determining behavioral laws is considered a tool of social control. In context, this social control must be maintained through legitimate institutions and conveyed to the next generation through tradition and education (Laksono, 2017). The context of power gives rise to knowledge that shapes social reality, which an individual can describe. At this level, the relationship between power and knowledge that is built has implications for both. Likewise, the social behavior of individuals constitutes the scope of knowledge; according to Foucault (1980), knowledge emerges and coincides to form a relationship of power.

More clearly, Foucault maps all discourses understood as parts that have an ideological function in the production of knowledge, which run together with power relations, including in their specific nature. Therefore, society operates a system of truth based on its views, as part of its regulatory function; this is considered normalization. Power is understood not as a goal of validity and truth alone, but rather as the way in which the discourse of power in society operates effectively in governing a social institution (McNay, 1992; Salim, 2020).

Results and Discussion

Social construction of women in *Pesantren*

Talking about the power relations between Kiai and Nyai in *Pesantren*, one of the main aspects of the process of fostering a boarding school concerns the social roles of Kiai and Nyai in the management process. In this case, the process of fostering and management is mainly carried out by the boarding school's leader, who is usually the Kiai. There is one concept in which the Kiai holds complete control over the fostering of the boarding school but does not involve the role of Nyai. On the other hand, there is a pattern of fostering carried out simultaneously by Kiai and Nyai. However, if the Kiai has died, the social role in the fostering process is perceived as shifting to align with the boarding school's calm customs.

The first informant met was Nyai Ari Hikmawati, a member of the caretaker team for PP Al Muayyad Surakarta. In her view, the existence of a husband (Kiai) for Nyai (the informant) plays an essential but not significant role. It is evidenced by the fact that after the death of the Kiai, the life of the boarding school, with all its rules, continued as usual. The husband's role is to provide structural caregiving, which is essentially nonexistent, except for specific responsibilities toward schools (formal education). In this context, the husband serves as the Principal. The Principal himself clearly does not play a direct role in the whole care process for the students. As the Principal, the control exercised over students is structural supervision within educational institutions (Interview with Nyai Ari Hikmawati, 2024).

However, this differs from what happened at PP Qoshrul Qur'an. According to Ustazah Umi, since the boarding school's establishment, her husband (KH. Muhammad Ngalim) has not allowed her to be directly involved in its management. In this case, the management of the *Pesantren*

is the responsibility of the Kiai, the primary caregiver, while the wife's social role is to support the boarding school's operations and to pray for the students (Interview of Ustazah Umi, 2024). Based on the descriptive data above, the two boarding schools under study differ in the caregiving process, including leadership and management. According to Nyai Ari Hikmawati, the position of Kiai plays a significant role and directly impacts students. In this context, Kiai consistently seeks to provide students with honest, tangible examples from their daily practices.

According to the statement above, the late Kiai Amin of PP Al Muayyad holds that the social roles of men and women are equal. In this case, Nyai Ari noted that the late Kiai Amin would provide real-life examples to students, such as parenting in public contexts. On the other hand, this is supported by the perspective of the late Kiai Amin, who also helped his wife (Nyai Ari) to carry out parenting at the domestic level and tried not to burden his wife too much. Thus, it can be said that the social roles between men and women in the context of parenting, including how power relations arise based on social construction carried out in the boarding school environment, are considered to be equal and balanced so that men and women will not be burdened by each other and have a portion of social roles that are considered equal.

From the perspective of Nyai Ari Hikmawati, the husband (Kiai) is positioned on the formal side of education. In this context, the social role of nurturing and managing students falls within the scope of formal education practiced at the boarding house. The role of the Kiai is to be a liaison between the community outside the boarding house and the caretakers. The Kiai is considered capable of serving as a means, medium, or channel for connecting external aspirations with the on-duty caretakers of the boarding house, as well as of being responsible and a leader within the family. Meanwhile, as a Nyai, she continues to strive to be a wife who fulfills her religious obligations to her husband. The husband's position is that of the family leader. If there is a difference of opinion, then the wife gives in and considers the pros and cons, (Interview of Nyai Ari Hikmawati, 2024).

In a different context and environment, the PP Qoshrol Qur'an holds that men primarily assume responsibility for parenting. According to Ustazah Umi, she was not permitted to consider all aspects of pond management after her husband's death. In this case, the management of the boarding house is deemed to have been carried out by her children, while she was asked to give her children her blessing to manage the boarding house well. Ustazah Umi believes that when problems arise in the boarding house, she is not involved, especially when negative issues arise in its management. This is intended so that Ustazah Umi is not too worried about the problems in the pond and does not make it a burden on her mind.

As explained above, there are indeed differences in the meanings of the parenting patterns in the two boarding houses (Al Muayyad and Qoshrol Qur'an). Adding information about PP Qoshrol Qur'an, the context of the power relationship regarding the leadership of the Kiai while he was still alive, is not considered significantly different and proceeds as usual, compared to when the Kiai died. This relates to the social role that was assumed when Kiai was still alive; Ustazah Umi was not permitted to teach her students. In addition, leadership and caretaking of the boarding house were predominantly undertaken by the Kiai. After the Kiai died, the boarding house was considered to continue operating as usual and was taken over by the Kiai's and Nyai's children. Meanwhile, Nyai's position is often "guarded" by her children through restrictions on the roles she performs related to the boarding house. Therefore, Nyai functions only as a caregiver within the domestic sphere, for example by cooking for the children of the boarding house or by providing informal advice and counsel to female students. The pattern of care for students in

Pesantren today is influenced by changes in the cultural system, for example, by the freedom of access to technology, which is generally rooted in students' family backgrounds. For instance, at PP Al Muayyad, in certain cases, many students were found to have secretly violated the rule prohibiting cell phones. They brought and hid their cell phones with various strategies. This phenomenon is one of the many problems in the care and management of *Pesantren*. According to Nyai Ari Hikmawati, caregiving efforts can be carried out in accordance with several rules, both in writing and through an agreement. This indirectly demonstrates how the power relations of women (in this case, Nyai) are articulated in the regulatory process.

PP Al Muayyad, as a form of representation of *Pesantren* in urban areas, gives rise to management at the delegation level. In this case, the room administrators are senior students at the boarding school. This is quite decisive in determining how the pattern of care is carried out and takes place in the boarding school, where, even though Nyai has a relationship with the policies that appear in the boarding school, in the caregiving process, it turns out that there is a level of delegation that is indirectly an extension of the primary caregivers. This fact also demonstrates the diversity of data, showing differences between modern *Pesantren* and pioneering *Pesantren* that affect Nyai's pattern of caregiving, including the socialization of gender values in the boarding school. Modern-based *Pesantren* tend to delegate care; by contrast, pioneering *Pesantren* with limited student numbers are more likely to allow Nyai to be directly involved in care.

Based on Nyai Ari Hikmawati's statement regarding the provisions in a delegation to support care at the Al Muayyad *Pesantren*, among others: first, a delegation of care through the empowerment of room guardians to control students. These room guardians interact directly with students in their daily lives. If the students find several violations, Nyai will not immediately summon the students, but will summon the room guardian to ask for information regarding the violations committed.

Second, Nyai delegates the assignment of care based on students' backgrounds and the care patterns they exhibit. The students' backgrounds also determine the care model used. In addressing students' problems, Nyai will also consider students' family backgrounds and the socio-cultural contexts in which they grow up. Furthermore, third, the provisions in the *Pesantren* also require parents to be involved in every decision-making process. When a problem occurs, Nyai Ari Hikmawati always involves the students' guardians in decision-making. After consulting the room guardian to verify the issues that have arisen, Nyai will usually contact the students' parents by telephone to explain the problems. The next stage is to invite the students' guardians to the boarding school for final verification before a decision is made. Finally, Nyai has been striving to improve care through daily nursing checks in each room since the pandemic began. In this case, care is provided through health services because it is considered essential. It was motivated by the many student deaths in several other *Pesantren* during the 2019 pandemic, so Nyai considered it necessary to implement a health control or supervision model using the traveling nurse technique. Nurses will monitor students by visiting their rooms every day to assess their health.

Through the description above, it can be said that the role of Nyai is considered active in several activities. However, the role carried out by Nyai is then implemented through the existence of a delegation (representative) who is specifically formed to assist the supervision process. Indirectly, Nyai's parenting pattern is applied flexibly in accordance with the context and typology of the *Pesantren*. Especially in modern (or semi-modern) *Pesantren*, parenting is typically carried out in a more structured manner through appointed delegates.

Other notable findings were observed in PP Al Mubarak and PP Singoludiro. In this context, the indirect power relationship is evident in the parenting pattern of PP Al Mubarak, as conveyed by Nyai Sakinah. As one of the *Pesantrens* that tends to maintain a traditional model, Nyai Sakinah stated that, before the Kiai's death, the *Pesantren's* care and management were carried out in a divided manner. The Kiai did not take care of the students; instead, they shared it with the Nyai. The students who had just entered the *Pesantren* had first to adjust and receive basic instruction. After these students were deemed capable and had mastered the required knowledge, they were then separated by class. However, in the initial stage of her study of the Qur'an, Nyai Sakinah stated that she cared for and taught both male and female students. This statement asserts that Nyai Sakinah was authorized to assume responsibility for teaching the Qur'an to students, even before the previous Kiai's death. Another interesting fact is that the concept of student care is also related to the dynamics of social relations between *Pesantren* students and the surrounding environment. According to her, it is not uncommon for students to encounter problems with the surrounding community; therefore, her party must participate in resolving conflicts that arise between students and the community. In addition to being related to relations with the community, Nyai Sakinah stated that the concept of care carried out in *Pesantren* also refers to the domestic realm in terms of maintaining and caring for students, for example, in terms of providing advice to students, emotional readiness in terms of care, and management in the context of daily needs for food for students. In general, Nyai Sakinah also confirmed that there is a contribution to the care provided in *Pesantren*. Nyai, at this level, is seen not only acting in a domestic context but also in a more public social role, including teaching the Qur'an to students and making several decisions related to the care of *Pesantren*. Thus, the role of women at this level, within the power relations established in PP Al Mubarak, also contributes to the context of balance between the portions allocated to men and women.

Nyai Lilis Patimah also stated that the division of social roles in the care of the Pondok included the main Nyai, who led the PP Singoludiro. In this case, after the Kiai's death, Nyai Lilis's role was perceived as little different from that when the Kiai was still alive and leading the building house. Nyai Lilis stated that PP Singoludiro was a *Pesantren* initially established with her husband (Kiai), making it a pioneering *Pesantren* of the first generation. The management of the *Pesantren* was initially carried out in an ad hoc manner. Two things are explicitly managed at building house, namely the Al-Qur'an and the Yellow Book. In addition, the building house (Pondok) conducts spiritual learning and training for several selected students considered to have strong, qualified abilities. The goal is to provide students with learning experiences that make them strong and resilient. Nyai Lilis added that after Kiai passed away, the care was actively managed and held by her first son (Ning Bunga) and her husband. However, Nyai Lilis' position is considered active in leading and implementing care within the building house's management. In her daily life, Nyai Lilis has played a significant role in managing the building house and the formal schools within it.

Meanwhile, Kiai plays a role in his mobility when preaching outside the *pesantren*. This information was conveyed by Nyai Lilis Patimah during a meeting in the PP Singoludiro area, Mojolaban. Based on the information above, regarding management or care at PP Singoludiro, the managerial process was divided from the start, even when Kiai was still alive. In this context, a division of social roles emerged, indirectly manifested in his care. Nyai was granted a portion of the public domain for the care of the building and did not limit it to domestic use. Like PP Al Muayyad and PP Al Mubarak, Nyai Lilis Patimah at PP Singoludiro is also active in fostering,

especially in managing the building house and building networks through several activities within religious organizations (NU) and the management organizations of the building house she follows.

Based on the data descriptions above, each informant, a representative of each *Pesantren*, has distinct characteristics in managing and fostering students. Several buildings housing semi-modern and modern concepts are considered to have sufficient personnel to then delegate the fostering process to representatives of the *pondok* (boarding school administrators). Additionally, Nyai plays a role in the house's contribution. Regarding Nyai's role in fostering, it can also be indirectly assessed through her educational background and the organizations she follows. Thus, even after the Kiai has passed away, Nyai is still considered to play a significant role in fostering the development of the house and its students, especially in areas that extend into the public domain (e.g., teaching and decision-making regarding house policies).

On the other hand, building house with a more salafiyah context allows the position and social role of the Kiai's wife (Nyai) to be indirectly conceptualized from the beginning to be the receiving party, so that when the Kiai passes away, the role of Nyai is felt to be less active and only contributes in the domestic sphere (kitchen and cooking affairs). This tendency means that Nyai does not primarily determine the building house's decisions or policies and is not involved in the building house's overall implementation process.

Social construction of women's power relations in *Pesantren*

In the context of the social construction of parenting patterns, this indirectly shapes the power relations between Kiai and Nyai. Berger and Luckman (quoted in Salim, 2020) argued that social construction is active within individuals and leads to identity formation, including the socialization of the values conveyed. The basic concept in this constructivist construct concerns the cognitive system (knowledge) that individuals use to interpret reality in their lives. It means that social relations form among individuals, both among themselves and between individuals and the surrounding environment. It is also influenced by the knowledge system previously possessed. Thus, the creation of a power relationship between Kiai and Nyai, even though the position of Kiai as the leader of the Building House has passed away, Nyai's interpretation of how the process of care is carried out in the Building House will still start and come from Nyai's knowledge of the previous social relations that have been formed (between Kiai and Nyai before Kiai passed away). Although there are several adjustments in the management of the Building House, Nyai is ultimately seen as still guided by the culture and social relations that formed first. It is what is then maintained as a "trust" regarding the socialization and internalization of the values conveyed in the Building House. The concept of *Pesantren* cannot be ignored, as religion serves as the basis for its implementation and teaching. At the societal level, the existence of *Pesantren* presents a distinctive image of religiously based educational institutions as part of the development of the education system. As part of social reality, the concept of society is formed by individuals' views, which they tend to externalize through the behavior (communication) they engage in. In this case, individuals will highlight their subjectivity through repetitive behavior and show habits. It can be reflected in how communication behavior is enacted in their social environment. Therefore, there is no exception at the level of the *Pesantren*; the behavior of everyone in the *Pesantren* also provides a specific image of how the *Pesantren* institution operates and relates to its social environment.

In the context of *Pesantren*, each student is understood to form themselves through their perception of the reality they face, particularly within the *Pesantren* environment in which they live. In this case, each student tends to ascribe a subjective meaning to the values, norms, and rules

agreed upon and applicable in the *Pesantren*. This concept is interpreted by Engkus (2009) as follows: an institution—including *Pesantren*—can create roles and behaviors in accordance with the expectations of the individuals within it, both among students, teachers, and Kiai and Nyai who lead and care for *Pesantren*. Moreover, this context is also constrained by the legal provisions that regulate the roles of personnel within the institution, thereby making it a form of social control that can be maintained and sustained for subsequent generations. In other words, this condition is what enables *Pesantren* to maintain the values, norms, culture, and habits that persist within them from generation to generation, thereby becoming a form of inheritance (socialization) and internalization for the next generation, even after the central leader (Kiai) has died.

The existence of *Pesantren* also enables the creation of power relations based on habits that are owned, practiced, and within the strategic scope of *Pesantren*, spreading throughout all social relations. According to Foucault, it is part of the dynamic of power and knowledge (Rouse, 2006), along with the movement of power relations that create rules, regulations, and habits within the relations of each individual within a *Pesantren* institution. As for the relationship between the context of knowledge and the power relations that form in society, this relationship is simultaneous: knowledge essentially shapes the power system (Foucault, 1980). Foucault further identifies all existing discourses as part of the ideological function of knowledge production that emerges alongside power relations. It is what makes a context within a specific social scope tend to run a system of truth based on the subjectivity and perspectives that are owned as part of the regulatory function and considered normalization (McNay, 1992; Salim, 2020). This view concerns what happens in a *pesantren*, where the system of power and relations that is formed is not believed to be the goal of validity and truth alone, but rather to create a discourse on power within the community that supports the effective functioning of the social institution (*pesantren*). This context is also inseparable from the existence of social actors (Kiai and Nyai) who also determine social control within the institution. Thus, this social control is continuously maintained within a legitimate institution (*pesantren*), serving as a means of transferring education to the next generation (*santri*). The following presents a matrix on the formation of social construction and the emergence of power relations in *pesantren*.

Social Construction Matrix of Women's Power Relations in *Pesantren*

Eksternalization	Adjustment (When Getting Married or Establishing a House)	
	Nyai Lilis PP Singoludiro	There has been an agreement since marriage. There is a division of domains in the Singoludiro <i>Pesantren</i> (Nyai Lilis manages the Management of the Boarding School, and Kiai tends to be active outside)
	Nyai Ari H PP Al Muayaad	There is an adjustment in the ownership of capital upon marriage to the husband. The owner of the capital is from the Nyai side.

	Ustadzah Umi PP Qoshrul Qur'an	Adjusting to the position of a wife who follows her husband's wishes. Usth Ummi also adjusted to marrying a husband who had the capital of a boarding school given by her grandfather from Takmirul Islam.
	Nyai Sakinah PP Al Mubarak	Adjustment since marrying Kiai and starting to have Santri. Even Nyai Sakinah once shared a house with Santri as a form of her awareness as Kiai's wife.
Objectification	Meaning with the reality in the field	
	Nyai Lilis PP Singoludiro	Nyai Lilis continued her education, earning a master's degree in management to strengthen her position and develop her expertise as an education manager at the Singoludiro <i>Pesantren</i> .
	Nyai Ari H PP Al Muayaad	The objectification process is not so visible because as the owner of capital, the husband is the primary reference in making decisions.
	Ustadzah Umi PP Qoshrul Qur'an	Taking on a role that is in accordance with what her husband wants, for example, choosing to take on a domestic role such as cooking in the kitchen for the cottage's needs, etc.
	Nyai Sakinah PP Al Mubarak	Nyai Sakinah is involved in the process of nurturing students by transforming teaching, especially for women's Fiqh and the Qur'an.
Internalization	Identifying himself as part of an <i>Pesantren</i>	

	Nyai Lilis PP Singoludiro	Continue to implement the parenting pattern in accordance with the agreement with Kiai from the outset, to avoid a double burden. Therefore, Nyai Lilis began to provide cadreship to her sons and daughters to continue the continuity of the Building House
	Nyai Ari H PP Al Muayaad	The difference in the management of the Building House after Kiai's death was not significant because, from the outset, there was a delegation within the <i>Pesantren</i> , thereby preserving the continuity of the Building House.
	Ustadzah Umi PP Qoshrul Qur'an	Maintaining the figure of a Kiai even after he has passed away. The figure of the Kiai is considered the initial profile of the founder of the Building House with various characteristics.
	Nyai Sakinah PP Al Mubarak	Maintaining her husband's life principles, surrendering, accepting, and being humble, and hoping for the help of Allah SWT.

Matrix of the Relationship of Nyai's Power Relations in *Pesantren*

Power Relations	Power and knowledge	
	Nyai Lilis PP Singoludiro	Nyai Lilis and her husband possess knowledge, and their relationship produces knowledge, including formal schools that are now under Nyai Lilis's care.
	Nyai Ari H PP Al Muayaad	Nyai Ari has capital and knowledge, so she produces knowledge.
	Ustadzah Umi PP Qoshrul Qur'an	Having cultural capital. Because her role is considered to obey all her husband's wishes (Woman in

		Javanese Culture)
	Nyai Sakinah PP Al Mubarak	Nyai Sakinah recognizes that, as a hafidzah, she can still impart knowledge to her students.
Power Relations	The existence of power in social relations	<p>Capital Ownership: Capital and knowledge produce several differences among <i>Pesantren</i>.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Capital owned by Nyai. As happened in PP Al Muayyad, the presence or absence of Kiai did not have a significant influence on the sustainability of the <i>Pesantren</i>. 2. Kiai owns capital. As happened in PP Qoshrol Qur'an. The presence or absence of Kiai greatly influenced the boarding school, even though leadership had begun to be held by Kiai's son. At the same time, Nyai tended to obey and comply with Pak Kiai's wishes. 3. Kiai and Nyai together pioneered the <i>Pesantren</i> from the beginning. This is in accordance with the Singoludiro <i>Pesantren</i> and the Al Mubaarok <i>Pesantren</i>, where there was an agreement between Kiai and Nyai from the beginning regarding the division of tasks between the two.

Conclusion

Social construction consists of the externalization of values, the process of self-adjustment conveyed by Nyai since marrying Kiai. The process is not uniform. The process experienced by Nyai varies depending on their capital. The capital referred to in this context is Nyai's ownership of both material and non-material assets. From the 4 research subjects, it is known that there is 1 subject who has capital from the Nyai element, 1 subject from the Kiai element, 1 subject has cultural capital and one subject has religious intellectual capital. The differences in capital attached produce distinct social constructions. Objectification, in relation to their conception of reality, also manifests in various forms. After Kiai's death, objectification is carried out in the name of the *Pesantren*'s needs. Some subjects do take on the public role of Kiai as a marker that, as a devoted wife, they must continue their husband's struggle. In the context of internalization, which means realizing Nyai's position fully as part of the *Pesantren* with an inherent role, for example, caregiving. The pattern of care carried out after the death of

her husband still seems the same as when the *Pesantren* were in the complete care of Kiai and Nyai. The difference is that the actor currently nurturing is a single actor.

The relationship between power relations and the production of knowledge is shown in a different form. This can be seen from Nyai with the capital attached, both capital, cultural capital, and intellectual capital being able to produce knowledge according to their basic abilities. This ability is shaped by the production process that Nyai and Kiai undergo during their life together and by the initial abilities they developed while studying in the past. The analysis indicates that the subjects in this study exhibited the same patterns they adopted from Kiai's leadership style. Therefore, the impact of the Nyai's sole leadership tends to be like that of the previous Kiai. Therefore, in the development of Islamic boarding schools, the Nyai continues to employ the values and culture adopted from the Kiai's leadership in practice. It is undeniable that culture creates a binding pattern among humans, such that everything humans produce through their ideas and behavior can become cultural work, including in the context of student nurturing. Therefore, cultural analysis is needed to complete the final research tool.

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