



## GENDER BIAS ON FOUCAULT'S CONCEPT OF PANOPTICON IN UNDERSTANDING THE STRUCTURE OF *PESANTREN* (ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOL) IN INDONESIA

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The main focus of this study is to examine the physical structures of *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) and the rules that have been designed to maintain and control *santri* (students in *pesantren*) within and outside *pesantren*. This study also investigates the power and authority of the *pesantren* leader used both to perpetuate *pesantren* traditions and mediate the influences from outside *pesantren*. These are important issues because the *pesantren* is an educational institution within the Islamic community in Java that tends to preserve patriarchal values. Using Foucault's Panopticon that based on Bentham's concept and a feminist perspective through participant observation and qualitative interviews, this research was conducted in two Javanese *pesantren*: Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat in Yogyakarta, and Nurul Huda in Malang. This research shows the structures in the *pesantren* rules have been developed to educate and internalise Islamic teaching and gender values to *santri*. These *pesantren* resemble Foucault's panopticon, not only related to the *pesantren* physical structures, but also related to the rules in a *pesantren* which are designed to integrate class rules with those of the everyday lives of the *santri*. The integrated system in the *pesantren* explains how the leaders exercise their authority and the *santri* always obey. The panopticon system in the *pesantren* has a gender bias; the rules and complex system create more opportunity for male *santri* to access information and knowledge. This situation also creates gender awareness and critical thinking among the female *santri*.

**Keywords:** *Pesantren*, Panopticon, Gender.

### Introduction

*Pesantren*<sup>1</sup> is an educational institution with Islamic religion as a specific academic course, and still assumed by NGOs and Islamic activists to have a biased concept of gender. Patriarchal Islamic views of women were conveyed in written works by Moslem scholars that became educational material in

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<sup>1</sup>*Pesantren* is the oldest traditional Islamic educational boarding school, which has experienced transformation as a modern educational institution. *Pesantren* have been able to bridge the emergence of the new generation of educated Moslems who are familiar with modernist terms. In its latest development, *pesantren* can be categorised as either 'salaf *pesantren*' that focus on texts on classical Islam (also known as the yellow texts), or 'khalaf *pesantren*' that offer education on modern Islam including general science. Viewed from ideological religious aspects, *pesantren* offer variety, although generally *pesantren* in Indonesia offer modern religious interpretation (Jabali & Subhan 2007:64-5).

*pesantren*. These works included Sheikh Nawawi al Batani's, *Uqud al-Lujjaynfi Bayan Huquq az-Zawjayn* (Book of Marriage) (Muttaqin 2008:71). *Pesantren* have also been using *kitab kuning* (yellow texts)<sup>2</sup> that contain gender biased interpretations of Islamic teaching.

During the early era of *pesantren* development in the sixteenth century, *pesantren* exclusively taught male *santri* dominated by *priyayi* (Javanese aristocratic elite) families (Ricklefs 2008:46, 357). In this period, only women from families with a high position had access to higher or modern education, and these women attended *pengajian*<sup>3</sup> (Srimulyani 2008:84). In the 1910s several *pesantren* opened separate facilities for girls (Dhofier 1999:17-8). The opportunity for women to study in Islamic boarding schools means that parents send their daughters to *pesantren* because they believe they are safe environments for educating their children (Doorn-Harder 2006:174). Even though females have access to education in Islamic boarding schools, the number of male students has increased (Azra, Afrianty & Hefner 2007:180).

However, a segregated system that separates women and men for religious teaching still applies at *pesantren*. This segregation not only happens in the classroom but also in the curriculum (Doorn-Harder 2006:182). Discrimination against women in education is still evident in the provision of teaching materials and teaching methods. For example, female students learn Arabic writing and/or *pegon*<sup>4</sup> at *pesantren* unlike the male students, they do not study the Malay language, written in the Latin script and female students were taught by female teachers (Doorn-Harder 2006:174). According to Dhofier (1999:33) some daughters of *kyai* (man leader in *pesantren*) obtained advanced Islamic teaching texts including yellow texts from their father. Dorn Harder (2006:174) notes that when female students wanted to learn romanised Malay they had to borrow teaching material from their brothers. The access of females to information was still limited, because many newspapers and books were written in romanised Malay. Formal education in colonial times and the business of government was conducted in Malay written in Latin script, in addition to the Dutch language.

The *pesantren* system experienced great change during the twentieth century, with some *pesantren* expanding their curricula to include general subjects (mathematics, history, Dutch language) as well as religious studies (Dhofier 1999:18). According to Azra et al (2007:175) "the change was primarily a response to two developments: the Dutch colonial authorities' introduction of general education for Indonesians and, in the first decades of the twentieth century, the spread of modern Islamic schools across Indonesia." These conditions illustrate that *pesantren* have significant roles in the development of Indonesian society, and women also have roles in managing *pesantren*.

Furthermore, major reform of the education system in *pesantren* continued in the 1980s and 1990s focusing on teaching culture and teaching methods in *pesantren* (Barton 2002:162). The development of *pesantren* has rapidly grown<sup>5</sup> as a form of coeducational education, especially in Java.<sup>6</sup> Efforts to enhance the quality of the education system include opening up to perspectives on development from outside, using modern scientific methodologies and diversifying programs and activities in *pesantren*. However, O'Honlon (2006:40) has observed at several *pesantren* in East Java (Malang, Pasuruan and Lamongan)

<sup>2</sup>*Kitab kuning* (yellow texts) are classical scholarly texts; for the most part they are commentaries on the Qur'an and Islamic law and written in Arabic.

<sup>3</sup>*Pengajian* is informal groups for the study of Islamic teaching or yellow texts in once or twice a week.

<sup>4</sup>*Pegon* is handwriting with Javanese/Madurese/Sundanese/ Indonesian language that is written in Arabic script Jawi.

<sup>5</sup>According to the Department of Religious Affairs, in 2001 the number of students, who were studying at 11,312 *pesantren*, was about 2,737,805. In 2008 the number of *pesantren* was more than 21,521 (not all *pesantren* are registered with the Ministry of Religious Affairs), and the number of students was 3,818,469 (approx 20-25% children and adolescents from the total Indonesian student population) (Indonesia 2008a, 2008b).

<sup>6</sup>In 2008 the number of Java *pesantren* was 16,704 (77.62% of the total Indonesian *pesantren*) and the number of *santri*/students was 2,710,574 (71% of the total Indonesian *santri*) (Indonesia 2008a, 2008b).

that the rules for female *santri* are stricter than for male *santri*. Male students usually have more opportunities to obtain knowledge and information than female students. And a *kyai* has the authority and power to dominate the management of *pesantren* (Dhofier 1999:25). Moreover, the *kyai* is one of five *pesantren* elements<sup>7</sup> that have political and social roles within the community, the region and at times within the nation (Wagiman 1997:105; Dhofier 1999:35; Endang 2005:82; Kholifah 2005:188-9; Karim 2008:157; Srimulyani 2008:81). As a result, the *kyai* is the most important element. Along with the founding father of *pesantren*, particularly in Java, the *kyai* is like a king in a small kingdom (Dhofier 1999:34).

This research focuses to examine the physical structures of *pesantren* and rules that have been designed to maintain and control *santri* within and outside *pesantren*. As well, this study investigates the power and authority of *pesantren* leaders to perpetuate *pesantren* traditions and mediates the influence from outside *pesantren*.

## Literature Review

Foucault's (1977: 233) work on prisons argues that they work on the development of individuals or as an instrument for the transformation of individuals. Foucault asserts that prison was meant to be a mechanism similar to the school, the barracks or the hospital. The characteristics of the criminal depend on the dominant power in the area. One possibility is that power produces and affects the emergence of new objects of knowledge and accumulates new structures of information. But mechanisms of power have not commonly been studied in history. Knowledge and power are thus related and integrated. Foucault (1980:52) stressed that it is not possible to implement power without knowledge and vice versa.

In this study, Foucault's argument that prison is an instrument comparable with the school or hospital is key. *Pesantren* are Islamic schools that transform knowledge. They are also educational institutions for the transformation of individuals into *ulama* (Islamic scholars), *ustadz/ustadzah* (male/female teacher) and people who are useful in the community. The *kyai* has the authority to maintain *pesantren* related to curriculum, rules and others *pesantren* policy. *Pesantren* have regulations and mechanisms about reward and punishment. Every *pesantren* has different rules that depend on the *kyai* as a leader and dominant figure.

Foucault also developed the Panopticon concept based on Bentham's Panopticon which explains how the design and effect of architecture functioned to control the individual (Bentham 1843). And Foucault highlights Panopticon as a system that controls inmates and as a mechanism "to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power" (Foucault 1977:201). This system is integrated in prisons to control the inmates and in the school dormitory to control the students. According to Foucault (1980:163), resistance to the panopticon is tactical and strategic; each offensive from one side serves as a leverage for a counter-offensive from the other. The panopticon was a strategy to better manage power being utilised in the local area in schools, barracks and hospitals.

The panopticon is evident in *pesantren*. For example, some schools are designed in relation to the proximity of the mosque, dormitory, house of *pesantren* leaders, the *madrasah*<sup>8</sup> and other facilities such as mini market/shops and cafes that are integrated in one area. Some *pesantren* are separate from the *madrasah*, house of *pesantren* leaders, dormitory and other facilities, but each dormitory has teachers who have positions as leaders, administrative staff and mentors. This design is formulated to control

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<sup>7</sup>*Pesantren* have five basics elements: the *pondok* (boarding houses for the student), the mosque, the *santri* (the student of *pesantren*), the teaching of classical Islamic texts (including yellow texts), and the *kyai* (man leader).

<sup>8</sup> *Madrasah* is Islamic schools that have an Indonesian Government designed curriculum, based on government rules.

*santri* through the integration of the *pesantren* complex – everything and everyone is visible and potentially scrutinised. Even at home in holiday time *santri* must still conduct themselves according to the *pesantren*'s rules and the *kyai* or *nyai* (female leader/*kyai*'s wife) may ask parents about the attitudes and behaviours of *santri*.

Moreover, poststructuralist Foucauldian theory (in the field of gender and education) provides a deconstruction of dominant perspectives and develops curriculum innovation that examines gendered power/knowledge relations in schools and how these affect negotiation of the curriculum (Paechter 2001). If this power/knowledge is utilised to construct a gendered school curriculum, it will affect school subjects (Paechter 2000:32). For instance, the implementation of gendered curriculum generates inequality through social construction, where girls are stereotyped as emotional, feminine and empathetic and dominate feminine subjects such as English. On the other hand, males dominate mathematics and science which are perceived as masculine subjects because they have masculine, rational, and objective characteristics (Paechter 2000:37). Foucault's notions were used as a tool of analysis for *pesantren* structures and the power of *pesantren* leaders in embedding and perpetuating patriarchal values. All of this was useful to examine developing and changing gender values.

## Methodology

Feminists are concerned with the importance and expression of women's lives and experiences, and their position in the social structure (Reinharz 1992:241; Maynard 2004:132; Sarantakos 2005:56; Hesse-Biber 2012:16). A feminist empiricist perspective on knowledge building also examines male views (Hesse-Biber 2012:16). This study investigates people lives in *pesantren* in relation to their social position and their roles as leaders (*nyai*), teachers, administrative staff and *santri*, in the hierarchical structure of *pesantren*. The voices and experience of men in *pesantren* are included in this research for the following reasons: men, particularly *kyai*, have great authority in maintaining and controlling of *pesantren*; the education processes in *pesantren* relate to both males and females, although the *pesantren* system is segregated.

This qualitative study was conducted using a participant observation approach. Qualitative research is concerned with understanding social life related to the views, meanings, opinions and perceptions of participants (Sarantakos 2005:40; Minichiello, Aroni & Hays 2008:8-9). As a participant observer, I became immersed in the daily lives of people or communities in the field (May 2001:148; Marshall & Rossman 2006:101). I stayed in *pesantren* and participated in *pesantren* activities.

One of the methods of data collection was in-depth interviews were selected by the purposive method and include: people with involvement in decision-making processes and policy in *pesantren*, as well students in *pesantren*. The details of my informants are as follows: *pesantren* leaders, *ustadz* and *ustadzah*, male and female *santri*. Other methods of data collection were direct observation and experience, collecting documentation directly from *pesantren* records, reports, and newsletters about curricula, teaching materials, rules, *pesantren*'s regulations and processes, informal discussion with *pesantren* members. These forms of participant observation supplemented data collected from interviews. Direct observation, semi-structured interviews and in-depth interviews were cross checked with the *pesantren*'s documentation or other sources.

This study examined two *pesantren* in Java: Nurul Huda Pesantren in Malang, East Java, and Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat in Yogyakarta, Central Java. The rationale for choosing these *pesantren* for this study will now be discussed. First, these *pesantren* were chosen because they have different characteristics: a *salaf pesantren*, and a *khalaf pesantren*. Second, these *pesantren* are associated with the largest Islamic organisations in Indonesia: NU (*Nahdlatul Ulama*/Revival of the Religious Scholars) and Muhammadiyah, that have significant influence in social, religious and political issues throughout Indonesia (Fealy 1996:17; Dahlan 2002:117; Doorn-Harder 2006:73-5). Muhammadiyah was founded in 1912 with around twenty million followers that is dominated by the urban community, while NU was

founded in 1926 with around thirty million followers that is dominated by the rural community (Doorn-Harder 2006:2).

## Findings and Discussions

This research examines two *pesantren* in Java (see Figure 1) with unique characteristics. Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat in Yogyakarta is a cadre school of Muhammadiyah. Nurul Huda in Malang is a *salaf pesantren* that is associated with NU. They all teach Islamic studies, but they have differences related to *mazhab* (schools of thought in Islam), organisational affiliation and the types of leadership.



Figure 1. Map of research locations.

## Pesantren Characteristics

### Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat

Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat are educational institutions located in Yogyakarta city, near the Yogyakarta Palace. Urban culture is embedded in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat and when these institutions first appeared, the Javanese culture, particularly the Yogyakarta Palace culture, influenced their development. In Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat Indonesian culture dominates local identity (Javanese) because as a cadre school for Muhammadiyah. Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat have students who come from all regions in Indonesia, and the overall majority of students have urban backgrounds (Mu'allimaat 2010a, 2010b; Mu'allimin 2010b, 2010c). Students total 2036 (47% Mu'allimaat and 53% Mu'allimin students). And this community's preference is *siswi* for female students and *siswa* for male students, rather than the more widely used *santri*.

Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat were founded by Kyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, commonly known as Kyai Dahlan, in 1920 under the name *Qismul Arqo* or *Hogere School* (Senior High School) (Mu'allimaat 2009; Mu'allimin 2009:3; Mu'allimaat 2010d:2). Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat are characterised as modern reformist and open-minded toward social and political issues in local and national spheres, as well as being open to outsiders. Moreover, Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat are professional institutions, where teaching staff are qualified, and the role of the founder family is not dominant. Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat segregate male and female students, not only in boarding school but in the broader school system (Mu'allimin for male students and Mu'allimaat for female students) and have a separate organisational structure. The boarding school system is also different from other *pesantren* in Java; in Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat the dormitories and the house of the leader are separate. In addition, the position of the leader, *ustadz/ustadzah* and students have similar positions and professional relations, although the leader still has precedence. In Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, all have specified jobs with clear responsibilities.

### **Nurul Huda Pesantren**

Nurul Huda is located in Singosari, a suburb of Malang, and 80 km from Surabaya, the capital of East Java. Malang is a part of East Java Province. Nurul Huda is a *salaf pesantren* and its genealogy can be traced to the founder of the *pesantren*. In this respect it is a family institution under the patriarchal control of the *kyai*. Nurul Huda has no government accreditation, which means the graduate certificate is not accepted by formal schools in Indonesia, hence some *santri* in Nurul Huda study general subjects in other schools in the neighbourhood, if they want to continue in higher education (interview with Ustadz Chusin, the leader of male administrative in Nurul Huda, 6 November, 2010).

Nurul Huda has developed its own curriculum for Islamic studies and does not teach other subjects. Nurul Huda was founded in 1973 by Kyai Haji Abdul Manan Syukur, known as Kyai Manan. Since Kyai Manan's death in March 2007, Nurul Huda has been led by his son and daughter (Wardatul 2007). The male's *pesantren* is managed by his son, Kyai Khoirul, who graduated from *pesantren* in Java and then studied Islamic teaching in Mecca (Tohari 2009). Female *pesantren* is managed by the second daughter of Kyai Manan, Nyai Ummu Zahrah who studied Islamic teaching in *salaf pesantren* and *khalaf pesantren* in East Java (El-Yusufi, Hamrok & Rosyidah 2009).

Nurul Huda is characterised as being traditionalist and less open-minded toward social and political issues and outsiders than Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat. The leader of the *pesantren* is like a king in a small kingdom and he is thought to have *barokah* (blessing or reward from God). The *santri* of the *pesantren* show great respect towards the leader. The majority of *santri* of Nurul Huda come from the region in East Java: Malang, Surabaya and Sidoarjo. The *santri* in Nurul Huda consist of students who also study MA, MTs, and universities in the neighbourhood. In 2010 there were 1126 *santri* studying in Nurul Huda: 46% female and 54% male (Pesantren 2010).

### **Pesantren: Space and Structure**

Two *pesantren* in this study has a different style, but each complex consists of a dormitory, mosque or *musholla* (prayer room), *madrasah* building, and the house of the leader. First, the dormitory provides accommodation and is located in the *pesantren* area. In the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, the dormitory is called *maskan*, while in the Nurul Huda, it is called *pondok*. The dormitory is very important for *santri*, because they mostly come from another city, or in some cases, from another island. Male and female *santri* are segregated in separate dormitories. Dormitories are for daily activities (sleeping, eating and studying) and they are controlled by administrative staff and *ustadz/ustadzah*. Generally, *santri* or the parents of *santri* contribute to the construction of the dormitory. In Nurul Huda, *santri*'s parents have

funded construction. In the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, financial support comes not only from the *santri*'s parents, but also from Muhammadiyah and its supporters.

Second, the mosque or *musholla* is the space for daily prayers. But in some *pesantren* this space also functions as a classroom or meeting room. Third, the *madrasah* building is the space for studying Islamic subjects and in some *pesantren* general subjects. Fourth, the house of the *pesantren*'s leader is the space in which the *kyai*'s/*nyai*'s family reside within the *pesantren* complex.

### **Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat: Many Dormitories in Different Areas**

In the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, the complex consists of *madrasah*, mosque, and dormitories. However, the house of the leader is not located in the same area as the student dormitories or *madrasah*. The student dormitories are located in different areas of Yogyakarta. Mu'allimin has ten dormitories and Mu'allimaat has thirteen dormitories (Mu'allimaat 2009; Mu'allimin 2009, 2010a). One average size room (3 x 5m) is shared by six to eight students and every student has a bed. The leader of the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat do not directly supervise student activities and the leader's house is some distance from the complex, but each dormitory always has a dormitory leader (*pamong*) who has a position as an *ustadz/ustadzah*, as well as the *musrif/musrifah* (male/female teacher in dormitory) who manages and controls student activities in the dormitory. *Pamong* and *musrif/musrifah* reside in the dormitories and they enforce Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat rules, but the rules however were designed by the student coordinators. Students can meet with the *pamong* and *musrif/musrifah* when they need assistance related to the rules or have difficulties with subject material in the *madrasah*. However, the disparate locations of these dormitories mean that management and monitoring of student activities depends on the *pamong*.

The Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat only have one mosque for daily prayers and Friday prayers and the mosque is located in the same area as the Mu'allimin school building. However, all dormitories have a prayer room, which is also used to conduct other activities like reading *Al-Qur'an*, discussion and eating. The students have an obligation to conduct *sholat berjama'ah* (praying together) in the mosque or *musholla*, five times everyday. The *imam sholat* (prayer leader) is a student who schedules prayers. As a result, every student has an opportunity to lead the prayers, which is part of their education as a Muhammadiyah cadre.

### **Nurul Huda Pesantren: Restricted Spaces for Female Santri**

The *kyai* and *nyai* of Nurul Huda reside in the *pesantren* complex that consists of dormitories for male and female *santri*, mosque or *musholla* and classrooms. In Nurul Huda, the *santri*'s boarding school and the house of the leader are in different buildings: the female leader's house is near the entrance to the female dormitories, and the male leader's house is in front of the entrance to the male dormitories. The position of the leader's houses facilitates control of the *santri*'s activities in the *pesantren*. The house of *kyai* and *nyai* is like a palace, to which only some *santri* have access including those who become *abdi ndalem* (*santri* who assist with domestic work in *kyai/nyai*'s house), *santri* who attend *Al-Qur'an* recitation class or those who are invited by the *kyai/nyai*. As well, the *santri*'s parents or guests of the *pesantren* cannot meet *kyai/nyai* in their house without an appointment; otherwise they wait in the visiting room in the female dormitories.

Male and female dormitory have a *musholla* for praying together five times every day, but on Friday prayer for male *santri*, they pray in the village mosque near the *pesantren*. The *musholla* in the male and female dormitories is also used as a classroom for *diniyah salafiyah* class (Arabic and Islamic teaching including yellow texts), *qiro'ati* class (reading *Al-Qur'an*), and extracurricular activities in the *pesantren*. Given the limited space in classrooms, some of the early morning *qiro'ati* classes are conducted on the balcony of the boarding area. *Diniyah salafiyah* classes have two sessions with different *santri*. Some

*santri* have a formal school schedule in the morning, and attend *diniyah salafiyah* class in the afternoon, while other *santri* have the formal school's schedule in the afternoon, and they attend *diniyah salafiyah* class in the morning. Classroom space has become a problem in Nurul Huda related to numerous programs and the increase in *santri*. Sometimes language class (Arabic and English) is conducted in the dormitories for *santri* who attend the bilingual program. Meanwhile, *tahfidz* class (*Al-Qur'an* recitation) is conducted in *ndalem* (the house of *pesantren* leaders) where male and female *santri* are in the one class, but separated.

Male and female dormitories are located in one area of the *pesantren* complex, but segregated. Male and female *santri* cannot meet together in *pesantren*; if they want to see each other, they must have a good reason and they can meet in the visiting room in the female dormitories. Male *santri* can enter the visiting space for the female dormitories, but female *santri* are forbidden to access male dormitories. In the dormitory female *santri* still wear the veil; if they do not use the veil they are punished by the senior *santri*. One average size room (4 x 6m) is shared between twenty or thirty *santri*; some sleep in the front of the bedroom because there is not enough space. They sleep on the floor with thin mattresses which can be folded. Their attitude and behaviour in dormitories is regulated by *pesantren* rules that are designed by Nurul Huda's leader. The *kyai* and *nyai* have great authority and control over the *santri*, because they reside in one area.

### **Rules of *Pesantren*: Monitoring and Controlling *Santri*'s Activities**

The rules of the *pesantren* are designed to internalise and socialise Islamic values in the *santri*. These rules regulate all aspects of student activities and the *santri* must follow them. These rules describe the hidden curriculum and ideology of the *pesantren*. For example, rules about *aqidah* (Islamic belief) in Mu'allimin (see Table 2) assert that the Mu'allimin as a Muhammadiyah school follows the Hambali *mazhab* that permits no accommodation between local traditions and Islamic values and differs from the Syafi'i *mazhab*, followed by the NU *pesantren*, which accepts these accommodations (Abdullah 1997:50). The *aqidah* rules, particularly related to *ziarah* and *tahlillan*, show the differences in *mazhab* between Muhammadiyah and NU *pesantren* where Nurul Huda conduct these traditions.

In terms of clothing rules, particularly for female *santri*, the differences in the two *pesantren* represent respective gender values and ideology in interpreting Islamic teaching related to women's *aurat*. Female *santri* are permitted to wear long pants, but when they have a class in the dormitories, they must wear a long dress in Moslem style. The *santri*'s attitude and behaviour in dormitories is regulated by *pesantren* rules that are designed by the *pesantren*'s leader in the Nurul Huda, whilst in the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, rules are implemented by the student coordinator and *pamong*.

### **Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat: Flexibility Only for Male Students**

The Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat have rules in the boarding school and *madrrasah* that relate to school uniform, clothing to be worn inside and outside dormitories, communication and leaving the *pesantren*, mass media and entertainment as well as morals and ethics. These rules involve punishment and rewards. If the student in the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat perform well in the *madrrasah* or their classes, they obtain points. Reward points are the mark of a successful student in the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat, for winners in academic competitions at local or national level, as leaders in *madrrasah* or dormitories, as a preacher in the Moslem community, and students are also recognised for excellent *Al-Qur'an* recitation. The reward points also can be credited against punishment points, but not all infringements can be converted with reward points, such as students not praying together, as well as some of the infringements related to morals, ethics and Islamic teaching. Students who have less than 100 punishment points are

under the control of *ustadz/ustadzah* and *pamong*, whereas students who have more than 100 punishment points are under the control of the leader of Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat; if students have 151 to 200 points, they must attend a special conference that decides whether they should be expelled and they are asked to write a resignation letter from *madrrasah* (interview with Ustadzah Fauziah, the director of Mu'allimaat, 5 October, 2010).

The clothing styles and colours for the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat students are different from student uniforms in other Islamic schools, and distinguishes them from their contemporaries in the community outside the *pesantren* where Javanese style clothing is common. The clothing rules embed stereotypes of masculinity and femininity, particularly if a female student is prohibited from wearing pants, jeans and sport shoes; this is because these items are considered male attire (see Table 2). Female students can wear pants and sport shoes when they have sport classes in the *madrrasah*. These rules were introduced about five years ago by the student coordinator in the Mu'allimaat, Ustadzah Rita, who had studied in Cairo. Before she became a student coordinator, female students could wear pants, sport shoes and carry a backpack; even the character of female students tended to be masculine (Interview with Ustadzah Fitri, *musrifah* in Mu'allimaat, 25 September, 2010).

Some of the *ustadzah* in the Mu'allimaat also disagree with the new rules that they consider unimportant, particularly related to wearing sport shoes and backpacks, and one of the *ustadzah* always carries a backpack in the *madrrasah* as an expression of her dissatisfaction with these rules. She feels very disappointed that changes to the rules have not been clarified with female students, as stated by Ustadzah Misma:

The rules are explained to the female students, for example: why can't they wear jeans? Why can't they wear trousers? These are personal things not related to masculine and feminine; this is how, I explain it to them. But, sometimes there are limits to our capabilities to help the female students understand. Why are they prohibited to wear jeans? Because jeans are untidy as they are worn often. This is related to how they are used and not related to the Islamic law which forbids jeans, no! The rules in the Mu'allimaat prohibit female student to wear long pants, but they often meet me with a different style of dress that includes long pants. They do not ask me, because they know my views. (Interview with Ustadzah Misma, female teacher in Mu'allimaat, 2 October, 2010)

The controversial issue about the rules in Mu'allimaat is related to the differences in ideology between teachers and the student coordinator. As a cadre school of the Muhammadiyah, the Mu'allimaat has many teachers who are members of the Muhammadiyah, while the student coordinator is associated with the PKS (*Partai Keadilan Sejahtera*/Prosperous Justice Party) that has a different ideology from Muhammadiyah. In addition, the differences between the Muhammadiyah and the PKS has been the subject of books written by Muhammadiyah members, who argue that Muhammadiyah has a different ideology from the PKS and that Muhammadiyah, as an independent organisation, should not accept that Muhammadiyah is used for political purposes (Nashir 2007:44-51; Asy'ari 2009). However, some of the Mu'allimaat teachers and staff are associated with PKS. The ideology of PKS is embedded in Mu'allimaat's rules that effectively internalise the PKS ideology; under the influence of the PKS, clothing rules for female students impose an Egyptian style of Islamic clothing. In the Mu'allimin, some of the teachers are also associated with PKS, but the coordinators in the *madrrasah* are Muhammadiyah cadre, and the values of the Muhammadiyah are reflected in the Mu'allimin's rules.

Rules in the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat are similar, but the punishments between male and female students are different (see Table 1 and 2). Males can go outside dormitories until 21:00, and females must return to dormitories before 18:00. The punishment points related to clothing rules for female students are stricter than for male students; female students will get from 2 to 20 punishment points when they infringe the clothing rules, but male students are only punished if they infringe more than 3 times.

**Table 1.** Rules and sanctions for female students in Mu'allimaat.

| No. |  | Rules   | Punishment  |
|-----|--|---|---|
| 1   | <b>The uniform in <i>madrasah</i></b>                                      | Students must use the uniform:<br><ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The veil in Minangkabau style that closes over chest</li> <li>- Long clothes in Minangkabau style</li> <li>- Long dress not clinging to body</li> <li>- Female shoes in black colour</li> <li>- Long socks in white colour</li> <li>- The bag is not a backpack</li> </ul>   | 2 points<br><br>2 points<br>2 points<br>2 points<br>2 points                                    |
| 2   | <b>The clothing in dormitories</b>   | Inside or outside dormitories, students must wear:<br><ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The clothes cover <i>aurat</i></li> <li>- Business clothes, not clinging to body, not thin and not jean material</li> <li>- The veil closes over chest</li> </ul><br>In dormitories, students can wear:<br><ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Long dress or long pants</li> <li>- Long-sleeved clothes</li> <li>- Long dress and long clothes</li> </ul> | 20 points<br>6 points<br><br>6 points<br><br>2 points<br>2 points<br>2 points                   |
| 3   | <b>Accessories and make-up</b>   | Students are prohibited from:<br><ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Wearing accessories except gold</li> <li>- Abundant make-up</li> <li>- Having long nails or painted nails</li> <li>- Dyeing hair</li> <li>- Having haircut like male</li> </ul>   | 2 points<br>2 points<br>2 points<br>6 points<br>6 points  |
| 4   | <b>Communication and transportation in <i>madrasah</i> and dormitories</b> | Students are prohibited from:<br><ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Correspondence, contact with males who are not <i>muhrim</i></li> <li>- Carrying mobile phones and communication equipment</li> <li>- Bringing, using and borrowing motor bike or car, except for <i>madrasah</i> activities when have licence to drive</li> </ul>  | 7 points<br>50 points<br>10 points  |
| 5   | <b>Mass media and entertainment</b>  | Students are prohibited from:<br><ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Watching TV except on holidays</li> <li>- Bringing or reading a book that causes immorality</li> <li>- Bringing radio, walkman, or tape recorder</li> <li>- Watching movie in cinema</li> <li>- Watching music concert</li> <li>- Taking a holiday or going outside dormitories or <i>madrasah</i> without permission</li> </ul>  | 2 points<br>2 points<br><br>2 points<br>20 points<br>20 points<br>10 points                     |
| 6   | <b><i>Akhlak</i> (moral and ethics)</b>                                    | Students are prohibited from:<br><ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Making appointment with males who are not <i>muhrim</i></li> <li>- Dating with males who are not <i>muhrim</i></li> <li>- Dating in private places</li> <li>- Smoking</li> <li>- Drinking alcohol</li> <li>- Using drugs</li> <li>- Adultery</li> </ul>   | 10 points<br><br>50 points<br>100 points<br>50 points<br>100 points<br>200 points<br>200 points |
| 7   | <b>Organisation</b>  | Students are prohibited from joining other organisations outside <i>madrasah</i> except with leader's permission  | 5 points  |

Source: (Mu'allimaat 2010c)

Table 2. Rules and sanctions for male students in Mu'allimin.

| No. |   | Rules   | Punishment  |
|-----|---|---|---|
| 1   | <b>The uniform in madrasah</b>                                      | Students must use the uniform:<br>- Long-sleeved shirt with trousers and black <i>peci</i> (Indonesian headgear)<br>- White socks and black shoes   | >3 times infringe, 1 point<br>>3 times infringe, 1 point  |
| 2   | <b>The clothing in dormitories and prayer</b>                       | Students must wear:<br>- The long-sleeved shirt, <i>peci</i> and <i>sarung</i> when praying together<br>- Casual clothes and trousers inside and outside dormitories<br><br>Students are prohibited from:<br>- Wearing jeans inside and outside dormitories<br>- Wearing short trousers outside dormitories   | >3 times infringe, 1 point<br>>3 times infringe, 1 point<br><br>Confiscated and 3 points<br><br>5 points                            |
| 3   | <b>Accessories</b>  | Students are prohibited from:<br>- Using ring, choker, bangle or similar<br><br>- Dyeing hair<br>- Having tattoo<br>- Having long hair  | Confiscated and >3 times infringe, get 1 point<br>Cut his hair & 5 points<br>50 points<br>Cut his hair & >3 times infringe, 1 point |
| 3   | <b>Communication and transportation in madrasah and dormitories</b> | Students are prohibited from:<br>- Correspondence or contact with females who are not <i>muhrim</i><br>- Carrying a mobile phone<br>- Bringing, using and borrowing motorcycle or car, except for <i>madrasah</i> activities  | 10 points<br><br>Confiscated & 10 points<br>30 points   |
| 4   | <b>Akhlak (moral and ethics)</b>                                    | Students are prohibited from:<br>- Dating with males who are not <i>muhrim</i><br>- Smoking<br>- Stealing<br><br>- Drinking alcohol, using drug, gambling<br>- Adultery, homosexuality  | 50 points<br><br>40 points<br>30 points to 100 points, depending on the case<br>100 points<br>100 points                            |
| 5   | <b>Mass media and entertainment</b>                                 | Students are prohibited from:<br>- Watching TV except on holiday or outside the dormitories<br>- Bringing or reading books that cause immorality<br>- Bringing radio, walkman, or tape recorder<br>- Watching movie in cinema<br>- Watching music concert<br>- Taking a holiday or going outside the dormitories or <i>madrasah</i> without permission<br>- Watching blue film or pornography on internet | 20 points<br><br>50 points<br><br>Confiscated and 10 points<br>20 points<br>20 points<br>20 points<br>70 points                     |
| 6   | <b>Aqidah (Islamic believe)</b>                                     | Students are prohibited from:<br>- Believing horoscopes and similar, and also visiting and asking about something or a problem related to paranormal<br>- Having something that is assumed to be mystic<br>- Visits to graves ( <i>ziarah</i> )<br>- Attending <i>slametan</i> for people's death ( <i>tahlilan</i> )   | 50 points<br><br>100 point<br>90 points<br>30 points  |

Source: (Mu'allimin 2009, 2010a)

The differences between the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat are not only related to rules, but also school and dormitories facilities, the quality of teachers and the cadre system (informal discussion with Mu'allimaat students, 1 October, 2010). All these aspects affect on Mu'allimin regulations and the education system in Mu'allimin. Male students have access to newspapers, TV or radio, but can also access good books from the Mu'allimin's library and information from Mu'allimin's colleagues, even from Muhammadiyah leaders. Female students have limited information from the Muhammadiyah or Aisyiyah (women's organisation in Muhammadiyah), although they can access newspapers every day, and watch TV once a week. The Mu'allimin students have more opportunity for wider discussion with other people outside the *pesantren*, and the rules in Mu'allimin are more relaxed, it means they can do everything and they can meet girls and chat with them, so they can express their ideas (Interview with Ustadzah Fitri, *musrifah* in Mu'allimaat, 25 September, 2010)

The female students are aware of the gender discrimination between male and female students. Faiza, a student in Mu'allimaat who is also a journalist in the Mu'allimaat magazine, resents the restrictions placed on female students:

I feel greatly the differences between the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat. The Mu'allimin is very free. I asked the director of the Mu'allimin: "what is wrong with our sex? Is it because we are girls, we do not go to anywhere; we must stay in dormitory and *madrasah* all day. Why is the reason always because we are girls? Is it that a woman cannot lead? If someday a woman is a leader, does this mean that judgement day (*kiamat*) is near?" (Interview with Faiza, student in Mu'allimaat, 5 October, 2010)

Although in the Mu'allimaat, the female leader does not agree with gender equity and the only a minority of teachers support women's empowerment, gender awareness among female students emerges from a recognition of discriminatory rules between students in the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat. Female students want the Mu'allimaat leaders, particularly the student coordinator, to provide greater autonomy and self-reliance (Interview with Ema, student in Mu'allimaat, 5 October, 2010).

The Mu'allimaat students not only criticize Mu'allimaat rules (particularly about clothing and restrictions on their mobility outside the complex, which they consider discriminatory between male and female students), but also they desire to express their ideas and have greater freedom of movement. The Mu'allimaat rules prohibit students from joining other organisations outside the Mu'allimaat (see Table 1). This rule also applies to *musrifah* who are expected to focus on educating students in dormitories. *Musrifah* should not be distracted by involvement in organisations outside the Mu'allimaat, even students' organisations in their university, although this rule is ignored by some (interview with Ustadzah Fitri, *musrifah* in Mu'allimaat, 3 October, 2010).

Actually, male students also have the same opinions about the discriminatory rules between the Mu'allimin and Mu'allimaat. The Mu'allimin students can negotiate with *pamong* and *musrif* about the rules in Mu'allimin, and *musrif* will often reduce the obligations in the *pesantren* for those students thought to be responsible (Interview with Ave, student in Mu'allimin, 30 September, 2010).

The Mu'allimin rules are easily broken because of its location to a city with plural urban culture. Ustadz Mahdi, *musrif* in the Mu'allimin, related how these circumstances make the enforcement of the Mu'allimin's rules difficult:

Usually a *pesantren* is located in one area, but the Mu'allimin is different, with the dormitories are scattered throughout the city, and this creates many temptations. For example, student go to an internet cafe and access something forbidden, or go to Malioboro (a shopping strip) and drink alcohol, without anyone knowing. (Interview with Ustadz Mahdi, *musrif* in Mu'allimin, 30 September, 2010)

### **Nurul Huda Pesantren: Male *Santri* can Negotiate more than Female *Santri***

Nurul Huda is an independent *pesantren* that does not use the Indonesian Government's curriculum. The principal objective of the *pesantren* is to control and monitor the *santri*'s behaviour and attitude in the dormitories. Although Nurul Huda has good relationships with schools where some of their *santri* study,

it is keen to control the *santri*'s activities outside the *pesantren*. For example, Nurul Huda determines the time *santri* have to return to the dormitories after school classes. Also when *santri* attend extracurricular activities in the school they must ask permission from the administrative staff (see Table 3).

**Table 3.** Rules and sanctions for female *santri* in the Nurul Huda Pesantren.

| No. | Rules   | Punishment  |
|-----|---|---|
| 1.  | <p><i>Santri</i> have an obligation to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Wear <i>pesantren</i>'s uniform veil that closes over the chest during <i>pesantren</i>'s class</li> <li>- Wear a veil in and outside <i>pesantren</i>, even when going outside bedroom in dormitories with long clothes and long dress, not long pants</li> <li>- Go back to dormitories on time after study in formal school</li> <li>- Ask permission of administrative staff when attending extracurricular activities in formal school</li> <li>- Obey the rules of areas that can be accessed when going to outside <i>pesantren</i> for study in formal school</li> <li>- Pray together five times a day on time</li> <li>- Go back to <i>pesantren</i> on time after holiday or permission in teaching time</li> </ul> | <p>Warning or <i>ta'zir</i><sup>9</sup></p> <p>Help with administrative responsibilities, warning, <i>ta'zir</i>, fine or be non active as <i>santri</i></p> <p>Warning or <i>ta'zir</i><br/><i>Ta'zir</i> or fine</p> <p><i>Ta'zir</i></p> <p><i>Ta'zir</i> or fine</p> <p>Fine</p>  |
| 2.  | <p><i>Santri</i> are prohibited from:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Using a radio, tape recorder, game board, camera, mobile phone and books that do not have Islamic values</li> <li>- Stealing, drinking alcohol, smoking</li> <li>- Visiting a cinema, pub, café</li> <li>- Using hair colour</li> <li>- Dating with impolite behaviour such as kissing</li> <li>- Having special relationships with other female <i>santri</i></li> <li>- Buying food in the front of the dormitory</li> <li>- Using the public telephone in the dormitory for longer than ten minutes</li> <li>- Wearing gold accessories</li> </ul>  | <p>Confiscated and fine</p> <p>Warning, <i>ta'zir</i>, fine or be non active as <i>santri</i></p> <p><i>Ta'zir</i>, fine or be non active as <i>santri</i></p> <p>Crooked haircut</p> <p>Warning, <i>ta'zir</i>, fine or be non active as <i>santri</i></p> <p>Warning, <i>ta'zir</i>, fine or be non active as <i>santri</i></p> <p>Pay double the food price</p> <p>Warning</p> <p>Confiscated, or redeem with Rp20.000</p> |

Source: (*Pesantren* 2009b, 2009a); Note: \$AUS 1 = Rp 9000

Nurul Huda has rules related to clothing, the timetable in the boarding school, use of electronic devices, and *diniyah salafiyah* class, *qiro'ati* class, *tahfidz* class, and Arabic and English language class. Every class or program in Nurul Huda has rules and sanctions when *santri* disobey rules. The clothing rules for females, for example, are the strictest among the *pesantren* in this research: female *santri* must not only wear the veil inside and outside the *pesantren*, but also outside the bedroom in dormitories, perhaps because female dormitory can be accessed by male *santri* who also work as cooking staff in the female dormitories known as *abdi ndalem*. Female *santri* are prohibited from wearing long pants in the dormitories, whereas male *santri* must wear long-sleeved shirts, *sarung* and *peci* in the *pesantren*. Usually, they wear trousers if they go to school or sports activities. The clothing rules of Nurul Huda are

<sup>9</sup> The punishments for *santri* that infringe the *pesantren*'s rules include cleaning the dormitories, bathroom, and washing clothes.

different from other local *pesantren* and Moslem society around this *pesantren*. However, when the *santri* from Nurul Huda attend classes in the *madrasah* they have to follow the clothing rules of the *madrasah*.

The changing rules in relation to female *santri* happened two years ago during new administrative staff changes in the female *pesantren*. The new rules must be reported to the *pesantren*'s leader and have agreement from the leader, as explained by Ustadzah Wulan, the female leader of administrative staff in Nurul Huda.

In the past, female *santri* were able to use electronic devices and watch movies in the dormitories during the one week holiday known as *masa ruhshoh*, but during this research, these rules have not been implemented, because they were thought to have a negative effect. Ustadzah Wulan, the leader of female administrative staff, as well as a teacher in *diniyah salafiyah* class and *santri* in *Al-Qur'an* recitation related:

In the past, the female *santri* were permitted to use cameras and radios, also they could watch movies. After the exams, they did not have activities, so it was refreshing. Usually, the electronic devices were brought by their parents when visiting the *pesantren*. But, these things had negative effects; as a result these programs were cancelled. We review the programs of previous administrative staff, and every two years we evaluate programs and rules in the *pesantren* (Interview with Ustadzah Wulan, the leader of female administrative in Nurul Huda, 5 November, 2010)

According to Azizah, female *santri* and teacher in *qiro'ati* class in Nurul Huda, *Masa ruhshoh* is no longer permitted, because the female *santri* watched movies until 1:00, and the next day many *santri* did not attend prayers together at *Subuh* time (Interview 5 November, 2010). The perceived negative effects of *masa ruhshoh* prompted a tightening of the *pesantren*'s rules, and a renewed effort to educate female *santri* about Islamic teaching. Not all infringement of rules by *santri* are known about by *pesantren* leaders or administrative staff. Some of the *santri* endeavour to avoid detection, by, for example, leaving their mobile phone with the owner of a small shop near the *pesantren*; before going to *madrasah*, they collect their mobile phone from the shopkeeper and after finishing their study in the *madrasah*, they return it to the shopkeeper (fieldwork notes, 8 November, 2010). They pay the owner of the small shop to keep their mobile phone, but also for keeping their secret from other *santri* and administrative staff (interview with Fina, female *santri* in Nurul Huda, 9 November, 2010).

The rules for female *santri* have become stricter and they were more comfortable with the old rules, because they could schedule time outside the *pesantren* every week. Meanwhile, the male *santri* have greater freedom. They can have dinner outside the *pesantren* while the female *santri* have both breakfast and dinner in the *pesantren*, as cooked by male *santri* in their role as *abdi ndalem*. Female *santri* must return to the *pesantren* by 17:00, while the male *santri* have greater freedom in leaving the *pesantren* at night (Interview with Azizah and Yasmin, female *santri* in Nurul Huda, 5 November, 2010).

The implementation of *pesantren* rules for male *santri* is less strict. The female *santri* who have privileges and rights are those who work as teachers and administrative staff in the *pesantren*, but this is still limited as compared to male *santri*. For example, it is prohibited to carry a mobile phone (see Tables 3 and 4), but administrative staff are given one mobile phone to co-ordinate their activities with the female leader and undertake their responsibilities. In contrast, almost all male *santri* who have work as a teacher or administrative staff have a mobile phone.

According to Yusril and Ustadz Chusin (the leader of administrative staff), the rules for male *santri* are not strict like for female *santri*, and male *santri* still have the opportunity to negotiate the rules with the *pesantren* leader. For example, watching of movies in dormitories was prohibited by the *kyai*, but male administrative staff negotiated with the *kyai* to permit watching soccer matches on television. The male administrative staff endeavour to minimise *santri* going outside *pesantren* in the evening. The male *santri* can watch movies in the dormitories once a month, mostly Islamic movies chosen by the administrative staff. However, as explained by Yusril these rules are there to be broken. For example: *santri* have to ask permission to go to the internet cafe for their homework. While doing their homework, they can browse for things that are prohibited by the *pesantren*, but nobody is every going to know.

**Table 4** Rules and sanctions for male *santri* in the Nurul Huda Pesantren.

| No. | Rules  | Punishment   |
|-----|--|--|
| 1.  | <p><i>Santri</i> have obligation to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Wear <i>pesantren</i>'s uniform<sup>10</sup> during <i>pesantren</i>'s class</li> <li>- Wear casual clothes, <i>sarung</i> and <i>peci</i> in and outside <i>pesantren</i></li> <li>- Return to the dormitories after school classes</li> <li>- Ask permission from administrative staff when attending extracurricular activities at school</li> <li>- Obey the rules when going outside <i>pesantren</i> for study at school</li> <li>- Pray together five times a day on time and wear a white long sleeved shirt</li> <li>- Return to the <i>pesantren</i> on time after holidays</li> </ul> | <p>Warning or <i>ta'zir</i><br/> Warning or <i>ta'zir</i><br/> <i>Ta'zir</i> or get fine<br/> <i>Ta'zir</i><br/> <br/> <i>Ta'zir</i> or get fine<br/> <br/> <i>Ta'zir</i><br/> <br/> Fine</p>  |
| 2.  | <p><i>Santri</i> are prohibited from:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Using a radio, tape recorder, game board, camera, mobile phone and books that do not have Islamic values</li> <li>- Stealing, drinking alcohol, gambling, smoking</li> <br/> <li>- Watching music concert</li> <li>- Visiting a cinema, pub, or café</li> <br/> <li>- Dating with impolite behaviour such as kissing</li> <br/> <li>- Using public telephone in dormitory for longer than ten minutes</li> </ul>  | <p>Confiscated and fine<br/> <br/> Warning, <i>ta'zir</i>, fine or be non active as <i>santri</i><br/> Warning, <i>ta'zir</i> or fine<br/> <i>Ta'zir</i>, fine or be non active as <i>santri</i><br/> <i>Ta'zir</i> or be non active as <i>santri</i><br/> Warning</p> |

Source: (*Pesantren* 2009b, 2009a)

The differences in rules are not only between male and female *santri*, but also between junior and senior *santri*. For example, a *santri* who is twenty years old can smoke at certain times and in certain places as explained by a senior *santri*:

There have been some changes in the rules here. Previously, *santri* were prohibited from smoking. Now, *santri* can smoke when they are 20 years old. The smoking has to be discreet and not seen by younger *santri*; it can't be blatant. Like in a small quiet cafe where there are no younger *santri*. If there are younger *santri*, it is prohibited to smoke. There could be jealousy and it gives a bad example which could be followed when they are adults. (Interview with Yusril, male *santri* and teacher in *qiro'ati* class in Nurul Huda, 10 November, 2010)

The pattern of change in regulations for male *santri* in Nurul Huda is different from the female *santri*. Change in the latter is produced through evaluation, while the regulations for male *santri* are determined by the leader's attitudes. The founder of the *pesantren*, Kyai Manan did not smoke, so smoking was prohibited for *santri*, but the current leader smokes, so *santri* over twenty years old can smoke (Interview with Ustadz Chusin, the leader of male administrative staff in Nurul Huda, 12 November, 2010).

The differentiation between male and female *santri* is also related to classroom activities. In the *tahfidz* class, the male *santri* have an *ustadz* who listens to recitations of the *Al-Qur'an* before they recite for the *kyai*, while female *santri* do not have an *ustadzah* as a tutor; usually they listen to each other before reciting for the *kyai*. In language class, male *santri* have an *ustadz* who uses creative and fun methods, such as singing and playing games until midnight, while the language class for female *santri* only involves memorising the words and conversation.

<sup>10</sup>*Pesantren* uniform for male *santri* is the long-sleeved white shirt, *sarung* and *peci*.

During the holidays, the female *santri* usually clean the dormitories and they still have extracurricular activities at night such as *qiro'ah* (the art of reading *Al-Qur'an*) and *kaligrafi* (the art of writing in the Arabic script) class. The male *santri* however have sport activities outside the *pesantren* such as soccer and badminton. The female *santri* only have time on Friday to visit the graves of the *kyai/nyai*, while the male *santri* can visit these graves anytime. The grave visits denotes the charisma of the *kyai*, in the belief that *santri* will find *barokah* (blessing or reward from God).

The structures in the *pesantren* rules have been developed to educate and internalise Islamic teaching in *santri*. The two *pesantren* have similar rules related to clothing, mobility, communication, mass media and entertainment. *Pesantren* leaders seek to manage and constrain influences from outside the *pesantren* that, they believe, have a negative effect on the *santri*. These rules and regulations regarding clothing, though different in each *pesantren*, reflect Islamic values and the *pesantren's* identity that distinguish it from the society outside. The infrastructure of the *pesantren* complex together with the rules seeks to perpetuate the *pesantren's* traditions and sustain the authority of *kyai*.

Foucault (1980:39) described the system in a military school to control army cadets or in prison to control inmates, where the panopticon is used as a strategy to exercise power within an institution. These *pesantren* resemble Foucault's panopticon, not only related to the *pesantren* physical structures of the dormitories, house of the leader, mosque, and the school located in one area, but also related to the rules in a *pesantren* which are designed to integrate class rules with those of the everyday lives of the *santri*. Some of the *pesantren* rules are based on Islamic values, for example: clothing, *aqidah* and *akhlak*, and some rules reflect the personal habits and experiences of the leaders. The rules about smoking in Nurul Huda, for example, changed with the *kyai* and his personal habits. The more restrictive regulations of the other *pesantren* suggest less familiarity with the world outside the *pesantren* and associated anxieties about external influences. The integrated system in the *pesantren* explains how the leaders exercise their authority and the *santri* always obey. The *pesantren* complex and rules in the three *pesantren* in this study are designed like a panopticon.

The panopticon system in the *pesantren* has a gender bias; the rules and complex system create more opportunity for male *santri* to access information and knowledge. According to Walby (1990:92), educational institutions continue to embed gender difference through the formal curriculum or hidden curriculum. A similar situation prevails in the *pesantren* complex and rules, which tend to construct gender bias, also create gender awareness among the female *santri*, who question why male and female *santri* have different opportunities and rules in the *pesantren*. The critical thinking of female *santri* in the *pesantren*, where the leader has not developed gender equity, is more evident than in the *pesantren* where there is a leader promoting gender awareness, because female students are marginalised and subordinated.

## Conclusion

Resembling Foucault's Panopticon that based on Bentham's concept, the discussion of *pesantren* physical infrastructure and rules show how the *kyai's* authority is used to control *santri* – a system that “controls the people or a mechanism to induce in the people a conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power; the resistances to the panopticon are tactical and strategic terms in which each offensive from the one side serves as leverage for a counter-offensive from another” (Foucault 1980:163). The Panopticon system is integrated between *pesantren* rules in *madrasah* and dormitories.

However, this research has shown that the Panopticon also has a gender bias, where the rules for female *santri* are stricter than those for male *santri* and embed notions of masculinity and femininity. One example is the position of male dormitories, which are more accessible than female dormitories, and male *santri* can access female dormitories, but female *santri* cannot access male dormitories. But, women within *pesantren* have also critical thinking that relates to gender values. These are in part a response to the changing world outside. The important point I am making here relates to the design of *pesantren*

structures and the segregation between male and female *santri* determined by *pesantren* leaders, and this seems very effective in perpetuating the patriarchal system and *pesantren* traditions.

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