

The Indigenous Idea of Gender Equality: Husband-Wife Relationship in the Manuscript of *Adābul Mu'āsyaarah*

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Abstract: Literacy in *pesantren* still places women as the second class, especially in the study of women's *fiqh* or husband-wife relations. This phenomenon has attracted researchers to conduct research on one of the books by Nusantara scholars used by Islamic boarding schools, whether it contains gender equality or not. This research focused on one of the books, *Adābul Mu'āsyaarah*, which describes the ethics of husband and wife relations in fostering a harmonious family. By using a literature study with analytical techniques in the form of content analysis and a gender studies approach, this research found that the contents of this book by KH Yasin Asmuni have provided equal space in household relations between husband and wife. Although it cannot be denied that there are still many patriarchal terms, such as defining women as humans who lack reason and emotion, which makes men superior to women in several ways. This phenomenon of patriarchal understanding has been impacted by several factors, such as the author's background, patriarchal culture and the wave of studies that narrowed a unique case into a general provision. This research is expected to provide references and a new paradigm in describing equal husband-wife relations.

Keywords: *Adābul Mu'āsyaarah*; Husband; Wife; Equality.

Introduction

The issue of discrimination against women has always been an interesting topic to study in various perspectives. This discrimination can be seen in all aspects of education, economy, politics, including the classical texts used in *pesantren*. In the study of classical books, women are given special education in order to understand the rights and obligations of women in various aspects of life, and men are equipped with leadership education as a provision for preaching in the future (Nelli et al., 2023). The patriarchal tradition is often raised in the study of the yellow book -hereafter referred to as classical text- which makes the roles of women and men into two very separate boxes between public and private spaces (Hartono, 2013; Nasution, 2023). In terms of worship, *pesantren* as a whole position women as the second person after men (the second class) (Akib, 2019; Mahmudah, 2017; Nuroniya, 2023) by not allowing a female *santri* to act as a prayer leader. The provision made is limited to including women in congregation in the mosque with male imams and mums (Akib, 2019).

Some interpretations of religious texts may indicate the inferiority of women (Alfitri, 2014). The difficulty we face on the issue of the yellow book and women concerns the issue of discourse. The existing yellow book discourse is a framework and point of view on a problem accompanied by a satisfactory answer that is quite sophisticated but limited and rigid. It is as if the study of women's lives consists of menstruation and postpartum bleeding, *hijab* and inheritance only. Thus, discussions about women and Islam almost always revolve around *hijab*, obligations to husbands, and the division of inheritance (Marcoes-Natsir & Meuleman, 1993). Sadly, the community considers the classical text as a source of truth whose contents must be believed, practiced, and do not need to be corrected or questioned because the author is pious and does not commit various immoral acts (Mohd Ithnin et al., 2023; Sumadi & Ag, 2018).

Many studies have been conducted by scholars in highlighting gender equality in the understanding of classical texts used by *pesantren* and society (Amin, 2022). As Setiawan found that there are at least four types of placement of women's positions by the classical text. The four types of placement are merging into men, half the price of men, equal to men, and higher than men (Setiawan, 2021). The study of women's discrimination in the field of marriage law was also found, where there are many rules that must be faced by a woman starting from choosing a partner, carrying out a marriage to her new life with her husband (Spectorsky, 2010). Gender studies that refer to a particular book are also widely carried out, such as *Uqūd al-Lujjain* as a text that emphasizes male superiority in husband and wife relationships by using *hadis* references that are not all *sahih* and *hasan*, even *ḍā'if* (Fatah, 2014) or the book of *Qurratul 'uyūn* which positions a wife in all needs dominated and dependent on a man (Munawir et al., 2023).

Nina revealed that there are 4 (four) religious constructions -which may come from the study of classical text in *pesantren*- about husband-wife relations. First, Indonesian Muslim men are religiously constructed as leaders of the family, while Muslim women should be housewives. Second, Indonesian Muslim women have been commanded to fulfill their husbands' sexual needs whenever and wherever they want. Third, Indonesian Muslim women are constructed to obey their husbands. Fourth, Indonesian Muslim women are ordered to be submissive and respectful to their husbands (Nurmila, 2014). Wardah added to her research, three typologies of husband-wife relationships in the view of the Kyai in Cirebon: extreme patriarchy, moderate patriarchy and a liberal paradigm (Nuroniya, 2023).

Unlike the studies mentioned above, *Adābul Mu'āsyyarah* examines the rights and obligations of husband and wife and the ethics of good relations based on Islamic morality so that both avoid communication that hurts or disrespects each other. This book originated from a *pesantren* and was even written by one of the local *Kyai* in Kediri. Nevertheless, the book elaborates on husband-wife relationships that are more relevant to life today.

From some of the phenomena described above, it seems that no one has specifically examined the thoughts of local scholars who show the equality of husband-wife relationships. The research conducted only examines the equality discourse that is not visible in *pesantren* literature and the sociological paradigm shift in the *pesantren* environment. In contrast to the studies mentioned above, this study aims explicitly to show how this book describes husband-wife relations. This study also aims to reveal how *Adābul Mu'āsyyarah* positions gender equality in husband-wife relations.

Generally, this study aims to examine how do the progressiveness of local ulama's thinking in the values of equality in the construction of *fiqh* literacy used in *pesantren*. The results of this study are expected to provide a new source of literature for *pesantren* in Indonesia to use more gender-oriented books. In addition, this research is also expected to encourage the progressiveness of local ulama in rereading husband-wife relations that are more adaptive to the times.

Literature Review

KH. Yasin Asmuni

KH. Ahmad Yasin Asmuni was a scholar who was born into a boarding school family in the Kediri area. With his intelligence, he produced writings that discussed almost all fields of religion, especially Islamic *fiqh*, *tafsir*, morals, and others. In 1989 he began to think about preaching and preaching through writing. His first work was written in Javanese. It contained 300 questions on religious issues. A year later he wrote a book in Arabic (Mukani, 2021). Until now there have been 150 titles (all discussing Arabic) and smaller than the wider community, such as in *pesantren* in Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and others (Nawawi, 2021). In the PBNU library, his works are used by national figures, such as KH. A. Siddiq from Jember, KH. Sahal Mahfudh from Kajen Pati Central Java, etc. He continued to write in all fields of religious science, including *Fiqh*, Sufism, *tafsir*, *hadis* and others.

KH. Ahmad Yasin concluded that preaching and tabligh (transmitting knowledge to the public) through 3 (three) things, are:

1. Give the community an example of good behaviour (*bil thing*).

2. Orally by teaching, reading books, lectures, dialogues, seminars and others.

3. Through writing.

In 1989 he started to think about preaching and sermons through writing. His first work was titled *تسهيل المضحى* (using Javanese), then a book entitled *تسهيل العوام* which contains questions and answers on religious issues containing 300 questions. After further evaluation, he considered the book mentioned above to be of little interest to the public. Then he tried to write in Arabic with the title *رسالة الجماعة , تحقيق*, *الحيوان*, etc. Until now (in 2010), there have been 150 titles (all of which discuss Arabic) and they are smaller than the wider community, such as in Islamic boarding schools in Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and others. All over Indonesia, up to Malaysia, the Middle East and England.

Many people use or assist this work, all of which can be proven by the number of people who come directly to the Petuk Islamic Boarding School to ask for a diploma (ask for permission) to access the book, for example, from Java, Sumatra, Sulawesi, Kalimantan, so on. In the PBNU library, his work is used by national figures, such as KH. A. Siddiq from Jember, KH. Sahal Mahfudh from Kajen Pati Central Java, etc. He continues to write in all fields of religious knowledge, including Fiqh, tasawuf, interpretation, hadith and many others. Until 2010 it was recorded that there were approximately 150 books that had been composed by Ahmad Yasin Asmuni. On January 2, 2011, KH. A. Yasin Asymuni received a Certificate of Appreciation from the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia Directorate General of Islamic Education for his services in the scientific/academic field as a Productive Writer in book studies at Islamic boarding schools.

The Book of *Adābul Mu'āsyrarah*

The book of *Adābul Mu'āsyrarah* is one of his works that describes the ethics of husband-wife relationships in forming harmonious relationships. The book was compiled in 1990 and published by PP *Hidāyatut Tullāb* Kediri. In its development, this book is widely used in several *pesantren*, especially in Kediri City. Until now this book has entered the 3rd printing and even translated into Indonesian. The book consists of 38 pages and is organized without any division of chapters or subchapters. The explanation is presented in a flowing style and seems less systematic so that sometimes it is difficult to learn the contents of the book. It has also been translated into Bahasa Indonesia and sold freely on e-commerce in Indonesia.

Gender Equality

Gender is a social and cultural construction, which distinguishes the different attributes of men and women, girls and boys, referring to the roles and responsibilities of men and women. Gender-based roles and other attributes can change over time and vary with different cultural contexts (Abdullah et al., 2023; Kartini & Maulana, 2019; Unicef, 2017). In nurture theory, differences between men and women are not determined by biological factors but by social construction. So that social roles (domestic roles belonging to women and public roles belonging to men) which have been considered standardized and even understood as religious teachings, are not God's will and not as a product of biological terms but as a result of social construction (Assaad et al., 2022; Khuza'i, 2012).

As for gender inequality, it takes many different forms, depending on the economic structure and social organization of a particular society and on the culture of a particular group in society. Although we talk about gender inequality, it is usually women who are disadvantaged relative to men who are in the same position (Lorber & Park, 2010). According to gender roles, it is worth recalling the terms productive, reproductive, and social activities used in gender analysis, especially the Moser and Harvard Models. These two concepts classify activities in the family, namely productive, reproductive, and social activities (Mujuzi, 2023; Puspitawati, 2015). The domestic-public role dichotomy between men and women causes women to be "imprisoned" in the domestic sphere and men move freely in the public sphere. This dichotomy is linear with the standardization of the role of men as the head of the family and must earn a living (public, production). While women (wives) are housewives who are obliged to take care of household affairs (household, reproduction) (Fujiati, 2014; Rofi'ah, 2015; Siregar et al., 2022).

As Zuhrah states, Islam does not schematically distinguish the different factors of men (husbands) and women (wives), but rather views the two people as a whole. Between one another biologically and socio-culturally need each other and likewise between one another each has a role (Zuhrah, 2013). This is similar to the concept of *mubāḍalah*, which emphasizes partnership or cooperation and hatred between men and women. With this principle men and women know each other, respect each other, listen to each other's opinions, and help each other. The relationship between the two is seen as a partnership that complements and accompanies each other (Kodir, 2021; Santoso et al., 2022). As for the context of husband and wife and family relationships, there are five pillars or foundations of family life in the *mubāḍalah* perspective, namely a firm agreement (*mitsāqan galizhā*), the principle of pairing and togetherness, the principle of treating each other well, the principle of deliberation and mutual comfort (Afiah, 2021).

Rahmawati argues that gender equality in husband-wife relations is an assimilation of two interrelated concepts, in this case gender equality and Islamic family law. The relationship between the two can be seen from the axiological contact that brings together the two shared concepts of universal values such as justice, humanity, love, compassion, etc. (Rahmawati, 2020). In looking at opportunities for mainstreaming gender equality in Islamic family law, there are many normative signs in the Qur'an that illustrate the path towards mainstreaming gender equality. Among these verses are when the Qur'an states that men and women are equal (QS. *Al-Hujurat*/49: 13), men and women have the same personal responsibility in the afterlife (QS. *Al-Mu'min*/40: 40), there are reciprocal rights and obligations between husband and wife in the household (QS. *Al-Baqarah*/2: 228), and many other verses that can be used as guidelines in mainstreaming gender equality in husband-wife relations.

Method

The writing of this article uses a qualitative research method which is a literature study. Data collection in this study was carried out using documentation techniques, namely focusing on one book, namely *Adābul Mu'āsyarah* by KH. Yasin Asmuni, which contains the ethics of husband and wife relationships in fostering harmonious relationships. By using analytical techniques in the form of content analysis and a gender studies approach, the author conducts an in-depth study of gender equality in husband-wife relationships as shown in the book *Adābul Mu'āsyarah*. The collected data is also further analyzed to determine the contribution of local ulama's thoughts on the value of equality in the *pesantren* world, especially in husband-wife relationships.

Results and Discussion

Husband-wife relations in the Book of *Adābul Mu'āsyarah*

Adābul Mu'āsyarah contains advice on maintaining family harmony, the rights and obligations of husband and wife, and advice for both spouses. The book is organized without any chapters or subchapters. The explanations are presented in a flowing style and seem less systematic so that it is sometimes difficult to learn the contents of the book. The book begins with etiquette (*adab*) and how to maintain household harmony. Furthermore, the book includes some advice for married couples.

The author finds that there are 4 (four) aspects of husband-wife relations shown in this book, including:

First, Relationship on attitude. The first message conveyed by the author of this book is about good husband-wife relationship ethics. Behaving well is defined as a husband must have good manners towards his wife, namely by not hurting his wife with bad sentences. The author of the book argues that women are creatures who do not have reason because of their lust and emotions, so they need special treatment from their husbands. In addition, marriage as a *mitsāqan galizhā* is also an important part of this explanation (Asmuni, 1990). Therefore, maintaining this important agreement must be done as well as possible by the husband so that there is no separation.

In addition, entertainment and recreational activities should be undertaken to please the spouse. This is exemplified in the book by joking and having fun with the wife, and it is even explained that the husband should be able to adjust his level of thought to the ability of his wife -as it is mentioned that women are less intelligent-. This explanation is corroborated by the Prophet's account of playing with Aisyah and pleasing her by giving in to the game (Asmuni, 1990).

In terms of the attitude that must be shown by the couple, this book also emphasizes the attitude to please the partner in a balanced manner, neither less nor more. This relationship is also supported by not being suspicious of each other and even forbidden to spy on each other's activities. An important thing that is discussed related to relationships in terms of attitude is *mu'āsyarah bil ma'ruf*. The obligation to treat each other well without involving each other's ego becomes the essence of this discussion.

Second, relationships in physicality and sexuality. Harmony in appearance is an important thing explained in this book. As a married couple, both have an obligation to balance their appearance both outwardly and in actions that are able to maintain each other's dignity (Asmuni, 1990).

On the topic of sexuality, the book explains that husbands should also learn about the things that women experience, such as menstruation and its rulings, as well as about the acts of worship that women perform, such as *taharah* and prayers for women. Finally, husbands must also learn the theories of good relationships. For the author, these two things are important assets that must be mastered by the husband as an asset to foster a harmonious husband and wife relationship. It may seem trivial, but if understood correctly, it will facilitate the (physical) relationship between the two.

Third, financial relations. Although it does not explain in detail about the rights and obligations in financial matters, this book only explains not to be excessive in providing for the wife and vice versa. The author of this book underlines the balance in providing for his wife. Regarding the Qur'anic teaching not to give up, it is equally accurate in terms of living. Although there is no exact measure of livelihood described in the book, the explanations that appear in the book compare several stories that illustrate the provision of sufficient livelihood for daily needs (Asmuni, 1990; Yasin et al., 2023).

The key word used in the book to explain financial obligations is balanced. The word balanced is addressed to the husband in providing maintenance to his wife according to the husband's ability and the needs of the household. In addition, this balance is also the wife's obligation in managing household finances.

Fourth, relationships in social activities. Asmuni states that a good husband and wife relationship is one that gives respect to the partner's privacy. The husband should provide space for the wife's activities that are not interfered with by the husband. However, the privacy space referred to is the kitchen. Asmuni considers that the kitchen is the wife's privacy area so that the wife has the prerogative in doing activities and managing kitchen affairs (Asmuni, 1990).

Besides freedom in the domestic field, Asmuni also emphasized that in husband-wife relationships that can build harmony is to involve the wife in every decision. This circumstance was carried out so that both sides knew the steps that would be needed for the family. Wives are sometimes not always directly involved in their husband's business, but joint decisions are still the best. Another thing that Asmuni emphasizes is the allowance of the wife to do the things she pleases. Giving the wife a space of freedom for the things she is interested in can strengthen the relationship between the two spouses. Marriage is a solid agreement that must be maintained by both spouses but not to restrict each other's activities. This includes relationships with each partner's family. Asmuni stated that both parties must still provide space to maintain relationships with parents and relatives.

In addition to these seven things, the author of this book includes some advice for married couples. However, the researcher says this advice is for husbands. In short, these include (Asmuni, 1990):

1. A man should show a good relationship with his wife, not indulging his ego, even if he is of noble birth in his family circle.
2. The wife needs the husband's attention, so talk more and listen more.

3. Respecting the spouse's privacy is important. The spouse (husband) does not have to be involved in everything the wife does.
4. Be balanced in managing finances
5. Do not silence your spouse at will.
6. Dress in harmony with your spouse, both in appearance and behavior.
7. Spouse as a cover of disgrace, jewelry, and protection from all harmful things.
8. Do not limit your spouse in doing good to your parents, on the contrary, your husband must be an example in filial piety to your parents.
9. Respect your spouse, do not get angry easily and keep your heart and eyes.
10. Involve your spouse in world decisions as long as they are related and join them.

These are some of the things that KH Yasin Asmuni conveyed regarding the ethics of husband and wife relationships in the household. Some of the things conveyed are based on the hadith of the prophet, the story of the companions and general knowledge about women and home life.

The *santri* prioritize this book as a provision in the household. The *ustaz*, in explaining the material, usually relates sex issues to *syahwat* education so that it correlates with Islamic teachings and also strengthens faith. Therefore, the approach used in sex education in *pesantren* is normative so that it is clear between "moral" and "immoral" sexual behavior. Even so, the *ustaz* also explained that sex for pleasure is not a problem if it follows certain rules, especially if sex encourages husband and wife relationships and affection; sex is worship (Pebriaisyah et al., 2021). With this normative approach, *pesantren* expect *santri* to be able to practice Islamic law perfectly because sex education educates *santri* with various knowledge needed by a Muslim to perfect his obedience to Allah.

Gender Equality among Husband and Wife: Maintaining or Shifting the Paradigm?

The patriarchal culture has been in place for centuries, it is no longer considered an inequality, in fact this culture has been considered a scientific fact. The facts in society show the existence of a patriarchal culture that result in obligations where men and male thinking are the basis of norms (Busyro et al., 2023; Shulton & Ismail, 2020). The issue of gender equality in Islamic studies is a contemporary issue. However, from the study of the Qur'an, it is found that the gender perspective in the Qur'an refers to the spirit and universal values. So strong is the influence of gender imbalanced religious interpretations in some classical books that the Qur'anic message about universal human values regarding the equality of men and women is ignored by people's understanding. Islamic studies in *pesantren* have played a major role in shaping people's religious understanding, including gender equality. The material studied in *pesantren* refers to the classical text, most of which are *fiqh* and normative rules that tend to be patriarchal (Nuroniayah, 2023).

This phenomenon is because past scholars tend to place women as subordinate to men. In society, the inequality of gender roles and identities is passed down from generation to generation and strengthened by the legitimacy of religious interpretations (Thowaf, 2019). The gap between men and women in the *pesantren* environment is a major problem, where the *Kyai* through his *pesantren* often perpetuates patriarchal power through the curriculum or education taught. The material in the education curriculum taught in *pesantren* comes from the classical text and other classical religious texts, where the general view in the books and classical religious texts shows the subordinate position of women (Pebriaisyah et al., 2021).

The influence of unequal gender perspectives in the *pesantren* world is very strong, but the world does not always accept this gender imbalanced view. There are figures and practitioners of *pesantren* education who struggle to socialize gender equality through discourse or real manifestations in the implementation of education. The involvement of women discussed in *pesantren* is still around the domestic sphere, such as the economy, education and households in the domestic environment (Malihah et al., 2020). Women and men have their own portions and strengths to actualize themselves without having to be like others. Women and men have their own ways to actualize themselves, whether in the domestic, public, or social spheres. The three domains are not just one discussion between the two, namely women or men, but talk about cooperation between the two in gender relations patterns.

The concept of husband and wife relationship written by KH Yasin Asmuni has represented that marriage is a cooperative unit that must be maintained by both parties, husband and wife. This can be seen in several explanations in the book that show the rights and obligations that must be fulfilled for each partner. In addition, there is a concept to continue to provide privacy and respect the decisions made by both, even though it is related to the family or parents of the couple. Although some editorials still treat women as second-class, the editorials appear to be “unreasonable” towards women, so special treatment is needed from the husband to maintain family happiness.

In nurturing theory, differences between men and women are not determined by biological factors but by social construction. So that social roles (domestic roles belonging to women and public roles belonging to men) which have been considered standardized and even understood as religious teachings, are not God's will and not as a product of biological terms but as a result of social construction (Elimartati et al., 2023).

In relation to gender roles, it is worth recalling the terms productive, reproductive and social activities used in gender analysis, particularly the Moser and Harvard Models. These two concepts classify activities in the family, i.e. productive, reproductive and social activities (Puspitawati, 2009) The domestic-public role dichotomy between men and women causes women to be “imprisoned” in the domestic sphere and men to move freely in the public sphere. This dichotomy is linear with the standardization of the role of men as the head of the family and obliged to earn a living (public, production). Meanwhile, women (wives) are housewives who are obliged to take care of household affairs (household, reproduction) (Rofi'ah, 2015).

The gender roles in the family presented in the text still distinguish between domestic and public roles between husband and wife. Asmuni, in his book, classifies the husband as the main breadwinner and responsible for public and social activities. This fact can be seen in several explanations regarding how the husband provides for his wife, the kitchen is the domain of women and the emphasis that the wife is the husband's companion in household activities. In the framework of Letha Dawson Scanzoni and John Scanzoni (Ulya, 2018), Asmuni describes the relationship between husband and wife in the head-complement family pattern, where the wife acts as a complement to the activities carried out by the husband. Husbands involve their wives in various matters. However, the wives still depend on their husbands, especially in making family decisions. A wife is responsible for maintaining her husband's good name in her social circle. Even so, the division of responsibilities in the family in this pattern is more flexible when the husband still provides private space for his wife and can help with his duties if the wife has free time.

This phenomenon is reminiscent of the concept of *mubādalah*, that emphasizes partnership or cooperation and hatred between men and women. With this principle, men and women recognize each other, respect each other, listen to each other's opinions, and help each other. This concept causes a person to be seen as a human being, not a gender, whether male or female. Ibn al Qayyim al-Gauziyah explains that Islamic teachings and legal provisions embody four pillars of value: justice, wisdom, compassion, and benefit. (Musyafaah et al., 2022)

Furthermore, the *Qira'ah mubādalah* framework is an interpretative approach that seeks to synergize gender differences between men and women. The relationship between the two is seen as a partnership to complement and accompany each other (Kodir, 2021). As for the context of husband and wife and family relationships, there are five pillars or foundations of family life in the perspective of *mubādalah*, including a firm agreement (*mitsāqan galizhā*), the principle of pairing and mutual cooperation, the principle of treating each other well, the principle of deliberation and mutual comfort. (Afiah, 2021)

The description of husband and wife relationships in this book represents some of the principles of *mubādalah*. This book provides an overview of some of the ethics that husband and wife must carry out in fostering a harmonious family with mutual respect, division of tasks according to their respective professions, and not disturbing the privacy of each individual without reducing the sense of maintaining the integrity and benefit of the family (Kodir, 2021).

This book (*Adābul Mu'āsyarah*) contains many concepts of equality in husband and wife relationships, although it cannot be denied that patriarchy can still be found in it. As stated by Achmad Satori Ismail, a person's incomprehension in understanding Islam integrally is ideally caused by two things. First, sharia issues are often confused with *fiqh* issues. Second, it often pursues cases that have not been generally accepted. According to the researcher, what we must understand is that in general, the reason for the placement of men over women in the yellow book is because almost all authors of classical text are men. Therefore, gender bias is a challenge to avoid. Also, classical text is a product of the culture of its time, the Middle Ages, which was dominated by an overall male cultural image.

Local Ulama', Thought-style, and its Contribution to the Fiqh of Equality

Recently, the term *ulama*, which was originally defined as male, has been shifting meaning by reinterpreting Quranic verses related to this concept. KUPI -stands for Congress of Indonesian Women Ulama, the first congress in Indonesia was present as an affirmation of the existence of Indonesian women scholars and the expansion of their role and work in society (Kupipedia, 2017)- suggested that the term *ulama* is the plural form of '*alim*', which means a person of knowledge. The term *ulama* therefore encompasses people who have qualified expertise in any field, regardless of their sex and gender. The term *ulama* denotes someone who has high integrity because they fear only Allah and are committed to upholding justice (Rohmaniyah et al., 2022).

KUPI members have criticized the dominant epistemology of religious knowledge production. They argue that the dominance of masculinity has historically characterized knowledge production in classical Islamic theology. KUPI intellectuals offer a model of interpreting religious texts that enables gender-inclusive understanding. This model signifies their attempt to reconstruct an alternative to the masculine-dominated religious epistemology (Rohmaniyah et al., 2022). In this *muktamar* or congress organized by KUPI, the women '*ulama*' agreed to issue three fatwas to respond to issues that are developing in society. The three fatwas are fatwas on sexual violence, child marriage, and natural destruction (Farida & Kasdi, 2018). In addition to the fatwas on these three issues, KUPI also issued several recommendations, including: the importance of religious education for female '*ulama*', *pesantren* response to female '*ulama*', stopping sexual violence, protecting children from early marriage, and protecting migrant workers. Based on the above, there have been many thoughts of local '*ulama*', both male and female, who have contributed to answering gender issues in society. What is also interesting is the epistemological change in interpreting or deriving laws from texts, both the Quran and *Hadis* or classical Islamic texts.

The movement continues through social media which is the main means of disseminating information nowadays and also affects every aspect of life including religious life. (Ansori & Juliansyahzen, 2022). The gender-responsive Islamic law studies movement is reflected through various studies on social media. There are several online classes offered through social media that aim to provide a better understanding of the importance of women's struggle against oppression and discrimination. These online classes demonstrate the possibility of reinterpreting and redefining alternative *ijtihad* models regarding the position of women in Islamic law (Nurjanah & Nur, 2022). Various community movements and women's groups in campaigning for gender equality through social media seem to involve the discourse of Islamic legal studies. Nurjannah mentioned that some of these online platforms are Mubadalah.id, Lingkar Ngaji Keadilan Gender, and Rumah Kita Bersama (Nurjanah & Nur, 2022).

As for the aspect of legal production, the Fatwa Institution from among scholars of community organizations has several typologies of fulfilling women's rights. Ulama from *Nahdlatul 'Ulama'* are divided into three typologies: conservative groups that rigidly maintain traditions with textual understanding, moderate groups that are responsive to the dynamics of the era with contextual understanding, and liberal groups that promote gender justice with rational and deconstructive understanding (Jamal, 2014)(Ma'mur, 2017). Nevertheless, gender issues are always discussed in every *muktamar* and *bahsul masail*. Muhammadiyah also has the same tendency. The progressiveness of thought is inherent in this group considering that Muhammadiyah's *ijtihad* paradigm is a dialectic between text and context which is close to the word modernism. Miswanto states that the debate on gender discourse in Muhammadiyah is more

based on the value of freedom and the empowerment of women and the spirit of participation in life (Miswanto, 2020).

Also, *pesantren*, as a religious education place that is identical to traditional Islam in Indonesia through the teaching of the classical text (Hidayah & Arifi, 2017; Muafiah et al., 2022). *Kiai* is the central figure in a *pesantren*. The role of *Kyai* is also supported by the presence of *santri*, curriculum, *ustaz*, *mushola* or mosque and learning space. It can be said that the *kiai* is the most important and most decisive actor in the *pesantren*: where the *pesantren* will be directed depends on the *Kiai* (Abidin et al., 2020; Rajafi et al., 2023). *Kiai* has a role as the caregiver of the *pesantren* and the determinant of all changes and innovations in the *pesantren*. The position of the caregiver is an absolute source of power and authority in the life and environment of the *pesantren* (Mahbub & Adnani, 2022). Mahbub further explained in his research that *Nyai* has an important contribution in managing *pesantren*. *Nyai* can play an equal role with *Kiai* in the development of *pesantren* both internally and externally. Mahbub further explained in his research that *Nyai* has an important contribution in managing *pesantren*. *Nyai* can play an equal role with *Kiai* in the development of *pesantren* both internally and externally.

Those paradigms are in line with Asmuni who seeks to voice equality in the *pesantren* world through books that discuss husband-wife relations in building harmony. The domestic space, which is often considered a field of women's subordination, can be dismissed by Asmuni that harmony can be created in husband-wife relationships and in case it is contained in classical books which are guidelines for *santri* and *pesantren*. Asmuni, as a *Kiai* in a *pesantren* in Kediri, is able to provide an explanation of husband-wife relationships that is "quite" egalitarian for *pesantren* circles that can be used in teaching and learning in other *pesantren*. This shows that Asmuni has thoughts that were adaptive to the current context and situation. Asmuni is not trapped in the understanding of other classical texts that sometimes place women as sexual objects or subordinate victims in husband-wife relationships.

Last but not least in Asmuni's writing are indications of a healthy husband-wife relationship by respecting the rights and obligations of each husband and wife. Asmuni notes that husbands and wives are individuals who have their own space and lives that must be respected and appreciated. Asmuni also provides opportunities for each partner to continue to carry out daily activities on the condition that they maintain the obligations of each partner. Household harmony is happiness felt by both parties, so to achieve this, each individual must try to fulfill things that can provide happiness to their partner. In line with Quraish Shihab's explanation of the word "*qawwam*" which states that this leadership does not deprive the wife of her rights in various aspects. Male leadership in the family is not to show its superiority, but even though men are the head of the household, men and women are inter-complementary, not dominating each other (Nuroniyah, 2023).

Conclusion

Even though the nuances of fiqh books sometimes marginalize women, in general, *Adābul Mu'āsyaarah* already reflects a quite unequal relationship in gender compared to the others. As for the subordination of women in the book, we must understand that the reason why, in general, the yellow book places men above women, according to Masdar F. Mas'udi, is that almost all of the authors of the yellow book are men, so that gender bias is also present and difficult to avoid. In addition, the classical text is a product of the culture of its time, the Middle Ages, which was dominated by the image of a cultural sense that, as a whole, was definitely male.

The author's hope is that the results of this study will be a reflection material for gender and Islamic classical textbook in *pesantren*. It is time for a renewal of literacy and paradigm to interpret the understanding of Islamic classical textbook as a learning material for *santri* in *pesantren*. Asmuni is one example of a local ulama' who has lived with *pesantren* culture since he was young and has been able to be adaptive to the context and needs of the times. Many things can be done by further gender scholars, especially on the topic of paradigms and literacy on subjects among *pesantren*.

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Conflict of Interest

This article has not a conflict of interest

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