

INTISARI

Kajian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisa dinamika perlawanan nalar feminisme dalam khitan perempuan, pernikahan dini, dan poligami dalam praksis kuasa gender di NU dengan menggunakan teori Praksis Sosial dari Pierre Bourdieu. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif. Pengumpulan data menggunakan teknik dokumentasi dan wawancara yang dilakukan dengan kelompok-kelompok perempuan internal NU (Muslimat, Fatayat, Rahima). Analisa data dilakukan melalui tahap reduksi data, display data, dan penarikan kesimpulan.

Kajian ini menyimpulkan bahwa perlawanan nalar yang dilakukan oleh kelompok perempuan NU merupakan “perlawanan dalam kepatuhan”. Perlawanan dalam kepatuhan merupakan suatu bentuk perlawanan yang berasal dari nalar *heterodoxa* feminisme di dalam nalar *orthodoxa* yang berasal dari kuasa pemaknaan dalam habitus NU, dengan cara melakukan “kompatibilitas nalar” yang menghasilkan “modifikasi praksis sosial”. Kontestasi nalar yang terjadi tidak selalu diakhiri dengan menang dan kalah, namun juga bisa diakhiri dengan modifikasi praksis sosial sebagai titik akomodasi. Modifikasi praksis sosial tersebut di satu sisi dibingkai oleh habitus NU berupa faham aswaja yang menjadi pedoman dalam memahami ajaran Islam dan menghasilkan *doxa* tentang wacana khitan perempuan, pernikahan dini, dan poligami. Habitus tersebut muncul dari pembelajaran kitab kuning yang diinternalisasikan dalam tradisi pesantren. Di sisi yang lain, modifikasi praksis sosial merupakan hasil pengelolaan modal yang dimiliki oleh kelompok perempuan NU, terutama modal sosial, modal kultural, dan modal nalar (*knowledge capital*). Modifikasi praksis sosial ini memberikan ruang bagi bekerjanya nalar feminisme tanpa meninggalkan nalar religius patriarkhis dalam NU. Dari ketiga isu yang diteliti, khitan perempuan merupakan praksis sosial yang paling mudah untuk dilakukan modifikasi, kemudian disusul dengan pernikahan dini, sedangkan poligami merupakan praksis sosial yang paling sulit untuk dilakukan modifikasi. Habitus NU yang bersifat *post-konservatisme* menunjukkan bahwa tidak sepenuhnya NU menerima berbagai wacana baru yang masuk, namun memiliki mekanisme konservasi untuk bertahan. Temuan ini mengoreksi kajian-kajian sebelumnya yang bersifat empatik, yaitu membela tradisi NU sebagai struktur yang terbuka terhadap berbagai wacana gender baru. Perlawanan dalam kepatuhan yang dilakukan oleh kelompok perempuan NU menunjukkan bahwa tidak sepenuhnya mereka menolak *doxa*. Temuan ini mengoreksi kajian-kajian sebelumnya yang bersifat kritis, yaitu membela kelompok feminisme NU dan mengkritisi konservatisme NU. Dengan demikian, penelitian ini menjembatani kajian-kajian sebelumnya yang berdiri berhadapan. *Knowledge capital* merupakan temuan kebaruan melengkapi kategori modal yang sudah disebutkan oleh Bourdieu (modal sosial, modal kultural, modal simbolik, modal ekonomi).

Keywords:

Field, capital, feminism epistemology, knowledge capital, social praxis modification, reason compatibility, habitus post-conservatism.

ABSTRACT

This study aimed to analyze the dynamics of resistance of reason feminism in female circumcision, early marriage and polygamy in the praxis of gender power in NU using Social Praxis theory of Pierre Bourdieu. This study uses a qualitative method. Collecting data using techniques of documentation and interviews conducted with women's groups internal NU (Moslem, Fatayat, Rahima). Data analysis is done through a phase of data reduction, data display, and conclusion.

The study concluded that the resistance of reason by a group of women NU is "resistance in compliance". Resistance in compliance is a form of resistance that comes from reason heterodoxa feminism in orthodoxa reasoning derived from the power of meaning in NU habitus, by means of "the compatibility of reason" that generates "social praxis modification". Contestation reason that happens is not always ended with winning and losing, but also be terminated by the modification of social praxis as a point of accommodation. Modification of the social praxis on the one hand be framed by habitus NU Aswaja guiding ideology in understanding the teachings of Islam and generating doxa discourse on female circumcision, early marriage, and polygamy. The habitus emerges from yellow book learning internalized in Islamic tradition. On the other hand, the modification of social praxis is the result of the management of capital owned by NU women's groups, especially social capital, cultural capital, and the capital of reason (knowledge capital). Modification of social praxis provides space for the operation of reason feminism without leaving the patriarchal religious reasoning in NU. Of the three issues being examined, female circumcision is a social praxis that is easiest to do modifications, followed by early marriage, while polygamy is a social praxis that is most difficult to do modifications. NU habitus that is post-conservatism shows that do not fully NU receive various new discourse that goes, but has a conservation mechanism to survive. These findings correcting earlier studies are empathic, ie defend NU tradition as a structure that is open to a variety of new gender discourse. Resistance in compliance undertaken by women's groups are not fully NU show that they reject doxa. These findings correcting earlier studies that are critical, that is defending the feminist group NU and NU criticizing conservatism. Thus, this research bridges the earlier studies were standing face to face. Knowledge capital is the novelty findings complement those already mentioned capital categories by Bourdieu (social capital, cultural capital, symbolic capital, economic capital). namely defending NU tradition as a structure that is open to a variety of new gender discourse. Resistance in compliance undertaken by women's groups are not fully NU show that they reject doxa. These findings correcting earlier studies that are critical, that is defending the feminist group NU and NU criticizing conservatism. Thus, this research bridges the earlier studies were standing face to face. Knowledge capital is the novelty findings complement those already mentioned capital categories by Bourdieu (social capital, cultural capital, symbolic capital, economic capital). namely defending NU tradition as a structure that is open to a variety of new gender discourse. Resistance in compliance undertaken by women's groups are not fully NU show that they reject doxa. These findings correcting earlier studies that are critical, that is defending the feminist group NU and NU criticizing conservatism. Thus, this research bridges the earlier studies were standing face to face. Knowledge capital is the novelty findings complement those already mentioned capital categories by Bourdieu (social capital, cultural capital, symbolic capital, economic capital). These findings correcting earlier studies that are critical, that is defending the feminist group NU and NU criticizing conservatism.



MELAWAN DALAM KEPATUHAN (Mengurai Kontroversi Nalar Feminisme dalam Praksis Khitan Perempuan, Pernikahan Dini, dan Poligami di Nahdlatul Ulama)

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