

GENDER EQUALITY ACTIONS OF FEMALE RELIGIOUS FIGURES IN MADURA (A STUDY ON LOCALITY GENDER)

Hasanatul Jannah¹

¹UIN Raden Mas Said Surakarta, Indonesia (hasanatul.jannah@staff.uinsaid.ac.id)

Yunda Fitriyah²

²University of Indonesia, Indonesia (yunda.fithriyah@ui.ac.id)



©2025 by the authors. Submitted for open access publication under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License (CC-BY-SA)

license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>)

DOI : <http://dx.doi.org/10.30983/humanisme.v4i2.9374>

Submission: February 24, 2025	Revised: April 20, 2025	Accepted : Mei 12, 2025	Published: June 14, 2025
-------------------------------	-------------------------	-------------------------	--------------------------

Abstract

This study examines the actions taken by female religious leaders in Madura as a manifestation of gender equality. The implementation of gender equality actions is accumulated from activities, roles, efforts, positions, power, representation, contributions, and even in gender relation bargaining to advocate for gender equality. The research employs a phenomenological approach, aiming to understand the experiences of female religious leaders in Madura as an embodiment of gender equality in their daily lives as the central issue within the primary structure of this study. The main subjects of this research are two female religious leaders. Data collection, processing, and analysis are conducted in an integrated manner through phenomenological steps. The findings of this study indicate that Nyai, as a representation of female religious figures in Madura, enacts gender equality by serving as religious leaders and worship guides, leaders and caretakers of Islamic boarding schools, controllers of the tengka tradition, motivators and counselors, domestic affairs managers, and facilitators of public space access.

Keywords: Gender equality action, female religious figures, Madura

Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengkaji tentang tindakan-tindakan yang telah dilakukan tokoh agama perempuan Madura sebagai perwujudan dari kesetaraan gender. Implementasi dari tindakan kesetaraan gender terakumulasi dari aktivitas, peran, upaya-upaya, posisi, kekuatan, representasi, kontribusi, bahkan dalam bargaining relasi gendernya dalam memperjuangkan kesetaraan gender. Metode yang digunakan adalah dengan menggunakan pendekatan fenomenologi, dengan memahami pengalaman tokoh agama perempuan Madura sebagai wujud tindakan kesetaraan gender yang dilakukan dalam kehidupan kesehariannya sebagai isu sentral dari struktur utama suatu objek kajian dalam penelitian ini. Subyek utama dalam penelitian ini adalah 2 tokoh agama perempuan. Pengumpulan, pengolahan dan analisis data dilakukan secara terpadu, melalui langkah fenomenologi. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa Nyai sebagai representasi dari tokoh agama perempuan Madura melakukan tindakan kesetaraan dengan menjadi pemimpin dan pembimbing ibadah, pemimpin dan pengasuh pondok pesantren, pengendali tradisi tengka, sebagai motivator dan konselor, pengendali urusan domestik dan pembuka ruang public.

Kata Kunci: Tindakan kesetaraan gender, Tokoh agama perempuan, Madura

Introduction

As a condition of social construction, gender produces a variety of different roles and behaviors for men and women which are carried out and even become traditions in society, making gender a cultural expectation. Along with the advancement of knowledge, experience, and human awareness, responses to gender issues have increasingly emphasized the demand for gender equality across various aspects of life, particularly in gender relations. The demand for gender equality arises due to the discrimination between men and women, which stems from unequal access, participation, control, and benefits, ultimately leading to gender-based injustices. The implications of gender inequality manifest in stereotypes, role rigidities, double burdens, subordination, marginalization, and violence against both genders¹.

On the other hand, there is an understanding that equality can not be positioned as a form of equality, because it will open up opportunities regarding the limits of equality itself. In fact, equality appears in different groups, in various variations and specifications. Although it was then responded to by various quite complicated debates about the area of equality if placed in an equality perspective, especially those related to results. Because after all gender equality is an important part of the concept of human rights².

This debate then had an impact on equal treatment between men and women, and recognition of the requirements for equal treatment between the two. Enhancement of gender equality in Indonesian women captured since the 1998 Reformation, marked by the establishment of the National Commission on Violence Against Women in 1998. In Post-Reformation Era, various social movements emerged to increase women's participation, and public spaces opened up during Indonesia's

democratization process. However, some obstacles remain the same due to cultural clashes at the local level and patriarchal norms. Nevertheless, the government is committed to creating and upholding gender equality by ratifying various international norms and issuing national regulations related to this issue. Historical analysis reveals that under Dutch and Japanese colonialism, Indonesian women faced systematic discrimination and humiliation. Philosophical analysis shows that Pancasila supports gender equality, and an examination of contemporary Indonesian women's conditions reveals positive developments compared to the colonial era. Improvements are seen in normative regulations and social conditions³.

The study of equality then focuses on the aspects that cause gender inequality. Gender studies activists respond to various causal factors, including religious factors⁴, culture, patrilineal system⁵, education⁶, and others. Inequality is maintained under the pretext of religious doctrine, religion is legitimized to preserve conditions where women are not considered equal to men.

Some researchers even view the influence of religion contributes to gender inequality. There is a power that reinforces women in aspects of social and political life in several countries with high religiosity due to religious doctrines that prohibit the presence of women in the public sphere⁷. However, the study needs to be expanded further considering that in some places the role of female religious figures in society is quite complex and varied.

As the Islamic religion places and glorifies women, the underdeveloped condition of women causes the cultural underdevelopment of a society in general, not because of the provisions of religious law, because women have uniqueness,

¹ Nur Rahmawati, (2023), *Kesetaraan Gender Dalam Tafsir Al-Mishbâh (Antara Teori Konflik Sosial Dan Teori Struktural Fungsional)*, ed. by Abdul Muid, Jakarta: Publica Indonesia Utama.

² Januastasya Audina, Dhea, *Kesetaraan Gender Dalam Perspektif Hak Asasi Manusia*, Nomos: Jurnal Penelitian Ilmu Hukum, 2.4, 2022, h.148 – 154.

³ Idi Soleman, *Pancasila, Kesetaraan Gender, Dan Perempuan Indonesia*, Pancasila, 3.2, 2023, h. 215–27.

⁴ Veronica Ete, Elizabeth and others, *Gender Dan Konstruksi Perempuan Dalam Agama*"Pentingnya Kesetaraan

Gender Untuk Penghapusan Sistem Patriarki", Moderasi: Jurnal Kajian Islam Kontemporer, 1.2, 2023, h. 1–25.

⁵ Dinny Rahmayanty and others, *Ketidakesetaraan Gender Dalam Sistem Patrilineal*, INNOVATIVE: Journal Of Social Science Research, 3.5, 2023, h. 6513–22.

⁶ Yuni Sulistyowati, *Kesetaraan Gender Dalam Lingkup Pendidikan Dan Tata Sosial*, Ijouis: Indonesian Journal of Gender Studies, 1.2, 2020, h. 1–14.

⁷ Kamila Klingorová and Tomáš Havlíček, *Religion and Gender Inequality: The Status of Women in the Societies of World Religions*, Moravian Geographical Reports, 23.2, 2015, 2–11 <<https://doi.org/10.1515/mgr-2015-0006>>.

autonomy, and privileges⁸. However, it couldn't be denied that religion is often used as a weapon to perpetuate patriarchy, even though this argument is valid. This means continuing to view that women's oppression all originates from the class system and patriarchal system, not from religious ideology. So, women's awareness and involvement in all areas must start from women themselves, through empowerment to prevent the occurrence of gender inequality⁹.

Human equality is the most responsible consequence of recognizing the oneness of God. Religious messages written in religious texts contain a humanitarian purpose and spirit, because every religion has a concept of gender equality¹⁰. The grand idea that Islam seeks to convey is the existence of a just and equal human relationship between men and women. However, the interpretation sometimes dictates the specific aspects in which equality and equality applies. Asghar Ali Engineer offer two methods, contextual normative and transcendent. Namely reinterpreting the text of the Quran about gender which is the contextualized with the local socio-culture, because the law has a flexibel nature to follow the changing times¹¹.

In religious teachings and in mythical beliefs, each has a different message, so it is necessary to identify and reinterpret how religion uphold gender equality. As Islam places human capacity as both servants and *khalifah* on earth without distinction based on gender.

Understanding gender equality requires multiple perspectives, as what is considered equal in one area may not be perceived the same way in another, or vice versa. In this regard, this study examines research findings on acts of equality within socio-cultural relations on Madura Island. Particularly, the actions carried out by several female religious figures in the process of socio-

religious and cultural relations, which negatively emphasize the reflection of the values of equality carried out at the local level. The findings of this research are intriguing to study and understand as a variant in equality practices that have been successful in shaping the character of society from an early age and fundamental stage.

Madura is an island rich in cultural heritage and profound historical values, as its establishment was influenced by the power of previously ruling kingdom¹². Apart from that, the formation of cultural characteristics in Madura was shaped by the pressure of colonial rule during the colonial era, leading to the social stratification system that consists of the lower class, the middle class and the highest class known as *parjaji*. On the other hand, patriarchal culture remains deeply entrenched, reinforced by myth and tradition that perpetuate discrimination against women's bodies¹³. Madurese people continue to grapple with patriarchal cultural issues, but the community also possesses unique local wisdom regarding women's roles. Based on this local wisdom, it is considered beneficial to communicate gender equality using radical cultural approach, which can motivate the authority In Madura about the importance of gender equality. Because for the Madurese people, women are invaluable assets.

On the other hand, Madurese women serve as the core of male's honor, positioning them as symbols of purity, at stake in social norm, and in extreme cases can be a key motivation for *carok* (a traditional duel or violent retribution) in Madurese culture. The identity of the Madurese people is strengthened when Madurese cultural traditions are lived out in harmony and weakened when they are lived out in disharmony. Thus, the protections of wife's or women's honor is not only linked to Islamic teachings and the dignity of the husband or men but also regarded as a communal obligation within the broader framework of maintaining social order and harmony. Thus the

⁸ Hidayah, *Keistimewaan Perempuan Dalam Al-Quran Surah An-Nisa*, Al-Munqidz: Jurnal Kajian Keislaman, 9.2 2021, h. 113–126.

⁹ Rahma Haliza, Luthfia and Ergina Faralita, *Budaya Patriarki Dan Kesenjangan Gender*, Wasaka Hukum: Jendela Informasi & Gagasan Hukum, 11.1, 2023, h. 19–32.

¹⁰ Fatrawati Kumari, *Kesenjangan Gender Dalam Agama-Agama: Analisis Filsafat Taoisme-Islam Sachiko Murata*, Mu'adalah: Jurnal Studi Gender Dan Anak, 10.2, 2022, h. 65–77.

¹¹ Ainun Hakiemah, *Kesenjangan Gender Dalam Pandangan Asghar Ali Engineer: Interpretasi Antara Teks Keagamaan Dan Konteks Sosial*, Jurnal Mafatih : Jurnal Ilmu Al-Qur'an Dan Tafsir, 2.2, 2022, h. 17–32.

¹² Samsul Ma'arif, (2015), *The History Of Madura: Sejarah Panjang Madura Dari Kerajaan, Kolonialisme Sampai Kemerdekaan*, Yogyakarta: Araska.

¹³ Ardhie Raditya, (2014), *Sosiologi Tubuh, Membentang Teori Di Ranah Aplikasi*, Yogyakarta: Kaukaba Dipantara.

carok tradition in Madura can be analyzed genealogically¹⁴.

In certain escalations, Madurese women maintain their self-autonomy, as they are not positioned as objects or subordinates but as subjects with authority, particularly embodied by female religious figures. Madurese female religious leaders are shaped from an early age as devout women with a strong foundation in religious knowledge. They are figures who uphold moral integrity and hold religious-social authority within their communities. Their ability to blend cultural traditions with inherited religious values creates a meaningful synthesis that contributes to local wisdom in Madura. Madurese people perceive that adherence to Islamic norm and the preservation of indigenous beliefs can coexist harmoniously¹⁵.

Actions of equality in gender relations of Madurese female religious figures can be read and seen from everyday experiences which show the gender relations and systems that apply in their community, they are called *Nyai* (female religious leaders). *Nyai* has a tradition of religious and cultural values that include courage, struggle, power, togetherness and helping to shape the lives of their people. On the other hand, the research results of Tatik Hidayati emphasize the patronage relationship pattern between *nyai* and Madurese women, which views that the capital of religious knowledge mastery through "kompolan" and economic capacity through Islamic Boarding School and madrasahs owned by *Nyai* become an important part of the existence of *nyai* ¹⁶. Therefore, this study aims to point out that the actions carried out and played by Madurese *Nyai* implement gender equality values driven by the local community, through the strengthening of tradition and religion.

Religious leaders can participate in real terms with broad access in public spaces, they also have the courage to decide, influence, organize, determine and do things. Even accustomed to expressing opinions, giving lectures, leading religious rituals, leading prayers in the presence of men. This proves that the representation of Madurese female religious leaders in the

constellation of Madurese religiosity provides concrete evidence, where their existence as women is recognized for their subjectivity as female humans, because of their experiences and perceptions of the life they live. **Method**

This study aims to understand the experiences of female religious leaders in Madura in manifesting gender equality through their daily actions. Therefore, the research employs a phenomenological approach. These experiences are manifested in roles, positions, power, representation, and even in gender relation bargaining. The central issue of this study lies in how these gender equality actions are implemented in gender relations as an embodiment of gender equality. A phenomenological approach focuses on understanding and enhancing sensitivity to observed phenomena. As Husserl's concept of consciousness or knowledge suggests, human life offers multiple ways to interpret experiences by viewing them from the perspective of the subjects being studied. What appears and is perceived by female religious leaders constitutes a phenomenon. By allowing these experiences to unfold naturally, the researcher directly observes and comprehends their experiences in carrying out gender equality actions.

The primary subjects of this research are two female religious leaders who represent female religious figures in Madura. Data collection techniques include in-depth interviews, observations, and documentation. Participant observation is employed to ensure the researcher is fully immersed in the research subjects' environment. The documentation technique is used to obtain written materials such as images, photographs, company profiles, or archives. This study applies source triangulation to verify data validity by utilizing external sources beyond the existing data for cross-checking or comparison. Consequently, data collection, processing, and analysis are conducted in an integrated manner using Husserl's phenomenological steps, namely phenomenological reduction, eidetic reduction, and transcendental reduction.

¹⁴ Abd. Azis, Tamin AR, Zaini and Muksin, *Genealogi Carok Di Madura: Perspektif Psikologi Sosial*, Al-Ibrah, 5.1, 2020, h. 27–48.

¹⁵ Andang Subaharianto, (2004), *Tantangan Industrialisasi Madura: Membentur Kultur, Menjunjung Leluhur*, Malang: in Banyumedia Publishing, Malang: h. 75.

¹⁶ Tatik Hidayati, (2022), *Nyai Madura: Modal Dan Patronase Perempuan Madura*, Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD.

RESULTS

The Social Structure of Female Religious Figures in Madura

The social stratification of Madurese women is divided into three layers. The first layer consists of women who belong to the lower economic and educational strata, compelling them to undertake any type of work to sustain themselves and their families. These women represent the lower social class. Women in this category are more empowered and independent in fulfilling their economic needs, supporting themselves and their families without relying on their husbands' income. They demonstrate greater resilience by taking on whatever work is available, including hard labor. Madurese women are known for their strong endurance. As Huub de Jonge observed, women in the lowest social layer—such as fisherwomen, farmers, and housewives—often contribute to household income as an additional financial resource for daily need¹⁷. Most women in this category are from rural areas and are primarily engaged in fundamental economic activities, focusing on sustaining their families' financial stability. They dominate the real sector of the economy, particularly in traditional markets, manual labor in road construction, mining, and other industries. Women in the lower social class are accustomed to a simple lifestyle but exhibit strong obedience to *Nyai* or other female religious figures. Their fundamental form of obedience is devotion to *Nyai*, which is regarded as a manifestation of their dedication to religion. Female religious figures in Madura are regarded as *ulama*—individuals with profound religious knowledge. For the Madurese people, *ulama* are considered the heirs of the Prophet and individuals who are spiritually close to God. Thus, these religious Figures are seen as God's representatives who must be emulated.

The second social layer consists of middle-class women who have a more stable and sufficient economic standing. The existence of women in this category is not as visibly prominent, as their presence is primarily formal across economic, social, and cultural aspects. Madurese women in

this category are those who occupy pre-existing spaces, such as business owners, women employed in the formal sector or government, and full-time mothers. This second social layer is referred to as *parjaji*, a term denoting individual who are descendants of Madurese royalty from the kingdom and colonial periods. They are also known as *dbin ajuh* or raden ayu. Additionally, this category includes individuals who held mid- to high-ranking positions during the Dutch colonial administration, such as Assistant of *Wedana* (Assistant of Subdistrict Head), *Wedana Patih Kanjeng* (Regent)¹⁸.

The third social layer consists of women in the religious social stratum, who are considered religious elites and leaders, commonly referred *Nyai*, under *Nyai*'s authority is *Ning* (the daughter or female relative of *Nyai*). A *Nyai* is recognized as a religious leader (*ulama*) due to her greater mastery of Islamic knowledge compared to ordinary women. Genealogically, *Nyai* or *Ning* are descendants of *ulama*. A Madurese woman who is directly descended from an *ulama* automatically inherits elements of authority within her community. In this context, lineage plays a crucial role in positioning a woman as a religious figure in Madura. The Madurese community firmly upholds this genealogical principle, as within the construction of *Nyai*, religious knowledge alone is not considered sufficient if one does not have *ulama* ancestry. The consequence of this lineage is that female religious elites hold highly strategic and advantageous positions, as their role and status as *Nyai* establishes them as the religious elite among Madurese women.

As women in the top social strata, female religious figures are placed in a very important and central position in society, as well as figures who have power and blessing. Madurese society has its own socio-cultural values, both material and spiritual¹⁹. In some cultural riches inherited from their ancestors, they also have their own hierarchy of socio-cultural values. They are also strengthened by stability in life because of the power of their religious knowledge. Sometimes their popularity does not always depend on their husbands or *Kiyai* (*ulama* as *Nyai*'s husband), even

¹⁷ Huub de Jonge, (1989), *Madura Dalam Empat Zaman: Pedagang, Perkembangan Ekonomi, Dan Islam* Jakarta: Gramedia.

¹⁸ Ma'arif.

¹⁹ Ahmad Rifai, Mien, (2007) *Manusia Madura: Pembawaan, Perilaku, Etos Kerja, Penampilan Dan Pandangan Hidupnya, Seperti Dicitrakan Peribahasaanya*, Yogyakarta: Pilar Media.

though some of their husbands also have the same popularity, it can still work synergistically. However, they still carry out their household partnership as a couple who have obligations as wives, according to the prevailing cultural construction. Hence of, Madurese female religious figures with all their cultural tastes have their own image of what a Madurese female figure should be.

Several key factors reinforce the placement of female religious leaders within the highest social stratum in the social construct. These factors stem from their deeply rooted roles and contributions within the community, particularly in advocating for women's issues. Their leadership is reinforced through their role as leaders of religious rituals. The community is highly enthusiastic about the presence of *Nyai*, which in turn instills a sense of obligation and motivation for them to remain actively engaged with society. Moreover, the community greatly relies on *Nyai*'s religious teachings, spiritual guidance, and knowledge dissemination, especially for those who have lack of religious knowledge. Thus, the awareness that emerges among female religious leaders is that their existence is not merely about being *Nyai* as women, but rather about embodying and internalizing religious teachings through their roles. As *Nyai* NN stated, "One of the ways to help women is by educating and empowering them so that they do not remain trapped in helplessness."

From this statement, it can be understood that *Nyai* possesses an awareness of the importance of advancing and educating Muslim women in Madura, reflecting the values of feminist struggle. This is seen as an obligation for a Madurese *Nyai* to address the issues faced by Madurese women. After all, Muslim women are both supporters and active participants in preserving their own dignity, without merely imitating men²⁰. *Nyai* (female religious figure) do not rely solely on genealogical or hereditary factors to assert their status. They have cultivated religious knowledge from a young age, primarily through Islamic boarding schools, and have become educators and teachers. Even after marriage, they continue to teach, preach, lead socio-religious activities, and enhance their capacities through participation in religious organizations.

Furthermore, they actively engage in public discourse, particularly in advocating for the prevention of child marriage.

The leadership of *Nyai* as an inspiration and role model for Madurese women positioned her as a vital source of energy and social spirit in both balancing and directing a religiously grounded understanding of life. Her existence thus serves as a liberating force for Madurese women in fulfilling their socio-religious roles, while also providing significant affirmation of the socio-cultural conditions of Madurese women. *Nyai* are always open to receiving guests at their homes, offering counseling and guidance—especially to women facing personal and marital problems. The most common cases they mediate involve domestic violence (KDRT).

The Madurese community places *Nyai* in a religious leadership position that is almost equal to *Kiai*, within the context of subjective equality, due to the complexity of *Nyai*'s roles. Female religious leaders in Madura are not only responsible for leading and guiding acts of worship and religious ceremonies but also frequently serve as counselors in resolving the daily problems of the community, particularly those affecting women. They are called upon when the community faces various life events, ranging from marriage and birth rituals to funeral ceremonies, religious gatherings, economic challenges, and conflict resolution.

Community Perceptions of Female Religious Figures in Madura

The representation of female religious leaders in Madura reflects an understanding of the function of daily life, both as individuals and as integral members of society. In this context, representation refers to a system that formulates concepts about individuals and society, as it encompasses a set of knowledge used to analyze social structures. Thus, representation becomes a concept of social communication in which individuals or community members create, receive, express, and manifest these understandings in daily practices, ultimately shaping collective knowledge²¹.

The community places female religious figure at the forefront of mobilizing women to

²⁰ Kaukab Siddique, (2002), *Muslimah Berjuang Melawan Penindasan Dalam Mengugat Tuhan Yang Maskulin*, Jakarta: Paramadiana, h. 115-117.

²¹ Risa Permanadeli, (2015), *Dadi Wong Wadon Representasi Sosial Perempuan Jawa Di Era Modern* Yogyakarta: Pustaka Ifada.

participate in socio-religious activities and community development. They serve as heirs to religious institutions, whose lineage must be preserved, especially when they are also the wives of *Kiai* and descendants of Ulama. The Madurese community regards *Nyai* as a Muslim female figure with profound religious knowledge. The significance of *Nyai*'s role in religious life positions her as a role model, particularly for Madurese women.

Her figure is valued as the most respected women, above ordinary women who are not religious figures. This elevated status stems from their essential roles and positions within society. So far, Madurese society has placed its women as human beings whose safety is prioritized, guarded and protected more than their men. The important position of Madurese women is symbolized as land, earth, a source of wealth and fertility, where Madurese women are the main pillars for the survival of Madurese people, so their honor must be maintained even at the risk of their lives²².

There are several titles for female religious figures in Madura, including *Nyai*, *Ning*, and *Ustadzah*, but the most widely recognized is *Nyai*. As a representation of female religious figures, a *Nyai* possesses higher religious knowledge and practice compared to other women. This advantage fosters proficiency, independence, and flexibility in her socio-religious activities. Her competence as a female religious leader establishes a distinct social position within the community hierarchy. As a central figure, her popularity is reinforced by her charisma, genealogy, and the strength of her followers.

Generally, female religious leaders have Islamic boarding schools (pondok pesantren) or religious study groups, with similar approaches in their preaching activities. They serve as role models for their communities, where their words and actions become guidelines, particularly for women. This adherence is deeply ingrained and passed down through generations.

The internalization of this obedience is evident in the socio-cultural life of Madurese society, which adheres to a hierarchical standard of compliance toward key figures. This is reflected in

the well-known phrase *bhuppa'*, *bhabbu'*, *ghuru*, *rato*—referring to parents, teachers (religious scholars), and rulers. These figures hold the highest authority and must be obeyed²³. They are the primary figures who must be obeyed. The term *ghuru* (teacher) in this context refers to religious leaders or scholars, including *Kyai*, *Nyai*, and their descendants. Hierarchically, *ghuru* is accorded a level of reverence second only to parents, surpassing even the respect given to rulers (*rato*).

Nyai serves as a central figure for Madurese women within the socio-cultural construction, where her presence acts as a unifying force in social life and is regarded as a guardian of cultural and religious traditions. This role is deeply embedded in the cultural authority of *Nyai* in Madura, positioning her as both the preserver and regulator of the *tengka* (attitude that consist of moral value) tradition. The *tengka* tradition consists of unwritten rules or customary laws that establish proper interaction patterns within social life. It dictates how behaviors, activities, and interactions should be conducted, whether in everyday life or on a larger scale, such as in specific socio-religious rituals.

From a gender studies perspective, where equality is the primary issue to be advocated, each region has its own unique characteristics in realizing gender equality. This distinction results in variations in the application of gender equality from one region to another. Consequently, different interpretations emerge in defining gender equality within specific regional contexts, leading to a consensus that formulates an ideal concept. This ideal concept is often framed within a local context, including the ideal notion of gender equality as constructed in Madura, which integrates cultural and religious wisdom. This recognition is also reflected in their daily actions, which manifest gender equality in their relationships and interactions with others.

Forms of Equality Actions in Gender Relations

Gender equality is not universally understood, because in certain regions their own cultural patterns flow, as is the case with Madura. As an

²² Mohammad Hefni, *Perempuan Madura Diantara Pola Residensi Matrilokal Dan Kekuasaan Patriarkat*, KARSa: Jurnal Sosial Dan Budaya Keislaman, 20.2, 2013, h. 211–27.

²³ Moh Hefni, *'Bhuppa'-Bhabbu'-Ghuru-Rato (Studi Konstruktivisme-Strukturalis Tentang Hierarki Kepatuhan Dalam Budaya Masyarakat Madura)*, Karsa: Jurnal Sosial Dan Budaya Keislaman, 11.1, 2007, h. 12–20.

island that has a fairly high level of religiosity, and is supported by the strength of its local culture, Madura holds a lot of potential traditional strength that is rooted in every aspect of its people's lives, so it has its own concept and application of gender equality. Understanding gender equality on the island means understanding from within Madurese women themselves as parties who have subjectivity and awareness. How tradition, as a social sphere, gives meaning to the role of Madurese women and how women's struggles become an important part of them²⁴. In this context, it can be understood that Madurese women have a strong root in combining religious power with the depth of tradition, thus giving birth to a cultural religious movement. Various Madurese women's communities accumulated in collective activities are formed and followed by diverse social strata of Madurese Women for example in the form of *koloman*, *kompolan*, *kamrat*, even *tarekat*. Within it, they forge experience, knowledge, guidance, empowerment, and even advocacy for women, where female religious figures become controllers.

The role of religion and culture in Madurese society is very complex and varied, placing its own status, position and role on women, so that it has quite a big influence on local gender construction. Equality Gender is polarized in socio-cultural and religious life, giving birth to socio-religious polarities whose specifications differ in each region, as genealogical gender. Genealogical gender is correlated with local culture, so that each region does not have the same understanding of gender differences, and regional gender understanding is needed²⁵. Women's activities and practices reflect the relativity of their respective cultures, what is accepted in a particular area, is not necessarily accepted in another area, these mechanisms are influenced by the way the gender system operates in each Muslim community²⁶.

Likewise, there are differences in understanding gender equality in Madura. The image of Madurese women is often expressed through proverbs created by the Madurese themselves, this has been done since their predecessors and some of them are maintained to this day. It contains social principles which require politeness, civility, respect and other noble values that Madurese must have which are accumulated in the term "*humble*"²⁷.

Gender equality within the social structure of Madurese women is also reflected in the beliefs inherited from their ancestors, which do not distinguish status based on gender, particularly in relation to work ethics. Both men and women are expected to reap the rewards of their labor²⁸. Hard work is not an exclusive trait of Madurese men; women also embody this characteristic. The contextual practice of gender equality is reflected in the division of labor, which, although distributed based on sex, is perceived as fair. For instance, in the lowest social strata of Madurese society, men are responsible for plowing and tilling the fields, while women engage in weeding and planting crops. Similarly, in the fishing sector, men go out to sea, while women take charge of receiving, processing, or selling the catch in traditional markets²⁹. In this context, gender equality is understood because men and women have equal opportunities and chances at work and equally use the results of their work.

Gender relations in Madura can be interpreted in several aspects. First, there is a harmonization in the lives of Madurese women, as they often do not feel subordinated. They are accustomed to performing their roles naturally, as long as there is no turmoil or conflict. Second, Madurese women are positioned as protected individuals, their status exalted as symbols of family honor, to the extent that any disturbance toward them can lead to *carok*. Third, the cultural emphasis on respect for parents, teachers, and authorities' places women as a priority within the

²⁴ Tatik Hidayati, *Perempuan Madura antara Tradisi Dan Industrialisasi*, Karsa: Jurnal Sosial Dan Budaya Keislaman, XVI.2, 2009, h. 62–74.

²⁵ Ivan Illih, (2007), *Matinya Gender*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

²⁶ Etin Anwar, (2015), *Jati Diri Perempuan Dalam Islam*, Bandung: Mizan.

²⁷ A. Dardiri Zubairi, (2013), *Rahasia Perempuan Madura (Esai-Esai Remeh Seputar Budaya Madura)*, Surabaya: Andhap Asor.

²⁸ Zawawi Imron, (2000), *Guman-Guman Dari Dusun, Indonesia Dimata Seorang Santri* (Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah.

²⁹ Mas'udi, *Kesetaraan Suami Dan Istri Dalam Keluarga (Analisis Kesetaraan Pembagian Kerja Dalam Keluarga Madura)*, *Konseling Religi: Jurnal Bimbingan Konseling Islam*, 7.2, 2016, 19–34.

social structure. Fourth, Madurese women receive greater roles and responsibilities than men, as they are regarded as the ultimate place of return and refuge.

Action serves as an affirmation of the significance of practice over contemplation and reflection. In social life, individuals greatly influence consciousness, which in turn shapes actions. These actions possess the ability to shape and transform a person's social conditions. Actions occur within relationships, practices, and ongoing social structures. Each agent emphasizes the specialization of their roles and duties, functioning interdependently within the structure of social relations³⁰.

Mead mapped actions into four bases: stimulus, perception, manipulation, and consumption. Actions as stimuli begin with opportunities and incentives that encourage someone to act; the stimulus received is chosen according to the actor's capacity to be investigated and reacted to as manipulation of objects in taking action, thus reaching the stage of execution or consumption, resulting in actions that satisfy internal drives³¹.

This research also refers to Max Weber's theory of social action, that subjectively meaningful actions are oriented towards goals and expectations for specific actions and reasons. As Vivin Devi Prahesti's research shows, actions play a crucial role in the process of habit formation, not just as frequently performed activities but also people performing it have diverse motives and goals³².

The pursuit of gender equality among female religious figures in Madura begins with their courage and resilience in fighting for what they seek, particularly in propagating religious teachings and asserting their rights as creations of God. The practice of gender equality that has been maintained over time includes their roles as religious leaders and guides, as heads and caretakers of Islamic boarding schools, as controllers of the *tengka* tradition, as motivators

and counselors, as managers of domestic affairs, and as facilitators of public engagement.

Human actions are limited by their own creation, but subjectivists view individual actions as a natural phenomenon, driven biologically with subjective value formations. Meanwhile, John Dewey believes that actions are the result of tendencies from habits, thus becoming customs and capable of discovering one's identity. Although individuals act freely on the actions they choose, their actions are a moral obligation in accordance with moral expectations³³.

The dimension of gender equality in Madura positions women as the dignity of the family, where their existence especially that of mothers is highly revered. This principle also applies to the gender equality practiced by female religious leaders in Madura. Essentially, they acknowledge that formal leadership belongs to *Kiai*, yet much of the actual power and authority is controlled by the *Nyai*. The *Kiai* is placed as the official leader, whereas the *Nyai* acts as the regulator and decision-maker. In practice, this does not result in the domestication of women, as their role is not strictly defined by domestic boundaries but rather extends into various dimensions of social and religious life. They navigate and transcend societal barriers through their ability to exercise control and influence. This means that female religious figures in Madura are able to position themselves by always upholding the honor of their husbands as *Kiai*. However, at the same time, the influence and roles played by *Nyai* can sometimes surpass *Kiai*.

It is evident that the socio-religious function of *Nyai* as ritual leaders is widely recognized, to the extent that they also serve as leaders within *tarekat* (Sufi orders). One of the ways *Nyai* lead and guide religious practices is through the *tarekat*, where they assume the role of *mursyid* (spiritual guide). Traditionally, the position of *mursyid* in *tarekat* is exclusively associated with men, while women have generally been considered unsuitable for this role. However, in Madura, *Nyai* has been able to attain the status of *mursyid*³⁴. This phenomenon is

³⁰ Rob Stones, (2012), *Teori-Teori Tindakan Sosial, Dalam Teori Sosial Dari Klasik Sampai Postmodern (Diterjemahkan Dari: The New Blackwell Companions to Sociology)*, ed. by Bryan S. Turner, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

³¹ George Ritzer, (2014), *Modern Sociological Theory: Seven Edition, Teori Sosiologi Modern Edisi Ketujuh*, 7th edn Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group.

³² Vivin Devi Prahesti, 'Analisis Tindakan Sosial Max Weber Dalam Kebiasaan Membaca Asmaul Husna Peserta Didik Mi/Sd', *An-Nur: Jurnal Studi Islam*, 13.2, 2021, h.137–52.

³³ John Scott, (2012), *Teori Sosial Masalah-Masalah Pokok Dalam Sosiologi*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

³⁴ M Khamim, *Mursyid Perempuan Dalam Tarekat (Studi Kepemimpinan Perempuan Dalam Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah*

particularly observed in the Naqshbandi *tarekat* in Madura, where there has been a notable increase in women's awareness of their status and rights to achieve equality with men in attaining spiritual perfection and enlightenment. This awareness has led to the emergence of female *mursyid* within the Naqshbandiyah Muzhariyah *tarekat* in Madura, with notable figures such as *Nyai* Tobibah, *Nyai* Aisyah, and Syarifah Fatimah³⁵.

A clear line can be drawn that the gender equality practiced by female religious leaders in Madura is formed within their own ranks through their various roles—whether in the family, the Islamic boarding schools they manage, or within the broader community. This has led to the emergence of a power structure that operates without formal hierarchy, effectively circumventing the leadership framework of patriarchal structures. One of the notable strengths of this system is that, despite their unwavering respect for the *Kiai* within the sphere of religious authority, these female leaders still maintain significant control and influence over their domain.

Moreover, radical cultural feminists propose an idea that it would be far away better for women to embrace their womanhood fully without imitating the maleness characteristic. Furthermore, what feminist radical cultural advocated that women have their own inherent characteristic of the value of virtues that is culturally assimilated to women such as peace, empathy, community, sharing, absence of hierarchy³⁶. Some radical cultural feminist like Marilyn French perceives that the natural essence of women is a lot better than man has, thus women are capable to take the lead over man³⁷.

The gender relations established between *Nyai* and *Kiai* do not lead to counterproductive dynamics, as each strengthens the other's role in a way that unfolds naturally. However, there remains a distinct delineation between their respective roles and positions, with the prevailing perception that women operate behind the scenes

of every decision made by the *Kiai*. In reality, however, most *Kiai* entrust the early character formation of *religious pupil* entirely to *Nyai* through the medium of Islamic boarding school and religious study groups taught by ulama. This demonstrates that there are many vast and open spaces that *Nyai* can fully occupy. The collegial communication established between *Kiai* and *Nyai* is something both parties are fully aware of. As a result, both *Kiai* and *Nyai* works hand in hand as the driving forces and guides of religious activities and even cultural traditions. This mutual reinforcement of their relationship serves as a concrete manifestation of gender equality in practice.

Although Klingorová's research suggests that one of the indicators of gender equality is when women hold a higher status within a society³⁸, *Nyai* in Madura continue to maintain harmony in their roles, ensuring that their position does not diminish their husband's status. The marital relationship between *Kiai* and *Nyai* is built on mutual awareness of their respective socio-religious roles.

One of the primary orientations and motivations behind *Nyai*'s pursuit of religious knowledge in Islamic boarding school is to ultimately become a socio-religious leader. In Madura's hierarchical social structure, social leadership is the most prestigious status, and only *Kiai*, *Nyai*, and their descendants are entitled to hold such a position. The increasing presence of women in the public sphere serves as evidence of female power and authority. The foundation of gender equality among *Nyai* in Madura lies in their ability to balance their roles alongside their *Kiai* husbands, as well as their communication skills within the marriage. A *Nyai* must often travel to deliver religious teachings, as she is needed by the community, and her family fully supports her role.

This dynamic ensures that no conflict arises within the household. The significant opportunity for gender equality actions among female religious figures in Madura lies in the broadest possible use

Maḥariyah Di Madura), 2019, Thesis: UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya.

³⁵ Achmad Mulyadi, *Budaya Egalitarianisme Perempuan Madura Dalam Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah*, *Karsa: Jurnal Sosial Dan Budaya Keislaman*, 23.1, 2015, h. 150–64.

³⁶ Rosemarie Tong and Tina Fernandes Botts, (2024), *Feminist Thought: A More Comprehensive Introduction*, 6th edn New York: Routledge, h. 57.

³⁷ Marilyn French, (1985), *Beyond Power: On Women, Men, and Morals* (New York: Summit Books, h. 84.

³⁸ Kamila Klingorova and Tomáš Havlíček, *Religion and Gender Inequality: The Status of Women in the Societies of World Religions*, *Moravian Geographical Reports*, 23.2, 2015, h. 1–11.

of Islamic preaching, as a medium. By engaging with and guiding society—especially marginalized women—these figures help them understand how to navigate life. This role serves as a driving force for women's liberation, ensuring they have equal opportunities to access knowledge, a mission already undertaken by many female religious leaders in Madura.

The deeply rooted traditions and cultural structures in Madura, stemming from the strength of religious and cultural values, have shaped female religious figures into powerful leaders. They maintain their dignity as women while becoming deeply entrenched forces within the civilization and local culture of Madura. Their close connection with the community accelerates the systematic and comprehensive transformation of religious knowledge, from worship and sharia to domestic affairs, which *Nyai* communicates through the language of religion and culture.

The actions of equality performed by female Madura religious figures are actions of value rationality; actions are performed by prioritizing what is good, within reasonable limits, and considered correct by societal judgment. What is considered good according to societal judgment can stem from ethics, religion, or other sources. As Muhammad Erfan also views in his research, value-rational actions are aesthetically, ethically, and religiously consistent³⁹. Thus, the gender equality actions of female religious figures in Madura can be illustrated as follows:

Table 1. Mapping of Gender Equality Practices

The Socio-Religious Roles of Nyai	Gender Equality Practices
Islamic Boarding School, education, women's empowerment, and culture	Providing guidance and motivation to women through sermons, individual counseling, and group sessions. Conducting mobile dakwah (Islamic outreach) activities that include

empowerment programs for women.

Educating young women by ensuring equal opportunities and access to education.

Leading and regulating aspects of Madurese culture, including traditional practices such as *tangka*.

Tarekat and Religious Communities

As a *murshid*, one leads and guides the spiritual practices of.

Establishing and leading religious assemblies such as *koloman*, *kompolan*, and *kamrat*, etc.

Source: Researcher's data analysis

The active participation of *Nyai* in Islamic boarding school environment, along with their social and religious roles and public activities, has granted them religious and social authority. Their primary motivation stems from their calling to engage in Islamic preaching. Moreover, *Nyai* embodies a strong sense of emancipation, inspiring them to take on influential roles. Their enthusiasm is further fueled by the deep trust placed in them by their communities and followers. These gender equality actions are carried out harmoniously, without conflict or tension with the roles of *Kiai*. Instead of causing friction, the relationship between *Kiai* and *Nyai* demonstrates a dynamic of mutual complementarity and reinforcement.

The crucial position of female religious figures in the Islamic boarding school significantly contributes to the advancement of civilization and women's empowerment through education. *Nyai* also ensure that female students (*santri*) do not drop out of school. In their view, female students are valuable assets who will carry on religious knowledge and must be continuously empowered. These women manage the daily life in Islamic boarding school, nurture, train, and guide the students and their guardians, all while carrying out

³⁹ Muhammad Erfan, *Spirit Filantropi Islam Dalam Tindakan Sosial Rasionalitas Nilai Max Weber*, JESYA: Jurnal Ekonomi & Ekonomi Syari'ah, 4.1, 2021, h. 54–64.

their major roles as female ulama⁴⁰. The leadership of *Nyai* in Islamic boarding school has existed for a long time, demonstrating an awareness of gender equality. Their fundamental assumption is that the most critical aspect to fight for is the opportunity and chance to uphold religious and traditional values. Meanwhile, religious and cultural traditions are not demands or movements, but rather a practice of equality based on knowledge and experience.

The role construction of *Nyai* in shaping students' character establishes them as key agents in the successful transmission of religious and cultural values in Madurese society. This allows them to act more freely as subjects of empowerment within the framework of religion and culture. Their success in carrying out their roles lies in their lifelong dedication to religious struggles and traditional values, which have been passed down consistently from generation to generation. Every child born in Madura typically begins their education as a religious pupil in a langgar (small prayer house), starting with learning the Arabic letter *alif* (one of an alphabet in Arabic language) and progressing further. *Nyai* plays crucial role in shaping Madurese society, as they are direct sources of knowledge.

Female religious figures in Madura are not only leaders and guides in acts of worship and religious rituals but are also often called upon to resolve social conflicts, community disputes, and household problems, especially those involving women, as stated by *Nyai HR*:

“Almost every day, this room is visited by members of the community, especially married women, who come with various problems involving their spouses. I try my best to offer them wise solutions.”

Their role becomes deeply rooted in society as their presence, advice, and solutions are believed to bring peace and blessings. Although *Nyai* is often associated with traditional women, their existence remains irreplaceable. Gender equality is not only gasped to gain access, participation, control and benefits, but how someone gets or uses resources, engages in activities and decision making, possesses the ability

and power in a particular area, and maximizes the fullest potential⁴¹.

These female religious figures do not remain passive; they have actively engaged in various efforts. For them, their activities and roles are not a violation of women's natural duties but rather an obligation as individuals with religious knowledge to disseminate it. In their view, as long as their actions align with the proper functions of humanity, particularly in the pursuit of Islamic preaching, they do not contradict the nature of women. This perspective was expressed by *Nyai* during interviews, “As a religious leader, I see it as my duty to bring benefit and empowerment, particularly for Madurese women.”emphasizing that gender equality should serve humanity, allowing them more freedom in their actions.

For most *Nyai*, the struggle for women's progress involves their active participation in making meaningful contributions to fulfilling their human responsibilities. In contrast, women's passivity raises questions about their existence when they fail to function as human beings. This perspective explains their roles, as they serve as both driving forces and role models, inspiring and motivating their fellow women. As a result, they gain support and become the reference point for daily activities. *Nyai* does not feel subordinated in fulfilling their religious and social roles, as their fundamental principle is to ensure that they are not oppressed in their positions, making demands for equality unnecessary.

These statements highlight that *Nyai* actively transforms Islamic feminist values by creating opportunities for Madurese women to access knowledge, which is a fundamental human right. With full awareness, they passionately practice Islamic values through teaching, religious education, women's empowerment, and social sensitivity. These efforts serve as concrete steps to accommodate their subjectivity as women living amid the strong presence of Islamic rituals, Madurese traditions, and patriarchal dominance. They continuously seek opportunities to contribute to moral guidance and the expansion of knowledge among their communities and

⁴⁰ Mohammad Takdir, *Kiprah Ulama Perempuan Nyai Hj. Makkiyah As'ad Dalam Membentengi Moralitas Umat Di Pamekasan Madura*, 'Anil Islam, 8.1, 2015, h. 72–97.

⁴¹ Yurisna Tanjung and others, (2024), *Kesetaraan Dan Keadilan Gender Dalam Keluarga, Kesetaraan Dan Keadilan Gender Dalam Keluarga*, 1st edn, Medan: UMSU Press.

students, even though *syi'ir* (Madurese Islamic poetry)⁴².

Although Madurese female religious figures exist within a patriarchal society, as described by many researchers, there are unexplored aspects of their experiences. They strive to build self-awareness and encourage others toward gender equality without confrontation. The patriarchal space is often associated with the domestic sphere, which involves concrete sociological categories linked to everyday life. The domestic domain is a crucial component of the social system, frequently interpreted as household-related tasks associated with servitude and hierarchical structures.

The perception that women predominantly manage domestic affairs is undeniable and often extends to the concept of domestication. This assumption leads to an understanding that the domestic sphere serves as an institution where patriarchy operates and subordinates women. Subordination places women in seemingly unimportant positions, requiring external assistance. However, this does not apply to the domestic sphere of Madurese female religious figures. In Madurese society, the domestic domain is where the foundation of life is cultivated, containing various sources of devotion that generate strength.

For *Nyai*, there is a sense of satisfaction in managing domestic affairs, as it is an integral part of their world that they do not wish to separate from. The domestic sphere is a strategic space for self-actualization and a source of women's happiness. It is a foundation of prosperity, encompassing more than just the kitchen, bedroom, and home. It also involves skills in managing social dynamics and mobilizing communities toward social order. Many traditions led by *Nyai* originates in the domestic sphere.

Nyai arranges their domestic space so that it can also serve as a place to welcome guests, whether they are guardians of students or members of the wider community seeking religious guidance. From this domestic space, *Nyai* manages and controls their public engagements, forming a social unit that strengthens the overall social system. The assumption is that the domestic domain represents fundamental knowledge and experience that enable women to understand and

define their lives as a means of self-fulfillment. The domestic sphere is the foundation for engaging in the public sphere, and women control this realm. Therefore, in Madurese society, domestic responsibilities serve as the fundamental stage for public engagement. The prevailing belief is that success in the public sphere is meaningless if domestic responsibilities are neglected.

As active social beings, Madurese female religious leaders possess a strong sense of identity, in which women hold a primary role in domestic affairs while also opening spaces for public engagement. The strict dichotomy between the public and domestic spheres often limits women's potential in social activities. Success in the public sphere is frequently viewed negatively when it is perceived to contradict women's primary domestic roles. This phenomenon forces women to adopt dual roles, meaning they must still fulfill domestic duties while being active in the public sphere. However, these dual roles do not marginalize female religious figures, as their involvement in the domestic sphere is not a form of oppression or subordination. Instead, their roles differ from those of ordinary women. In practical terms, they are supported by voluntary assistance from aides, students, or trusted associates.

The independence and autonomy of *Nyai* in their roles as women and wives reflect their success in interpreting the traditions and cultures prevailing in their society. They do not need an open platform to assert their existence; rather, their intelligence lies in acting without violating traditions and cultural norms. Even within private spaces, *Nyai* transcend their immediate surroundings, emerging as figures who maintain close and intimate connections with their communities.

Conclusion

Madurese female religious figures are usually called '*Nyai*', they are agents who contribute to building and strengthening the order of Islamic society in Madura. Even though they were born and developed in an environment of patriarchal domination, most of them are able to exist to achieve equality in their lives. They take an important role in getting opportunities and

⁴² H Masyhuri, *Naskah Syiir Nyai Madura (Studi Atas Naskah Syiir " Berbahasa Madura " Nyai Pondok Pesantren*

Annuqayah Guluk-Guluk Sumenep Jawa Timur), JPIK, 1.2, 2018, h. 383–401.

opportunities, especially those related to social and religious affairs.

They created a solid foundation by establishing, teaching, nurturing and leading Islamic boarding schools, actively giving lectures, leading many event assemblies and also a series of other social and religious activities. Each of them has advantages in the way they carry out all religious social roles and activities. Efforts to build equal gender relations are demonstrated by its success in protecting women who are less empowered. In the midst of the dual role, they play in the domestic and public spheres, there are concrete actions to bring women into respected positions, by opening up educational opportunities for Madurese women so that the number of female students in formal education is equal to that of male students. What they do is a form of abandoning the patriarchal perspective, and is a feminist strategy that is process-oriented by strengthening women to be themselves and strengthening human-human relationships.

Madurese female religious leaders are also the controllers of Madurese traditions, where Madura is very strong in the local culture inherited from their predecessors. They intensely develop local culture which has been taught from generation to generation with religious values. This is part of efforts towards gender equality which is realized through actions that take place in the local context with various compromises towards Madurese culture. This existence then fosters a balanced understanding of relationships. Madurese female religious figures build gender equality by not creating *essence* which is the same between men and women, but leads to ideal agreement and understanding, thus giving birth to the ideal concept. This ideal concept uses a local context, because it contains cultural and religious wisdom.

Reference

Books

- Anwar, Etin, (2017), *Jati Diri Perempuan Dalam Islam*, Bandung: Mizan.
- Hidayati, Tatik, (2022), *Nyai Madura: Modal Dan Patronase Perempuan Madura* (Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD).
- French, Marilyn, (1985), *Beyond Power: On Women, Men, and Morals*, New York: Summit Books.

- Ivan Illih, (2007), *Matinya Gender*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Jonge, Huub de, (1989), *Madura Dalam Empat Zaman: Pedagang, Perkembangan Ekonomi, Dan Islam*, Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Ma'arif, Samsul, (2015), *The History Of Madura: Sejarah Panjang Madura Dari Kerajaan, Kolonialisme Sampai Kemerdekaan*, Yogyakarta: Araska.
- Permanadeli, Risa, (2015), *Dadi Wong Wadon Representasi Sosial Perempuan Jawa Di Era Modern*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Ifada.
- Raditya, Ardhie, (2014), *Sosiologi Tubuh, Membentang Teori Di Ranah Aplikasi*, Yogyakarta: Kaukaba Dipantara.
- Rahmawati, Nur, (2023), *Kesetaraan Gender Dalam Tafsir Al-Mishbâh (Antara Teori Konflik Sosial Dan Teori Struktural Fungsional)*, ed. by Abdul Muid, Jakarta: Publica Indonesia Utama.
- Rifai, Mien, Ahmad, (2007), *Manusia Madura: Pembawaan, Perilaku, Etos Kerja, Penampilan Dan Pandangan Hidupnya, Seperti Dicitrakan Peribahasannya*, Yogyakarta: Pilar Media.
- Ritzer, George, (2014), *Modern Sociological Theory: Seven Edition, Teori Sosiologi Modern Edisi Ketujuh*, 7th edn, Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group.
- Scott, John, (2012), *Teori Sosial Masalah-Masalah Pokok Dalam Sosiologi*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Siddique, Kaukab, (2002), *Muslimah Berjuang Melawan Penindasan Dalam Menggugat Tuhan Yang Maskulin*, Jakarta: Paramadiana.
- Stones, Rob, (2012), *Teori-Teori Tindakan Sosial, Dalam Teori Sosial Dari Klasik Sampai Postmodern (Diterjemahkan Dari: The New Blackwell Companions to Sociology)*, ed. by Bryan S. Turner Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Subaharianto, Andang, (2004), *Tantangan Industrialisasi Madura: Membentur Kultur, Menjunjung Leluhur*, in *Banyumedia Publishing*, Malang: Banyumedia Publishing.
- Tanjung, Yurisna and others, (2024), *Kesetaraan Dan Keadilan Gender Dalam Keluarga, Kesetaraan Dan Keadilan Gender Dalam Keluarga*, 1st edn, Medan: UMSU Press.
- Tong, Rosemarie, Tina Fernandes Botts, (2024), *Feminist Thought: A More Comprehensive Introduction*, 6th edn, New York: Routledge.

Zawawi Imron, (2000), *Guman-Guman Dari Dusun, Indonesia Dimata Seorang Santri*, Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah.

Zubairi, A. Dardiri, (2013), *Rahasia Perempuan Madura (Esai-Esai Remeh Seputar Budaya Madura)*, Surabaya: Andhap Asor.

Article

Audina, Dhea, Januastasya, 'Kesetaraan Gender Dalam Perspektif Hak Asasi Manusia', *Nomos: Jurnal Penelitian Ilmu Hukum*, 2, 2022, h. 148 – 154.

Azis, Abd, Tamin AR, Zaini and Muksin, *Genealogi Carok Di Madura: Perspektif Psikologi Sosial*, *Al-Ibrah*, 5, 2020, h. 27–48.

Erfan, Muhammad, *Spirit Filantropi Islam Dalam Tindakan Sosial Rasionalitas Nilai Max Weber*, *JESYA: Jurnal Ekonomi & Ekonomi Syari'ah*, 4, 2021, h. 54–64.

Ete, Elizabeth, Veronica, Imel Mega Puspita, Ely Sabet, Resqi Heppi Sallalu, Amanda, Julianti Putri I, Amandha and Eka Ramadhani, Ullan, *Gender Dan Konstruksi Perempuan Dalam Agama* "Pentingnya Kesetaraan Gender Untuk Penghapusan Sistem Patriarki, *Moderasi: Jurnal Kajian Islam Kontemporer*, 1, 2023, h. 1–25.

French, Marilyn, (1985), *Beyond Power: On Women, Men, and Morals*, New York: Summit Books.

Hakiemah, Ainun, *Kesetaraan Gender Dalam Pandangan Asghar Ali Engineer: Interpretasi Antara Teks Keagamaan Dan Konteks Sosial*, *Jurnal Mafatih: Jurnal Ilmu Al-Qur'An Dan Tafsir*, 2, 2022, h. 17–32.

Haliza, Luthfia, Rahma and Ergina Faralita, *Budaya Patriarki Dan Kesetaraan Gender*, *Wasaka Hukum: Jendela Informasi & Gagasan Hukum*, 11, 2023, h. 19–32.

Hefni, Moh, 'Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato (*Studi Konstruktivisme-Strukturalis Tentang Hierarki Kepatuhan Dalam Budaya Masyarakat Madura*)', *Karsa: Jurnal Sosial Dan Budaya Keislaman*, 11, 2007, h. 12–20.

Hefni, Mohammad, 'Perempuan Madura Diantara Pola Residensi Matrilokal Dan Kekuasaan Patriarkat', *KARSA: Jurnal Sosial Dan Budaya Keislaman*, 20, 2013, h. 211–27.

Hidayah, *Keistimewaan Perempuan Dalam Al-Quran Surah An-Nisa'*, *Al-Munqidz: Jurnal Kajian Keislaman*, 9, 2021, h. 113–26.

Hidayati, Tatik, *Perempuan Madura antara Tradisi Dan*

Industrialisasi, *Karsa: Jurnal Sosial Dan Budaya Keislaman*, XVI, 2009, h. 62–74.

Khamim, M, 'Mursyid Perempuan Dalam Tarekat (*Studi Kepemimpinan Perempuan Dalam Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah Mazhariyah Di Madura*)', 2019, Thesis: UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya.

Klingorová, Kamila and Tomáš Havlíček, 'Religion and Gender Inequality: The Status of Women in the Societies of World Religions', *Moravian Geographical Reports*, 23, 2015, h. 2–11 <<https://doi.org/10.1515/mgr-2015-0006>>

Klingorova, Kamila and Tomáš Havlicek, 'Religion and Gender Inequality: The Status of Women in the Societies of World Religions', *Moravian Geographical Reports*, 23, 2015, h. 1–11.

Kumari, Fatrawati, *Kesetaraan Gender Dalam Agama-Agama: Analisis Filsafat Taoisme-Islam Sachiko Murata*, Mu'adalah: Jurnal Studi Gender Dan Anak, 10, 2022, h. 65–77.

Mas'udi, 'Kesetaraan Suami Dan Istri Dalam Keluarga (*Analisis Kesetaraan Pembagian Kerja Dalam Keluarga Madura*)', *Konseling Religi: Jurnal Bimbingan Konseling Islam*, 7, 2016, h. 19–34.

Masyhuri, H, *Naskah Syiir Nyai Madura (Studi Atas Naskah Syiir " Berbahasa Madura " Nyai Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah Guluk-Guluk Sumenep Jawa Timur)*, *JPIK*, 1, 2018, h. 383–401.

Mulyadi, Achmad, 'Budaya Egalitarianisme Perempuan Madura Dalam Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah', *Karsa: Jurnal Sosial Dan Budaya Keislaman*, 23, 2015, h. 150–64.

Prahesti, Vivin Devi, 'Analisis Tindakan Sosial Max Weber Dalam Kebiasaan Membaca Asmaul Husna Peserta Didik Mi/Sd', *An-Nur: Jurnal Studi Islam*, 13 (2021), 137–52

Rahmayanty, Dinny, Novitri Wulandari, M Reza Pratama and Natalia Putri, 'Ketidaksetaraan Gender Dalam Sistem Patrilineal', *Innovative: Journal Of Social Science Research*, 3, 2023, h. 13–22

Soleman, Idi, *Pancasila, Kesetaraan Gender, Dan Perempuan Indonesia*, *Pancasila*, 3, 2023, h. 215–27.

Sulistyowati, Yuni, *Kesetaraan Gender Dalam Lingkup Pendidikan Dan Tata Sosial*, *Ijouds: Indonesian Journal of Gender Studies*, 1,

2020, h. 1–14.

Takdir, Mohammad, *Kiprah Ulama Perempuan Nyai
Hj. Makkiyah As'ad Dalam Membentengi*

Moralitas Umat Di Pamekasan Madura, 'Anil
Islam, 8, 2015, h. 72–97.