

Women's Ulama of Salafiyah Islamic Boarding School as a Gender Fighter Agency in the Patriarchy Environment

Ahmad Fauzan*, Lina Meilinawati Rahayu, Teddi Muhtadin, Hazbini

Faculty of Humanities, Padjadjaran University, Jalan Raya Bandung-Sumedang KM 21 Jatinangor, Sumedang 45363, Indonesia

*Corresponding author: fauzanahmad083@gmail.com

Abstract

Islamic boarding school is a traditional Islamic educational institution to study, understand, appreciate and practice Islamic teachings as way of life led by the man religious leader "Kiai". The purpose of this study is to obtain insight into gender strategies in the Islamic Boarding School of Salafiyah through the leadership of woman's ulama "Nyai". This research is qualitative method; this function knows to the meaning of a number of individuals or groups of people who are considered to come from social human problems. It can be done by observation, interviews and documentation. Data analysis techniques are used through data reduction, data presentation, and data verification. This study discusses the success of women's leadership in areas that have patriarchal ideology. She is Masriyah Amva as a gender-fighting agency capable of advancing its Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia and she is the author of life-inspirational books whose work is internationally recognized.

Keywords: Gender Fighter Agency, Islamic Boarding School, Patriarchy, Woman's Ulama

Introduction

Indonesia, as the largest democratic Muslim country in the world, has attempted to promote a restorative face in fulfilling the gender right. Continuous efforts in eliminating gender discrimination have been made by the country and one of the efforts is through the capacity building of the legislation and some legal related matters to improve the equal rights and status of women (Rakhmad & Susilo, 2017). Especially, the Muslim community "Islamic boarding school" of salafiyah. Islamic boarding school is well known for its patriarchal culture where men dominate in contributing to the Islamic boarding school of salafiyah (Smith & Woodward, 2018). The patriarchal ideology of life in society is always cited as the cause of the emergence of gender injustice which has given birth to various forms of oppression against women.

Islamic boarding school of salafiyah is known as environment that have a strong patriarchal culture to maintain and Man's Ulama (Kiai) is the main actor in spreading patriarchal culture. As Abduraahman Wahid is quoted by Munawar Ahmad stated that Kiai has the most influential role in the culture of Islamic boarding school of salafiyah because he has a dual role, namely as a caregiver and as the owner of the Islamic boarding school (Ahmad, 2010). Musleh Wahid added that the Kiai as great counselor and as a life-long tutor whose position cannot be replaced because it is the thing that approaches the Kiai's reflection is a boy or son in law (Wahid, 2019). This mean that the students and the community in making a substitute figure for the Kiai. They seem to see the gender side as more important than seeing from the side of one's genitals or potential. If they look at the person's potential, both men and women all have the potential to promote Islamic boarding

school. In this case, the gender side is used as a reference for them, and this reference has been cultured until now.

Here, Islamic boarding school of Salafiyah in positioning women who still have inequality in roles between men and women, this inequality lies in gender-based discrimination. The phenomenon of gender injustice in Islam turns out to be more indicative of abuse and oppression of women, this is a result of the cultural patterns and systems of Muslim society, the majority of which are patriarchal, structural, sub-coordinative (Sigiro & Pratiwi, 2019). This has become a culture in the pesantren family environment and it has become part of the obligations that must be obeyed that men are the most dominating people in the Islamic boarding school of salafiyah.

One of the reasons for this is because Islamic boarding school does not really question gender knowledge because gender is considered something that comes from the west and it is not rooted in the Islamic boarding school (Marhumah, 2015). The term gender is described as the difference between men and women as a result of cultural construction (Hambali, 2017). Whereas, gender violence is still very much felt in the community. Gender violence, in particular, is seen mostly as the immediate consequence of Islamization schemes where in women become the first and foremost victims of discrimination and oppression engendered by the Islamist agendas (Octavia, 2012). The form of gender violence in Islamic boarding schools is that everything determines its future is determined by men (Kiai), he is the holder of full power in the Islamic boarding school absolutely. The simple reason is that Islamic boarding school is a social institutions created, run and developed by men. In other words, Islamic

boarding school of salafiyah is known as individual leadership. The fact is what often happens in Islamic Boarding School of salafiyah, the central role played by Kiai alone makes it difficult for the Islamic boarding school to develop (Kompri, 2018). This individual Kiai leadership has actually colored the pattern of relations in the Islamic Boarding School and it has been going on for a long time to date.

Kiai's individual leadership in Islamic boarding school of salafiyah gave birth to several societal assumptions on the opposite sex, namely women (Nyai). Women are regarded as "the second class" by some people in Islamic boarding school of salafiyah. Historically, power and knowledge are closely related. The concept of science and truth are biased towards men because they are the dominant producers of knowledge in a male dominated society (Marhumah E. , 2011). Then for various reasons the Kiai as the holder of absolute power, this existence will result in that the pesantren belongs to the kiai, if the kiai dies, the pesantren will also collapse. Therefore, how important is the figure of Kiai in Islamic Boarding School even in the realm of the archipelago, in other words Kiai is an *agent of change* (Hilmy, 2018). The more ironic is that Kiai has a popular supernatural concept, namely *barokah*, only Kiai is able to bestow God's grace on his students "santri". Kiai's followers speak to him in deferential terms, touch the hem of his garments and kiss his hand in hopes of obtaining blessing (*barakah*) (Purnomo, 2020). With the leadership of the Kiai which is so important to the community, there is no loose gap for leadership space other than Kiai or leadership must be with men. Then what about Nyai's position as the wife of the Kiai who has the same position as the Kiai.

In general, Nyai only takes care of the family and the women's Islamic boarding school, because women are considered unable to lead the pesantren and the assumption that that ability women only in domestic affairs just as well as the view of women in Islamic boarding school of salafiyah of the obligation to respect, to follow, to obey men (Ambarwati & Husna, 2014). Therefore, the leadership of the Islamic boarding school of salafiyah is always given by boys or son-in-law. Hassanatul Jannah added, the wife's Islamic Boarding School of Salafiyah must submit and obey their husbands and all the limitation of activities related to the public sphere (Jannah , 2020).

The goal is that the Islamic boarding school is still strong. So, it is an injustice form, Islamic boarding school still tend to spread gender injustice with her teaching and education. Islamic boarding school as useful construct would be, perhaps, to look at the Islamic boarding school as an institution whose primary function is education and justice for all (Fahmi & Abdurrachim, 2015). In rural areas, Islamic boarding school provide a place for study where pupils can receive religious instruction from a religious teacher "*ustadz*". This is due to the strong domination of the role of the central figures, namely man ulama "*Kyai*" and woman's ulama "*Nyai*", in socializing gender-biased values and teachings. Teaching methods in Islamic boarding schools tend to be top-down and

have minimal space for dialogue or questions and answers (Sa'dan, 2019). This is a part of patriarchal ideology in society area.

On the other hand, there is an Islamic boarding school that had collapsed because man ulama had passed away, but this research, woman's ulama leadership "*Nyai*" actually proved it with great success, even surpassing that of men. She is woman's ulama leadership Masriyah Amva as the leader of the Kebon Jambu Al-Islami Islamic boarding school of salafiyah in Cirebon, Indonesia. She instills values of moderate Islam the learning gender knowledge, likes justice and tolerance in her Islamic boarding school. Gender in Islamic boarding school, students "*santri*" are expected to be able to know the essence of roles and functions between men and women. As a result, Islamic boarding school can be more advanced and developed. Based on the background explanation, the researcher will focus on this research of the success of Masriyah Amva's leadership. The point is, how can Masriyah Amva advance a salafiyah Islamic boarding school with a gender perspective, even though the environment still has a male patriarchal ideology?

Method

This study uses qualitative methods. Qualitative methods is known as documentary or naturalistic studies because the research is carried out in natural conditions. In qualitative research is necessary to conduct a study through field observations by conducting interviews, taking pictures, and constructing the social situation under study to be clearer and more meaningful, the meaning is actual data (Sugiyono, 2016). As for the data analysis technique through several stages, as according to Yanuar Ikbar that the data research techniques used were clear, namely data reduction, data presentation and verification (Ikbar, 2014). Reduction data were collected in the form of observation data and interviews about gender values to Masriyah Amva as leadership of Islamic boarding school of salafiyah. Then presentation of data is the form of pictures and narration so that it becomes information that is easy to understand it. The last stage is verification, the conclusions in the form of new findings either in the form of a description or description of an object that is not yet clear until it becomes clear.

In analyzing woman's ulama agency in Islamic boarding schools of salafiyah. The researcher used Pierre Bourdieu's genetic structuralism theory approach. Pierre Bourdieu's framework of thinking seeks to realize how social practice occurs in society with the dialectical relationship between agency and structures that are mutually interconnected in producing a practice (Breadbury, 2016). Bourdieu as quoted by Adib said that the order to see social reality one must use a structuralism and constructivist point of view. Structuralism means someone will try to find a relationship that works behind the agent (Adib, 2012). Whereas constructivists investigate the perceptions and actions of individuals because reading individuals and groups must go back and forth

between objective and subjective. Agency is individual actors who can move to produce social life “*subjectivism*”. While the structure is society or reality “*objectivism*”, the theoretical projects is a key aspect of Bourdieu’s attempt to develop a sociology which can transcend the subjectivist or objectivist dichotomy (Jenkins , 2007). In this case the social reality in the Islamic boarding school which is led by women, namely Masriyah Amva. Masriyah is a figure of woman’s ulama agency capable of producing social production in society, namely eliminating patriarchy in Islamic boarding schools. In the past, Islamic Boarding School of salafiyah were identical with a patriarchal culture, but with the presence of Masriyah Amva as an agency for women ulama at the Islamic boarding school of salafiyah. Islamic boarding school of salafiyah can be more receptive to the discourse on equal and just rights for women.

Results and Discussion

a. Defining Woman’s Ulama Masriyah Amva as Woman’s agency of fighter’s gender in Ideological Patriarchy (Islamic Boarding School).

The essence of the forms of struggle carried out by woman’s ulama Masriyah Amva as the agency for the leadership of the Islamic boarding school of salafiyah is to make her Islamic boarding school into a more moderate direction. Moderate Islam which means taking the middle way, an Islamic movement that occupies itself is balanced in responding to all things (Hannan, 2018). One of them is in addressing the issue of gender equality. Therefore, Masriyah Amva acted as an agency for woman’s ulama capable of changing the state of the Islamic boarding school of salafiyah to a more moderate direction. With being a women's agency, the space for movement is wider and freer in determining attitudes.

The capital of Woman’s ulama Masriyah Amva courage in doing things in the Islamic boarding school environment is the historical factor Islam where women in the prophet has courage and as leaders. In a hadith narrated by Imam Ahmad, Prophet Muhammad also praised Siti Asiyah as he said: The best women in Paradise are Khadijah binti Khuwalid, Fatimah binti Muhammad, Maryam binti Imran and Siti Asiyah binti Muzahim. In the story, Allah SWT praises women with high faith and *taqwa* highly. There is no reason to determine who deserves, who has merit or who is strong to obtain high position, but faith and *taqwa* as the main reference ahead of expertise. (Rahayu & Fauzan, 2020). That’s why she ventured herself as a woman’s ulama agency who was able to fight for women’s rights in Islamic boarding school of salafiyah.

Woman’s agency discusses the roles of women who has explained that women can also be a subject, or it can be called a new femininity. Here, a woman is related to another individual, group, institution, structure, system and social norm or value (Nur , 2020). Basically, in our day woman’s

agency receives historical, epistemological as well as social movement moment towards a situation of having more gender equity. Historically, due to the shift of social force from traditional to democratic one, woman’s agency pushes as well as is pushed by some to engage roles more than the traditional forces prescribed (Kusmana, 2015). In Indonesian, currently women’s agencies have spread in various fields, generally they have courageous attitudes that are oriented towards different and advanced things. One of the woman’s ulama agencies in Islamic boarding schools. The term woman’s ulama throughout the discussion can refer to the following meanings, woman's wife of a man ulama, and a term for women who have religious expertise. In Indonesian dictionary, the term woman’s ulama throughout the discussion can refer to the following meanings: woman's wife of a “kiai”, and a term for women who have Islamic religious knowledge (Yunisa, 2017).

As according to Erni Harianti said that Woman’s ulama try to make herself as agents of change towards gender equality, and this is part of progress for women's lives (Haryanti, 2014). Here, Masriyah Amva as woman’s ulama. She tries to ward off gender bias which has been difficult to implement in Islamic boarding schools or it can be called a patriarchal ideology. Gender bias that grows as a result of the thought construction of men and women in development and policies in all sectors must be eliminated (Rina, 2017). According to Masriyah Amva, gender bias in Islamic boarding school is not so questionable for the existence of Islamic Boarding School, but when Islamic boarding school are faced with the problems related to roles based on sex, such as leadership that is always man, and he also determine the future of women, the women are often disadvantaged in a patriarchal culture (Amva, 2020). Patriarchal culture is more on the authority and power of men (Haerudin, 2017). Therefore, gender bias was stopped immediately in Islamic boarding school of salafiyah.

In Essentially, women who live in a patriarchal environment adhere to the norms of the patriarchal culture have the opportunity to become women who are considered capable in various ways, one of which is to become a leader in a patriarchal environment. Such as in the leadership of Nyai Masriyah Amva which she made as an agency for women’s ulama and she succeeded as a gender fighter in Islamic boarding schools. She is used as an agency of gender fighter in Islamic boarding schools of salafiyah by families and man’s ulama such as KH. Husein Muhammad, KH. Marzuki Wahid and KH. Affandi Mochtar (Muhammad, 2004). They are the people behind Masriyah Amva, where each agency has people behind the agent. Based on Pierre Bourdieu’s theory that Structuralism means someone will try to find a relationship that works behind the agent. The person behind this function is to strengthen the struggle process of an agency in making changes for Islamic boarding school of salafiyah .

At least there are two agencies owned by Masriyah Amva, namely the agency as a mother and the agency as the leader of the Islamic boarding school of salafiyah. The agency is the

mother, she is the mother of her children and the mother of the students. She takes care, protects, advises and serves all the needs of her children. While the agency leader, Masriyah Amva has an interest to be achieved, namely advancing Islamic boarding school of salafiyah through gender knowledge can be more advanced. Masriyah Amva has always promoted equality and tolerance with her students and her family because all this time Islamic boarding school has always been seen as strong patriarchal ideology. In this case, the patriarchal environment is the Islamic boarding school of salafiyah that it has an identical to the leadership of the man's ulama.

Basically, women in Islamic boarding school have the potential to move themselves and society towards more advanced Islamic boarding schools. However, women often experience various discriminations that limit women from reaching their optimum potential. This gender-based discrimination prevents women from participating in advancing their Islamic boarding school, especially having the opportunity to lead the Islamic boarding school. Actually the position as a leader for now is not only reserved for men, even now the position as a leader is wide open for women (Fibrianto, 2016). If this happens, there will be gender mainstreaming in the Islamic boarding school. Husein Muhammad added, he believes that the success of gender mainstreaming in Islamic boarding school depends on the role of man ulama because he is the most authoritative in Islamic boarding school. The openness of man ulama with new ideas will pave the way for social change in the community (Rahman, 2017).

Grenfell added to the key concept of agency, the key agency must be able to move and produce social life (Subjectivism). Whereas the structure is society or reality (Objectivism). Both have reciprocal roles and result in social practice are what becomes a part of one's agency in achieving its goals (Grenfell, 2014). Here, Nyai Masriyah Amva as an actor's agency of leader in Islamic boarding school that she can produce social life "eliminating patriarchal culture". While objectivity, namely the condition of the Islamic Boarding School of salafiyah is still very thick with patriarchal culture and society or student still believe more in the patriarchal culture in the Islamic boarding school of salafiyah. This is what the researchers took in the Bourdieu's theory. The aim of Pierre Bourdieu's theory is to overcome the opposition between the two conceptions of knowledge, namely agent and structure, and reconcile them with the absurd by thinking rationally between structure and agent. The aim of Pierre Bourdieu's theory is to overcome the opposition between the two conceptions of knowledge, namely agent and structure, and reconcile them with the absurd by thinking rationally between structure and agent. (Mangez, 2014).

Between structure and agency in a social practice by Nyai Masriyah Amva, she carries out social practice through some of her skills, such as writing, motivating, giving policies, all of which are done in a rational way that is acceptable to the

structure of society. Everything is done on a rational basis and does not conflict with Islamic teachings so as to produce practice for the community and students (Ratnawati, Sulityorini, & Abidin, 2019). The indication is the personal achievements of Nyai Masriyah Amva and the Islamic Boarding School could be more advanced. Even though there is a conflicting concept between agency and structure in the Islamic boarding school of saafiyah, Nyai Masriyah Amva's agency has succeeded in reconciling it in an absurd position into a dialectical relationship. In the past, Islamic boarding school of salafiyah were anti-gender knowledge, and anti-woman leaders, but with the presence of the Nyai Masriyah Amva agency, she could transform a Islamic boarding school of salafiyah into a dialectical relationship, namely the Islamic boarding school and society (structures) need a woman figure because women also deserve to be leaders in the Islamic boarding school of salafiyah.

On the other hand, besides the success factor of being an agency in changing and producing a social practice, an agent is prioritized to have another factor, namely genetic. In constructing rules for the analysis of literature Bourdieu has designated her approach "*genetic*" sociology of culture, recalling genetic structuralism (Fowler, 1997). Masriyah Amva's agency was able to take advantage of it because she came from the genetic structure of people who were respected by the community or the role models of the "*ulama's family*". She is the first child of one of the great ulama in Cirebon. Not all have this lucky side, even if they come from good genetic structures.

As according to Mutahir said that see the conception in analyzing agency and structure, Bourdieu has the following formula, (Habitus x Capital) + Portion = practice (Mutahir, 2011). Masriyah Amva has habits in her life that are related to injustice, subordination and marginalization before becoming the leader of the Islamic boarding school and habitus has become part of the Islamic boarding school culture that must be obeyed, then Masriyah Amva has the idea of "*confrontation, resurrection, prosecution*" to straighten her point of view. However, she perspectives and behavior contradicts the capital she has, the capital is gender awareness and the importance of instilling women's rights in the pesantren, and problems related to leadership in the Islamic boarding school has emerged, so by braving herself and as women who have Kiai descent, women who have experiences of injustice, and women who have works that are able to make them aware public. All of these appear as social practices that can be rationally accepted by the community and their students and lead to progress for her Islamic boarding school.

In Bourdieu's theory, when the habitus (habit) conflicts with the capital she has, then, a portion is an experience and talent arises in the form of gender expertise and knowledge where these talents will be used at the right time (Bourdieu, 2020). So the student and the community feel the fairness of Masriyah Amva in providing gender values in the pesantren. These values of expertise and gender knowledge, the

researcher applies them according to the data that has been reduced. The principle in her leadership is to emphasize the concepts of equality, justice and human rights to her students (Amva, 2010). The ideally agency of a leader prioritizes that these principles in determining policies for students so that they have a balanced perspective and can be accepted by all parties. This means not instilling fanaticism or excessive love in responding to anything. As in the case faced by Masriyah Amva, she tried to find justice and give her rights as a woman equal to the position of the man ulama.

b. Implementation of Woman's Ulama Masriyah Amva as Gender Fighters'

1. Woman's ulama Masriyah Amva applies gender knowledge through tertiary institutions in her Islamic boarding school.

One of them is by giving gender material in college in one of her college courses, namely "*Ma'had Ali*". A college of Islamic boarding school of Kebon Jambu. In the gender and Islam learning module book in Islamic boarding schools. The book, entitled "*Module for Islamic and Gender Subjects*" is the result of the thinking of man ulama about observers of women, especially in the field of tolerance and justice. The essence of the context of the book is women as creatures who always experience, marginalize, subordination or stereotypes in society. Everything is studied based on Islamic law relating to gender knowledge in society. The book is only intended for salafiyah students, namely by using the bald Arabic writing method or the yellow book (*Kitab kuning*). Masriyah Amva applies this book as part of the Islamic boarding school curriculum. The goal is that students can know something that must be based on a balance in accordance with the broad teachings of Islam.

By making the book of recommendations in gender learning in Islamic boarding school, Masriyah Amva considered the intellectual "*legacy*" of the past scholars and not as a decision "*legal dogmatism*" if it collided with current conditions, so that the teaching material of the Islamic boarding school did not only focus on the yellow book (*kitab kuning*), but also uses literature by contemporary ulama whose religious studies touch human rights (Mufidah, 2013).

2. Emphasize the concepts of equality, justice and human rights

Masriyah Amva emphasized the concept of equality and human rights based on interview with her. As in the story that Masriyah Amva had experienced when she experienced a downturn. The reason of the students is the Kiai has died and they do not believe in the woman's ulama as leader of Islamic boarding school of salafiyah. Masriyah Amva issued such a statement.

"The greatest leader is Allah, no great leader but Allah. Woman's ulama "Nyai" and Man's ulama "Kiai" are ordinary humans who can die at any time, and all their practices are interrupted. If you study at the Islamic Boarding

School because of the greatness of the Kiai, The Kiai can die and your knowledge also depends on the person who died. The existence of this statement, because Woman's ulama Masriyah Amva felt subordination which made women do not have the same access as men". (Amva, 2020),

This side produces two conceptions between agent and structure by means of rational thinking and converting it into dialectical relationships in a social practice. Rationally, if the students study the Islamic boarding school because of the big name of the Islamic boarding school or man's leadership that will collapse at any time (Hadiyatullah, 2018). Masriyah Amva tries to awaken and reminds the students of the intention, thus there will be a dialectical relationship between Woman's ulama Masriyah Amva's agency and the students.

So, intend for everything because Allah SWT, Allah is the one who will bear our life and everything. With the strategy of woman's ulama Masriyah Amva, the students are more open minded. The students understand that the leader does not have to be based on the type of sex (Yarbrough, 2017). Here, man's ulama as leadership with the students are merely an intermediary for the students to seek blessings, because actually the students forget that it is Allah SWT who gives blessings. So far there is a wrong image maintained by students and the community that it is the man's ulama is everything for students' life. So that he is an irreplaceable role model. Man's ulama had dynamically developed and consciously demonstrated an attitude of social and religious types of Islamic boarding school (Yusuf & Taufiq, 2020). Even though all of it is wrong by maintaining this tradition, we can indirectly forget Allah and glorify the figure of the man's ulama. Knowing Allah as the primary basis of noble character education, to know Allah is the obligation of every human being, as mentioned in al-Qur'an and al-Sunnah, because by knowing Allah then people will know themselves (Murni, 2014). Through this awareness, dialectical relationships are created in the form of social practice in the form of maintaining the existence of the pesantren and increasingly trusting in the leadership figure of Masriyah Amva.

In addition, Masriyah Amva becomes an agency of writer emphasized gender equality in Islamic boarding schools through her written "*books of gender and tolerance*" works that have been published in various archipelago. This is part of the influence of her Islamic boarding school to become better known and more advanced because the dynamic actions of man or woman leadership are interrelated with the social construction that they develop. The knowledge of them is always dialectically related to social realities (Pramono, 2018). The books from several her experiences and interactions. From a wide range of interactions, the most important and the main concern to understand society is face-to-face interaction with one another. The result of these social interactions will be objectified into social reality through habituation, and shared stock of knowledge (Samuel, 2012).

All of Masriyah Amva's works are the result of an interaction with one another and this interaction has made gender knowledge, so that she is able to become a gender agent in the Islamic boarding school. This is part of the efforts of modern Islam in a traditional environment so that it will create a new trend in Islamic boarding school. In recent times many progressive writers, including internet writers, have hoped to modernize Islam. Inserting contemporary concepts "like liberalism and feminism" into the modern Islamic paradigm, these efforts have often reflected the global ideological trends of the day (Nurdin, 2011).

Through various kinds of written works is one of the ways for the agency to construct its identity. As according to Pierre Bourdieu, in producing meaning, it must have a reciprocal process between structuralism and constructivism. In this case, the reciprocal process referred to is written work as a means of agency in disseminating gender knowledge. As writer, Masriyah Amva can develop her talents. The books are able to inspire readers from all over the world, both local and foreign. Her books until now has created 22 published books. So, the reward is through writing that is able to inspire others, in return it will have an impact on the Islamic Boarding School and herself becoming more known and more advanced.



Illustration 1. Nyai Masriyah Amva's Book Collection

(Photo: Documentation of Fauzan, 2020)

Many of these books teach readers in understanding something that must be based on balance and justice for all. Through her life stories are able to motivate others. This side is what makes Masriyah Amva apply moderate Islamic values in terms of gender knowledge in Islamic boarding schools of salafiyah, as according to Masriyah Amva in her book entitled "The Secret of the Supreme".

In fact, it is feelings that make a person strong or weak, so it's time for women to change their way of thinking, how to assess themselves and their dreams. If that happened, there would be

no more stories of weakness associated with a creature called woman and equality and equality would occur between women and men. Likewise, Islam teaches ourselves as fair as possible for men and women, because both complement each other and respect each other (Amva, 2012).

Masriyah Amva Islam doesn't teach to position men what to be strong, what women should be strong, but it is our way of thinking that makes a role, and this thinking has become part of the culture and rooted throughout society. Islam teaches by placing each other's weaknesses and weaknesses which aim to complement each other. Islam is a religion that truly respects and respects women and men before Allah absolutely (Hanafi, 2015). Logically, if Islam positions everything strong and weak on men and women equally and what exists will cause mutual conflict and may fight over their roles. That is Allah educates us in the fairest way to tolerate one another.

In a series of creativity in the form of writing, Masriyah Amva tries to develop herself (*self-development*) into a woman who has the potential or seeding her potential. Such as potential physical, intellectual, emotional, empathetic, spiritual, moral and conscience. Self-development is part of one of the requirements to become an agency "Self-improvement is about knowing who your self really" (Hasibuan, 2014). Masriyah Amva began to develop her talents by writing from the stories she had experienced, which then she gave birth to inspiration and life solutions for readers. This is the agency's intellectual intelligence that is in the woman's ulama Masriyah Amva. In her inspiration, she always implements gender knowledge in each of her books. The goal is that readers are inspired about life, especially towards justice and tolerance between people.

3. Hold Gender Awareness Training at Islamic boarding school

Masriyah Amva often conducts gender knowledge training activities, both in non-formal and formal forms. Non-formal, such as receiving guests and student who want to study directly with Masriyah Amva. While formal, Masriyah Amva made a special recitation or seminar for the students, in fact she is often invited to fill in seminars outside Islamic Boarding School. This has received a positive response from various kinds of awards and visits from various national figures, artists, cultural observers and foreign tourists.

This is a form of direct interaction carried out by Masriyah Amva, with the aim of making it easier for her to socialize herself as an agency for gender fighters in Islamic Boarding School. Many immigrants from various regions and countries, they have been motivated by the contents of the stories in the book, so they invited Masriyah Amva to a seminar with the theme of "gender warriors" as well as migrants who visited Masriyah Amva's house directly during the process, apparently it has been able to make Islamic Boarding School more advanced and better known both domestically and abroad. In essence, Masriyah Amva provides knowledge of the values of equality and tolerance for the people.

As for the impact of various forms of gender struggle of Masriyah Amva, the Islamic boarding school of salafiyah has progressed. It is progressing in terms of the number of students, its popularity and the physical structure. Based on an interview with Masriyah Amva, there were 1,200 students when led by her husband and had collapsed to the remaining 300 students because her husband had died. After 12 years, there were 2,200 students (Amva, 2020). This means that there is a process of improvement during the leadership of Masriyah Amva. In terms of popularity, the figure of Masriyah Amva is well known in the archipelago and has received many visits from domestic and foreign guests. From within the country, namely the Minister of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, several artists, political observers and interfaith figures. While from abroad, generally activists in universities, foreign journalists, and world social activists. Everything has been documented in the front room of Masriyah Amva's house.



Illustration 2. Documenting several photographs of awards and visiting guests both at home and abroad on the terrace of Masriyah Amva's house.

(Photo: Documentation Fauzan. 12 November 2020)

These photos are various kinds of visits and events hosted by woman's ulama Masriyah Amva. The room is open to the public on purpose to be shown to anyone. The goal is as a personal collection so that Masriyah Amva remains enthusiastic about the story of her journey, and a personal pride that later her descendants are also proud of the part of Masriyah Amva's life. The students considered that Nyai Masriyah Amva was a woman's ulama figure who had potential in terms of leadership, through her thoughts and ideas, it was worth struggle and belief. She becomes an agency of man leadership in Islamic boarding school. In addition, woman's ulama Masriyah Amva is able to become a leader in a patriarchal environment by promoting justice and tolerance. Because one of the evidences that is presented in the beauty of tolerance among religious communities, as in this below documentation.

The visit consisted of interfaith, Islamic, Buddhist, Hindu, Christian figures. All come together to respect and honor each

other. Masriyah Amva proved that Islamic boarding school herself were able to tolerate anyone regardless of any group. Everything is God's creation that must be respected and the Prophet also teaches us to respect each other. In other hand, religious plurality is an inescapable phenomenon because every religion emerged from diverse situations and places. If the religious plurality is understood unwell unwisely, it would potentially trigger problems among believers that impede Indonesia democracy system (Mawardi, 2015). Therefore, Islam through Islamic boarding schools should also be open to all groups of people to the extent of respecting in order to maintain harmony between religious communities, the most important thing is not to practice or imitate the matters of worship.

This existence may rarely be done in other types of Islamic boarding school, because it is quite difficult to be open to things that are different with them or do not have traditional roots. However, Masriyah Amva has changed that Islamic boarding school of salafiyah and it turns out to be able to think moderately with justice and tolerance. Of course, the reason Masriyah Amva is visited by various differences, she has written to moderate thoughts through the books. So, her writing has resulted in visits of several foreign guests, apart from receiving visits from abroad. Many foreign visits from various activists and journalists. Such as from the Netherlands, Germany, Africa, America, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and Australia. Masriyah Amva is often invited in various regions to fill in seminars and public lectures. Then she also received an award from the central government through the Indonesian Minister of Religion, as an "inspirational woman in advancing education in Islamic boarding schools".



Illustration 3. Certificate of Masriyah Amva of Appreciation in Islamic Education by Minister of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia.

(Photo: Documentation Fauzan. 12 November 2020)

Masriyah Amva has received an award from Suryadharma Ali as Minister of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia. For dedication in fighting for religious education in Islamic boarding school, she is fortunate to receive achievements and

services in advancing religious education. Eventhough she is a woman who lives in a patriarchal culture, she has succeeded in changing the image of the Islamic Boarding School to be more advanced in the field of education. The indicator that she has succeed in providing lessons on gender or equal rights in her Islamic boarding school. The result is that the students are very enthusiastic and Islamic boarding school more advanced.

In other hand, she also invited jam in various countries such as the Middle East and Asia. Masriyah Amva was once offered to play a film in Japan “*Rising from Shadows*”, the stories in her book have been made into films in Japan. Everything has been illustrated in the following pictures



Illustration 4. Masriyah Amva’s activities in the making of film “*Rising from Shadow*” and Seminar at Keio University, Tokyo Japan.

(Photo: Documentation of Hilya 2020)

On the basis of her thought that can inspire everyone, many tourists want to be curious about woman’s ulama Masriyah Amva. Here, Japanese tourist named Atshushi Tajima offered the works of Masriyah Amva to make a film. This film tells the story of a woman’s ulama agency in achieving gender equality, treading trough feminism and pluralism. Therefore, Masriyah Amva is often visited by various elements of society regardless of group or religion.

Masriyah Amva wants to change the image of the Islamic boarding school of salafiyah to a more moderate direction that Islam for all “*rahmatatil’alaimiin*”. it means, Islamic boarding school is the right place to socialize Islamic knowledge as well as possible, by understanding, comparing and concluding in addressing different views in the middle which has a patriarchal ideology. A religion is a form of God’s grace and compassion for the entire universe because lately, Islam has always been known as a radical organization, due to the liberalization movement of society. Such liberalization has allowed some radical Islamic groups, which were in dormant during the New Order era, to come alive to echo their voices and ideologies (Al Makassar, 2013). Whereas it is clear that Islam invites its adherents to have a noble belief, namely the recognition of Allah as a god who must be worshiped because

of his greatness (Baidhowi, 2017). Islam is a religion that is just and true, but often we are influenced by a tradition that is considered natural (Borde, 2015). Something natural is not necessarily authentic or obligatory to follow the truth, because it could be that naturalness is only to perpetuate men’s position in the Islamic boarding school. As according to Prof. Aquarini Priyatna, experience often closes our door to think critically, even though we forget that experience is cultural (Priyatna, 2018). So, everything in any attitude must be based on balance and fairness because if not, misunderstanding and destruction can befall both us and the institution.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the researcher can be verification data of Masriyah Amva’s agency as a gender fighter in the Islamic boarding school. The novelty of this research is the finding of a new proof that women who live in a patriarchal environment but she has succeeded in becoming leaders. In fact, her success exceeded her husband’s leadership. Ironically, the strategy in advancing the Islamic boarding school is to do things that are considered contradictory in the patriarchal environment “gender”, but precisely by applying the values of gender knowledge, the Islamic boarding school can be more advanced. Therefore, Masriyah Amva became an agency for gender fighters in Islamic boarding schools with several skills, an entrepreneur, motivator, writer, and moderate-woman.

As in Pierre Bourdieu’s theory, structuralize and constructive processes have resulted in the production of meaning, the meaning here is gender knowledge. The reciprocal process that Masriyah Amva has can be carried out in various forms of struggle. Incorporate the work of contemporary ulama on gender learning in Islamic boarding school. Then give direction about gender to the students directly by boldly being present in the midst of male students. In addition, Masriyah Amva developed her talent in fighting for herself by writing life-inspiring stories. As for the results of his struggle, she got several things progress for her Islamic boarding school, such as the number of students who continued to increase from time to time, increasing suggestions and facilities for Islamic boarding school of salafiyah, cooperatives, canteens, minimarkets, travel, campuses and meeting halls. Therefore, Islamic boarding school Kebon Jambu is often known in various regions both nationally and internationally. Many national figures and foreign tourists often meet with Masriyah Amva. Therefore, she was appointed as the Chairperson of the Indonesian Women’s Ulama (KUPI) by women’s ulama figures from the world and it held at the Islamic boarding school of Kebon Jambu for seven days, it was Inaugurated by the Minister of Religion.

In this study, there is still a gap that has not been obtained, namely the existence of knowledge about overcoming gender bias in Islamic boarding school other than that obtained from this study, because the researcher realizes that not all Islamic boarding school of salafiyah has the same characteristics as the pesantren of Kebon Jambu. Therefore, a strategy is needed

to overcome gender bias in newer Islamic boarding school by adjusting the character of the salafiyah. Nyai agency as a gender warrior still needs a long process, therefore there needs to be gender socialization from any party in the pesantren so that students have a tolerant view, one of which is through other research which is still related to this research. At least through this research it can be useful for all Islamic boarding school circles to be more tolerant, and making good image of Islam for women.

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