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## WOMEN AND NETWORKING AUTHORITY IN BOARDING SCHOOL: THE BACKGROUND AND LIFE HISTORY PERSPECTIVE

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### Abstrak:

*Kepemimpinan boarding school identik dengan peran seorang kyai. Masyarakat yang patriarki, dan narasi ekstrimis yang melegitimisasi konsep domestikasi meletakkan perempuan sebagai masyarakat kelas dua. Begitu juga dengan nyai, diposisikan sebagai pendamping kyai dan pengatur kebutuhan domestik di boarding school saja. Dengan latar kondisi yang sedemikian rupa, maka keberadaan nyai sebagai sosok baru dalam boarding school dewasa ini menarik untuk dianalisis. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan antropologi gender. Adapun perspektif life history digunakan untuk menjelaskan persoalan individual dan bagaimana relevansinya dalam pembentukan budaya dan masyarakat secara umum. Metode pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan wawancara dan observasi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa; pertama, perempuan dan jejaring kekuasaan di boarding school dimulai dari diadakannya kongres KUPI pertama pada 2017. Kedua, kecakapan perempuan dalam memimpin boarding school Mahasina didukung oleh keterlibatan nyai dalam politik praktis, pendidikan formal dan informal, serta pengalaman tergabung dengan NGO yang bergerak dalam pemberdayaan perempuan. Perempuan dan jejaring kekuasaan yang dibangun di boarding school ini membentuk kesadaran masyarakat. Bahwa perempuan dan laki-laki memiliki hak yang sama dalam kepemimpinan termasuk didalamnya kepemimpinan agama.*

**Kata Kunci:** *Jejaring boarding school; Perempuan; Mahasiswa; KUPI*

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**Abstract:**

*The leadership of the boarding school is identical to the role of a kyai. A patriarchal society, and extremist narratives that legitimize the concept of domestication place women in a second-class society. Likewise, nyai are positioned as kyai's companion and regulator of domestic needs in boarding schools. With the background of such conditions, the existence of nyai as a new figure in boarding schools today is interesting to analyze. This study uses a gender anthropological approach. The life history perspective is used to explain individual problems and how they are relevant to the formation of culture and society in general. Methods of data collection are done by using an interview and observation. The results showed that women and power networks in boarding schools started from holding the first KUPI congress in 2017. Second, women's skills in leading the Mahasina boarding school are supported by the involvement of nyai in practical politics, formal and informal education, as well as their experience of joining NGOs engaged in empowering women. Women and the power network built in this boarding school form public awareness. That women and men have equal rights in leadership, including religious leaders.*

**Keywords:** *Boarding school network; Woman; Student; KUPI*

**INTRODUCTION**

Boarding school is the eldest education institute in Indonesia component services include a mosque, boarding house, *santri kyai*, and teacher.<sup>1</sup> Rapid social development of society requires boarding schools to involved for accomplish problems that happen in und it. According to Choirul Yusuf and Suwito, the role it should doing is because boarding schools are born out of tradition and culture.<sup>2</sup> Boarding schools based on Mohammad Takdir Ilahi, at last, develop become alternative education institutes for creating religious clime based on morals in the middle of the globalization era.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Zamakhsyari Dzofier, "The Boarding school Tradition: A Study of the Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of the Traditional Ideology of Islam in Java - ProQuest," accessed December 13, 2022, <https://www.proquest.com/openview/d767233e864f33d7fc7cdd9ad691863a/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=2026366&diss=y>.

<sup>2</sup> Choirul Yusuf and Suwito, *Model Pengembangan Ekonomi Boarding school* (Purwokerto: STAIN Press, 2009), 64.

<sup>3</sup> Mohammad Takdir Ilahi, "KIAI: FIGUR ELITE BOARDING SCHOOL," *IBDA` : Jurnal Kajian Islam Dan Budaya* 12, no. 2 (January 1, 1970): 137–48, <https://doi.org/10.24090/ibda.v12i2.442>.

The success of boarding school on did role it according to Nurcholish Madjid, depends on the main figures of *Kyai*.<sup>4</sup> The position of *kyai* according to Mohammad Takdir Ilahi is dominant because in his mind there is supremacy against the estafet life of *santri*.<sup>5</sup> The policy appointed by *kyai* obliged all *santri* without negotiation. Because create footing and problem solving on some problem in the community, so, based on Hamdan and Syarifuddin *kyai* can change role model to become a teacher, *publisher*, shaman (medicate of the patient), and a mediatory problem in a family.<sup>6</sup>

The position of *kyai* that is dominant in this boarding school based on Dawam Rahardjo 1985 brings out the feudalism concept that was tipped on devotees of *kyai*.<sup>7</sup> *Kyai* is always placed in the superior position in the social strata society. Superiority also is confined to an individualistic personality. So, all the boarding school policies are in the hands of *kyai*, with no intervention, and no involve others. The relations build with up-to-down relations.

Hierarchy superior and subordinate also apply in the relation of *kyai* and *kyai*. The role of *Nyai* (wife of *kyai*) no shown in front of the public. Whereas on the various research occur many facts about a role model of *kyai* that dominant into support fight of *kyai* to increase the name of boarding schools. His lead is not approved because women's authority and capability rate are not created for basic policy making.<sup>8</sup>

According to Treesya Hulontawa Melamahu 2019 this condition was born out of patriarch dominance that was very strong in boarding school tradition in Java and Madura. The patriarch dominant also appeared when the designation of successor leadership boarding school if figure *Kyai* was gone. Boarding school leadership will continue by his son from generation to generation.<sup>9</sup>

However, together with more exposed access to education for all society, boarding schools also had a significant change. Leadership in several boarding schools had changed. The boarding school did not close access for

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<sup>4</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Bilik-Bilik Boarding school: Potret Sebuah Perjalanan* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1997), 26.

<sup>5</sup> Ilahi, "KIAI."

<sup>6</sup> Hamdan and Syarifuddin, *Titik Tengkar Boarding school: Resolusi Konflik Masyarakat Boarding school* (Yogyakarta: Pilar Media, 2005), 18.

<sup>7</sup> Dawam Rahardjo, *Boarding school Dan Pembaharuan* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985), 54.

<sup>8</sup> Habibullah and Sitrul Arsyi, "Peran Nyai Dalam Pengembangan Pondok Boarding school (Studi Di Pondok Sabilul Huda Gadu Barat Ganding)," *Al Iman: Jurnal Keislaman Dan Kemasyarakatan* 3, no. 1 (September 9, 2019): 25.

<sup>9</sup> 071511733056 TREESYA HULONTAWA MELAMAHU, "KEPEMIMPINAN 'BU NYAI' DALAM PONDOK BOARDING SCHOOL SINGO WALI SONGO DI KABUPATEN MAGETAN" (skripsi, UNIVERSITAS AIRLANGGA, 2019), 3, <http://lib.unair.ac.id>.

women to lead. Based on Asmani and Jamal Ma'mur 2015<sup>10</sup> this change was driven by the activism of *kyai* into gender equality action that was strongly carried out in the 1980s, especially by Nahdlatul Ulama.

The important figure in the boarding school, such as Abdurrahman Wahid,<sup>11</sup> Zamakhsyari Dhofier, Zamakhsyari Dhofier,<sup>12</sup> and Faqihudin Abdul Qadir in the research of Amalia<sup>13</sup> also severely critical patriarch system. The patriarch brings about discrimination against women, including in the world of boarding school. At the same time, figures also encourage to women be leaders in boarding schools.

Finally, based on Farida and Kasdi<sup>14</sup> the women josses the majority made up of the *nyai* make power into KUPI (Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia). The existence of *nyai* or women josses in the world of *keulamaan* sometimes falls into oblivion. Therefore, there is KUPI based on (Husein Muhammad 2020) is an incredible initiative to start again of existence *ulama* leadership in the religious authority taking as happened throughout the history of Islamic civilization.

Transformation of *kyai* and *nyai* relation into a boarding school in line with feminism cultural concept. Based on Rajagukguk<sup>15</sup> women's way in the walk of life and getting knowledge can be role model better for getting a just society than traditional preference from men androcentric culture.

It is strengthened by Tanara<sup>16</sup> who stated that the difference between men and women is also feminist values possessed by women's own superiority which women have it. Cultural feminism as confirmed by Nash<sup>17</sup> showed

<sup>10</sup>Jamal Ma'mur Asmani, "Kepemimpinan Perempuan: Pergulatan Wacana Di Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)," *ADDIN* 9, no. 1 (November 15, 2015): 40, <https://doi.org/10.21043/addin.v9i1.606>.

<sup>11</sup>Muhammad Hasyim, "MODERNISASI PENDIDIKAN BOARDING SCHOOL DALAM PERSPEKTIF KH. ABDURRAHMAN WAHID," *CENDEKIA: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 2, no. 2 (2016): 168–92, <https://doi.org/10.37348/cendekia.v2i2.24>.

<sup>12</sup>Dzofier, "The Boarding school Tradition."

<sup>13</sup>Alfita Choirun Amalia, "Eksplorasi Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Agama Islam Berkesetaraan Gender Dalam Buku Qiroah Mubadalah Karya Faqihuddin Abdul Kadir" (undergraduate, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2020), <http://digilib.uinsby.ac.id/46031/>.

<sup>14</sup>Umma Farida and Abdurrohman Kasdi, "The 2017 Kupi Congress And Indonesian Female 'Ulama,'" *Journal Of Indonesian Islam* 12, no. 2 (December 1, 2018): 135, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2018.12.2.135-158>.

<sup>15</sup>Rajagukguk Christin, "Feminisme Kultural Dan Peran Perempuan Dalam Deradikalisasi BNPT (Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme) Di Indonesia" (other, Faculty of Social and Political Science, 2018), <http://eprints.undip.ac.id/75586/>.

<sup>16</sup>Warapsari Jihadtullah Tanara, "Analisis Keterlibatan Perempuan Dalam Kontra Terorisme Di Indonesia Oleh Bnpt Melalui Pendekatan Feminisme Kultural (2015-2019)," January 27, 2021, <https://dspace.uui.ac.id/handle/123456789/29541>.

<sup>17</sup>Jane M. Jacobs And Catherine Nash, "Too Little, Too Much: Cultural Feminist Geographies," *Gender, Place & Culture* 10, no. 3 (September 1, 2003): 265–79, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369032000114037>.

equality between men and women. To know and uniqueness of men and women then know the similarity between men and women.

So, this article will discuss how is women building authority networking in boarding schools before through domestication and discrimination in the same institute. Through the gender anthropology approach,<sup>18</sup> this research implements life history to listen, show, and express women themselves. Bruce Shaw explains that life history be important to explain the individual problem and how is relevance to establishment culture and society by all accounts.

For research object in this article is Mahasina boarding school which was conducted by Nyai Badriyah Fayumi (born in at1971).<sup>19</sup> Academic also activist birth of Pati has a role significant in the attempt to build authority networking boarding school. furthermore, Al-Azhar graduate Kairo Mesir was also an important figure who initialize of woman *ulama* congress Indonesia/KUPI.<sup>20</sup>

## DISCUSSION

### The Profile of Mahasina Boarding school Bekasi Pondok Gede

Mahasina boarding school in 2000 originally is a study place for santri which doing everyday start from afternoon until evening. Santri in Diniyah is dominated by the surrounding society who want to learn about theology. From diniyah, then formed Mayis Club or (Mahasina Youth Islamic Studies Club). This community was success establishing Mahasina Band, religion students, the Marawis Group, and many others.

In 2008, mahasina diniyah change be boarding school called with Pondok Kalong. That is a boarding school that just does activities learn (mengaji) nonformal. As for formal education santri facile out of Mahasina. Pondok Kalong system in the journey is less effective because many reasons. First, the time of the santri study was divided so that they were not focusing. Because learning in boarding school and formal school has different characteristics and approaches. Secondly, the headmaster of Mahasina boarding school also feels that the investment character value of santri is still not maximal. As for, not getting at learning targets expectation. Third,

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<sup>18</sup>Saptari Saptari, *Perempuan, Kerja, Dan Perubahan Sosial* (Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti, 2016).

<sup>19</sup>Ulya Ulya, "Nyai Badriyah Fayumi : Mufassir Perempuan Otoritatif Pejuang Kesetaraan Dan Moderasi Di Indonesia," *HERMENEUTIK* 12, no. 2 (December 12, 2018): 66, <https://doi.org/10.21043/hermeneutik.v12i2.6150>.

<sup>20</sup>Amrin Ma'ruf, Wilodati Wilodati, and Tutin Aryanti, "Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia Dalam Wacana Merebut Tafsir Gender Pasca Reformasi: Sebuah Tinjauan Genealogi," *Musawa Jurnal Studi Gender Dan Islam* 20, no. 2 (2021): 127–46, <https://doi.org/10.14421/musawa.2021.202.127-146>.

there is a high risk which is handled by the headmaster of Mahasina because santri mobility from boarding school to formal school or the opposite.

On the strength of that, Drs. KH. Abu Bakar Rahziz, M.A., and Dra. Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi, Lc., M.A. the headmaster of Mahasina boarding school officially implemented a formal school in the boarding school by building a junior high school and senior high school. Exactly in 2016, Mahasina boarding school officially changed its name be Mahasina Darul Qur'an wal Hadits (Mahasina Daqwah) boarding school.

Education concept intended to get santri to be ulama candidates in the future. So the education concept is the integrated education of ulama, the lead character of the Qurani, and having a conception of nationality. To make a reality that concept, learning of santri in boarding school, junior high school, and senior high school is one of the wholes which not can be divided take one with the others.

Mahasina Darul Qur'an wal Hadits boarding school today be conducted by Drs. KH. Abu Bakar Rahziz, M.A., and Dra. Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi, Lc., M.A. becomes a married couple, and both of them work together for the progress of education in the boarding school. Not only busy with the nurture program in the boarding school, Kyai Abu Bakar Rahziz, and Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi was also active in the external activity boarding school. Kyai Abu Bakar Rahziz ever becomes Komisi Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) central, Rabithah Ma'ahid Islamiyah (RMI NU), chief of MUI Bekasi city, director of Pendidikan Kader Ulama (PKU) MUI, vice in the Rais Syuriah PC NU and the first chief of Dewan Masjid Indonesia (DMI) Bekasi city.

### **Involvement of Nyai Badriyah Fayumi into Leadership in the Mahasina Boarding school**

The life history perspectives in this study were carried out by listening to the explanations, experiences, and practices carried out by Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi in leading the Mahasina boarding school. By using this approach, Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi's experience was recognized and accepted as a primary source of research. This shows that the position of women is no longer second information and did not depend on the consent of men. Women were no longer a tight-lipped group as popularized by Edwin Ardener. Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi has independence in conveying her wishes and independently includes recounting the relationship built with Kyai Abu Bakar Rahziz while leading the Mahasina boarding school.

The background of the activism role is important into establish an idea of Kyai Abu Bakar Rahziz and Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi was moderate.

Although the position of Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi in the Mahasina boarding school also the same as her husband is Kyai Abu Bakar Rahziz. There is no different role taken according to gender, all of the policies of boarding schools taken by discussion and used need to be measured.

Meanwhile based on anthropology gender, the relationship between Kyai Abu Bakar and Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi in developing Mahasina Boarding school affirms as non-natural the concept of gender. It has been explained by Listiyani,<sup>21</sup> which told that Gender was not a Nature but was human formation which means it can be changed at any time and interchangeably. The women's and men's roles in the domestic and public spheres were born from the social construct of society, Such as cooking, washing, searching for firewood, hunting for children, working in the field, leading organizations, and participating in meetings are not natural, but it can be done by men as well as women. In this case, gender is an analytical tool, where gender analysis is carried out to analyze the relationship between men and women.

However, Kyai Abu Bakar Rahziz and Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi is also in a relationship as a married couple. They did not dominate each other and took their role in leading the boarding school in their own respective capacities. There were not happened domestication and role-taking based on sex and shelter in the narrative of nature. Both of them work together to develop the boarding schools by maximizing the potential of each other. The good practice carried out at the Mahasina boarding school is one of the solutions to the four levels of gender problems as stated by Listiani in Rosramadhana. There are four levels of gender problem (the arena of gender injustice) that influence the persistence of gender in people's lives, especially what happens in Indonesia, namely the country, society, family, and personnel.

The Role of Kyai Abu Bakar Rahziz and Nyai Hj Badriyah Fayumi's leadership shows that personally, both of them have high gender awareness so that there is no gender bias treatment in managing boarding schools. Men and women become a part of the value of the life of human beings in society. The myth of male sexuality represented as a sovereign and mighty figure is not found in Kyai Abu Bakar Rahziz's personality during his boarding school leadership and likewise, Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi is also not shackled to bring out the image of an ideal wife who is obedient to creatures. Both of them fight together because of God and not because of their gender.

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<sup>21</sup>Listiani et al., *Gender Dan Komunitas Perempuan Pedesaan Kondisi Nyata Yang Terjadi Lapangan* (Medan: BITRA Indonesia, 2018).

The awareness of Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi to follow in and be active in the public such as in boarding school not get off from Mom Lies Marcos, one of the feminist activists who become communicator secular woman action with feminism Muslim Indonesia.

Another figure who become inspired by Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi is Nusyahbani Katjasungkana. Woman activist in Indonesia that hard to assert themselves and woman's position in the political sector, civil, media, academic, and religious authority. Fight of Nusyahbani Katjasungkana in 80's era based on Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi is an action which high risk remembering political order and patriarchal religion very attached to New Order it.

In the 80s era also, controversy about gender equality and Islam had many colours on discourse in the world of Arabic. Muslim feminism such as Fatima Mernisi, and Nawal el Sadawi many express views in book form which field out about Islam and woman's equality. This point of view forms a critical woman's idea in the boarding school scope is conservative. Especially for Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi was born out of a boarding school scope.

Masdar Farid Mas'udi also is one of the inspiring figures for Nyai Badriyah Fayum. From the development boarding school association and society (P3M), Masdar Farid Mas'udi active fight for democracy and woman's rights. Then he got nicknamed the father of gender equality currently. Also, this forum encourages the leader of conservative boarding schools to become more respectful of contemporary problems such as pluralism and across-faith dialog.

Ann Elizabeth Meyer in Yusno<sup>22</sup> state that the women's perspective was the opposite of men's perspective. Both of them appear the opposite because women have slumped and are hindered by the structure of a male-dominated society. With this attitude, they have shown their own contradictive perspective during men's perspective today. They did not express this by using the terminology of the dominant male model. Kyai Abu Bakar Rahziz and Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi shows a contrary attitude to Ann Elizabeth Meyer's theory above.

Their relationship broke the dominant relationship between the dominant level and the subdominant level in society. The Activities and responsible between them as the leaders of boarding schools are really open-minded. Neither of the two is hindered by the structure of society. Both of

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<sup>22</sup> Yusno Abdullah Otta, "[PDF] Gender Dalam Perspektif Antropologi," 6, accessed December 14, 2022, [https://nanopdf.com/queue/gender-dalam-perspektif-antropologi-oleh-yusno\\_pdf?queue\\_id=-1&x=1670918437&z=MTAzLjE0OS4yMi4xMw==](https://nanopdf.com/queue/gender-dalam-perspektif-antropologi-oleh-yusno_pdf?queue_id=-1&x=1670918437&z=MTAzLjE0OS4yMi4xMw==).

them have a view oriented towards the highest benefit and devotion to God. Their awareness to oriented about life in order to achieve this benefit shows that the position of men and women is equal before God. This value is Not only in leader relationships but also shows in the education roles model at Mahasina boarding school.

Remember of important about understanding gender equality for ulama neither women nor men to break down dominant and subdominant relations, so that value becomes the main point which is delivered by Nyai Badriyah Fayumi into operate the education system in the Mahasina boarding school. This point according to the education concept integrated ulama candidates. The leader has a certain character of Qurani and has a conception of nationalism which applied in the Mahasina boarding school. This fact is also suitable with the opinion stated that a leader's intellectual background in the boarding school implications how to view the direction of learning which gender-responsive in the boarding school.

Domestic narrations and extremist rereading by Nyai Badriyah Fayumi using the humane approach. On her principle, Nyai Badriyah Fayumi believes that no one verse of the Quran nor Hadist discriminates against a specific gender. If there was confirmed as not the main value that wants to be delivered. But approach and interpretation that biased and prayed by side who benefits.

As in the interpret surah An-Nisa' 34 verse about nusyuz, surah an-Nisa 11 verse about part half heritage for woman, and surah al-Baqarah about evidence of two women who equal with man evidence discussed exclusively by Nyai Badriyah Fayumi in the study at after shubuh in the boarding school.

Using the historic approach and context, Nyai Badriyah Fayumi explains step by step the social context which abreast the downs of the verse. Into nusyuz verse for example, in the context of the Arab tradition is normalizing violence against women. So that be regulated nusyuz concept that the hit for a woman is not hurt hit and not scour. The assumption is, is there a hit not hurt, and not scour? If there is then not a hit. The value delivered into a Nisa 34 verse will be safe for a woman from acts of violence. Not legitimize of thrashing ability of women.

Meanwhile, Nyai Badriyah Fayumi stated that the study of verses frequently interpreted with this not-fair value needs more time than other verse explanations. Besides not the usual approach used, Nyai Badriyah Fayumi believes that ideas relative to humanity should be attached to the heart of Mahasina students. Gender fairness and treatment like a human

should be the first basis of santri to interpret Misogynist Hadist and the verse often be deciphered with discrimination view.

Not only internalize with a formal approach in the class, but equality of gender value also into practice form. Neither man students nor woman students get the same chance to present short speeches after shubuh with man and woman students' audiences and also, with the leader of dzikir, done by man and woman students in rotation. Thus, with the leadership of an organization, the man and women students also give access and the same chance to compete based on competency. *Orsam* (Organisasi Santri Mahasina) neither man nor woman competes with each other to bring out become better.

This approach did not make woman students haughty, nor make man students feel not treasured. This approach makes both of them become more competitive about good things. Both of them be given the same chance and access, not differentiated based on gender. The rule applied to them also be produced from the discussion process and forum which involve both. According to Nyai Badriyah Fayumi, the rules also should be made based on agreement and for the benefit of together.

In addition, Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi Involvement in leading Mahasina boarding school has broken out the culture of the female norm. Where the culture is perpetuated by a patriarchal society to oppress women. Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi can release herself from those norms to designate herself as a free and sovereign individual as is the human position as *khalifatullah fil ardhi*. Meanwhile, at the same time, the leadership at Mahasina Boarding school strengthens the statement of Simone de Beauvoir in Yusno's research that the domestication of women occurs is not a natural and innate nature of women but is culturally formed. The traits attached to the female sex aim to negate her position subordinated by the male.

### **KUPI: Women's Space and the Power Network of Islamic Boarding Schools**

The experience of becoming a member of the house of representatives (DPR), tells Nyai Badriyah Fayumi about power spaces. The space it takes advantage of for delivered narration equality women. Nyai Badriyah Fayumi informs the message of man and woman equality in front of God in various ways. Although at a different position, an equality value in front of God is the main message that she told for all forums.

The message increasing voice be expressed when she officiates become Majelis Masyayikh Kemenag RI, Wakil Sekjend Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) Pusat, A'wan PBNU, Ketua Majelis Musyarawah Kongres Ulama

Perempuan Indonesia (KUPI), Ketua, ALIMAT, Dewan Pakar KPPRI (Kaukus Perempuan Parlemen Republik Indonesia, Dewan Pakar PP MES (Masyarakat Ekonomi Syariah), Dewan Pakar IKALUNI (Ikatan Alumni UIN Jakarta), dan Ketua Majelis Mudzakarah Masjid Istiqlal, Pembina JP3M (Jaringan Perempuan Pengasuh Boarding school dan Mubaligh), Wakil Ketua LKK PBNU, and also Wakil Ketua IKALFU.

Nyai Badriyah Fayumi believed that the reverberation of equality gender narration can do partial and personal. Internalizing the gender equality approach in the boarding school scope is important for provision ulama candidates. But building equality between women and boarding schools together to express gender equality be based Islam approach also an important thing. Authority networking boarding schools should go up to mutual each other and build awareness about how is important involve women in boarding school networking.

On the strength of it, Nyai Badriyah Fayumi was involved active become director committee in the process born out of *Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia* in 2017. It is starting from involve Nyai Badriyah Fayumi be program facilitator candidate woman ulama, one of the Rahima programs. Moreover, Nyai Badriyah Fayumi also one of the Rahima members, is the writer Rahima's voice, and interviewee Rahima's program that accordance with the woman *keulamaan*. In 2015, when Rahima led by Eridani, held a workshop together with several interviewees. From that Rahima and Alimat and Fahmina's networking plan performance of KUPI. Although at the moment the ideal name of KUPI has not gotten yet, still discourse from and project.

On the next, Nyai Badriyah Fayumi was involved in the process plan, and performance, until after KUPI. The implementation of KUPI is an alternative step to build authority ulama networking and boarding schools be focused on contextual Islamic law and have a conception of gender. Without any reason, involved boarding schools in KUPI implementation because of scholarly ability boarding school build on the knowledge of Islamic classic scholarly. Combined with understanding contemporary ulama to get new Islamic law that put forward humanity value with stand firm on theological base from classic holy book apart from al-Quran and Hades.

The success of the KUPI I and 2 Congresses was due to the direct involvement of women scholars as participants and at the same time being involved in decision-making. KUPI as a network as stated by Scoot in Hasnanda was formed because of mutual knowledge, informing each other, reminding each other, and helping each other in carrying out or

overcoming something new. The social relationship which has formed in KUPI can interact and correlate with each other than form a whole unit bound through a social network. The Basic perspective in social networking is by social ties, individuals gain access to information, social support, and other resources<sup>23</sup>.

The process of forming KUPI as a forum for hearing female scholars cannot be separated from the roles of the actors who play roles in it. The power of the actor is able to influence the process to achieve a goal. However, the power of actors in the KUPI network is not like the theory of actor power in Weber's concept<sup>24</sup>. Weber state that Power actors were able to change one's behavior without asking one's will in intertwined social relationships. In other words, an actor's power will be decided by how strong his ability can influence other actors. Because there was no structural organization in KUPI it can prove that KUPI is not an organization but it was an ideological movement. So, the roles and positions of all participants involved in the KUPI network have an equal relationship, there are no superiors or subordinates. KUPI is a network formed due to a shared consciousness to lead to the same ideals.

The utterance term of woman ulama based on Nyai Badriyah Fayumi is an attempt to get some confession as man ulama. It is starting from the fact that ulama is always inductive with a man. This opinion was strengthened by Ayu Usada<sup>28</sup> that KUPI can be a mediator of woman's negotiation on man ulama power which has absolute authority in the social environment and boarding school.

KUPI becoming a woman authority networking and boarding school is one of the incarnate democracies, be antithesis group conservative. Where a woman in the group is identic with a second-level human being, with *less power*, and their existence is acknowledged as being a companion exist of man. According to Nisa,<sup>25</sup> the role of men and women are divided by men and suitable to their needs. Women become a new domestic human being permitted to have careers in public spaces only if the domestic business is done. In the conservative view, part of this role is decided based on man importance with not involve women be discussion objects.

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<sup>23</sup> Ivan D. Chase et al., "Networks Never Rest: An Investigation of Network Evolution in Three Species of Animals," *Social Networks* 68 (January 1, 2022): 356–73, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socnet.2021.09.002>.

<sup>24</sup> Weber Mark, *Basic Concepts in Sociology* (New York: Citadel Press, 2000).

<sup>25</sup> "Muslim Women in Contemporary Indonesia: Online Conflicting Narratives behind the Women Ulama Congress: Asian Studies Review: Vol 43, No 3," accessed December 14, 2022, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10357823.2019.1632796>.

Therefore, KUPI is a strong networking alternative for boarding schools and effective for grab tafsir space. The first KUPI congress which was attended by almost 1500 members in 2017 ago was a symbolic preference for woman ulama agents to take part in fill public space. The truly important not only for congress implementation but how ulama can fill in public space and digital spaces for continuing express gender equality.

Equality values produced by KUPI become strengthened woman's networking and this boarding school should disseminate knowledge through various publications. the value carried by KUPI able to fill digital information spaces. It is to intend become a contra narration tool on Islamic conservative ideas that discriminate against women.

## CONCLUSION

Increasing the chance and woman's access in the world of education affects the friction of women boarding school. *Nyai* who before its representative become a partner of *Kyai* to develop education in the boarding school already metamorphosed into an equal relationship. The existence of *Nyai* not only be a partner but become a partnership to develop the education system.

It has an impact on the education system of boarding schools which fair gender as happened in the Mahasina Darul Quran wal Hadist boarding school Bekasi. *Kyai* Abu Bakar Rahziz and *Nyai* Badriyah Fayumi applied the religious education system with forward gender equality as the main human value. The values are internalized in the education curriculum and practiced in the student life system every day.

Realize that action to objectify gender equality values with a religious approach can not doing partially, so women and boarding schools should build power networking. In 2017, Fahmina, Rahima, and Alimat where *Nyai* Badriyah Fayumi was a part of three institutes held the first Congress Ulama Perempuan (KUPI). Woman authority networking and boarding school into this KUPI place be alternative action doing negotiation on man ulama power has absolute authority in social environment and boarding school.

The woman into authority networking that builds in the boarding school by this KUPI forms social awareness. That woman and men have the same rights in leadership including religious, social, and societal leadership. one of the indicators that becoming someone good in front of God only their god-fearing. Not because of gender, ethnic group, class, and race.

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