

THE DISCOURSE OF WOMEN SANTRI (STUDENTS IN ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOL) ABOUT POLITICS IN EAST JAVA – INDONESIA

Siti Kholifah ^a

^a Brawijaya University, Indonesia

^a siti.kholifah@live.vu.edu.au

© Ontario International Development Agency. ISSN 1923-6654 (print)
ISSN 1923-6662 (online). Available at <http://www.ssrn.com/link/OIDA-Intl-Journal-Sustainable-Dev.html>

Abstract: In the concept of gender theology, gender inequality is attributable to divine creation; all belongs to God. Pesantren (Islamic boarding school) is an educational institution with Islamic religion as a specific academic course, still assumed to have a biased concept of gender. Hence, the aim of the research investigates the discourse of women santri about politics. Secondly, this research examines santri's perception about women in politics as a description the processes of political learning in Islamic boarding school.

By using Foucault's and feminist theory, the study has been done at pesantren in Jombang, East Java, Indonesia. This research has been conducted as qualitative study, using phenomenology approach. The data collection has been conducted observation and in-depth interview. The results of research are: firstly, there are many varieties of women santri's discourse and response about politics. Some of women santri state that politics is horrible, repressive, violence and still influenced by masculine domination. However some of santri stress that politics are the rules of games that depend on the political actors. The differences about politics discourse are influenced by knowledge, experience and social setting of participant, political reality in Indonesia, social construction, patriarchal culture, and hegemony of religion that have interpreting misogyny religion texts.

Secondly, woman's participation in politics sphere is considered as woman's right and choice to develop equal opportunity in public area. According to Woman santri, the dominant obstacles faced by woman when they develop career in politics area are family and how to balance their roles in public and domestic. Besides, another problems woman in politics are religion, culture (patriarchy), law and woman herself can be barrier for women as political. Finally, woman movement in pesantren can be categorized as apologetic, reformative and transformative.

Keywords: Gender theology, discourse and politics.

I. INTRODUCTION

The limitation of women participation in politics, particularly in parliament, is not only caused gender inequality, but also theology perspective (gender theology). In the concept of gender theology, gender inequality is attributable to divine creation; all belongs to God. In most religion, such as Judaism, Christianity and Islam, women are excluded, and women are usually placed in a subordinate position (the second sex). Similar to other word religions, the traditional interpretation of social issues in Islamic source is andocentric (Roland 2001). Religion has become one instrument to support patriarchal system in society. The imbalance of social roles based on gender, still dominates as a pretext of religion preaching. Religion is implicated in preserving the condition in which the position between male and female is assumed as unequal position. Theological awareness has constructed these notions, which serve a purpose of conserving patriarchal structure.

The understanding Islamic teachings that have gender bias formulate ambiguity toward women. One side, women must expected improve their quality, but in other side women that have opportunity in public area assumed as non religious women. According to Ja'far (1998) the prohibited women in politics because of some of scholar in Islam said that man as a leader by women as written in Al-Quran verse An-Nisa: 34. The bias interpretation creates women still in domestic area.

This situation provides effect to santri (students in Islamic boarding school); because they learn Islamic teaching that have gender bias. Islamic boarding school (pesantren) is an educational institution with Islamic religion as a specific academic course, still assumed to have a gender biased concept of gender. Patriarchal Islamic views of women were transmitted in work by Moslem scholars that became educational material in pesantren. Although, religion tradition of santri in socio-cultural lives in Indonesia, especially in Java as an important process. Religion tradition of santri joint with pesantren (Islamic boarding school) and kyai (man leader in pesantren) as a centre produced

great tradition in Java. The process of Islamic in Java has been created santri civilization that have influenced in social, politic and cultural (Benda c1958). Whilst, Geertz (1959) stress that Islamic in Javanese society has produced variant in socio cultural Islamic society that identity as santri.

In the Dutch colonial period, pesantren developed independently of the Dutch school system and had very close relationships with their local communities. The pesantren system had great changes during the twentieth century with several pesantren expanding their curricula, to include general subjects (mathematics, history, Dutch language) as well as religious studies (Dhofier 1999:18). According to Dhofier (1999:17-8) in the 1910s several pesantren opened separate facilities for girls. For example, in 1917 Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari introduced the first female class in Denanyar pesantren, Jombang, East Java (Barton 2002). Even though, females have unequal opportunity with males in pesantren (Azra et al 2007:180). Moreover, Pesantren still apply segregated system between males and females student not only in class room but also in the curriculum (Doon-Harder 2006:182).

At the moment, the issues of gender equality have become an important topic, pesantren need to deal with it. Modernisation of the pesantren's educational system has brought about changes, such as: the organisational structures of pesantren; the teaching of secular subjects, student organisations (Wagiman 1997: 82-3); and the presence of NGOs that participate in developing human resources and the struggle for gender equality in pesantren. Some examples are PUAN Amal Hayati (*Pesantren untuk Pemberdayaan Perempuan Amal Hayati*, Pesantren for women's Empowerment, Hope and Life) and P3M (*Perhimpunan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat*, Union for Pesantren and Community Development).

The understanding related to development gender awareness in pesantren and political learning is very important, because discrimination towards women in pesantren is a fact, due to hegemonic thinking. Women are usually forced to accepted hegemony of the patriarchy paradigm, which is constructed by a prominent figure (kyai/the man leader in pesantren). The strong gender bias of religious leader in Moslem society is also endorsed by hegemonic culture. So, the freedom of thinking and awareness campaign has introduced the idea of more equality in gender relations. Pesantren as the educational system has rapidly grown, particularly in Java, which educated 20-25% of children and adolescent of the total Indonesian student population (Department of Religious Affairs: 2008). Hence, his study investigated the discourse of women santri about politics and examines santri's perception about women in politics as a description the processes of political learning in the Islamic boarding school.

II. METHODS AND MATERIALS

Feminists are concerned with the importance of women's lives and their position in the social structure (Reinharz 1992:241). Feminist research produces 'social knowledge through direct participation in and experience of the social realities' in a field setting (Reinharz 1992:46). This research conducted as a qualitative study, using a phenomenology approach.

The data collection carried out by direct observation and experience in three pesantren (Islamic boarding school) in Jombang (Tambak Beras Pesantren, Darul Ulum Pesantren and Tebuireng Pesantren), in-depth interviews toward santri in three pesantren who active in pesantren organisation and young organisation outside from pesantren, and collecting documentation directly from three pesantren. The secondary data collected from newsletters, websites as well as institutions that have data about these pesantren, such as local government, feminist NGOs, Moslem media, literature and previous research.

I examined pesantren in Jombang – East Java as the unit analysis that support the proposed of research. Firstly, Jombang has a large number of pesantren located in certain districts and during the Dutch colonial government, Jombang's pesantren have strong influenced in Nationalist era (Endang 2004). Secondly, Jombang's pesantren (Tebuireng and Tambak beras) become model modern pesantren in Indonesia since 1930, moreover Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari and Kyai Wahab Hasbullah (founding father of Tebuireng and Tambak Beras Pesantren and Nahdlatul Ulama/ the oldest Islamic organisation in Indonesia that have influenced in Indonesia politics since colonial era) gained a central position among Indonesia's ulama. Still today he is referred to as the Hadratus Syekh (master teacher) among Javanese ulama (Dhofier 1999). Thirdly, some of progressive Islamic renewal movement in Indonesia that provides foundation in Islamic feminism, grow up from Jombang's pesantren, such as, Nur Cholis Madjid (the student of Fazlur Rahman at the University of Chicago and he introduced a rational approach to the study of the Qur'an in Indonesia), Abdurrahman Wahid (The former Indonesian president), Shinta Nuriah (Wahid's wife and the main founder of PUAN Amal Hayati) (Muttaqin 2008).

This study investigated the discourse women santri about politics and their perseption women in politics area. Foucault's concept about power and knowledge is utilized to analyse and interpret this study. Ramazanoglu (1993: 21) explains that according to Foucault (1980) "power as a productive", is a product of knowledge and develops from class domination. In addition, Foucault (1980) asserts that power produces knowledge rather than repression. Power not only negative way – exclusion and repression, but also

power produces effect at level of desire (Foucault 1980). The relationship between knowledge and power is something that has to be established through investigation. Power struggles are about the deployment of power, how power is exercised. While feminists define men's power as repressive and illegitimate. Feminists provide deep understanding of how male power is continually reproduced within modern societies and how the patriarchal system works to foster and maintain male domination (McNeil 1993:153).

Ramazanoglu (1993:22) stresses that analyses of women's experience of men's power underlie the feminist criticism of Foucault. They lead feminists to suggest two aspect of power that can conflict with Foucault's understanding. Firstly, women's experiences suggest that men can have power and their power is in some sense a form of domination, backed by force. Secondly, this domination cannot be seen simply as a product of discourse, because it must be also be understood as 'extra discursive' or relating to wider realities than those of discourse.

Discourse is the central concept of the Foucault's analysis that explain about what can be said and though, but also who can speak when, and with what power or authority (Ball 1990:2). Discourse related to the social processes that produce meaning that develop not from language but from institution and power relation. Discourse provided a new perspective in gender issues that explains how power is constituted in multiple ways between women, between men, also between men and women. Hence, poststructuralism has assisted feminist studies to analyse identity and power in societies that have complex characteristics.

According to Francis (2001:68) in feminism's emancipatory, poststructuralism looks for to deconstruct dominant discourse, exercise a power relationship, and deconstruct conceptions of morality, justice and truth. Besides, poststructuralism inspired in the notion of emancipatory and observed power relation as dialectical through discourse. Moreover Francis (2001:75) assert that the development of poststructuralism related feminist research in two main areas. Firstly, discourse analysis is utilized to investigate the diverse gender in society that has impact in lives. Secondly, develop feminism as interpretative community through openness and respect of others within that community.

Furthermore, educational system maintenance and select the social appropriation of discourse. They control the access of persons to various kinds of discourse. The distribution of the discourse in education is constructed by the examination and the whole power and knowledge. Student is constructed the passive and active processes through internal or external authority figure (Hargreaves 1986 in Ball 1990: 4). The relationship

power and knowledge in education not only concerned with imbalanced between teacher and student, but also related the power invested in the teacher by virtue of her or his knowledge of student (Paechter 2000:24). Power has negative and positive effect, not only to be resisted, but also pleasurable and emancipator. Moreover, power/knowledge relation has gender dimension.

In pesantren, kyai/nyai is agent of discourse. If kyai/nyai tell about issue in society, almost all people believe and conduct what kyai/nyai speak it, particularly santri will say I listen, I obedient (*sami'na wa atho'na*). Pesantren is institution to maintain and control the various kinds of discourse. The main discourse in pesantren from the kyai and some of figure that relationship with the 'ideology' of kyai or pesantren such as funding father of the pesantren. Moreover, the whole discourse is implemented in curriculum of the pesantren that influence the way of thinking of santri.

III. RESULTS

The Discourse of Women Santri about Politics

Political situation in Indonesia in reform era tend to illustrated as dirty matter, anarchic and cruel. In politics sphere, everyone will do everything to achieve the goal related to desire. As a result, the most people assume politics area as male area, because related to masculine type that stereotyped to male. Social structure of society also assumes men represent political factor which determine and woman can delegate her political aspiration to men. While woman is constructed weak, fear to horrible occurrence, ossify to be assessed incompatible to become political actor, because enthusiasm and her authority limited to private domain. Woman only completed political appliance and complement to get voice by politic party. Though, decision of politics very influences in all life aspect, even as a hidden problem to related to woman.

The discourse of politics in patriarchal system provides restricted toward women to access politics area and politics assumed separated from women lives that strengthen men domination. Walby in Sapiro (1983:45) described that the control of men to woman happened in many area not only in domestic but also in public, because men have superior position and woman labelled as part of property of men. Based on political reality in society, how the discourse of politics of student in pesantren (Islamic boarding school)? Irma, student from Darul Ulum pesantren, Jombang, East Java saying that "politics comparable by force, egoist, make something that not important for society only important from their own group".

The most of reality of politics demonstrates bias interest. John Maccionis explain that politics related to power distribution and decision making.

Marx in Budiman (1997:56) assert that politics have highest roles, whereas state only a committee which maintain the interest of elite that have power. Political paradigm will determine which elite or the group of politic will be joined. Political reality of capitalist state tends to bourgeois, owner of capital. On the contrary in socialist state, political reality represent of interest of proletariat or workers, or in feudal state tend to adaptation interest of aristocratic. The little bit of political lives is dominated by public interest.

Political culture that have characteristic exploitative and discriminative provide evidence to public sphere as masculine type, inflexible, not well come to women. These impressions become constraint by woman in politic area. Moreover, politic stage is dominated by the game of find position and power that formulated as taboo world by woman. For example the opinion of Atik, student from Darul Ulum Pesantren that says "the people in political area always effort to find money and power. Who is not tempted to find money easily without hard work?"

The face of politics has strong correlation between money and power. One side, money represents the source of power. On the other hand, power also can produce money. In develop countries with mature democratic, money more functioned as instrument to provide public service. But the process of democracy in Indonesia, money politics is conducted to find power and after that power is became instrument as the machine that produces of money.

Historically, the correlation between money and power is seen more transparent. The firstly mercantilist system to be introduced in society, money have roles as universal changer. As a result from the system every commodity including power tends to be assessed and positioned as money. Although politics commonly assumed as negative aspect, but woman should have political awareness and develop their capability through education. It very important for women becomes actor in politic area not only as object.

Indonesian politic still dominated by Marxian model that have main discourse social order can be developed through conflict, not consensus as an idea from Durkheim. In political reality, elite of politics tend to utilize conflict to keep up their power, not to struggle public interest.

Furthermore, some of santri saw politic in positive aspect that politic is represented as the rules of game related to state and power. Nisa, santri from Tambak Beras Pesantren said that "Politics is the rules of the game for utilize power in the system of the state. If we want to in politics area, we must know the rules in politics."

The discussion politics related to state, the centre issue of politics tends to institution in state. Politics as a science is discipline that learns about state,

goal of the state, and institution that have responsibility about achieved of the goal (Soltau 1951). Moreover, politics learn about state as a part of society (Barent 1965 in Surbakti 1992). Noer (1965:65) asserted that politic as a science that concern toward power issues in society or public. Not only related to law in state but also in all aspect lives before nation-state grow up, in modern era, power is associated with state (Budiarjo 2003: 9-10)

Moreover, participant explains that politic is related to personal. Izzah, santri from Tebuireng Pesantren said that "politics is the rules not only in nation state, but also in small area such as person." Politic have full colour, positive and negative aspect from politic is determined by actor, and the main discourse of reality of politic. Power will achieve by someone depend on the effort to find it; hence person or group that want find power must have criteria such as ability, capacity, and skill (Subhan 2004:40).

The various discourse in this research related to politic reality in Indonesia as well as social construction patriarchy system, especially in pesantren, combine with interpretation Islamic teaching that have gender bias. The discourse in pesantren is depend on the kyai (male leader), because kyai is assumed as a person who have capability to interpret holy text and have power to maintain pesantren including the main discourse in pesantren.

The domination patriarchy culture creates women alienation from public area which characteristic of the good males or female from the views of man. The way of thinking that have patriarchal values provide strong position towards who have power, and they determine toward people who have weak position in all aspect of lives. This view also influences Aristoteles to understand politics in classic paradigm (Surbakti 1992). Aristoteles produce dichotomy in politics between public interest and individual interest or group interest. Huntington (1968) explained that the development of dichotomy view in politics, public interest is identified as government interest, because government institution developed to accomplish public interest. But, because of classic paradigm is not clear, then the definition of politics is cleared with institutionalizing of politics.

Max Weber (1968) stressed that state is community that success to monopolize legal physic repression in a region. From this perspective can understand that people assume state as who have power. The understanding of politics in society has been developed well than before, such as the concept of trias politica by Montesque (separation of power in three classes: executive, judicative and legislative), but if discrimination toward women in politics still happen, unequal position, corruption and manipulative will happen which women as a subordinate group.

The perspectives of politics that have patriarchal values finally create politics discourse tend to negative aspect rather than positive aspect, because the atmosphere of politic depends on the politics actors. A negative aspect in politic environment is not given, but it is developed by actors as a part of the politics action. In this research, some of women santri saw politics as violence, chaos and tend to negative power rather than as a strategy to develop policy for public interest. This discourse is caused the development of politics grow from horrocracy (Piliang 2001:80). As a result, politics sphere is assumed by women as man area, because since primordial era man more freedom than women. Male went to outside to hunt animal, whilst females pregnant and take care a children in home.

The Perception of Santri about Women in Politics

How the roles of women in politics? The participation women in politics become debatable in Islamic scholars, especially related to women as president. Very difficult for women in patriarchal system to achieve opportunity in politics area, even some of the people utilize holy text to obtain the chance women in politics. The history of Indonesian politics from generation to generation did not provide women to participate in public's area as equal position. Culturally, politics conduct women exploitative than women empowerment.

Actually, the equal position between man and women in politics is a legal in the Basic Constitutions in 1945 (Undang-Undang Dasar 1945) of Indonesia. The right in politics such as become member in parliament, the leader in formal institution, organisation and politic parties, even as a leader in the state (Mar'iyah 1998:16). The women rights in politics related to human rights that did not differences base on nation-state, race, religion, and sex, because the fundament of human rights is people to find opportunity to develop their capability in all sphere (Murota 2004:17). Actually, the problem of women in politics area is capacity and capability to struggle in politics area that claimed as man area, also the limited human recourses from women that caused marginalisation in education. Hence, women in politics area should be acquiring positive response as a response from Kae, santri from Tebuireng Pesantren." I very agree if women in politics area, because I know in this time only man that behalf struggle for women interest. But, actually they not fully support women interest. I am very happy and interested with women that have courage to struggle women interest and still in religion rules."

In this moment, politics have position as decision making for public policy, but little bit this policy that has sensitivity to women. Hence, women in politics sphere are very important and expected to

provide public policy that has gender sensitivity, because not all women interest can struggle by man that still gender bias. For example: problem about women health, reproduction health, the protection toward women in workplace, prostitution, women and children trafficking.

The important point about women participation in politics is women as subject in politics agenda such as the rights to struggles women interest that have gender sensitivity, not as an object to find vote in election. Although the position women as a leader become still debatable in Moslem community, especially, in Islamic scholars (*ulama*), the same as opinion from Ais, santri from Darul Ullum Pesantren that have family background from politic party. "I feel the right of all people to find opportunity in politics area. The participation woman in politics is okay, but issues women as a leader in state still debatable."

Furthermore, gender equality becomes important issues to find women chance in public area. So, women in politics is assumed as a choice of women as a response from Een, santri from Darul Ulum pesantren who active in pesantren organisation since in elementary school. "At this time, women in politics become choice of them. It is okay, if they from politic party. I respect when women in politics with the good purpose."

But, some of santri still disagree when women in politics, although women must know about the development of politics discourse. This response is said by Atik, santri who study in Pesantren Darul Ulum and grown up from conservative family which have education in pesantren, "Probably women in politics are common. But, I disagree if women in politics, politics are violence area, full fighting. Women must have information and knowledge about politics as a discourse."

Negative stereotype related to women participation in politics is caused to assume capability of women still inferior and politics is described as chaos world that appropriate by man. Though, numerous policies related to politics area that influences women lives, even in domestic area. For example: the policy about family planning, women trafficking and women as a worker in overseas.

The achievement equal position between male and females is needed some stage. Firstly, the development of women awareness about their position in society that still subordinate. Secondly, provide politics education toward women related to their rights in politics as well as the important of politics in their lives. Finally, the increasing of women capability though formal education and provide wider opportunity to women to find high education. Kae, santri from Tebuireng Pesantren assume these action should be done as she effort to find permission from the leader of pesantren to

active in student organisation in outside from pesantren. "Women empowerment is very important, it is not women powered. But, during the time people assume women as subordinate position. As a result women have unequal opportunity in education, social, economic and politics. I very agree if someone have strong motivation to encourage women empowerment, even in grass root not only in urban but also in suburb. NGO should be encourage people in suburb, not only in urban. How develop empowerment toward women in suburb?"

Gender equality has been issued in the world including Indonesia. The gender politics in new era regime that saw women as subordinate position (*konco wingking*) did not related to gender equality. The responsibility women in domestic still embedded when they find career in public sphere. Hence, the first step achieve gender equality create opportunity to women in public area and awareness from males to share domestic roles. Patriarchal system has produced marginalisation towards women in all aspect.

At this time, socio politic of Indonesia is call in reform era, as Hefner (2000) identify the era of democracy trying. Base on this reality, very important to support women movement for continuing Indonesian democracy. Some assumption related to opportunity women in politics. Firstly, gender discourse and women movement in Indonesia grow up from religion environment which Indonesia as state with the most people as Moslem. Religion and Indonesian culture is a control as well as chance for feminist movement to develop. Secondly, Indonesia more moderate than Moslem countries in middle east which provide possibility women in public area. Thirdly, Indonesia did not provide rigid limitation for women in public sphere who can access some of public area.

Therefore, actually Indonesian women still have opportunity to find equality position in public sphere as man. This situation should be utilized to encourage and maintain women movement in Indonesia with maximal effort. No reason for women feels uncomfortable in public area, especially in politics. Democracy should be support gender awareness and gender equality in society. Finally, women in politics area are expected provide different situation in democracy which politic model more positive to support public policy.

IV. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Women santri have differentiation politics discourse is depend on social background of family, information and reality about politics. Santri come from conservative family tend to politics as negative discourse. They find internalization about Islamic teaching tends to gender bias and patriarchal culture has been imbedded in society, particularly in their family.

Whilst, santri come from moderate family provide understanding about gender awareness and balancing roles in public and private. Kyai (male leader in pesantren) and nyai (the wife of kyai or female leader in pesantren) as well as have opportunity to develop and construct politics discourse. Kyai or nyai have roles to determine dominant discourse in pesantren, because of their knowledge and power. Particularly, kyai is assumed as charismatic person and have power to interpret Islamic teaching. Actually, kyai not only leader in pesantren but also have authority to maintain society, especially people around their pesantren. As Foucault (1980) asserts that power have positive and negative aspect. Power is productive, as well as repressive, and the main discourse determine by people who have power. Moreover, Foucault (1980:52) stress that power is not possible to be implemented without knowledge, vice versa knowledge is impossible not to create power.

Some of the kyai or nyai participate in politics area and become member of politics party and parliament. Their experiences in politics provide opportunity to kyai or nyai for develop politics education as well as gender awareness (particularly by nyai). In Tambak Beras pesantren, kyai and nyai not only as a leader in pesantren but also develop career in politics and become member of Indonesian parliament. While, in Darul Ulum pesantren and Tebuireng pesantren, kyai and nyai is only a leader in pesantren and some of them as a leader in mass organisation such as Nahdhatul Ulama (the largest traditional Islamic organisation in Indonesia), Fatayat and Muslimat (women organisation in Nahdhatul Ulama). But, these funding fathers of the pesantren, Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari and Kyai Abdurrahman Wahid have important roles in Indonesian politics, even Kyai Abdurrahman Wahid in 1999 became Indonesian president.

The participation pesantren leaders in politics sphere influence the ways of kyai and nyai to develop and maintain their pesantren, as well as provide effect in political education toward santri. Santri is common about politics issues, but in other wise patriarchal system still dominated in society including in Moslem community. They understand how the important women in politics, also the obtain women in politics because of patriarchal system. These situations contribute the variation discourse and response of santri related to politics issues. Although, the leader of pesantren (kyai and nyai) have been having power and authority to develop the main discourse of santri, as well as family of santri. But, the real situation politics in Indonesia, also the information and knowledge that found of santri contribute to develop the politics discourse. Because, santri is not only studying in pesantren but also they are developing knowledge in social organisation in pesantren and organisation outsidess from the pesantren.

As a result, the discourse of santri about politics and their response to politics issues describe women movement in pesantren. They can categories in three types. Firstly, apologise is aware about differences texts in Islamic teaching in reality that dominated patriarchy values. They develop gender awareness in grass root without reinterpretation Islamic teaching that has gender bias. Secondly, reformist emphasize in differentiation between texts and interpretation from Islamic teaching. Islamic teaching is interpreted by gender bias; because of the most of Moslem scholar are men who have mainstream idea dominated by patriarchy. Hence, crucial agenda is reinterpretation Islamic teaching that has gender bias. Finally, transformative also assert that the main problem is interpretation Islamic texts that have gender bias, but they are struggling to reinterpret Islamic texts with hermeneutic approach, as well as archaeology of Islamic teaching which important to understand the content and message from Islamic teaching, how the background of society when message in holly text (Al-Qur'an and Hadist) accepted by Prophet Muhammad.

REFERENCE

- [1] Azra, A, Afrianty, D & Hefner, RW 2007, 'Pesantren and Madrasa: Muslim Schools and National Ideals in Indonesia', in RW Hefner & MQ Zaman (eds), *Schooling Islam: the culture and politics of modern muslim education*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford.
- [2] Ball, Stephen J. 1990, "Introducing Monsieur Foucault" In *Foucault and Education: Disciplines and knowledge*, ed. Stephen J Ball, Routledge, London and New York.
- [3] Barton, G 2002, *Abdurrahman Wahid: Muslim demokrat, Indonesian presiden*, UNSW press book, Sydney.
- [4] Benda, Harry J. c1958, *The crescent and the rising sun: Indonesian Islam under the Japanese occupation, 1942-1945*, The Hague, W. van Hoeve.
- [5] Budiarjo, Miriam 2003, *Dasar-dasar Ilmu Politik (The Basics of Politics Science)*. 25 Edition, Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Jakarta.
- [6] Budiman, Arief 1985, *Pembagian Kerja secara Seksual (The Division of Labour according to Sex)*, Gramedia, Jakarta.
- [7] Dhofier, Z 1999, *The Pesantren Tradition: The Roles of The Kyai in the Maintenance of Traditional Islam in Java*, The Program of Southeast Asian Studies, Arizona.
- [8] Doorn-Harder, Pv 2006, *Women Shaping Islam: Indonesia women reading the Qur'an*, University of Illinois press, Urbana and Chicago.
- [9] Endang, T 2005, 'Changing Leadership Roles of Kiaiin Jombang, East Java', The Australian National University.
- [10] Foucault, Michel 1980, *Power/Knowledge*, The Harvester Press, Suffolk.
- [11] Francis, Becky 2001, "Beyond postmodernism: feminist agency in education research" In *Investigating Gender: Contemporary perspectives in education*, eds. Becky Francis and Christine Skelton, Open University Press, Buckingham, Philadelphia.
- [12] Geertz, C 1959, 'The Javanese Kyai: The Changing Role of a Cultural Broker', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 2, pp. 250-6.
- [13] Hefner, Robert W. 2000, *Civil Islam: Muslims and democratization in Indonesia*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.
- [14] Huntington, Samuel P. 1968, *Political order in changing societies*, Yale University Press, New Haven.
- [15] Ja'far, Muhammad AQ. 1998, *Perempuan dan Kekuasaan, Menelusuri Hak Politik dan Persoalan Gender dalam Islam (Women and Power, Tracing Politics Right and Gender Issues in Islam)*, Zaman Wacana Mulia, Bandung.
- [16] Mar'iyah, Chusnul. 1998. "Kepemimpinan Politik Perempuan (The Politics Leadership of Women)" Perempuan 7:16.
- [17] McNeil, M 1993, 'Dancing with Foucault: feminism and power-knowledge', in C Ramazanoglu (ed.), *Up Against Foucault: Explorations of some tensions between Foucault and Feminism*, Routledge, London and New York, pp. 147-78.
- [18] Murota, Sachiko 2004, *The Tao of Islam*, Mizan, Bandung.
- [19] Muttaqin, F 2008, 'Progressive Muslim Feminists in Indonesia from Pioneering to the Next Agenda', Ohio University.
- [20] Noer, Deliar 1965, *Pengantar ke Pemikiran Politik (The Introduction of Politics Idea)*, Gramedia, Jakarta.
- [21] Paechter, Carrie 2000, *Changing School Subjects: Power, gender and curriculum*, Open University Press, Buckingham, Philadelphia.
- [22] Piliang, Yasraf A. 2001, *Sebuah Dunia yang Menakutkan (A World that Fearful)*, Mizan, Bandung.
- [23] Ramazanoglu, C 1993, 'Introduction', in C Ramazanoglu (ed.), *Up Against Foucault: Explorations of some tensions between Foucault and Feminism*, Routledge, London, New York, pp. 1-28.
- [24] Reinharz, S 1992, *Feminist Methods in Social Research*, Oxford University Press, New York.
- [25] Roland, AS 2001, *Women in Islam: the Western Experience*, Routledge, London, New York.
- [26] Sapiro, Virginia 1983, *The Political and Integration of Women*, Routledge, London, New York.
- [27] Soltau, Roger H. 1951, *An Introduction to Politics*, Longmans, London.

- [28]Subhan, Zaitunah 2004, *Perempuan dan Politik dalam Islam (Women and Politics in Islam)*, Pustaka Pesantren, Yogyakarta.
- [29]Surbakti, Ramlan 1992, *Memahami Ilmu Politik (The Understanding of Politics Science)*, Gramedia Widiasarana, Jakarta.
- [30]Wagiman, S 1997, *The Modernization of the Pesantren's Educational System to Meet the Needs of Indonesian Communities*, McGill University.
- [31]Weber, Max 1968, *Max Weber on Charisma and Institution Building*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.