

Political Participation of Women and Cultural Hegemony in Pamekasan Madura

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Abstract

This study would like to examine how the representation of women in legislative institutions which is very minimal shows the unbalanced position of women in power relations in Pamekasan. The researcher used qualitative research methods with the determination of informants purposively. This study supports Gramsci's theory of hegemony which stated that the view of life and the dominant way of thinking disseminated in society institutionally, moral habits, principles of religiosity and politics, and all social relations. Those are domination over the values of life, norms, and culture of a society which eventually turns into a doctrine against other groups of people where the dominated group consciously follows. The dominated group did not feel oppressed and felt that this was the case. A hegemonic condition is a form of inequality and injustice which is detrimental to women. In this case, the dominated groups, which contains women and the group that disseminates the dominant ideology is the religious elite (Kiai).

Keywords: hegemony, political participation of women, the religious elite, patriarchy.

I. INTRODUCTION

Nationally, women's representation in the legislature is still very low, like an inverted pyramid, the lower level of representative institutions the smaller percentage of women's representation. This condition is a worrying phenomenon considering that the Regency/City Assembly at the regional level is the closest institution to the grass root society. The minimal number of women sitting in parliament in Indonesia is an interesting phenomenon because there have been many laws and regulations made to place women in parliament. However, still, it cannot change the existing conditions.

The same thing also happened in Madura, an island north of East Java. Women's representation in the people's representative institutions is very minimal. In Pamekasan, one of the districts in Madura, from a total of 45 Assembly at regional members in the 2009-2014 period, only two women succeeded in becoming Assembly at regional members. They are from the Golkar Party (1 person) and the Democratic Party (1 person). Meanwhile, in 2019-2024, there were also only two women elected from 45 existing seats. They are one person from the Democratic Party and one person from the Nasdem party. This condition shows that the number of women

elected is very minimal compared to the number of women voters who are half of the male voters.

Meanwhile, in terms of regulations, various laws have been made which emphasize that women's roles and functions should be subject to change, including in national and regional politics. It is stated in the 1945 Constitution in article 27, paragraph 1, also in Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000 concerning Gender Mainstreaming, which is an indicator that gender issues have not received special attention. Hence, the central government sets a political footing that opens opportunities for Indonesian women to participate actively in the development of gender-oriented politics (El Adawiyah et al., 2019; Hadiyono, 2015; Hariyanti et al., 2018).

As well as in the Political Party Law No.2 of 2008 article 20 which was later strengthened by Law No.2 of 2011 concerning Amendments to Law No.2 of 2008 concerning Political Parties article 2 paragraph 2 and 5, it also emphasized the importance of standing up for a 30% quota for representation women in the establishment and management of political parties. The same thing with Law No.8 of 2012 concerning Legislative Elections Article 8 paragraph 2 point "e" is that political parties include at least 30% (thirty per cent) representation of women in the management of political parties. As well as article 55 which states that the list of prospective candidates is as referred to in article 53 contains at least 30% (thirty per cent) representation of women and article 56 paragraph 2 which states that in the list of prospective candidates as referred to in paragraph (1), every three potential candidates there are at least one woman will be a candidate (zipper system).

Another similar regulation is Regulation of the Election Commission (PKPU) number 07 of 2013 concerning the Nomination of Members of the Indonesian Legislative Assembly, Provincial Assemblies and Regency/City Assembly, especially article 11 paragraph b clearly states "the list of nominees includes at least 30% representation of women in each constituency", whereas in article 11 paragraph "d" it is stated that "the order of placement of prospective female candidates as referred to in letter c, i.e. every three potential candidates there is at least one female candidate".

Nationally, the number of women in Indonesia according to the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) in 2019 was 131,879,200 people or around 49.7% of the population of Indonesia, and the number of women voters in the 2019 general election was 50% of the total number of voters. From this number, it can be seen that the number of women is not much different from men and women should have significant representation in legislative membership as a form of concern in decision making, bearing in mind that the audience of policies is women.

According to the case above, the representation of women in the legislature, as well as 30%, is the minimum figure that should appear. On the other hand, the political reality in Madura is inversely proportional, and it is an interesting phenomenon to be examined for political change and improvement towards a better and more dignified direction.

On the other hand, politics in Madura is very much influenced by the culture of political Islam (Akhavi & Price, 2000; Pribadi, 2014). The majority of Madurese are nahdliyin affiliated to the NU (Nahdlatul Ulama) organization, with political orientation since the New Order was PPP, and then later to PKB. In the social, cultural context, the Madurese community in general and Pamekasan Regency, in particular, are santri communities who have high adherence to

religious values, with the Kiai as role models. This condition is reflected in the number of pesantren (Islamic Boarding School) in Pamekasan Regency and has the most extensive pesantren base on the island of Madura.

The phenomenon of people who have a strong religious level but is inversely proportional to their obedience to the laws, namely Law No. 2 of 2011 and KPU regulation number 7 of 2013 which results in the lack of women working in the political arena is a fascinating subject to study. Is it true that cultural hegemony in Madura, especially in Pamekasan, has so strongly subordinated women in the family and public sphere, this culture will be examined in this study. In this study, researchers wanted to see how the cultural hegemony was so strong that bound women. This study also wanted to look at various factors that can increase the accommodation of women in the body of political parties and the scoring in the body of Islamic-based political parties in Pamekasan Regency, Madura.

II. Literature Review

This study uses Anthony Gramsci's hegemony theory which states that hegemony is a dominant view of life and way of thinking, which is disseminated in society both institutionally, dictating all tastes, moral habits, principles of religiosity and politics, and all social relations (Barker, 2008).

Based on Gramsci's thoughts, it can be explained that hegemony is a domination of the values of life, norms, and culture of a group of people that eventually turns into a doctrine against other groups of people in which the group that is dominated consciously follows. The dominated group did not feel oppressed and felt that this was the case.

In Gramsci's analysis, ideology is understood as ideas, meanings and practices, which, despite claiming to be a universal truth, are maps of significance that underpin the power of certain social groups (Anderson, 1976; Bates, 1975). Above all, ideology cannot be separated from the practical activities of life, but it is a material phenomenon rooted in everyday conditions. Ideology provides rules of practical behaviour and moral guidance commensurate with 'religion which is secularly understood as a unity of belief between the conception of the world and the norms of related action'.

Hegemony can be understood in the context of strategies where worldviews and role models of social power (whether they are class, sex, ethnicity and nationality) are maintained. It is a temporary residence and a series of alliances between social groups that are sought and not fallen from the sky.

Based on its history, only since the 19th century precisely in 1893 AD, women in various western countries began to get their voting rights as exemplified by Anthony Giddens. He showed that between 1893 and 1928 suffrage was obtained by women in 18 countries in Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand. Starting in 1929, women's suffrage began to reach in several countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In several European countries such as France, Yugoslavia, and Greece, women-only recognized suffrage after the end of World War II (Kamanto, 2004).

Affirmative action is a special policy that is temporary from many policies to increase the participation of women in the social, economic and political world. Pippa Norris stated that affirmative policy aside from putting women in the list of legislative candidates as potential

candidates could also be held by providing special training, financial support and balanced publications for the female candidates (Marzuki, 2009). Of course, the final result of affirmative action is to increase women's representation and achieve gender equality (Marzuki, 2014).

Affirmation of the percentage of quota for women is considered fair because of the various limitations that belong to women due to discriminatory treatment makes women unable to compete with men in the same beginning. So, the quota is needed to cover the shortage. Ani Soetjipto stated that quota is one of the popular and commonly used mechanisms in implementing affirmative policies. This method effectively opened the door for more women to participate in the political arena and narrow the gender gap in a short time (Soetjipto, 2009). Looking at the limited number of positions in the public sphere successfully achieved by women at the executive, legislative and judiciary levels, at the local, regional and national levels indicates that there is a significant gap between the acquisition of the status of women and men in the political context (Hurlburt, 2015; Mohanty et al., 1991; Pratto et al., 1994; Razavi, 2007).

The issue of gender has always been a dominant aspect in politics, both in class relations, age groups and ethnicity in which gender is also involved. Gender and political relations can be found from the family environment between husband and wife to a broader level of society, such as practical politics. The level of power relations also varies, starting from the symbolic level, in the use of language and discourse to a more real level in terms of labour, migration, violence, land and women's representation in political parties. Affirmative action efforts to encourage women's representation in politics continue to be voiced, as well as in the implementation of the 2009 elections; legislation set a 30% quota for women political parties in placing candidates for legislative members.

The quota campaign was a form of continued political struggle for women after demands for women's suffrage in the early 2000s was reached. The quota campaign aimed to fight domestication and patriarchy because the domestication and domination of men over women in a patriarchal culture is not a fate. For this reason, the quota campaign is not completed in the form of women's representation in political parties and parliament.

In the context of Madura's local politics, specifically Pamekasan Regency, political parties do not treat rights equally in the political context of women. There are several indications that lack of commitment of political parties to follow the rules of the Political Parties Act and Legislative Election Law which should be the main foothold. It is motivated by the power of cultural hegemony that 'fences' the desire of women to participate actively in political parties and the context of legislative elections. This cultural hegemony is built neatly and systematically in the long history of community development in Madura, especially Pamekasan.

III. Methodology

Research in this study uses qualitative methods to gain in-depth understanding and interpretation of the meaning, reality and facts relevant to the research topic (Moleong, 2017). This research is focused on the Pamekasan region, Madura, East Java. The research subjects

in this study are political actors in Pamekasan based on specific criteria, community leaders and intellectuals, and people who pay attention to the involvement of women in politics.

The selection of research subjects is conducted through a purposive method, where the number of informants adjusts to the representation of all elements, both political actors, community leaders and intellectuals, and people who pay attention to women's representation in politics. Data collected through observation, interviews and documentation.

Informants in this study were Kiai, female political figures, academics, and male legislators. They are representations of the Pamekasan community because they represent various elements that exist in the city. The informants whose data were extracted did not only come from women but also men so that the data generated could represent all elements in society.

IV. Result and Discussion

History and Socio-Cultural Conditions of the Pamekasan Community

Geographically, Pamekasan is an administrative area of Madura which is located in the middle of the island. From the territorial boundary, in the north it borders the Java Sea, in the south it borders the Madura Strait, in the west it borders Sampang Regency, and in the east, it borders Sumenep Regency. Based on the classification of Huub de Jonge, who divided Madura into two parts, Pamekasan entered the East Madura region (De Jonge, 1989; Latief, 2002). In terms of the division of government administration, Pamekasan has 13 subdistricts and 189 villages/urban villages, of which 178 are included in the village category and 11 are categorized as urban villages.

Based on the population, Pamekasan is an area that has a relatively not too high population growth rate. It is due to several factors, including out-of-regional and overseas migration and urbanization out of town. In terms of population, based on Pamekasan data in Figures 2019, the number of the female population is more than the male population, which is 51.4% of the total population. Looking at the female population which is bigger than the male population, the results of the 2019 elections show results that are not directly proportional to the large number of women, where women only represent two people in the legislature.

Socio-religiously, Pamekasan is an area with relatively high religious plurality compared to the three other districts in Madura. This condition is evidenced by the diversity of religious adherents in this district including places existence of worship other than Islam, such as the Protestant Christian church, the Catholic church, Temples and Shrine. Pamekasan is also a district with a fairly high level of heterogeneity. Two ethnic groups live in this area; they are ethnic Chinese villages 'village of Pechinan' and an Arab ethnic group is known as 'village of Arabs' in Pamekasan.

Based on the history of government development in Madura, Pamekasan is a Dutch government area marked by the construction of the VOC (Verenigde Ost Indische Compagni) building which is now known as the Madura Regional Coordinating Board (Bakorwil) VI building. The building was built during the reign of Regent R. Ismail (Adikoro IV) in 1743 AD. This building was formerly the Palace of Mandilaras which was later demolished into a VOC office with a VOC representative residence in Madura. The VOC office complex is called a Loji. The Dutch Resident occupied loji for Madura, which became known as the residency

building. This name continued into the republic era and changed after Madura became the territory VI of the Assistant Governor in Pamekasan. The designation of the presidential building was changed to the assistant governor's building, but the old villagers still call it Loji(Fath, 2006) .

In Pamekasan Regency, as in other Madura regions, patriarchal culture is very much common in the social, economic, political and cultural life of its people. In almost all aspects of women's lives, they have no place to play a role in the public sector. The role of women is more needed in the domestic sector. There are some of them have a role in the public sector such as local government, teachers, and private employees, but their number is not significant when compared to the number of women in Pamekasan.

Islamic boarding schools play an important role in the Pamekasan community. In Most pesantren in Pamekasan are applying a kind of unwritten provision that women are tabooed/barred from holding public positions at the lowest level of government (village head) to the highest position in regional/district government (regent). Even if there is existed, it will be limited to discourse. It can certainly be a long debate among leaders of the pesantren (Kiai). In government history in Pamekasan, every election party from the village head to the district head level is almost certain to always involve a pesantren with the Kiai as the holder of control. The influence of the Kiai will determine who the power will be given and in which direction the government policy will be directed, the Kiai plays an important role.

Pesantren play a vital role in the political stage in Pamekasan due to several factors. First, almost all pesantren in Pamekasan are still bound by strong family ties, so that when the Kiai (elder Kiai) of them make political choices on one person, the political choices of other relatives are automatically the same. Secondly, each Kiai has many santri in the thousands, so that the families of each santri have the same tendency in making political choices according to the Kiai's instructions as to their patron. This is the power of the Kiai in influencing the political map in Pamekasan.

Madurese are known as people who hold firm to the traditions of Islamic teachings in socio-cultural life. Other ethnic communities do not share the unique, stereotypical and stigmatic culture in Indonesia (Taufiqurrahman, 2012). The specificity of Madurese people is seen from their obedience, submission, and submission hierarchically to the four main figures in life and religious praxis. The four figures are Buppa', Babbu, Teacher (Kiai/Ustadz), and Ban Rato (government leader). In these four figures, the compliance of Madurese people is manifested in the praxis of their social and cultural lives(Wiyata, 2003) .

For Madurese ethnic entities, hierarchical obedience to the four figures is a necessity to be actualized in daily life as a binding normative rule. Therefore, neglect or deliberate violation of these rules results in social and cultural sanctions(Taufiqurrahman, 2012) . They do adherence to Kiai/Ustadz because their role is seen as beneficial and meaningful for the Madurese ethnic entity, for example, to provide provisions for the sufficiency of life in the world and the hereafter(Pribadi, 2012).

Madura society is a society that still upholds tradition and religiosity. The tradition of Madurese community views women as part of the family that must be protected, and that becomes part of the struggle of men as a form of self-esteem in society. Madurese people place women apart from the realm of men(Bustami, 2014). Women are interpreted based on religious

traditions and teachings. For Madurese people who are strong in spiritual teachings in daily life, religion is not only applied in the ritual aspect but also applied in various social, cultural and community activities(Hidayati, 2012) .

Latif Wiyata explained that Madurese community views and positions women as part of the family that must be protected, nurtured, and it is a symbol of men's struggle to cultivate self-esteem in front of society so that women are placed in a sacred space and separate from the realm of men . The strong traditions and patriarchal culture place the position of Madurese women unequal and tend to be below men(Wiyata, 2002).

Lack of Representation of Women in Pamekasan Local Parliament

Based on the history of parliament in Pamekasan Regency, the results of the general election from the Old Order, the New Order, the reformation era until the 2004 elections, there had never been a single member of the Pamekasan Regency Assembly who came from women. In the 2014 elections, there were only two female legislators from the Democratic and Golongan Karya party (Syarif, 2016). Likewise, in the 2019 elections, there were only two women who held seats in the legislature in Pamekasan. Even though there are more female voters than male voters, in reality, there are only two female candidates in all the candidates in Pamekasan Regency.

Based on data collection from informants in the field, it was found that the factors causing the 30 per cent quota for women in the parliament in Pamekasan were not fulfilled, including:

a. Cultural Factors of Patriarchy that are Rooted in Pamekasan

The patriarchal culture, which is preserved and rooted in Pamekasan, is caused by several factors. First, a discourse that becomes hereditary in the pesantren. The dominant culture that develops is that men must be ahead in any case. The culture of male leadership is deeply rooted in the society in almost all aspects of social, economic, political and cultural life. Women are considered as "second class" creatures, so they are conditioned to only play a role in the domestic sphere of the household. That was as stated by one of the SW informants:

"I see that in Madura generally and Pamekasan particularly, there is a patriarchal view of society that women are not fit to be involved in politics and are more suited to managing the domestic household sector."

Like other Madurese regions, in Pamekasan there is an understanding that the political world which is considered as a world that is hard, full of deception, debate, a conspiracy of power and so on is a world that is not suitable for women. It was stated by informant SW:

"In the local context, the 30% quota is not fulfilled for women is caused by political party elites and pesantren Kiai figures still understand that politics is something that is considered taboo for women. In the past elections, there were pros and cons among the elite political parties and Kiai figures. Those are contradictory argue that women should not take part in politics. I, myself, felt that when I helped to socialize the representation of women in parliament to the Kiai figures, those who contradicted said: "dhe'ema'ah keyah jhe' ne' bine" (where would the women be)? Yet in my opinion, activities in politics are almost the same as teaching activities. Why is it that teaching activities are quite acceptable in this

public society as well as in the public domain, while in politics they are the same, but are rejected by them. In my opinion, men or women are the same. Even if some women candidates become members of the legislature in Pamekasan in terms of quality, it is not worse than men. Women activists also have the same assumptions in this regard. There is no guarantee that male legislators are superior to women. Alhamdulillah, since 2014 there were women representatives in the Pamekasan legislature even though there were only two people. I continue to hope that women's representation in the Pamekasan Council continues to increase.”

Second, the culture factor of political leadership at the district level since pre-independence until now has always been led by men and became jurisprudence of the Pamekasan community in other aspects of life. So, there is no trust in the community to choose women. Even if there are female candidates, those who vote are only a few. AMT informants revealed this:

“In each election, there were many female legislative candidates' billboards in Pamekasan. However, at the time of the legislative elections, they only got about four thousand votes, which means far compared to other male candidates. It happened because the community had not yet accepted women's representation in the political world and considered women to be inappropriate in politics. Even if political parties propose female legislative candidates, it is solely due to the law, not because of other factors.

In its history, Madurese traditions and culture are often associated with the thick social hierarchy in the form of a class, status, gender and certain social roles. Latif Wiyata (2006) stated that the patriarchal system of Madurese people is clearly reflected through the position of husband's coordination of his wife.

b. Crisis Factors of Qualified Women's Cadres

In Pamekasan Regency, recruitment patterns carried out against women are very minimal. It is due to several factors: first, there is a strongly patriarchal culture that has been built for a long time and is rooted in the community, both pesantren and non-pesantren circles, which causes women to become passive or not pro-active in the world of politics. Because society considers that the world of politics as a public area is taboo for women and politics is the area of men. Women only have a role in the domestic sphere.

Second, the lack of women's resources to be able to engage in politics. The regeneration of women in political parties caused a lack of women who could become candidates for people's representation. Generally, women in Madura marry young, after high school or junior high school, they will usually be married off by their parents. For women who after finishing school but not married are considered a spinster. As stated by AMT, an academic in Pamekasan:

“In Pamekasan, it is very minimal in the resources of truly qualified women. Every political party supported by pesantren almost never displays or brings up women. Only a small proportion of female cadres emerged from campus activists. Pesantren almost never succeed in bringing up female leaders or cadres. I do not know whether the Kiai is not acceptable or indeed there is no suitable woman.”

Abdul Hannan stated that the gender problem of Madurese women can be seen from four basic issues (Dzulkarnain, 2017). First, the position and experience of Madurese women in many situations are not the same as the position and experience of men in these situations. Second, the position and experience of women in many situations are not only different but worse or unbalanced than men. Third, the situation experienced by Madurese women is understood as the practice of male power over women in the name of masculinity and femininity. Women are oppressed, restrained, subordinated and abused by men. Fourth, the treatment of injustice, violence, oppression and inequality is a form of differences in their social position in the social institutions of society.

Therefore, the transformation of patriarchal culture in the local community needs to be conducted. From traditions, values and traditional customs in gender are biased towards the development of a humanist, egalitarian, emancipatory, society and upholds the value of women's dignity.

c. Interpretation Factors of Religious Teachings

One of the main causes that resulted in the incomplete quota of 30% of women in the people's representative institutions in Pamekasan Regency was differences of opinion about religious texts, namely Al-Qur'an and Hadith relating to women's leadership. As stated in An-Nisa verse 34, almost all scholars agree that this verse applies in a family context. New differences arise when this verse is brought to be used as a legitimate differentiator between men and women in public life. But, their agreement in recognizing the effectiveness of this verse in the family context does not mean that they are uniform in interpreting it.

In the context of the Madurese local community, especially Pamekasan, the verse is precisely understood as the basis for the rejection of women to become leaders both in the domestic (family) and in the public (political) domains. The community in Pamekasan Regency considers that the verse also applies in the public sphere, especially the practical political world so that women are not allowed to enter the practical political world such as scrutiny in the legislature. The existence of interpretations like this resulted in the increasingly low number of women who jumped into the political world in Pamekasan. It was explained by an informant (AMT) who stated:

"The Pamekasan community, especially santri (people who learn in pesantren) among pesantren, understand religious texts of the Kiai such as the Hadith 'lan yufliha qaumun wallaw arrohum imroatan' (the community/nation will not experience progress/luck if women lead them). This condition causes disagreement among pesantren/Kiai to nominate women as representatives in the legislature. Even if viewed from the cause of the decline in the Hadith, it is not in the context of prohibiting women from becoming public leaders. So, patriarchal culture is increasingly prominent with this kind of religious understanding."

The existence of such gender-biased interpretation of religious texts makes it difficult for women to be able to meet the 30% quota in representation in the legislature in Pamekasan Regency. The root of patriarchal system in Madura is reflected in socio-religious reality, in many of their cultural products. Religious texts containing the teachings of leadership, morals and religious submission are often used as instruments of legitimacy. Religious

texts were redacted and interpreted in an understanding that contained misogynistic messages, dichotomous and social class biases.

Understanding and interpretation of normative Islamic teachings in the Madurese community go hand with its concrete cultural context which is strongly influenced by the locality and the time that shapes it (Rahman et al., 1985). In its manifestation, the diversity of communal ethnicity is manifested in the form of local traditions in which Islam has a position as a great tradition that shapes the conception of reality and accommodates the socio-cultural reality of the community or the community it forms (Azra, 1999).

The hegemonic position experienced by women in Pamekasan which is detrimental to women can be seen from the reality of the socio-cultural conditions of the ethnic Madurese community. Diversity in local traditions that shape the conception of reality about the position of women placed under men and only play a role in the domestic realm due to the interpretation of religious texts is the socio-cultural reality of the community or the community it forms. Compliance with certain figures such as Kiai/Ustadz shows the practical and socio-cultural form of society which hegemony women in their role in the public sphere.

Strategic Tips Needed to Improve the Position of Women in Parliament

To change this condition, it is needed some strategic tips that make people want to accept women as their representatives in the legislature. The first strategic tip is to strengthen the understanding and awareness of the cultural elite of the Pamekasan community (Kiai and leaders of Islamic political parties to the religious basis of both the Al-Qur'an and Hadiths related to women's leadership. Understanding and awareness of the cultural elite is the keyword for the formation of understanding and awareness in society grassroots in Pamekasan; there needs to be a reinterpretation of religious texts.

Second, prepare the quality of women's resources. For example, having a high education and having the ability to actualize and play a role in society. The more roles and self-actualization of women in society will make people remember and believe that women are able to absorb and fight for their aspirations. Madurese women must be strengthened in the education sector and also in structural sectors.

Third, there is support from political parties for women's representation. Political party support is a significant factor in realizing women's involvement in politics in the Pamekasan district. The greater support of political parties in Pamekasan for the representation of women, the bigger enthusiasm and stretching of women in carrying out practical political activities. Moreover, cooperation with religious elites is needed in an effort to increase the role of women in the public sphere.

The existence of a prohibition against women to occupy public office can be seen by several indications: first, there is a view that so far there is no evidence of women's leadership in the history of government in Pamekasan that can be used as jurisprudence for the next generation; second, there has never been any agreement or socialization by the Kiai regarding religious understanding that women can be leaders or occupy positions in the public sphere so that the public does not know and is even intentionally not informed with specific aims and objectives.

The minimal and limited women who have a role in public sector, especially in political field, proves that the patriarchal hegemony in Pamekasan Madura is very strong and supported by justification for the interpretation of religious texts and traditions of the local community regarding obedience to the Kiai as guides for the safety of the world and the hereafter. Kiai as role models strengthens the hegemonic conditions which weaken women to be equal and play a role in various sectors of life in Madura. Madurese compliance with Kiai or Ustadz who is considered as a guide for the provision of safety and welfare of life in the world and the hereafter is a reality that is reflected in the life of Madurese people.

V. The results of the theoretical discussion

Socio-cultural conditions in Pamekasan Regency make it difficult for women to be able to take part in the public sector, the political arena. Based on the socio-cultural conditions of the people in Pamekasan, it shows that patriarchal hegemony is built through the interpretation of religious values spread by the religious elite, Kiai. Issues relating to gender are not enough to be given a structural solution, the emphasis must mainly be through a cultural approach because the reality in society is still the social dimension of local communities with cultural values such as patriarchy. It is necessary to reinterpret religious texts which are the key to the problems of women originating from religious understanding. Changes in the scholars' understanding of existing social conditions will also affect the conditions of the people who have been following them.

The subordinate-hegemonic position experienced by Madurese women needs to be changed by looking back at the cultural meaning of society about obedience in the context of subordination, hegemony, exploitation in their lives. With adequate educational capital, it is possible that cultural issues regarding the concept of obedience can be changed for the more egalitarian lives of men and women in Pamekasan.

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