

## **Normalization of Gender Bias Regulation in Pondok Pesantren**

*Normalisasi Regulasi Bias Gender di Pondok Pesantren*

**Isnaini Nuruddin Akbar<sup>1</sup>**

Al-Risalah Institute of Islamic Studies Yogyakarta, Indonesia

[isnaininuruddinakbar@gmail.com](mailto:isnaininuruddinakbar@gmail.com)

### Article History

Submitted: August 31, 2022

Revised: 12 January, 2023

Accepted: June 16, 2023

### How to Cite:

Akbar, Isnaini Nurul. "Normalization of Gender Bias Regulation in Pondok Pesantren"  
*Refleksi: Jurnal Filsafat Dan Pemikiran Keislaman* 23, no. 1 (2023).  
10.14421/ref.v23i1.4768

## **Abstract**

Pesantren that has respective objective to produce pious person, in some aspect perpetuates difference and discrimination for female students. This study shows mainstream gender construction in Islamic boarding school regulations forms of gender discrimination and their implications. The object of study includes three pesantren in the Singosari, East Java, Indonesia. The regulations of the pesantren follows scholars' ideology as written in the classical book (kitab kuning), which portrays men as family leader and the ideal position of women as male companions. The teaching of kitab kuning in the pesantren regulations has led female students to experience discrimination in carrying out their daily lives in the pesantren environment. Female students are not allowed to go outside the building at night, they are only allowed to go out during the day and even then it is limited to certain schools and streets. From the results of interviews, this study found that these rules had a great influence on their lives.

**Keywords:** *Normalization, gender, regulation, pesantren*

## **Abstrak**

Pesantren yang memiliki tujuan untuk menghasilkan individu yang taat agama, dalam beberapa aspek mempertahankan perbedaan diskriminatif terhadap santri perempuan. Penelitian ini menunjukkan konstruksi gender utama dalam regulasi pesantren Islam berbentuk diskriminasi gender dan implikasinya. Objek penelitian mencakup tiga pesantren di Singosari, Jawa Timur, Indonesia. Regulasi pesantren mengikuti ideologi ulama seperti yang tertulis dalam kitab klasik (kitab kuning), yang menggambarkan laki-laki sebagai pemimpin keluarga dan posisi ideal wanita sebagai teman laki-laki. Pengajaran kitab kuning dalam regulasi pesantren telah menyebabkan santri perempuan mengalami diskriminasi dalam menjalani kehidupan sehari-hari di lingkungan pesantren. Samtro perempuan tidak diizinkan keluar dari bangunan pada malam hari, mereka hanya diizinkan keluar saat siang hari dan bahkan itu terbatas pada sekolah dan jalan tertentu. Dari hasil wawancara, penelitian ini menemukan bahwa peraturan-peraturan ini memiliki pengaruh besar pada kehidupan mereka.

**Kata Kunci:** *Normalisasi, gender, regulasi, pesantren*

---

## A. Introduction

Islamic boarding schools are educational institutions that have strong socio-religious roots and influence in the Indonesian context.<sup>1</sup> It have existed in the archipelago and have consistently taught religious sciences since pre-independence Indonesia, namely the 18th century.<sup>2</sup> With such a long history, Islamic boarding schools have their own method in discussing gender-related perspectives. On the other hand, when Islamic boarding schools teach Islamic knowledge disciplines with consistent curriculum and regulations, the progress and developments brought by feminist circles create new perspectives on issues of gender and women's justice by revealing the realities of androcentric, sexist, and patriarchal construction in religion.<sup>3</sup>

Studies on gender construction in pesantren have covered three main focuses. The first is studies that locate pesantren as producers and maintainers of gender-biased knowledge such as Jauhari and Thowaf in 2019 which highlights gender themes in the literature of Islamic boarding schools<sup>4</sup> and by Burhanuddin in 2015 which seek to provide penetration solutions gender-aware education through Islamic terms.<sup>5</sup> Second is studies that highlight pesantren as gender-inclusive institutions and promote forms of education with a gender perspective Third is studies that differentiate theory and practice of gender construction in Islamic boarding.<sup>6</sup> In addition, studies on gender construction in Islamic

---

<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Idris Usman, "Pesantren Sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Islam (Sejarah Lahir, Sistem Pendidikan, Dan Perkembangannya Masa Kini)," *Al-Hikmah* 14, no. 1 (June 13, 2013): 127–46.

<sup>2</sup> Depag Republik Indonesia, "Nama Dan Data Potensi Pondok-Pondok Pesantren Seluruh Indonesia," 1985.

<sup>3</sup> Inayah Rohmaniyah, "Meninjau Ulang Wacana Spiritualitas Dan Perempuan," *Musāwa Jurnal Studi Gender Dan Islam* 6, no. 2 (July 31, 2008): 153, <https://doi.org/10.14421/musawa.2008.62.153-172>.

<sup>4</sup> Najib Jauhari and Siti Malikah Thowaf, "KESETARAAN GENDER DI PESANTREN DALAM KAJIAN LITERATUR," *Sejarah Dan Budaya: Jurnal Sejarah, Budaya, Dan Pengajarannya* 13, no. 2 (December 31, 2019): 179, <https://doi.org/10.17977/um020v13i22019p179-188>.

<sup>5</sup> Hamam Burhanuddin, "Pendidikan Berperspektif Gender Di Pesantren," *Al-Murabbi* 2, no. 1 (2015).

<sup>6</sup> Eka Srimulyani, "Muslim Women and Education in Indonesia: The Pondok Pesantren Experience," *Asia Pacific Journal of Education* 27, no. 1 (March 2007): 85–99, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02188790601145564>; Didi Pramono, "The Authority of Kyai Toward the Santri: A Review of Gender Construction at Pondok Pesantren," *KOMUNITAS: International Journal of Indonesian Society and Culture* 10, no. 1

boarding schools currently focus more on the education dimension as not on the regulations of Islamic boarding schools, while regulations are important aspects in Pesantren.<sup>7</sup>

The study of gender construction in Islamic boarding school regulations is important because of the unique character of Islamic boarding school education. Pesantren, apart from being a place to learn religion, it is also a place where the students live and are bounded by these regulations. the vision and mission of the pesantren to produce pious individuals manifested in regulations that form the lifestyle of the students. In addition, Islamic boarding schools are educational institutions that have the authority to determine the curriculum and apply regulations to their students. Hence, critical studies in Islamic boarding schools are rarely carried out and therefore it is important to do.

## B. Gender and Gender Construction

The word gender in the online KBBI has an inappropriate meaning used in the context of gender studies, namely gender/gen-der/gendér/ which means Javanese gamelan made of fourteen metal blades with an echo of bamboo. the meaning of the word gender would be more appropriate if referring to the oxford dictionary, which is “one of the two sexes (male and female), especially when considered with reference to social and cultural differences rather than biological differences. The term is also used more broadly to denote a set of identities that are inconsistent with established ideas about men and women.<sup>8</sup> Gender in terminology can be interpreted as a condition where biological birth as male and female then acquires social characterization as male and female through masculinity and femininity attributes which are often supported

---

(September 4, 2018): 92–100, <https://doi.org/10.15294/komunitas.v10i1.8142>; Fitria Maya and Alvin Fadilla Helmi, “Keadilan Gender Dan Hak-Hak Reproduksi Di Pesantren,” *Jurnal Psikologi* 28, no. 1 (2015).

<sup>7</sup> Burhanuddin, “Pendidikan Berperspektif Gender Di Pesantren”; Evi Muafiah, “Pendidikan Perempuan Di Pondok Pesantren,” *Nadwa: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 7, no. 1 (April 20, 2013): 89–110, <https://doi.org/10.21580/nw.2013.7.1.545>; S Towaf, “Peran Perempuan, Wawasan Gender Dan Implikasinya Terhadap Pendidikan Di Pesantren,” *Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan* 15, no. 3 (2008).

<sup>8</sup> Amin Bendar, “FEMINISME DAN GERAKAN SOSIAL,” *AL-WARDAH* 13, no. 1 (June 7, 2020): 25, <https://doi.org/10.46339/al-wardah.v13i1.156>.

by values or systems and symbols in the societythe community concerned.<sup>9</sup>

In Cavaghan account, Andresen/Dölling was first describing that by the terminology of gender thus can be comprehend how it manifested socially by the knowledge as how he wrote “Gender knowledge is knowledge . . . about the difference between the sexes, the reasoning of the self-evidence and evidence of these differences, and the prevailing normative ideas about the ‘correct’ gender relations and divisions of labor between women and men” (Andresen/Dölling 2005:175 translation). They thus categorized gender knowledge between two levels; objective or collectively held gender knowledge which refers to gender notions and ideas commonly accessible and subjective gender knowledge.

Gender construction as an approach has many branches of flow that will not all be discussed here, but broadly it is divided into two main groups, namely natural argument which says that the differences between men and women are determined mainly by biological factors. The female reproductive organs and the functions associated with them such as pregnancy, breastfeeding, childbirth, and menstruation are considered to shape the characteristics of femininity and limit women’s movement, while on the other hand, the male anatomy shows that he occupies a major position in society because it is considered more potential, stable, strong, and productive. examples of streams included in this party include; structural functionalists, socio-biologists, psychoanalysts, and others. Second, the group carrying the nurture argument sees differences in the character and social roles of men and women determined by socio-cultural factors. These circles criticize that the division of labor between men and women is not determined by biological factors, but is constructed by power relations that are perpetuated by men. This view is mainly supported by feminist and conflict theory groups. Thus, the most common theory used by experts to dissect the construction of gender is Michel Foucault’s view of power and knowledge. With Foucault’s perspective, an examiner can review gender construction which includes the socialization process of disciplining actions and behavior according to certain value systems such

---

<sup>9</sup> Feryna Nur Rosyidah and Nunung Nurwati, “Gender Dan Stereotype: Konstruksi Realitas Dalam Media Sosial Instagram,” *Share : Social Work Journal* 9, no. 1 (August 5, 2019): 10, <https://doi.org/10.24198/share.v9i1.19691>.

as the distribution of messages, discourses, values, norms, beliefs, and models that represent certain gender constructions (regulation and normalization functions). In this discourse, according to Foucault, knowledge is combined with power where knowledge is a consequence of the presence of a certain regime of power.<sup>10</sup> There are three forms of gender knowledge institutions, namely; practical, which includes cultural stereotypes that may not be clearly reflected or are still hidden. Institutionally produced, covering various institutions or institutions such as religion, law, academic discipline, etc. Popular knowledge, such as media journalism, consultants, social movements, communities, etc

Discussion on gender and discrimination issues has become important and has been widely discussed by researchers in Indonesia since the 1985-1995s in the context of social and political developments.<sup>11</sup> Gender theory emerged as criticism mainly because general social theory did not address various issues such as discrimination, stereotypes, subordination, marginalization, double burden, and violence from a gender perspective.<sup>12</sup> The gender point of view in question concerns the construction of masculinity-femininity that distinguishes women from men culturally, for example, women are seen as emotional, beautiful, and motherly figures, while men are rational, strong and gentle, so which has implications for what referred to as the problem of gender inequality<sup>13</sup>

### C. Regulation in Pesantren

According to Clifford Geertz in his work *The Religion of Java*, what is meant by santri are Javanese adherents of Islam who carry out rites in the orthodox Islamic conception such as prayer, fasting, zakat and hajj for those who can afford it.<sup>14</sup> The students usually live together or settle in a place called a pesantren and this type of education was so common in Indonesia (Amrizal 2011). Meanwhile, the meaning of pesantren in

---

<sup>10</sup> Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

<sup>11</sup> Bendar, "FEMINISME DAN GERAKAN SOSIAL."

<sup>12</sup> Rohmaniyah, "Meninjau Ulang Wacana Spiritualitas Dan Perempuan."

<sup>13</sup> Inayah Rohmaniyah, "Gender Dan Konstruksi Perempuan Dalam Agama," *Jurnal Studi Ilmu-Ilmu Al-Qur'an Dan Hadis* 10, no. 2 (2009).

<sup>14</sup> Shoni Rahmatullah Amrozi, "KEBERAGAMAAN ORANG JAWA DALAM PANDANGAN CLIFFORD GEERTZ DAN MARK R. WOODWARD," *Fenomena* 20, no. 1 (March 9, 2021): 61–76, <https://doi.org/10.35719/fenomena.v20i1.46>.

KBBI means "dormitory where santri or a place where students study the Koran and so on; cottage". The full definition of pesantren according to Mujamil Qomar is "a place of education and teaching that emphasizes Islamic religious teaching or lessons and is supported by dormitories as a permanent residence for students" (Mujamil 2004). Based on religious science, therefore pesantren character was different from regular school, dormitory or even boarding school.

The character of Islamic religious education taught in Islamic boarding schools is the main differentiator from public schools that teach scientific knowledge, although various attempts have been made to bridge the two axes, these differences still exist, even in madrasas (religious schools) which also applies the standard curriculum of the Ministry of Religion with the formulation of 70% general lessons and 30% religious lessons, another difference between pesantren and schools is that apart from learning activities, pesantren also functions as a place to live for students.<sup>15</sup> However, there are also "bats" students, which is a term that refers to students who only take part in the Koran and do not stay in the pesantren. Usually, these bat students consist of children from the village who live near or not far from the location of the pesantren.<sup>16</sup>

The meaning of the word regulation (*peraturan*) in the Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI), is an order (instructions, rules, provisions) made to regulate. Regulation comes from the word set which means well organized, neat, and orderly. Some rules contain orders of recommendation and prohibition, examples of rules in the form of recommendations for example recommendations for doing good, suggestions for worship, etc. Regulations that are prohibited, for example prohibition of corruption, prohibition of cheating, etc. In its application, a regulation is usually followed by the consequences of an act or law, for example the prohibition of stealing is followed by the threat of imprisonment as a deterrent effect if a violation is carried out. In government ethics, the legal consequences of a regulation are binding on the subject in general, both the government (apparatus, civil servants) and civilians.

---

<sup>15</sup> Amrizal, "Sekolah Versus Pesantren Sebuah Perbandingan Menuju Format Baru Mainstream Lembaga Pendidikan Nasional Peniada Dikotomik," *Jurnal Sosial Budaya* 8, no. 1 (2011).

<sup>16</sup> Najib Mubarak, "Optimalisasi Penerapan Tradisi Pesantren Salaf Bagi Santri Kalong," *Journal of Islamic Education Studies* 4, no. 2 (2019).

The application of rules or regulations according to Foucault is manifested in the habituation of discipline, in other words stating discipline is a form of supervision and familiarizing the desired practice<sup>17</sup> Meanwhile, according to Rohmaniyah discipline in Foucault's perspective is related to discipline through a system of knowledge that affects the restrictions on what is normal and not on experience that is open to various scientific fields or knowledge regimes.<sup>18</sup> In pesantren regulations, the regimes of knowledge that are formed are derived from a series of religious understandings of Islamic texts compiled by Muslim inventors or scholars who live in a past social context that is very different from current conditions, especially regarding positions men and women in a gender perspective.<sup>19</sup>

#### **D. Pesantren in Singosari**

##### **1. History of Pesantren in Singosari**

Singosari is one of the sub-districts in Malang, East Java. Located on the north side of the city of Malang, Singosari was once the center of the Singhasari kingdom, a famous kingdom in Javanese history with its king named Ken Arok. According to Malang Raya.web.id, Singosari is one of the most advanced and respected sub-districts. In addition, educational institutions in Singosari apply the formation of religious culture to improve the Islamic character of their students even in public schools. While in this study, samples were taken, namely several Islamic boarding schools located in Jl. Mosque to Jl. Kramat, which includes al-Islahiyah and Nurul Huda Islamic boarding schools.

Al-Ishlahiyah Islamic Boarding School was founded in 1955 by the late Kh. Mahfudz Kholil with his wife Hj. Hasbiah Hamid. The forerunner of this Islamic boarding school is the house of Kh. Mahfudz Kholil is used by young women around Bungbuk Singosari for the Koran. This foundation became big when the establishment of the PGANU educational institution (religious teacher education Nahdlatul Ulama)

---

<sup>17</sup> Rohmaniyah, "Meninjau Ulang Wacana Spiritualitas Dan Perempuan."

<sup>18</sup> Rohmaniyah.

<sup>19</sup> NIA Handayani, "PERSEPSI MASYARAKAT TERHADAP IMPLEMENTASI PROTOKOL KESEHATAN COVID-19 DALAM PERSPEKTIF MAQASHID SYARIAH (Studi Lokasi Di Masjid Mardiyah Kelurahan Gunung Sari Kecamatan Rappocini Kota Makassar)" (Makassar, Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar, 2022).

which is currently called the al-Ma'arif foundation in Singosari brought many students from outside Singosari to make them stay at Kh. Mahfudz, along with NU organizational affairs at that time Kh. Mahfudz then initiated the IPPNU commissariat (NU Girls Student Association) with the name al-Ishlah which means progress or peace.<sup>20</sup> Meanwhile, the Al Quran Nurul Huda Islamic Boarding School is located at Jalan Kramat number 71 Singosari Malang. PPAH was founded by the late. Kiai Abdul Manan Syukur on March 20, 1973. The establishment of this pesantren began with the recitations held at the Kiai's house. This Islamic boarding school has 4 program activities, namely 1) Madrasah Diniyah Salafiyah 2) Language Program 3) Jamaah Murottilil Quran (MMQ) 4) Association of Al-Quran Memorizing Santri Pondok Pesantren Al-Quran Nurul Huda. Tafiz education in PPAH has a curriculum, namely 1) Al Quran bi al-Nadhor 2) Al Quran bi al-Ghoib which consists of pre tahfiz and tahfi Quran 3) Qiro'ah Sab'ah. The implementation of the tahfiz program uses 3 methods, namely 1) Talaqqi 2) Musyafahah 3) Sima'an.<sup>21</sup>

## 2. Vision and Mission of the Pesantren

The demand to become solihah is an absolute thing that is the target of every education in Islamic boarding schools. From the results of the author's interview comparing various sources, the definition related to solihah revolves around terms that are very dependent on the understanding of traditional pesantren such as being obedient, patient, accepting, gentle, and so on. .the inculcation of these qualities in the female students is manifested in the rules of conduct of the pesantren. In the selection of the extracurricular curriculum, for example, there are differences regarding the choice of sports that can be taken by students and female students. .for the students, there are many choices of sports such as football, swimming, and volleyball. Meanwhile, for female students, the only option available is fitness exercise. .in other words, the freedom of female students to choose and participate in sports is constitutionally limited in the pesantren while the santri have the freedom to even provide supporting facilities in some fields.

---

<sup>20</sup> Bashori Bashori, "TRADISI BACA KITAB GUNDUL DI PONDOK PESANTREN PUTRI AL-ISHLAHYAH SINGOSARI," *IBDA` : Jurnal Kajian Islam Dan Budaya* 15, no. 2 (March 13, 2018): 215–34, <https://doi.org/10.24090/ibda.v15i2.2017.pp215-234>.

<sup>21</sup> Ngindiana Zulva, "SEJARAH TAHFIZUL QURAN PONDOK PESANTREN AL QURAN NURUL HUDA SINGOSARI MALANG TAHUN 1973-2007," *Avatara* 2, no. 3 (2014), <https://ejournal.unesa.ac.id>.

### **3. Kitab Kuning**

The kitab kuning (yellow papered book) studied in pesantren discuss the position of a woman and are continuously studied and taught. In the traditional yellow book, which were written mostly by classical scholars, namely Tafsir Jalalain, Bulughul Marom, Taqrib, Nashaihul Ibad, and Jurumiyah, they teach patriarchal values such as legal validity which is half the price of men in terms of testimony and .aqiqah, regarding the reward and paradise that will be a gift for women who are willing to be in honey or polygamy. In the practice of teaching in Islamic boarding schools, generally a female student is not allowed to criticize the teachings or interpretations of the classical ulama', but all that is needed is to attend the recitation, receive, and memorize. The lesson of such views is tested at various levels of promotion with the consequence that those who do not answer according to the Yellow Book's view cannot advance to grade.

### **4. Secretive Nature of Women**

In addition, regulations for Islamic boarding schools require women to have a closed nature for the reason of protecting their self-respect. the practice or manifestation of this rule is reflected in the rules prohibiting female students from passing the same path as the santri and the restriction of time for female students to leave only during school hours. according to sources, the regulation was made to limit contact or meetings between santri and female students. The effect of this regulation makes the female students unable to pass through the road where there are many public facilities such as shopping places, food stalls, and fields. on the other hand, to facilitate the female students, the administrators made shops and food stalls limited to the women's closed building complex.

## **E. Gender Discrimination in Pesantren Regulation**

### **1. Freedom of Dress for Female Student**

Unlike male santri who have various freedoms to choose and express themselves, the rules in female pesantren are more complex and binding. In choosing clothes, for example, male students tend to have the freedom to wear long or short tops, gloves or pants, when playing soccer in the field, not a few students wear shorts, even on Sundays many

students wear shorts visit the public swimming pool and dress freely. On the other hand, female students are only allowed to wear uniforms when leaving the boarding school complex. The environment or path that can be passed is also very limited, only consisting of a part of the complex within the Islamic boarding school and the road to school during school hours and a few hours in the afternoon for shopping outside the Islamic boarding school. The location of the boarding school cooperative is in the middle of the santri and female students building so that the opening of the canteen is carried out in an alternate system. The door of the santriwati cooperative opens some time after dhuhur and isya' and other than that time it is closed to open access for male students.

## **2. Freedom of Space**

The physical movement of the female students is thus very limited, this is coupled with the absence of sports facilities provided for the female students. According to several sources who are female students at the pesantren, they want more public facilities that can be used as a means of physical movement or exercise. According to resource person Aini (19), the lack of physical sports activity and contact with direct sunlight has a very significant effect on health and interest in learning. The public facilities intended by the female students do not mean outside the women's boarding school complex, but still in the women's special complex. Sarah (21) explained that although the physical movement of female students was limited, this was not a problem for her and she quite accepted it on the grounds that for her women did not need to do as many muscular activities as men. However, female students who attend school can still engage in sports activities during sports lessons once a week at school.

## **3. Limitation of Meeting with Male Family**

At the time of the guardian's visit, the male students were allowed to meet their families, both male and female. However, for female students, they are only allowed to meet female family members, according to the management of female students, this is not carried out to prevent female students from meeting their families, but is a consequence of another rule, namely that female students do not allowed to leave the special complex, on the contrary, the special complex for female students based on the rules cannot be entered by men. According to the narrative of the santriwati sources, to outsmart this, the female students usually arrange

time for their family visits during school breaks so that they can gather with their families in the school mosque. Aini (19) presents the argument of how the regulation is very problematic and unrealistic to implement.

## **F. Factors Causing Discrimination**

### **1. Patriarchal Culture**

Examining the findings in the field carefully, the cause of discrimination that occurs in female Islamic boarding schools is primarily the practice of a very strong patriarchal culture. This is reflected in the regulations that bind santriwati, and on the contrary tend to be loose for the students. According to Kholiq (32), the regulations of the pesantren are made in such a way as to teach female students to practice the values of discipline in their lives. When the author asked about the differences in regulations between santri and female students, Kholiq explained that the demands of a man's life and a woman's life are naturally different and he judged this to be in accordance with religious teachings. An illustration of the practice of one of these regulations in the field, for example, not a few of the senior male students who bring motorized vehicles from home to the cottage environment. With the presence of motorized vehicles such a motorcycle or car, even though they have to go home on time, the students can carry out activities that are relatively far from the location of the pesantren. On the other hand, the movement of female students is very limited in a certain space and time.

### **2. Inherited Culture**

When the author asking opinion regarding the actualization and background of the preparation of these gender bias regulations, the informant (administrators) said that some of these regulations are practices that have been passed down from generation to generation by pesantren caregivers from the past, as well as others is the result of the preparation of the boarding school board which is then updated every 5 years and is accountable to the caregivers. The production of these regulations, according to the sources, is intended for the benefit and effectiveness of learning which is referentially compatible with the yellow book texts such as *Alala Tanalul 'Ilma and others*. Thus it can be understood that the preparation of these regulations was strongly

motivated by the religious understanding of the administrators and caregivers of the pesantren.

### 3. Rigid Rules

In addition, santriwati generally do not have the voice or power to change things. Because as students, they can only follow the curriculum or rules that have been operating in such a way at the pesantren. Koliq (32) explained how the process of making regulations starts from the management meeting, is proposed to the caregivers, and ratified to be applied for a certain management period. The regulation consists of articles covering the work system, budget, compulsory and extracurricular lesson curriculum, teaching and learning time, licensing, and how to dress. Although changes can be made with a proposal through the management board at the annual LPJ meeting, in fact the students and female students consider this to be normal and in accordance with Islamic teachings. This shows a complex governance system or regulatory production mechanism in pesantren.

## G. Discussing Gender Bias in Pesantren Regulation

Islamic boarding schools emphasize the goals that are summarized in the vision and mission of the boarding school where the actualization of practice is reflected in the curriculum, materials, and various rules and regulations. The vision of the three pesantren in this study in general is to form women who are solihah and pious, solihah in the sense of internalizing religious values in the students' personal self, while pious in the sense of mastering Islamic sciences. The curriculum taught in pesantren refers to the standards of classical books/turats while the rules of the pesantren are also based on the ethical values of the book's standards. Teaching and learning activities in Islamic boarding schools are carried out every day from dawn to dusk and during that time various rules and regulations apply without exception. Through the *sorogan* and *bandongan* methods, students are required to not only understand and even memorize classical Islamic disciplines, but also to internalize these values for daily practice. A good santri, then, is who can understand, memorize, and practice these values in their worldview.

According to Mas'ud, the production of gender biased knowledge was very abundant in the classic *kitab kuning*.<sup>22</sup> Some of the things that are of concern, for example, are *masdar*, *waris* (inheritance), and the legal weight of women which is worth half that of men. In addition, the framing of the ideal woman at that time was also strongly influenced by the power or power of men. Because women are considered as companions, the education formed in pesantren does not design the independence of a santriwati as understood by postmodern circles. .although a female student also goes to school outside, the concept of solihah taught at pesantren has a binding nature because it is based on classical books which are considered authoritative. Just as the reception of authority makes a female student become solihah, resistance results in the stereotype of not understanding religious knowledge, not being solihah, irreligious.

A more anomalous progressive view was put forward by Martin Bruinessen, for example, who said that although the classical books of Islamic jurisprudence were very gender-biased, in practice Indonesian society was not always like that. According to Bruinessen's, the content of the yellow book is a blend of the main teachings of Islam and local culture. .as an example case; 1. There is a view in various classical books that the status of women in heaven will always be below that of men because women find their menstrual period every month so that it hinders the continuity of worship, in this case Bruinessen underlines that there are also books or..classical scholars who oppose this view 2. In terms of inheritance, classical texts have a consensus that the price received by women is half that of men, but in practice from ancient times, Muslims have also been popular in practicing the will system which is an alternative to the inheritance law system. .such schemes of course still exhibit the dominant characteristics of gender bias which are produced and normalized by knowledge and regulations.

Jauhari and Thowaf conducted a study on the implications of gender insight in Malang where the female caregiver from the pesantren is a single decision maker. .The study found that although the caregivers of the pesantren were women, the informants explained that respecting or raising the status of women was part of Islamic teachings but related to

---

<sup>22</sup> Mas'udi, "Perempuan Di Antara Lembaran Kitab Kuning," in *Wanita Islam Indonesia Dalam Kajian Tekstual Dan Kontekstual*, n.d.

full gender equality (in the sense of equality between men and women) must quote the scholars who have a lot of different opinions and even tend to say that this is impossible. The subject of the study gave an affirmative attitude to the idea of gender equality that the treatment of women's bodies needed to be updated from ancient ideas taught in classical books to more modern common sense knowledge. However, the subject acknowledged the difficulty of escaping from the confines of discriminatory ideas such as early marriage, polygamy, and violence against women. The observational findings of this study have similarities with those of these studies.<sup>23</sup>

Realizing the ideals of gender equality is a big and difficult task to do because the two perspectives have far apart standpoints. Pesantren has a strong preservation and understanding of tradition, while postmodernist feminist activists have a reactive sensitivity to more modern ideas of social knowledge. It must be admitted that the two have different logos or epistemologies, but in the author's opinion, instead of closing each other and fighting for truth claims, the two must interact so that the work focused on forming an ideal social construction can be carried out properly. The work can first be done by bringing the two perspectives closer together in one pool. In other words, the pesantren feminist movement can be carried out if it carries out *lisanil qaum* criticism in the sense of using the same religious text source so that the idea of gender equality is more easily accepted.

## H. Conclusion

In gender-based research on pesantren regulations, it will be found that the educational practices of pesantren are filled with elements of bias and discrimination. This is motivated by the basis or scientific structure of the pesantren which remains faithful to the classic yellow book which was compiled based on the cultural perspective of its era. Education in pesantren seems to deny the development of modern Islamic scholarship which is the result of scientific *ijtihad* from the latest academic figures. This creates a cultural gap where the scientific horizon of pesantren is of different standards and far from the horizon of knowledge of postmodern society. However, it should be underlined that the strictness of pesantren regulations is embedded in the strong

---

<sup>23</sup> Jauhari and Thowaf, "KESETARAAN GENDER DI PESANTREN DALAM KAJIAN LITERATUR."

structure and function of the values of the religious community (for example, people will say "for goodness sake/they are still children, etc."). In short, dismantling the construction of gender bias cannot be said to be successful if it means only tearing down the building, but redesigning the conceptual framework while still respecting holistic religious materials. Modern humans can no longer live in an old building designed 700 years ago, even though "sand" and "stone" are still eternal materials.

This study thus strengthens the argument that the production and practice of normalizing gender-biased knowledge is still practiced in Islamic boarding schools today. These findings are expected to be a conceptual consideration, both normatively complementing previous and subsequent research and practically in the educational process in the field. In contrast to previous studies that highlight aspects of teaching material, a review of the regulations of the pesantren is no less important because it has direct implications for the lives of students. In the author's opinion, the recontextualization of Islamic teachings is absolutely necessary because things that used to be considered taboo in the days of classical scholars have now changed. For example, when classical scholars ijtehad that women must be accompanied by a mahram when traveling given the dangerous situation at that time, or the inheritance system was heavy on men due to patriarchal discriminatory considerations based on the argument that men were more educated, or women have to learn a lot about the character of "motherhood" and vice versa do not need to do physical exercise because the tasks they carry out are only domestic. In short, the premises of the argument are no longer valid because circumstances have changed so much.

The limitations of this study are mainly due to the focus on material objects in the form of regulations in Islamic boarding schools. Thus this study directly ignores several other factors that are also important and no less interesting. In the process of observing this study, the authors found that the manifestations of these regulations experienced reception and resistance. It is not uncommon for female students to be very enthusiastic about expressing their personal opinions regarding gender, pesantren, and regulations. Reflecting the typical way of thinking of an authentic pesantren, among them are divided into those who are contra, pro, and even ambiguous. In addition, some regulations are also sometimes influenced by the subjective system of management, it can be

said that between one management period and another, the practice of the same regulations may be different. However, the author realizes that these things are outside the focus of this study so that related studies are still needed to complete the puzzle in this theme.

Studying at a pesantren is a monumental experience for the writer. From this process, I would like to summarize the inputs for further studies. 1. Not all Islamic boarding schools are the same, therefore the results of this study are limited to a specific sample of space and time, so it is very possible that the same research will find results that vary with other specific spaces and times. Regulations of a boarding school are usually strongly influenced by the situation, condition, and location. 3. The need for a persuasive approach to the research subjects of students. 4. In addition to classical books, the ideology of pesantren is also strongly influenced by the subjective understanding of pesantren caregivers. The study of pesantren is a wilderness that is still very open to creative exploration studies.

### Daftar Pustaka

- Amrizal. "Sekolah Versus Pesantren Sebuah Perbandingan Menuju Format Baru Mainstream Lembaga Pendidikan Nasional Peniada Dikotomik." *Jurnal Sosial Budaya* 8, no. 1 (2011).
- Amrozi, Shoni Rahmatullah. "KEBERAGAMAAN ORANG JAWA DALAM PANDANGAN CLIFFORD GEERTZ DAN MARK R. WOODWARD." *Fenomena* 20, no. 1 (March 9, 2021): 61–76. <https://doi.org/10.35719/fenomena.v20i1.46>.
- Bashori, Bashori. "TRADISI BACA KITAB GUNDUL DI PONDOK PESANTREN PUTRI AL-ISHLAHIYAH SINGOSARI." *IBDA` : Jurnal Kajian Islam Dan Budaya* 15, no. 2 (March 13, 2018): 215–34. <https://doi.org/10.24090/ibda.v15i2.2017.pp215-234>.
- Bendar, Amin. "FEMINISME DAN GERAKAN SOSIAL." *AL-WARDAH* 13, no. 1 (June 7, 2020): 25. <https://doi.org/10.46339/al-wardah.v13i1.156>.
- Burhanuddin, Hamam. "Pendidikan Berperspektif Gender Di Pesantren." *Al-Murabbi* 2, no. 1 (2015).
- Depag Republik Indonesia. "Nama Dan Data Potensi Pondok-Pondok Pesantren Seluruh Indonesia," 1985.
- Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.
- Handayani, NIA. "PERSEPSI MASYARAKAT TERHADAP IMPLEMENTASI PROTOKOL KESEHATAN COVID-19 DALAM PERSPEKTIF MAQASHID SYARIAH (Studi Lokasi Di Masjid Mardiyah Kelurahan Gunung Sari

- Kecamatan Rappocini Kota Makassar).” Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar, 2022.
- Jauhari, Najib, and Siti Malikah Thowaf. “KESETARAAN GENDER DI PESANTREN DALAM KAJIAN LITERATUR.” *Sejarah Dan Budaya: Jurnal Sejarah, Budaya, Dan Pengajarannya* 13, no. 2 (December 31, 2019): 179. <https://doi.org/10.17977/um020v13i22019p179-188>.
- Mas’udi. “Perempuan Di Antara Lembaran Kitab Kuning.” In *Wanita Islam Indonesia Dalam Kajian Tekstual Dan Kontekstual*, n.d.
- Maya, Fitria, and Alvin Fadilla Helmi. “Keadilan Gender Dan Hak-Hak Reproduksi Di Pesantren.” *Jurnal Psikologi* 28, no. 1 (2015).
- Muafiah, Evi. “Pendidikan Perempuan Di Pondok Pesantren.” *Nadwa: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 7, no. 1 (April 20, 2013): 89–110. <https://doi.org/10.21580/nw.2013.7.1.545>.
- Mubarok, Najib. “Optimalisasi Penerapan Tradisi Pesantren Salaf Bagi Santri Kalong.” *Journal of Islamic Education Studies* 4, no. 2 (2019).
- Pramono, Didi. “The Authority of Kyai Toward the Santri: A Review of Gender Construction at Pondok Pesantren.” *KOMUNITAS: International Journal of Indonesian Society and Culture* 10, no. 1 (September 4, 2018): 92–100. <https://doi.org/10.15294/komunitas.v10i1.8142>.
- Rohmaniyah, Inayah. “Gender Dan Konstruksi Perempuan Dalam Agama.” *Jurnal Studi Ilmu-Ilmu Al-Qur’an Dan Hadis* 10, no. 2 (2009).
- . “Meninjau Ulang Wacana Spiritualitas Dan Perempuan.” *Musāwa Jurnal Studi Gender Dan Islam* 6, no. 2 (July 31, 2008): 153. <https://doi.org/10.14421/musawa.2008.62.153-172>.
- Rosyidah, Feryna Nur, and Nunung Nurwati. “Gender Dan Stereotipe: Konstruksi Realitas Dalam Media Sosial Instagram.” *Share: Social Work Journal* 9, no. 1 (August 5, 2019): 10. <https://doi.org/10.24198/share.v9i1.19691>.
- Srimulyani, Eka. “Muslim Women and Education in Indonesia: The Pondok Pesantren Experience.” *Asia Pacific Journal of Education* 27, no. 1 (March 2007): 85–99. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02188790601145564>.
- Towaf, S. “Peran Perempuan, Wawasan Gender Dan Implikasinya Terhadap Pendidikan Di Pesantren.” *Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan* 15, no. 3 (2008).
- Usman, Muhammad Idris. “Pesantren Sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Islam (Sejarah Lahir, Sistem Pendidikan, Dan Perkembangannya Masa Kini).” *Al-Hikmah* 14, no. 1 (June 13, 2013): 127–46.
- Zulva, Ngindiana. “SEJARAH TAḤFĪZUL QURAN PONDOK PESANTREN AL QURAN NURUL HUDA SINGOSARI MALANG TAHUN 1973-2007.” *Avatara* 2, no. 3 (2014). <https://ejournal.unesa.ac.id>.