UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
**From Desegregation to Segregation: Re-regulating Cross-gender Relations at Al-Hikmah Pesantren Yogyakart**
FITRIA SUSAN MELIYANA, Dr. Mohammad Iqbal Ahnaf; Dr. Mustaghfiroh Rahayu
**Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/**

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPROVAL PAGE ..... ii

PLAGIARISM-FREE STATEMENT ..... iii

PERSONAL PHILOSOPHY ..... iv

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT ..... v

FOREWORD ..... vi

TABLE OF CONTENTS ..... viii

LIST OF TABLE AND FIGURES ..... xiii

GLOSSARY ..... xiv

*INTISARI* ..... xvii

ABSTRACT ..... xviii

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION ..... 1

1.1 Background ..... 1

1.2 Research Questions ..... 5

1.3 Research Purposes ..... 6

1.4 Literature Review ..... 6

1.5 Theoretical Frameworks ..... 13

1.6 Research Method ..... 22

1.7 Thesis Structure ..... 33

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
**From Desegregation to Segregation: Re-regulating Cross-gender Relations at Al-Hikmah Pesantren Yogyakart**
FITRIA SUSAN MELIYANA, Dr. Mohammad Iqbal Ahnaf; Dr. Mustaghfiroh Rahayu
**Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/**

CHAPTER II INSTITUTIONAL, NORMATIVE, AND THEORETICAL CONTEXTS OF GENDER RELATIONS IN PESANTREN ..... 35

2.1 Historical and Institutional Background of Al-Hikmah Pesantren ..... 36

2.1.1 From Desegregation to Segregation: Reconfiguring Gender Relations and Social Life ..... 40

2.1.2 Educational Environment in Pesantren ..... 44

2.1.3 Gender Regulations and Supervisory Practices ..... 47

2.1.4 Spatial Arrangement and Gender Boundaries ..... 50

2.2 History of Gender Segregation in Pesantren ..... 55

2.2.1 Gender Relations in Early Pesantren Traditions ..... 58

2.2.2 The Institutionalization of Gender Segregation in Pesantren ..... 62

2.3 Islamic Foundations of Gender Relations in Pesantren ..... 65

2.3.1 Gender Relations in Qur'anic Interpretation ..... 66

2.3.2 Gender Relations in Hadith Commentary ..... 70

2.3.3 Cross-Gender Interaction in Indonesian Muslim Society ..... 72

2.3.4 Normative Regulation of Cross-Gender Interactions in Pesantren ..... 76

2.4 Models of Gender Arrangement in Pesantren ..... 79

2.4.1 Institutional Differences between Traditional and Modern Pesantren. 82

2.4.2 Fully Segregated Gender Relations in Pesantren ..... 84

2.4.3 Partially Segregated Gender Relations in Pesantren ..... 87

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
**From Desegregation to Segregation: Re-regulating Cross-gender Relations at Al-Hikmah Pesantren Yogyakart**
FITRIA SUSAN MELIYANA, Dr. Mohammad Iqbal Ahnaf; Dr. Mustaghfiroh Rahayu
**Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/**

2.4.4 Desegregated Gender Relations in Pesantren ..... 90

CHAPTER III DYNAMICS OF THE GENDER RELATIONS ARRANGEMENT: A CRITICAL AUTOETHNOGRAPHIC NARRATIVE .... 93

3.1 Institutional Gender Policy and Its Practical Institutionalization ..... 94

3.1.1 Formulation and Normative Foundations of Gender Policy ..... 96

3.1.2 Inconsistencies in Policy Implementation..... 99

3.1.3 Divergent Interpretations of Gender Norms among Institutional Actors ..... 104

3.2 Everyday Configurations of Gender Interaction ..... 107

3.2.1 Communicative Patterns among Students..... 109

3.2.2 Adaptive Strategies within Gendered Constraints ..... 112

3.2.3 Gendered Interaction in Academic Spaces ..... 115

3.2.4 Informal and Concealed Forms of Interaction ..... 119

3.3 Tensions, Violations, and Negotiations of Gender Boundaries ..... 122

3.3.1 Regulatory Transgressions and Boundary Crossing ..... 123

3.3.2 Gendered Double Standards in Norm Enforcement..... 134

3.3.3 Moral Ambiguity and Ethical Dilemmas ..... 140

3.3.4 Digital Mediation as an Alternative Interaction Space ..... 143

3.4 Emergent Reconfigurations of Gender Relations ..... 149

3.4.1 Emerging Relational Patterns beyond Formal Segregation ..... 149

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
**From Desegregation to Segregation: Re-regulating Cross-gender Relations at Al-Hikmah Pesantren Yogyakart**
FITRIA SUSAN MELIYANA, Dr. Mohammad Iqbal Ahnaf; Dr. Mustaghfiroh Rahayu
**Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/**

3.4.2 Reconstructing Communication Models in Gendered Contexts ..... 153

3.4.3 Generational Adaptation and Shifting Gender Sensibilities ..... 156

3.4.4 The Transformation of Moral Meaning and Relational Ethics ..... 159

CHAPTER IV FORMATION AND NEGOTIATION OF GENDER RELATIONS IN AL-HIKMAH PESANTREN ..... 161

4.1 Patterns of Everyday Gender Relations in Al-Hikmah Pesantren ..... 162

4.1.1 Professional Relations: Cooperation, Leadership, and Organizational Participation ..... 163

4.1.2 Personal Relations: Friendship, Communication, and Emotional Boundaries..... 166

4.1.3 Supportive Relations: Solidarity, Motivation, and Shared Struggles 170

4.1.4 Negotiating Attraction, Desire, and Gender Boundaries ..... 174

4.2 Comparing Gender Relations under the Desegregated and Segregated Arrangement..... 180

4.2.1 Perceptions of Gender Segregation and Desegregation ..... 180

4.2.2 Perceptions of the Opposite Sex ..... 188

4.2.3 Gender Relations and Learning Motivation ..... 190

4.2.4 Moral Concerns and Criticism Toward Pesantren ..... 196

4.3 Institutional Transformation in Governing Gender Relations ..... 201

4.3.1 Religious Authority and Construction of Gender Norms ..... 201

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
**From Desegregation to Segregation: Re-regulating Cross-gender Relations at Al-Hikmah Pesantren Yogyakart**
FITRIA SUSAN MELIYANA, Dr. Mohammad Iqbal Ahnaf; Dr. Mustaghfiroh Rahayu
**Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/**

4.3.2 Discipline, Habituation, and Pious Subject Formation ..... 204

4.3.3 Agency, Negotiation, and Compliance ..... 209

4.3.4 Trauma, Personal Experiences and Gendered Dispositions..... 212

4.4 Rethinking Gender Segregation in Contemporary Pesantren ..... 218

4.4.1 Evaluating Desegregation and Segregation Beyond Binary Debates 218

4.4.2 Responsibilities of Religious Authorities, Teachers, and Students.... 221

4.4.3 Digitalization and the Transformation of Gender Boundaries..... 224

4.4.4 Toward a Contextual Model of Gender Relations in Pesantren..... 228

CHAPTER V CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS..... 236

BIBLIOGRAPHY ..... 197