

Representation of Muslimat PSM (Pesantren Sabilil Muttaqien) as a Muslim Women's Movement After The PKI Resistance in Madiun, East Java

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Abstract : *This study examines the representation of Muslim women in Pesantren Sabilil Muttaqien (PSM) as a form of Muslim women's movement following the PKI resistance in Madiun, East Java, in 1948. The objective is to understand how PSM shaped female religious identity and leadership in the post-conflict socio-political context. Using a qualitative historical approach, the research draws upon archival documents, oral histories, and relevant literature to trace the pesantren's role in empowering women. The findings reveal that PSM served as both an educational and socio-political platform, enabling women to engage in religious scholarship, community organization, and moral reconstruction. This representation challenged prevailing gender norms while reinforcing Islamic values in a turbulent political era. The study contributes to the historiography of Indonesian Islamic movements by highlighting the overlooked agency of Muslim women in pesantren-based activism. It also offers a nuanced perspective on the intersection between religious education, gender, and politics in pesantren.*

Keywords : *pesantren, representation, women movement, Madiun*

Abstrak : Penelitian ini mengkaji representasi perempuan Muslim di Pesantren Sabilil Muttaqien (PSM) sebagai bentuk gerakan perempuan Muslim pasca-perlawanan PKI di Madiun, Jawa Timur, pada tahun 1948. Tujuannya adalah untuk memahami bagaimana PSM membentuk identitas keagamaan dan kepemimpinan perempuan dalam konteks sosio-politik pasca-konflik. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan sejarah kualitatif, penelitian ini memanfaatkan dokumen arsip, sejarah lisan, dan literatur terkait untuk melacak peran pesantren dalam memberdayakan perempuan. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa PSM berfungsi sebagai platform pendidikan dan sosio-politik, yang memungkinkan perempuan untuk terlibat dalam studi keagamaan, organisasi masyarakat, dan rekonstruksi moral. Representasi ini menantang norma-norma gender yang berlaku sekaligus memperkuat nilai-nilai Islam di era politik yang penuh gejolak. Studi ini berkontribusi pada historiografi gerakan Islam Indonesia dengan menyoroti peran aktif perempuan Muslim yang sering terabaikan dalam aktivisme berbasis pesantren. Studi ini juga menawarkan perspektif yang lebih mendalam mengenai persimpangan antara pendidikan keagamaan, gender, dan politik di pesantren.

Kata Kunci : pesantren, representasi, pergerakan wanita, Madiun

INTRODUCTION

Pesantren is widely recognized as an Islamic educational institution that is comprehensive in nature and possesses distinct characteristics. This means that all dimensions of human potential intellectual and spiritual, emotional and volitional, as well as physical and moral—are cultivated through various forms of Islamic educational media that are intentionally designed in an integrated manner to achieve holistic learning objectives (Astuti et al., 2021). Pesantren has made significant contributions to the formation and preservation of Indonesia's social, cultural, and even political life. However, in its involvement in political affairs, the pesantren primarily carries the intention and purpose of preserving and disseminating Islamic values within society. As a result, political engagement is not the central focus of pesantren, as its main mission remains the advancement of Islamic teaching and da'wah (Dhofier, 2011).

Life in a pesantren fundamentally revolves around the presence of the kyai and the santri. In addition, long-standing traditions of religious instruction and the availability of physical facilities—such as buildings used to conduct various activities throughout the day—constitute essential elements of pesantren life (Muhakamurrohman, 1970). Nevertheless, the kyai is widely regarded as the most crucial component within the pesantren structure. This is because the kyai carries multiple responsibilities, serving not only as a central religious teacher but also as a successor, administrator, leader, role model, and source of guidance for the students (Dhofier, 2011). In practice, however, the elements that shape the pesantren environment continue to give rise to disparities related to gender issues. These disparities are evident, for example, in the allocation of leadership roles, supervisory positions, administrative duties, and teaching responsibilities.

These issues give rise to various arguments concerning the position and roles of men and women. For example, in the social interactions within pesantren culture, women are often portrayed as beings with lower intellectual capacity and agility compared to men (Efendi, 2018). This perception places women, particularly those who hold the position of Nyai, in a dilemmatic and contested situation when they assume leadership roles within a pesantren. The challenges become even more pronounced when a Nyai is also involved in political activities.

When Indonesia's political situation intensified during the PKI uprising in Madiun in 1948, many religious figures—including santri and kyai—from Pesantren Sabilil Muttaqien (PSM) Tekaran, Magetan, were killed, and their whereabouts remain unknown to this day. The pesantren, which had previously been highly active in conducting Islamic preaching and scholarly activities in East Java, suddenly fell into a state of "silence," likened to chicks that have lost their mother. Its location near the city of Madiun made the pesantren a primary target of the PKI resistance, whose ideology stood in stark opposition to Islamic values.

Pesantren Sabilil Muttaqien (PSM), located in the easternmost district of Magetan Regency, was once led by Nyai Hj. Siti Fauziyah, who succeeded her brother, K.H. Imam Mursyid Muttaqien. She assumed leadership under urgent circumstances following a leadership vacuum that emerged after the PKI uprising in Madiun. In her efforts to negotiate her role and participate in the community as a leader, she established a women's organization called Muslimat PSM. Nyai Hj. Siti Fauziyah subsequently undertook structural reforms and development across various sectors to sustain the pesantren. This clearly demonstrates that an ideal pesantren does not necessarily have to be led by, nor dependent upon, men.

RESEARCH METHODE

This research begins with a gender-based approach, grounded in an understanding of the concepts of gender and sex, which are often misunderstood by the public. Gender is defined as a

social construct created by humans to standardize traits, roles, functions, and characteristics. When interpreted rigidly and absolutized, such standardization can generate forms of injustice, particularly affecting vulnerable sexual groups, namely women. Gender, therefore, refers to a social construction shaped by cultural values and community customs. Conceptually, gender relates to the distinctive attributes assigned to men and women, which then become general markers. For example, femininity is commonly portrayed as gentle, nurturing, and emotional, in contrast to masculinity, which is associated with individuals who are decisive, agile leaders, rational, and willing to take risks (Fakih, 2013).

In fact, society tends to construct norms that weaken the roles and functions of women by placing them in a secondary position relative to men. In contrast, the concept of sex refers to natural, biological markers manifested through the physical characteristics possessed by both men and women. Sex is inherent, divinely endowed, non-interchangeable, and permanent. The concept of sex, or biological sex, can be identified through physical attributes assigned to each sex since birth. For example, women are endowed with a reproductive system that differs from that of men (Fakih, 2013).

This study is supported by Hildred Geertz's theoretical framework, which emphasizes the existence of determining factors that play a significant role in shaping gendered power relations (Agustin, 2020). In her research in a community she referred to as Mojokuto, Geertz highlights the figure of the *Somah* as the most influential actor within the primary structural unit of the family. She identifies several characteristics of Javanese kinship systems; however, she underscores two main features.

The first is bilaterality, meaning that lineage is traced equally through both the father's (paternal) and the mother's (maternal) lines. In matters of inheritance, if there are two siblings of different sexes, both are entitled to an equal share of their parents' property. Nevertheless, certain customary practices continue to privilege the paternal line, often reinforced by religious arguments interpreted solely in a textual and literal manner.

The second characteristic centers on the secondary line of kinship, which is marked by a supplementary matrifocal pattern that highlights the strength of bonds and the sense of solidarity among family members. This expression of solidarity within the marital kin network indicates that Javanese family structures encompass various relational models. Consequently, these solidaristic ties are not limited to interactions within the nuclear family but also extend to close relationships among other married couples within the broader kinship circle.

The term matrifocal is therefore not merely a descriptor of characteristics found within the primary structural unit; it also points to a wider societal role structure. This is especially relevant to systems of social hierarchy, and even to political and religious domains. Thus, regardless of the significance of an adult male's role within his own family, he must still contend with the broader societal structure. In general, this societal system relies on sex-based criteria as the primary determinant for gaining access to high-ranking positions. The extent to which a man fulfills the expectations of masculinity directly influences the degree of strategic roles he can assume within the social system.

There are at least five pull factors that motivate women to participate more actively in public life. First, the advancement of household technologies has enabled domestic responsibilities to be managed more efficiently. Second, the increasing availability of factory-produced instant goods has further supported women in carrying out household tasks. Third, there is a growing trend among certain segments of society to limit family size. Fourth, many women aspire to develop their skills in order to improve their quality of life. Fifth, women are experiencing a heightened awareness of

the need for personal and social change (Sudaryono, 2014). These factors collectively contribute to the rising percentage of women who are active in the public sphere and who occupy strategic positions. This theoretical explanation also reinforces Geertz's earlier observations that gender within Javanese social structures is composed in a complex manner. Although Javanese culture and society are often characterized as highly patriarchal, in sociological practice gender constructions are not the sole determinants of social roles (Dzuhariyatin, 2015).

The highest position held by Nyai Hj. Siti Fauziyah as the leader of Pesantren Sabilil Muttaqien (PSM) placed her as a highly respected central figure. She succeeded her elder brother, who had earlier assumed their father's role in leading the pesantren. The leadership succession pattern observed in previous generations demonstrates a strongly patriarchal model; since the establishment of the pesantren, its leaders had always been male family members appointed through hereditary lines. The emergence of Nyai Hj. Siti Fauziyah as the pesantren's leader further illustrates the complex nature of gender constructions within Javanese society. Although her appointment resulted from an emergency situation caused by a leadership vacuum after the PKI uprising in Madiun, she nevertheless succeeded in sustaining and advancing the pesantren across various sectors, including in women's empowerment through the establishment and development of Muslimat PSM.

Religious-based movements that develop strong mass constituencies are often associated—whether directly or indirectly—with political interests. This is due to shared visions, missions, identities, or even ideologies. Such ideas, values, and beliefs are frequently employed as instruments to legitimize power. Conflict theory suggests that social change emerges out of conflict, which ultimately leads to shifts in positions and power relations (Fakih, 2013). For example, organizations such as Muslimat NU and Aisyiyah, both of which were born from socio-religious movements, illustrate this dynamic. It can be argued that religious values themselves serve as driving forces behind the emergence of women's social movements, which in turn bring women into closer engagement with the political sphere.

This study employs a qualitative research design. Qualitative research is conducted to understand cases or social phenomena from the perspectives of the participants involved in those phenomena (Siyoto & Sodik, 2015). Data collection techniques include observation, interviews, documentation, and triangulation, or a combination of these methods (Sugiyono, 2023). Data constitute empirical findings collected by researchers as the basis for answering research questions or resolving problems addressed in the study. Based on their sources, data are classified into two types (Siyoto & Sodik, 2015). First, primary data, which are obtained directly from the data sources or participants involved in the research. The methods used to collect primary data include direct observation, interviews, and focused discussions related to the research object. Second, secondary data, which are gathered from sources other than the research participants, such as books, reports, or scholarly journals. Secondary data are also referred to as indirect data because they are not obtained directly from the research subjects.

The data collection techniques employed in this study include the following. First, observation, which involves gathering data by systematically observing and recording phenomena related to the research object (Ahyyar et al., 2020). The researcher conducted observations both online—through the official website of the pesantren—and through direct observation at the pesantren. Second, interviews, carried out by two individuals to exchange information and ideas through a question-and-answer process focused on specific topics. At this stage, the researcher conducted interviews with several relevant parties who are involved in or knowledgeable about the history and development of Muslimat PSM (Sugiyono, 2023). Third, documentation, which

involves collecting information related to the research variables, including notes, recordings, photographs, books, newspapers, and other relevant materials.

The data analysis techniques in this study were carried out before entering the field, during fieldwork, and after completing field activities. Pre-field analysis was conducted through preliminary research by reviewing previous studies and collecting secondary data from websites and other online sources. This stage enabled the researcher to determine and refine the focus of the study. According to Miles and Huberman, after collecting data in the field through interviews, observations, and documentation, researchers must undertake three stages of data analysis. First, data reduction, which involves summarizing, selecting, and focusing on the data obtained so that it aligns with the objectives of the study. To facilitate this process, researchers may code or classify the data into specific categories. Second, data presentation, conducted after the data reduction stage is completed. At this point, the researcher organizes the data in forms such as tables, charts, diagrams, or other visual models. This presentation helps structure the data into coherent patterns, making it easier to interpret. In qualitative research, narrative forms of data presentation are also commonly used. Third, data verification, which involves drawing preliminary conclusions that are still tentative. These initial conclusions may change if new findings emerge during subsequent data collection. However, if no new data appear and the conclusions are supported by valid and consistent evidence, then the conclusions can be considered credible.

This activity is carried out to examine whether the data obtained are valid. Methodologically, this stage functions as a process of securing confirmation to strengthen the theoretical and interpretative rigor of qualitative research. In this study, the researcher employs the method of triangulation, which refers to the verification of data through varied sources, techniques, and timing. Source Triangulation is conducted by checking the collected data against different sources. Through this process, the data can be described and classified into those that are consistent and those that are not. This procedure enables the formulation of conclusions that are mutually agreed upon after a comprehensive analysis. Technical Triangulation is carried out by tracing the validity of the data through multiple techniques. For example, an in-depth interview may be conducted with a particular informant, followed by verification of the information through observation or documentation, and vice versa. If discrepancies still appear, the researcher may engage in further discussion with the informant to obtain more accurate and valid data. Time Triangulation is conducted by rechecking the data obtained from informants using the same technique but at different times. If the results remain inconsistent, the researcher may repeat the process several times until data certainty is achieved (Sugiyono, 2023).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A Concise Historical Overview Of Pesantren Sabilil Muttaqien (PSM)

The Takeran Islamic boarding school, commonly known as Pesantren Takeran, was established in 1303 H by Kyai Hasan in Takeran, which at that time was part of the Madiun region. The institution was later led and developed by the late Kyai Haji Muhammad Ilyas. Around 1317 H, Kyai Haji Muhammad Ilyas passed away or stepped down from his position, and leadership was subsequently taken over by the late Kyai Imam Tafsir and Kyai Muhammad Zaid. Furthermore, around 1337 H, Kyai Hasan Ulama passed away, after which the pesantren was led by Kyai Haji Imam Muttaqien, son of Kyai Hasan Ulama, assisted by the late Kyai Imam Tafsir, Kyai Muhammad Zaid, and Kyai Muhammad Oemar, also a son of Kyai Hasan Ulama (Majelis Pimpinan Pusat Pesantren Sabilil Muttaqien, 2003).

The leadership structure of Pesantren Takeran underwent significant changes following the passing of KH. Imam Muttaqien, son of Kyai Hasan Ulama, in 1355 H. Subsequently, the Pesantren Takeran Leadership Council (Majelis Pimpinan Pesantren Takeran) was established through the efforts of Kyai Imam Mursyid Muttaqien, son of Kyai Haji Imam Muttaqien. The Leadership Council consisted of the following members:

1. Alm. Kyai Imam Abu Syukur (Grand Imam of Masjid Jami' Muttaqien).
2. Kyai Muhammad Umar bin Kyai Hasan Ulama' Khatib of Pesantren Takeran Mosque and teacher of Ilmu Nahwu (Arabic grammar).
3. Kyai Imam Mursyid Muttaqien Preacher (muballigh) and General Leader of Pesantren Takeran.
4. Kyai Arwachun bin Kyai Imam Tafsir Second Imam of Pesantren Takeran Mosque and teacher of Ilmu Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence).
5. Kyai Muhammad Noor bin Kyai Imam Abu Syukur Salim (Administrator (lurah) of Pesantren Takeran and teacher of fiqh and tarikh (Islamic history).

Further adjustments were made to the composition of the Pesantren Takeran Leadership Council. Several new members were added to the Council, including Imam Faham, who had served as a general teacher at Pesantren Takeran since 1358 H (1938 CE) (Majelis Pimpinan Pusat Pesantren Sabilil Muttaqien, 2003). In 1363 H, following the passing of Imam Abu Syukur Salim, his position as Rais Akbar (Grand Chairperson) was succeeded by Kyai Muhammad Oemar, who was appointed as the new Rais Akbar of Pesantren Takeran. Meanwhile, Kyai Imam Mursyid Muttaqien, son of Kyai Imam Muttaqien, was appointed as Mudir (General Director) of Pesantren Takeran while concurrently serving as the Vice-Rais Akbar (Majelis Pimpinan Pusat Pesantren Sabilil Muttaqien, 2003).

The renaming of Pesantren Takeran to Pesantren Sabilil Muttaqien (PSM) took place on 9 Shawwal 1358 H, marked by the establishment of the Majelis Ma'arif (Council of Teaching). The council consisted of the kyai and ustadz (teachers) of Pesantren Takeran, with Kyai Imam Mursyid Muttaqien appointed as its chair. Among the policies introduced by the Majelis Ma'arif was the restructuring of Pesantren Takeran into:

1. The traditional section, in which instruction was delivered using classical or conventional methods such as weton, sorongan, and other similar approaches.
2. The new section, referred to as the madrasah section, in which instruction was conducted through a classical classroom system similar to general schooling.
3. Another new component consisted of divisions organized according to the students' age levels and their academic abilities.
4. As of 9 Shawwal 1362 H, or more precisely 16 September 1943 CE, the adoption of the new name did not in any way alter the foundational principles or objectives of Pesantren Takeran.

The Sabilil Muttaqien Islamic Boarding School (Pesantren Sabilil Muttaqien, PSM) was originally known as Pesantren Takeran, a centrally oriented boarding school that employed a purely traditional pondok-based instructional model. Pesantren Takeran was founded by Kyai Hasan Ulama', a scholar of Sufism, with the assistance of Kyai Moh. Ilyas in 1880 CE / 1303 H.

Kyai Hasan Ulama' was the son of Kyai Kholifah and served as a spiritual advisor to the soldiers of Prince Diponegoro who fled eastward to Bogem Village, Sampung, Ponorogo, during the years 1825–1830 CE. After the passing of Kyai Kholifah, Kyai Hasan Ulama' left Bogem for Takeran, having previously resided temporarily in Tegalrejo Village to further his religious studies. Upon feeling that he had sufficiently deepened his knowledge, he moved to Takeran and initiated the

establishment of a traditional pondok-style pesantren. He also played a transformative role in reshaping the local community—previously untouched by moral and religious values—into an environment characterized by strong Islamic norms. This transformation was evident in the cultural practices that emerged and developed within the community, as well as in the establishment of prayer houses (*langgar/surau*) in various locations, many of which were founded by his students.

The growth of Pondok Pesantren Takeran continued to progress until the passing of Kyai Hasan Ulama' in 1914 CE / 1337 H. The continuity of the pesantren was then carried forward by his sons, who had been educated under the leadership of KH. Imam Muttaqien, the eldest son of Kyai Hasan Ulama'. During his leadership, KH. Imam Muttaqien maintained and continued the same teachings established by Kyai Hasan Ulama'. Following the death of KH. Imam Muttaqien in 1936, his son, Kyai Imam Mursyid Muttaqien, initiated a reform of the existing system and introduced a new model of pesantren leadership.

After undergoing several stages of in-depth and substantive deliberation, Kyai Imam Mursyid Muttaqien conceptually developed a method for advancing the pesantren through an institutional system structured under an organizational framework named Pesantren Sabilil Muttaqien. This new system was formally ratified in a grand assembly held at the Jami Mosque of Pondok Pesantren Takeran on 16 September 1943 CE / 9 Shawwal 1362 H. During this assembly, a proclamation was declared, affirming the official establishment of the new leadership structure of the Pesantren.

During the grand assembly, Kyai Imam Mursyid Muttaqien initiated the establishment of an integrated governance and development system for the pesantren through an organizational mechanism equipped with a complete structure and clearly defined functions. This system did not alter the foundational principles or spiritual legacy of the pesantren's founder, Kyai Hasan Ulama'; rather, it served as a more comprehensive and expansive development strategy aimed at reaching broader segments of society. Through this system, the core mission of PSM could be more effectively realized, namely: "To disseminate Islamic education as widely as possible, enabling the pesantren to produce capable individuals with a deep and qualified understanding of Islam, committed to worship and community service, and grounded in piety, thus becoming people of knowledge, good deeds, and devotion."

The grand assembly was attended by several prominent leaders of socio-religious organizations who contributed to the successful formalization of the new name, Pondok Pesantren Sabilil Muttaqien. Among those present were representatives from NU, PSSI, and others. The reform system that transformed Pondok Pesantren Takeran into Pesantren Sabilil Muttaqien (PSM) on 16 September 1943 marked a highly significant historical milestone. On this date, the structural planning for the construction of a major madrasah building at the center of PSM was initiated. This building was intended to accommodate all instructional activities, from the elementary to the advanced levels. As an initial step, a teacher-training school (Madrasah Mu'allimin or Kulliyatul Mu'allimin) was established, which later developed into SGMI (Sekolah Guru Madrasah Ibtidaiyah).

For many years, PSM continued to grow, driven by Kyai Imam Mursyid Muttaqien's idealism embodied in the vision of "Ruhul Islam wal Wathon". However, during this period, the institution was struck by the tragedy of the PKI Rebellion (the Madiun Affair of 1948), which resulted in the brutal abduction and murder of fourteen PSM figures, including Kyai Imam Mursyid Muttaqien himself. Consequently, historical records note that PSM was among the pesantren most severely affected by the 1948 PKI uprising in Madiun. This hardship was followed by the Dutch military

offensive, commonly known as the “Clash” of 1949, which further tested the resilience and patience of the PSM community amid their profound grief. Four of PSM’s finest students perished in battle as national heroes. In addition, the newly constructed central madrasah building—consisting of six units—had to be deliberately destroyed by Indonesian forces to prevent it from being occupied by Dutch troops. The PSM community, including its elders and caregivers, faced a leadership crisis as a result of these two major events. Consequently, a core deliberation meeting (*musyawarah inti*) was convened in Takeran in 1949.

This meeting established the Emergency Central Board, chaired by Kyai Imam Suradji bin Muhammad Syahid. It was this emergency board that initiated the *Ihtifal* process in Magetan. One of the notable outcomes of the First *Ihtifal* was the appointment of Siti Fauziah binti Kyai Haji Imam Muttaqien—sister of the late Kyai Imam Mursyid Muttaqien and later the wife of Kyai Haji Mohammad Tarmoedji—to lead and encourage the formation of various organizational divisions. Under her leadership, the PSM Muslimat organization was also established. The construction of Phase I of the new madrasah building commenced in 1951, made possible through the perseverance, dedication, and patience of the surviving PSM administrators. Phase II followed in 1957. Since then, PSM has experienced rapid development, supported by alumni from various regions who have established new PSM branches while maintaining education as the institution’s core foundation. At present, PSM has 99 branches and manages 132 educational institutions ranging from kindergarten to senior high school throughout Indonesia (IWP MA PSM TANJUNGANOM, n.d.).

The Sabilil Muttaqien Islamic Boarding School (*Pesantren Sabilil Muttaqien*) in Magetan is not an organization or religious sect; rather, it is a traditional Islamic educational institution. The *pondok pesantren* represents a longstanding system of Islamic education in Indonesia. This system typically consists of a dormitory for students (*santri*), a mosque or *surau* for religious activities, the teaching of classical Islamic texts, and the presence of a *kyai* who serves as the spiritual leader and caretaker of the institution. *Pesantren Sabilil Muttaqien* is not affiliated with any specific sect or school of thought, unlike certain Islamic institutions that adhere strictly to a particular *madhhab*. Instead, *Sabilil Muttaqien* adopts an inclusive approach by offering a broad range of religious disciplines alongside practical skills. Its primary objective is to cultivate morally upright students by instilling ethical values in daily life, while also providing deep knowledge of Islamic teachings as well as general sciences, thereby preparing students to participate actively in society. With these characteristics, the *Sabilil Muttaqien Islamic Boarding School* in Magetan demonstrates that it is not merely an educational institution operating under a particular ideological framework. Rather, it is committed to promoting an inclusive, moderate, and contextually relevant understanding of Islam. This commitment positions the *pesantren* as a vital institution in shaping a generation of youth who embody knowledge, righteous action, and piety, in accordance with its guiding principles.

PONDOK PESANTREN AND GENDER

The term *pondok pesantren* is derived from two words: *pondok* and *pesantren*. The word *pondok* itself has several meanings, such as “room,” “hut,” or “small house,” and in Indonesian, it emphasizes the simplicity of the structure. However, it is possible that *pondok* originates from the Arabic word *funduk*, which means an inn, a simple hotel, or a place to sleep. Generally, a *pondok* refers to a modest shelter for students coming from distant places. Meanwhile, the word *pesantren* is derived from the root word *santri*, with the prefix *pe-* and the suffix *-an*, which collectively signify a place where *santri* (students) reside (Fitri & Ondeng, 2022).

According to several scholars cited, such as Zamakhsyari, CC. Berg argues that the term originates from the Indian word Shastri, which refers to a person knowledgeable in the sacred texts of Hinduism, or a scholar proficient in Hindu scriptures. The word Shastri itself derives from Shastra, meaning sacred books, religious texts, or scholarly works. Meanwhile, Johns suggests that the term comes from the Tamil language, in which it refers to a teacher of religious recitation (Fitri & Ondeng, 2022). Etymologically, the pondok pesantren is an ancient institution that teaches various religious sciences. Linguistically, there is a notable similarity between the pesantren in Hindu historical contexts and the later-developed Islamic pesantren, as both share the fundamental principle of delivering religious education in a boarding-school setting (Fitri & Ondeng, 2022).

Terminologically, according to KH. Imam Zarkasih, a pondok pesantren is defined as an Islamic educational institution organized in a boarding or dormitory system. In this system, the kyai (religious leader) serves as the central figure, the mosque functions as the spiritual and activity center, and Islamic teachings are delivered under the guidance of the kyai, with the students (santri) actively participating as the main activity. Today, pesantren represent Islamic educational institutions with distinct characteristics. Essentially, pondok pesantren are among the oldest Islamic institutions in Indonesian history, playing a significant role in the ongoing process of national education. KH. Abdurrahman Wahid further defines pesantren technically as a place where santri reside (Fitri & Ondeng, 2022).

In the context of Pesantren Sabilil Muttaqien, each branch of PSM is required to have a boarding facility (pondok), a prayer hall or mosque (langgar or masjid), and other necessary infrastructures, which must be established under the Wizaratur Ribath wal Masjid (WRM). The branch WRM operates under the central WRM, overseeing and managing all matters related to the environment of the pondok and mosque, including housing and regulations. The rules and leadership of the WRM are intended to ensure and strengthen the familial educational environment within PSM. Furthermore, efforts are made to provide education in the pondok in a manner that supports the development of noble character (akhlakul karimah) and the overall education of the students residing there (Majelis Pimpinan Pusat Pesantren Sabilil Muttaqien, 2003).

Regarding the establishment of the management for the pondok and mosque environment in each PSM branch that is capable of doing so, the WRM must collaborate with the Wizaratut Ta'lim (WT), which serves as the Education and Teaching Body. This collaboration involves forming the administrations of the Boys' Boarding (Pondok Putra/Awlad) and Girls' Boarding (Pondok Putri/Banat), as well as drafting the boarding regulations, which must be ratified by the mudir (head) or governing committee. The familial structure encompasses relationships among students, between students and teachers, and among teachers themselves, emphasizing mutual respect and recognition of rights. Students are also trained to manage their respective boarding environments responsibly under the guidance and supervision of the administration, including the leadership of the boys' boarding, girls' boarding, and the overall pondok. Additional organizational initiatives include establishing communal contributions (urunan pondok), boarding clinics, cooperatives, and other supportive facilities (Majelis Pimpinan Pusat Pesantren Sabilil Muttaqien, 2003).

Pesantren play a role in constructing gender, which in turn determines the roles of men and women. At PSM, following the PKI uprising in 1948, there was a leadership vacuum, and the leadership responsibilities were temporarily assumed by Hj. Fauziyah. In gender studies, the focus is often on aspects of masculinity or femininity. Gender roles are related to the identities and characteristics that society attributes to men and women. Gender differences arise from biological sex differences, and various forms of injustice often stem from these gender distinctions. In terms of gender equality, this implies that women and men should be given the same opportunities and

rights as human beings to participate in and benefit from development across political, economic, social, cultural, educational, defense, and security sectors. Gender equality, also referred to as sex equality, is based on the belief that men and women should be treated equally and not discriminated against on the basis of sex, except for biological reasons. Feminism is a movement aimed at achieving equality between men and women. In a broader sense, feminism is a movement by women to challenge dominant cultural structures that marginalize, subordinate, and diminish them in political, economic, and social life.

Feminism is a movement that advocates for the equality of rights between men and women. It is also known as the "feminist movement." According to The New Encyclopedia of Britannica, feminism is defined as: "the belief, largely originating in the West, in the social, economic, and political equality of the sexes, represented worldwide by various institutions committed to activity on behalf of women's rights and interests." In other words, feminism is a belief that originated in the West, concerning social, economic, and political equality between men and women, and it has spread globally through organizations dedicated to promoting women's rights and interests (Yuni Sulistyowati, 2020).

From a human rights perspective, gender equality is grounded in the 1945 Constitution of Indonesia. As a state based on law rather than power, Indonesia must fulfill the elements of a constitutional state, which include: (1) the guarantee of human rights; (2) the separation of powers; (3) governance based on legal regulations; and (4) administrative justice (Syafei *et al.*). Indonesia recognizes and upholds human rights (HAM) and fundamental human freedoms as inherent to every individual, and therefore, human rights must be protected, respected, and enforced to enhance human dignity. Regulations concerning human rights are stipulated in the 1945 Constitution and Law No. 39 of 1999 on Human Rights. Several international treaties related to human rights have also been ratified, such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) through Law No. 12 of 2005 and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) through Law No. 11 of 2005. According to studies and regulations from both national and international legal instruments, women are considered a vulnerable group. Other vulnerable groups include children, minorities, refugees, and others. This vulnerability arises from various physical, social, cultural, and economic conditions that expose women to the risk of violence or human rights violations by individuals or other groups (Krisnalita, 2008; Gultom, 2010).

Factors Hindering Gender Equality, one factor contributing to gender disparities in Indonesia is the cultural and social context, which in some regions still adheres to patriarchal norms. This fosters the belief that women should primarily manage household responsibilities and childcare rather than engage in income-generating activities. Consequently, this affects how parents educate and raise their daughters and lowers societal expectations for women to participate in the workforce (Nurani, 2021). Additionally, another obstacle to achieving gender equality is the relatively low level of knowledge and understanding regarding women's rights (Sali, 2017).

Women's careers often face significant challenges. A study by Hidayat (2017) indicates that female policymakers are rare. Between 2005 and 2008, only two women served as Governor or Vice Governor—specifically, the Governor of Banten Province and the Vice Governor of Central Java—according to data from the Ministry of Home Affairs in 2009. Meanwhile, out of 488 cities and regencies in Indonesia, only ten women held the position of Regent (Wakil Bupati), and eleven women served as Vice Regent (Wakil Bupati). The data also show that the likelihood of women attaining higher positions remains very low.

Women who succeed in bureaucratic careers often worry that they will be unable to establish a household and raise their children due to the double burden of reproductive and productive work. Additionally, women are often perceived by society as lacking ambition, which reduces their opportunities for workplace competition. According to Hidayat (2017), gender discrimination frequently occurs in the labor sector. This is caused by misconceptions prevalent in society regarding concepts such as marginalization, subordination, stereotyping, violence, and work-related burdens. These factors inevitably hinder the progress of gender equality in Indonesia (Putri & Fita, 2020).

Gender equality and women's empowerment have become central themes in global agreements, covenants, and declarations, primarily due to the understanding that they serve as catalysts for clear development strategies aimed at reducing poverty, improving living standards, promoting good governance, and fostering productive investment. It is essential to build greater capacity that provides equal opportunities for both men and women (Tjiptaningsih, 2018). To ensure gender equality and human dignity, numerous commendable efforts have been undertaken in Indonesia. However, according to Tini (2019), the history of Indonesia's development policies appears to have largely overlooked the gender variable.

For example, during the twenty years of Indonesia's development planning starting from 1963, when it became a republic, development policies largely ignored gender considerations and were not gender-sensitive. Similarly, especially since the economic resurgence in the 1980s, Indonesia implemented economic policies that were not gender-based, where women's interests were often subordinated to national priorities, and gender sensitivity was minimal or even absent (Imaniar, 2017).

The Emergence Of Muslimat Psm

The organizational structure of PSM is essentially hierarchical, beginning with the Central Leadership Council (Majelis Pimpinan Pusat, MPP) as the highest leadership level. Below it are the Regional Leadership Councils (Majelis Pimpinan Daerah, MPD) at the regency level, the Sub-district Leadership Councils (Majelis Pimpinan Kecamatan) at the sub-district level, and the Branch Leadership Councils (Majelis Pimpinan Ranting) operating at the village or urban ward level. This pattern reflects a multi-level organizational system similar to those found in several social and religious organizations. This model can also be compared to women's organizational structures in society, such as Dharma Wanita or Muslimat NU, which feature layered leadership from the central to the village level.

Within the MPP, there are several autonomous bodies granted the authority to develop their respective activities, including managing programs, finances, and resources. Among these autonomous bodies is Muslimat, which historically had two representatives at the central level, as well as Pemuda (Youth) as another autonomous unit. Additionally, there is an educational body; however, this unit is considered underdeveloped due to the existence of a separate foundation that functions as the organizer of educational institutions. PSM has a unique institutional history. The MPP organization was established in 1943, long before the government mandated in 1968 that private schools must have a formal organizing foundation. This policy prompted the establishment of the Yayasan Perguruan Islam Pesantren Sabilil Muttaqien in 1958 as a regulatory adjustment. Consequently, unlike modern organizations that typically form a foundation before the organization itself, PSM's organizational structure was established first. The foundation's structure has since been periodically updated through amendments to its articles of association in accordance with changes in leadership.

In the history of organizational leadership, the position of chairperson was exclusively held by the Imam Mursyid, who simultaneously served as the mursyid tarekat, the head of the pesantren, and the leader of the organization. Because he held these three roles concurrently, his position was often referred to as the “trisula,” similar to the leadership of Kiai Musta’in Romli at Pondok Rejoso Jombang, who also held three primary authorities. After the tenure of the Imam Mursyid, successors such as Mr. Tarmuji opted to discontinue the title of chairperson, and the management structure was subsequently divided into sectoral chairs—Chair 1 through Chair 4—with responsibilities allocated more collectively. The women’s organization, Muslimat PSM, follows the hierarchical pattern of the main organization down to the branch level. However, in terms of development, Muslimat NU is better known as a more dynamic organization in religious outreach and socio-religious activities. Nevertheless, many PSM alumni later became active as administrators in Muslimat NU or other autonomous organizations within the NU environment. In fact, in several sub-districts, the majority of PAC Muslimat NU chairpersons are PSM graduates, demonstrating the pesantren’s contribution to producing female cadres capable of leading community organizations.

Regarding the cadre system, PSM does not follow a hierarchical pattern like Muhammadiyah—which has IPM, IMM, and NA—or NU, which has IPPNU, IPNU, and Fatayat. PSM’s system is more fluid because its members come from diverse organizational backgrounds, including NU and Muhammadiyah. Alumni are free to participate in any organization, and PSM itself does not bind its cadres ideologically. The organization focuses primarily on education, religious outreach (dakwah), and social activities, without practical political orientation. Nevertheless, historically, many PSM cadres entered the political arena during the New Order era, particularly through Golkar. This involvement was not due to PSM being part of a political party but was shaped by historical circumstances, including episodes of violence against pesantren by the PKI in 1948 and 1965. These traumatic events led PSM to support the anti-communist movement, which at the time was associated with Golkar as the political force of the New Order. This support did not signify that PSM became a political organization but reflected a historical stance based on collective experience. President Soeharto’s visit to PSM in 1978 marked an important moment. Accompanied by his spiritual advisor, Kiai Zahid Husein, Soeharto recognized PSM’s potential as a center for training da’i (Islamic preachers) to support the national transmigration program. This led to the establishment of the development da’i institution “Dharmais” as a follow-up to this idea, although the institution was officially inaugurated after the passing of Mr. Tarmuji.

To this day, PSM remains active as an educational and religious outreach organization. The role of Muslimat PSM continues, although it is not as intensive as during the leadership of Hj. Fauziyah, who was known as a single fighter. Currently, the administrators possess diverse capacities, and the methods of religious outreach have evolved to adapt to contemporary developments. In addition to focusing on early childhood and elementary education (TK and MI), Muslimat PSM does not engage in practical politics, although many of its members individually participate in various political parties such as PPP, Golkar, or PKB. However, these activities reflect personal choices rather than the political orientation of the organization. Since 16 September 1943, Imam Mursyid implemented significant reforms in the educational system of Pesantren Sabilil Muttaqien (PSM). At that time, he developed a more organized and modern educational system through the establishment of Kulliyatul Mu’allimīn. This institution provided education from the first to the sixth grade and was positioned as equivalent to the Tsanawiyah and Aliyah levels. Prior to this reform, PSM operated an educational institution called Sekolah Rakyat Islam (SRI), which

was equivalent to the Ibtidaiyah level. Graduates of SRI were then directed to continue their studies at Kulliyatul Mu'allimîn, ensuring continuity within the pesantren's formal education system.[Wawancara dengan Ibu Tatik Mulyati, Ketua MPP Muslimat PSM di Aula PSM pada 2 Agustus 2024.]

In addition to developing the educational system, Imam Mursyid also established the pesantren organization named Sabilil Muttaqien. Within this structure, he served as *mundir* or general chairperson, together with the *ustaz* and family members who supported the management of the pesantren. The year 1948 marked a critical period in PSM's history. During the outbreak of the PKI Madiun Rebellion, fourteen PSM *ustaz* were detained, and Imam Mursyid was forced to appear under the threat that the *ustaz* would be killed if he refused. Despite complying with this demand, the *ustaz* were still executed, and Imam Mursyid himself narrowly escaped. He was later rescued by the Siliwangi Troops, a West Java military unit that had not been infiltrated by the PKI at the time. According to military records, Imam Mursyid's name was listed as the first victim; however, no traces of blood were found, as would typically be the case with murder victims. This led to the belief that he had *moksa*—vanished without a trace. Nevertheless, the family, including the mother of Nyai Sulbiah, accepted whatever outcome had occurred with full resignation.

Following these events, the leadership of PSM was continued by Nyai Fauziyah, assisted by her younger sibling, who supported the leadership from 1948 to 1951. During this period, Tarmuji—her cousin who had been raised by Mbah Imam Muttaqien since childhood—also played a significant role in the leadership regeneration. Mbah Imam Muttaqien, a *naib* during the colonial era and an educator, held a modern perspective on education. He educated three of his students—Imam Mursyid, Tarmuji, and Nyai Fauziyah—who became known as the “trio” because they were always together and attended HIS Mulo Madiun, traveling by horse-drawn carriage (*dokar*). In 1951, Nyai Fauziyah officially assumed leadership of PSM with the support of the extended family. In the same year, through a family agreement, Nyai Fauziyah married Tarmuji. The couple was later blessed with four children and became central figures in ensuring the continuity of PSM. Hj. Fauziyah was recognized for her strong leadership capacity and her ability to sustain the pesantren's educational organization during transitional periods. Although she was supported by her husband and other family figures such as Mr. Hamim and Mr. Kamil, her leadership role remained prominent.

Since 1943, together with Imam Mursyid, Hj. Fauziyah helped pioneer the women's organization Muslimat PSM. She emerged as a driving force for women, actively engaging in religious outreach (*dakwah*) and delivering Islamic lectures in various regions, long before Indonesia's independence. Family accounts note that she and her companions, such as the mother of Mrs. Ulfatul Afifah, traveled to provide religious lessons by horse-drawn carriage (*dokar*), occasionally encountering accidents such as falling into rivers. During this period, religious outreach was conducted voluntarily and without compensation, reflecting a high level of dedication to community empowerment. By the 1970s, the Tarmuji family's activities extended into the political sphere. In 1971, Tarmuji was elected as a member of the Provincial DPRD, followed by his election to the national DPR in 1977. During this period, he also joined the leadership of the Golkar Central Executive Board (DPP Golkar), largely due to his connections within the Masyumi network. Within this context, Hj. Fauziyah/Hj Fauziyah, alongside other prominent women such as the wives of Amir Murtono and Tuti Alawiyah, helped establish the women's organization Al-Hidayah, which later developed into a women's organization within Golkar. Although figures like Tuti Alawiyah joined in subsequent periods, the embryonic idea of Al-Hidayah had already been initiated by Hj. Fauziyah and her colleagues. Documentation of Hj. Fauziyah's contributions was once compiled

in the form of a biography, although it existed primarily as manually typed manuscripts, many of which were poorly preserved due to limited family archiving practices at the time. Nevertheless, scholarly manuscripts from earlier figures, such as Mbah Sanulama, have been well-preserved. To this day, the contributions of figures like Nyai Fauziyah and Mr. Tarmuji remain an integral part of PSM's history. Efforts to compile the organization's history in official PSM publications also serve as a means of preserving the collective memory of their achievements. [Wawancara dengan Ibu Tatik Mulyati, Ketua MPP Muslimat PSM di Aula PSM pada 2 Agustus 2024].

Within the institutional structure of Pesantren Sabilil Muttaqin (PSM), one of the key units responsible for managing social activities is the Lembaga Amil Sosial dan Infaq Sedekah (LAZIS-PSM). Unlike government-run social institutions, LAZIS-PSM operates as an independent unit managed directly by the pesantren. Its presence is comparable to other community-based organizations' social institutions, such as LAZIS-NU, but with characteristics and a scope tailored to the pesantren's internal vision and needs. The social activities conducted by LAZIS-PSM include a variety of regular programs, such as charitable donations, health services including community health check-ups and PAPSMEAR programs, as well as socio-religious activities like mass circumcision events. All programs are implemented according to the responsibilities of each division and are aimed at strengthening the pesantren's service to the wider community. Additionally, LAZIS-PSM fulfills administrative functions and provides social assistance to the surrounding community in accordance with the organization's mandate.

At the central level, PSM implements larger-scale social programs, both annually and per semester. One of the most consistent initiatives is the provision of scholarships for students of Madrasah Ibtidaiyah PSM from various regencies. Fully funded by the MI PSM these students are entitled to tuition waivers. To date, there are 69 Madrasah Ibtidaiyah under PSM's supervision receiving this support. This program has been a distinctive feature of PSM for decades, reflecting the pesantren's commitment to advancing primary education while ensuring equitable access to education for children within the pesantren community. In addition to scholarships, PSM is also known for its long-standing tradition of social activities, such as the Gerakan Nasional Orang Tua Asuh (GNOTA). Through GNOTA and its derivative programs, PSM continues to address children's educational needs, providing school supplies as well as other welfare support. These activities have been sustained for decades and constitute a foundational aspect of PSM's social identity. [Wawancara dengan Ibu Ulfatul Afifah, Wakil Ketua MPP Muslimat PSM di Aula PSM pada 2 Agustus 2024]

Regarding regular religious study sessions (*pengajian*), the pesantren maintains accessible documentation. The themes of these sessions are generally aligned with specific occasions, such as Mother's Day, National Children's Day, or Islamic commemorative events. The content may cover religious studies, educational issues, or charitable activities for the congregation. Although no specific sessions explicitly address gender or the role of women, the topics are usually tailored to the needs and context of the community at a given time. In informal conversations, several sources also mentioned the connections among PSM alumni and their involvement in pesantren activities, including scouting organizations. Scouting at PSM has historically been active and has produced many accomplished cadres at both regional and national levels. Some alumni recalled their participation in camping activities, national jamborees in Sibolangit and Cimir during the 1970s, as well as their roles as scouts or scout leaders (*Penegak* and *Pembina Pramuka*) within the pesantren environment.

Overall, the transcript demonstrates how the social structure, educational activities, and community engagement at PSM are conducted in an organized and sustainable manner, with deep-

rooted foundations. LAZIS-PSM, along with various other supporting units, serves as a crucial pillar in fostering the pesantren's social traditions while ensuring the continuity of religious values, educational practices, and social care within the community.

He Activities And Contributions Of Muslimat Psm

Muslimat PSM is a religiously-based women's organization that plays a strategic role in strengthening social capacity, education, and community welfare. The organization's activities have spanned a long period, with a focus on women's empowerment and sustainable social services. As part of PSM's organizational structure, Muslimat PSM exhibits the distinctive characteristics of an Islamic women's movement, integrating religious, social, and educational elements within a single cohesive framework. A tangible manifestation of Muslimat PSM's contribution is its longstanding collaboration with the Health Office and Social Services. This partnership is realized through the provision of basic food packages for underprivileged communities, directly impacting the social welfare of vulnerable groups. In addition, Muslimat PSM consistently implements orphan care programs, reflecting the organization's commitment to social responsibility and humanitarian solidarity. These programs demonstrate that the organization not only focuses on spiritual activities but also actively participates in addressing the basic needs of the community. [Wawancara dengan Ibu Anna Zukhrufiyah N., Sekretaris Muslimat PSM di rumah beliau pada 4 Agustus 2024.]

In the field of education, Muslimat PSM has developed an internal certification program through the establishment of the Ikatan Guru Tarbiyatul Athfal (IGTA). This program serves as a means to enhance the competencies of educators within early childhood education institutions under PSM's supervision. Through IGTA, Muslimat PSM promotes the standardization of teaching quality and the professionalism of educators, thereby ensuring increasingly high-quality educational services. The existence of IGTA demonstrates that Muslimat PSM not only performs social functions but also places serious emphasis on human resource development. Structurally, Muslimat PSM also plays a role within the broader organizational network through its participation in the Badan Kerja Sama Organisasi Wanita (BKOW). This involvement indicates that Muslimat PSM holds a strategic position within the network of women's organizations at the regional level. Furthermore, the Majelis Pimpinan Daerah (MPD) of Muslimat PSM has expanded across nine regions: Kediri, Tulungagung, Nganjuk, Ngawi, Ponorogo, Madiun, Magetan, Blora, and Pangandaran. This distribution reflects the organization's wide reach and influence in fostering Muslim women across various areas.

The activities of Muslimat PSM continue to evolve with the planned establishment of the Ikatan Guru Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (IGMI). This initiative represents a progressive step in strengthening the Islamic primary education sector while continuing the organization's commitment to teacher professionalization. With the establishment of IGMI, greater synergy is expected in improving the quality of education at the madrasah level. In addition to various structural and social programs, Muslimat PSM regularly conducts religious study sessions and bi-monthly outreach visits. These activities serve not only to enhance the spiritual development of members but also to strengthen social networks and solidarity across regions. This practice reflects a model of sustainable and comprehensive development, oriented toward improving member quality and reinforcing social harmony. [Wawancara dengan Ibu Ulfatul Afifah, Wakil Ketua MPP Muslimat PSM di rumah beliau pada 3 Agustus 2024].

Therefore, the activities of Muslimat PSM exemplify a model of women's empowerment grounded in religious values, capable of generating tangible social impact. Through its social, educational, and organizational development programs, Muslimat PSM serves as a key actor in community development, particularly in expanding the role of Muslim women in socio-religious

and civic spheres. The work of Muslimat PSM can be understood as an important representation of Islamic women's movements that, while developing at the local level, exert broad structural influence. From a sociological perspective, the existence of Muslimat PSM demonstrates how religious organizations can provide a strategic arena for women to exercise leadership, public participation, and social program management. Their involvement in social initiatives, education, and women's organizational networks shows that the group functions not only as a spiritual platform but also as an agent of change within societal structures. This illustrates a process of gender mainstreaming occurring organically through religious institutions.

The collaboration between Muslimat PSM and the Health and Social Services Offices reflects an effective state–society partnership. Their joint initiatives, including the provision of basic food packages, services for vulnerable groups, and support for orphans, demonstrate the organization's capacity to occupy public service spaces that are not fully covered by the state. In this regard, Muslimat PSM functions as a civil society actor that strengthens the social safety net within the community. This approach not only fosters community solidarity but also generates social legitimacy for Muslimat PSM as an organization responsive to societal needs. [Wawancara dengan Ibu Nuryani, Pegurus Muslimat PSM di MAN 1 Magetan pada 5 Agustus 2024].

In the educational domain, the establishment of IGTA (Ikatan Guru Tarbiyatul Athfal) underscores Muslimat PSM's commitment to human resource capacity development. From an institutional analysis perspective, IGTA represents an internal professionalization mechanism, reflecting the organization's ability to define quality standards, implement certification, and build a sustainable educational ecosystem. These efforts enhance teacher quality while also reinforcing the position of PSM-based educational institutions in the local and regional educational landscape. Furthermore, the planned establishment of IGMI (Ikatan Guru Madrasah Ibtidaiyah) demonstrates a move toward more comprehensive educational consolidation, spanning from early childhood education to primary schooling, thereby enabling Muslimat PSM to gradually construct a systematic educational program.

The involvement of Muslimat PSM in the Badan Kerja Sama Organisasi Wanita (BKOW) also provides an important dimension of representative politics. Participation in this platform expands advocacy space and strengthens the organization's capacity to build cross-institutional coalitions among women's organizations. Theoretically, the presence of Muslimat PSM in this arena demonstrates that Islam-based women's organizations can engage within a pluralistic setting composed of various other women's groups. This illustrates that religious identity does not hinder collective action but rather serves as a social asset in advocating for women's issues at the regional level. The expansion of Muslimat PSM's Majelis Pimpinan Daerah (MPD) across nine regions—Kediri, Tulungagung, Nganjuk, Ngawi, Ponorogo, Madiun, Magetan, Blora, and Pangandaran—indicates the organization's capacity to establish a strong decentralized structure. This geographic distribution allows programs to be adapted to local contexts while remaining aligned with the organization's values and vision. It demonstrates that Muslimat PSM effectively balances two key institutional dimensions: central standardization and local flexibility, both hallmarks of structurally mature organizations.

Bi-monthly religious study sessions (*kajian keagamaan*) and outreach visits (*anjangsana*) play a significant cultural role in maintaining internal cohesion. From an organizational anthropology perspective, these activities serve as regenerative mechanisms that preserve continuity in values, identity, and member solidarity. [Wawancara dengan Ibu Ulfatul Afifah, Wakil Ketua MPP Muslimat PSM di rumah beliau pada 3 Agustus 2024]. Religious studies provide a normative foundation for their social activism, while outreach visits strengthen emotional and

social networks among the MPD structures. Together, these activities form a cultural foundation ensuring that Muslimat PSM's programs are not merely technocratic but remain rooted in religious values and women's social relationships. Finally, the work of Muslimat PSM demonstrates a strong integration of social, religious, and educational aspects within a single framework of women's empowerment. The organization functions as a space for knowledge production, social service delivery, and community identity formation. A close analysis of its activities shows that Muslimat PSM is not merely a supportive group within the PSM structure but has evolved into an Islam-based women's organization that plays a significant role in social development and community transformation.

CONCLUSSION

Muslimat PSM emerged in response to the leadership vacuum among women in religious organizations following the PKI attacks, under the leadership of Hj. Nyai Fauziyah, who played a central role in shaping and directing the organization. Under her guidance, Muslimat PSM integrates religious, social, and educational activities, serving as a platform for women's empowerment grounded in Islamic values. The organization actively engages in community services, including the provision of food aid, care for orphans, and educational programs, such as teacher development through IGTA and the planned IGMI. Its involvement in the regional network of BKOW and the expansion of Majelis Pimpinan Daerah reflects the organization's capacity to build cross-institutional coalitions and to extend the influence of Muslim women in socio-religious spheres. Routine activities, including religious study sessions and outreach visits, strengthen internal solidarity and social legitimacy, positioning Muslimat PSM as an agent of change shaped by historical circumstances and post-conflict societal needs.

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