

Gender Equality in Islamic Organizations: A Study on PBNU

Reka Gunawan, Nurul Hariani, Alfian Taufiqi, Ali Aziz, Sokhi Huda

Program Studi Komunikasi Penyiaran Islam UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya

rekagunawan29@gmail.com

Received: Jun 16, 2022 | Revised: Sep 01, 2022 | Approved: Sep 23, 2022

Abstract: The existence of female leaders in an organization has an impact on gender equality in society. This impact happened to the PBNU organization, the largest national Islamic institution with social and political influence. This study aims to describe the dynamics process and the existence of gender equality in the Islamic organization PBNU. This study uses a qualitative field approach with a feminist perspective in organizational communication. The data were obtained through observations and interviews with the General Chairperson of PBNU and the Chairperson of Tanzfidiyah. This research shows that Gender Equality in the dynamics of the PBNU organization can be identified through the various roles performed by one of the female leaders, namely Khofifah Indar Parawansa, the Chair of Tanfidziyah in the 2022-2027 era. Shows that the role of women leaders in PBNU is currently in a phase or period of free competition. Meanwhile, regarding the existence of Gender Equality in the PBNU organization, it shows assumptions about the prediction that if the role of women leaders such as Mrs. Khofifah in the political and social fields is getting stronger, it will also have a strong influence on the existence of female cadres in PBNU in the next period. This study argues that gender equality in Islamic organizations at PBNU is a role model for other organizations.

Keywords: *Feminist, Gender Equality, Organizational Communication*

Introduction

Nowadays, one of the social discourses is the issue of gender equality. The implementation of gender equality began to develop within the territory of religious or Islamic organizations in Indonesia. Especially one of them is the leadership position filled by women in the PBNU organization or the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board. It can also be attributed to the term emancipation. The emancipation of women has been a struggle since the 14th century AD to obtain equal rights and freedoms, such as the rights of men. So the women's emancipationists want women to be aligned with men in all spheres of life, whether in education, work, economy, or government (Hasri, 2018). In addition, the emancipation of women is defined as a movement to liberate women's dependence on men. as stated by Achmad Syafi'i Ma'ani, women's emancipation is an attempt related to women to obtain political rights in the sense that the right to vote, the right to be elected or to lead.

The PBNU institution or organization is one of Indonesia's most prominent Islamic institutions. As the largest national Islamic institution, it has social and political power. Based

on an article from the official national media for Nahdlatul Ulama, namely nu.or.id by the author Muhammad Syakir NF (12 January 2022 edition), for the first time in the history of the Tanfidziyah daily administrator, two women were entrusted with the Chair of the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board (PBNU) for the Khidmah Period. 2022-2027. Namely Hj Khofifah Indar Parawansa and Hj Alissa Qotrunnada Wahid. This is stated in the PBNU Decree Number 01/A.II.04/01/2022. It should be noted that the management of Nahdlatul Ulama is divided into two: Syriac, equivalent to the legislative, and Tanfidziyah, equivalent to the executive; the highest position in Syria is called Rais' Aam. In contrast, the highest position for Tanfidziyah is called the General Chair. So, PBNU consists of the leadership of Rais Aam (Legislative) & Tanfidziyah (Executive).

Talking about the existence of the PBNU organization is inseparable from the leadership of its cadres, which usually already have a track record of leadership from work or mandates in the last place. Based on a JawaPos media article (17 February 2022 edition), Khofifah Indar Parawansa was elected as one of the Tanfidziyah Chairmen in the ranks led by Yahya Cholil Staquf as chairman. Allegedly, PBNU has no technocrats. Therefore, the reason K.H. Yahya Staquf appointed Mrs. Khofifah as the chairman was to provide training related to technocrats among / the bodies of the PBNU organization. In the extensive dictionary of Indonesian (KBBI), technocrats mean scholars who take part in government in the current era of development, and it is hoped that they can appear in control of the leadership in all fields (Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI), 2022).

Seeing this phenomenon, various discourses of related questions emerged, for example "why is there a change in women's involvement in the PBNU organization now", "why male leaders are willing to be counseled by women", and "whether women's involvement will last a long time in PBNU", and so on. This shows that there is still a social conflict between patriarchy and matriarchy cultures. In line with Nabila Marasabessy's opinion that patriarchal culture places men in a higher structure than women (Marasabessy, 2021). The male is positioned as the sole ruler who can do everything. men also have a major role in regulating the social system.

Based on the observations of online media articles, the author found data that previously the Tanfidziyah ranks in the 2015-2020 period did not exist from among women. Whereas in the previous period when K.H. Yahya Staquf happened to be the Chairman, it turned out to have involved female figures in his ranks such as Dra. Hj. Sinta Nuriyah, M.Hum. Hj. Mahfudhoh Ali Ubaid Mrs. Hj. Nafisah Sahal Mahfudh Prof. Dr. Hj. Chuzaimah T. Yanggo Dr. Hj. Faizah Ali Sibromalisi, M.A. Prof. Dr. Hj. Ibtisyaroh, S.H., M.M. Dr. Hj. Sri Mulyati (Fathoni, 2015). The author's view sees that K.H. Yahya Staquf shows consistency in involving women in every mandate of their leadership, especially the latest one by choosing the figure of Khofifah Indar Parawansa as one of the chairmen and advisors who carry out a large role in the PBNU organization which is oriented towards the interests of the people nationally, especially in the field of Technocrats. This is an urgency in itself which can be seen from the change or dynamics in the PBNU organization, especially in the involvement of women to be one of the impins and advisors in the organization. So it shows that there are efforts for gender equality, regardless of their political and social interests.

Therefore, in this authorship, the author wants to examine more deeply about gender equality in Islamic organizations with a focus on studies on the Islamic organization PBNU. Especially on the role of women leader Khofifah Indar Parawansa. The purpose of this study is to understand how gender equality is in the dynamics of the PBNU organization and how the existence of gender equality in the PBNU organization. This research method adopts feminist theory with the perspective of organizational communication.

Research Methods

This research uses a qualitative approach, an approach used to obtain natural or non-artificial research results from the research site. The study results are arranged in the form of short, concise, and clear sentences to make it easier for readers to understand the research results. A feature of qualitative research is that the research is carried out in natural conditions. The data collected is more in the form of words or images that do not emphasize numbers. (Sugiyono, 2021). Qualitative research is a case study where this type of research reveals in depth a problem or event at the research site—data collection techniques with interviews, documentation, and observations by researchers. The first interview technique asks informants some questions (developed with 5W+1H) to get information and research results.

This research uses the theory of feminism in organizations. According to Arie Cahyono said that women and men are different (Arie Cahyono, 2016). The biological differences between women and men are commonly referred to as sex or sex. Meanwhile, the difference between women and men due to socio-cultural constructions is often referred to as gender. According to Katherine Miller in the book *Organizational Communication (approaches and processes)* that feminist theory in organizational communication is divided into several ideas: liberal feminism, feminism, radical feminism, standpoint feminism, and post-modern feminism (Miller, 2015).

Point-wise, liberal feminism believes that the abolition of women's subordination must originate from the system, and women appear or appear to gain a fair role over the control of the institutions that men are advocating. Then radical feminism believes that women's emancipation will only be realized through the destruction of male-dominated institutions or through the total separation of women from these kinds of institutions. Meanwhile, standpoint feminism aims to amplify opportunities for marginalized voices to be heard in societal dialogues. Finally, post-modern feminism seeks to overhaul or deconstruct male-dominated systems to give rise to a female perspective.

Gender Equality In The Dynamics Of PBNU Organization

1. Vision and Mission of Khofifah Indar Parawansa as one of the heads of Tandzifiyah in the Islamic Organization PBNU

A vision is said to be a commitment set by an organization. This statement corresponds to what was put forward by Fred R. David in his writings, namely:

"A vision statement should answer the basic question, "What do we want to become?". The vision statement should be short, preferably one sentence, and as many managers as possible should have input into developing the statement. It is especially important for managers and executives in any organization to agree on the basic vision that the firm strives to achieve in the long term (Anisa, 2020)

A vision is a statement that contains answers and explanations, the circumstances or image of a company or institution to be achieved in the future, or in short, is "What do we want to be?." The vision statement must be brief, but it must also be clearly stated. If the vision period is made with an extended period, then there is a time limit. The person in charge of making the vision is given to the top leader or manager to make the final decision, but members can also give opinions and contribute to making the vision.

A vision in the field of business or benefit can apply the vision as a whole and form in articulating a vision that is worth the benefit and focuses on profit income as much as possible; however if the articulation of the vision is applied to the field of the organization. The preparation of *the articulation* of the vision must be carried out by adopting from the basis of the vision, which is aimed at the field of business or benefit, then adapting it to the focus or basic orientation of the organization that is of non-benefit value means not prioritizing profit income materially.

Based on the explanation above, it can be said that vision in an organization has several factors that must be considered when starting to prepare a vision, namely:

1. Describe the organization's goals for the future.
2. Have a long period along with clear time limits.
3. Focuses on the quality of vision.
4. Involving all members of the organization.
5. An easy-to-understand statement.

The mission can be described as detailing the key elements to help achieve the vision. Fred R. David, in his article, refers to Peter Drucker to understand the mission statement, namely:

"Drucker says that asking the question "What Is Our Business?" is synonymous with asking the question "What Is Our Mission?". The Mission statement is a declaration of an organization's "Reason For Being". The mission statement reveals what an organization want to be and whom it want to serve. A clear mission statement is essential for effectively establishing objectives and formulating strategies. Drucker also added that business mission is the foundation for priorities, strategies, plans, and work assignments. It is the starting point for the design of managerial jobs and, above all, for the design og managerial structures (Anisa, 2020).

Based on the statement, it is said that the mission is a component of the preliminary plan that states why the business or organization was founded and aims at the central issues of the business or organization. The mission consists of the main things that a company or organization wants to do and achieve to support the achievement of the vision (primary goal) that has been set. A prepared mission statement is significant for effectively defining technical activities and formulating strategies.

The vision of Khofifah Indar Parawansa as one of the presiding officers of Tandzifiyah at PBNU in Building Human Resources is to Build the Quality of Human Resources through the role of women. Meanwhile, the mission of Khofifah Indar Parawansa as one of the heads of Tandzifiyah at PBNU in Building Human Resources is as follows:

1. It was improving the Human Development Index (HDI) through various programs that can provide economic strengthening for women in rural areas.
2. Improving the quality of formal, vocational, and informal education
3. Reducing *stunting* case

As stated by Mrs. Khofifah that, the quality of Human Resources is determined by the role of women. To build Human Resources, it is necessary to increase the Human Development Index (HDI), such as through various programs that can provide economic strengthening for women in rural areas. The second is through education. Not only formal education, vocational and informal education are very important (Siti Maulida, 2022).

To improve N.U.'s Human Resources, it is necessary to reduce stunting cases. According to Khofifah, the problem of stunting is very close to women. Women's reproductive health needs to be considered from adolescence to childbirth. In this case, women have an essential role in N.U. in efforts to advance the nation and to welcome a Century of Nahdlatul Ulama.

So that based on the explanation in this context, it can be identified as related to the Vision and Mission of Khofifah as one of the female cadres in carrying out the mandate of the PBNU organization is very critical and pays close attention to the point of a problem that is happening, and focuses on solving the root of the problem with practical strategies. It deals with liberal feminist theory, the perspective of organizational communication that the view is to place women who have freedom fully and individually. According to the author of this school, freedom and commonality are based on rationality and the separation between the private and public worlds, so it seems that the private and public world of Mrs. Khofifah certainly has a separation as a form of optimizing her position when she became chairman of Tanfidziyah in intense contact with her organization (PBNU) as a form of the public world. Also, the condition when he is not a Chairman at PBNU is a private world where it can be related to his nature as a woman, namely the role of motherhood and women in social situations.

1. Khofifah Indar Parawansa's duties as chairman of the Tandzifiyah in the Islamic Organization PBNU

Chairman of the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board (PBNU) Kiai Haji Yahya Cholil Staquf or Gus Yahya emphasized that N.U. It needs the role of Khofifah Indar Parawansa because it has the ability of a technocrat. As stated by the general chairman of PBNU, said: "That is my reason why I choose Khofifah Indar Parawansa as the first woman to enter the ranks of the Chairman of Tanfidziyah PBNU," said Gus Yahya During nu's 96th

Silaturahim Harlah at the Grahadi State Building in Surabaya, Wednesday night (National, 2022).

Gus Yahya admitted that the decision to select Khofifah, including Alissa Wahid, in the PBNU structure was not due to gender issues but because of the quality and needs of the roles of the two. The chairman of PBNU wants the management of the mass organizations he currently leads to be like the government, so technocratic skills are needed. Technocracy is a government where technical experts master decision-making in their respective fields. Engineers, scientists, health professionals, and people with knowledge, expertise, or ability will form government bodies. In a technocracy, decision-makers will be selected based on how far they have mastered their field (*Big Dictionary of Indonesian (KBBI)*, 2022). The duties entrusted by the general chairman of PBNU to Mrs. Khofifah are as follows:

1. Teaching technocratic education to all PWNU administrators at the branch level.
2. Teaching technocratic education to all PWNU administrators at the Provincial level.
3. Teaching technocratic education to all PWNU administrators at the National level.

As stated directly by the general chairman of PBNU, Gus Yahya said that before going outside the province, Gus Yahya, as part of the highest leader in PBNU, asked Mrs. Khofifah to teach about a technocracy in the body of PWNU East Java. After the provincial level, then the branches. *"Once again, I ask Ms. Khofifah, chairman, to teach about how to manage and build technocracy in the N.U. body (National, 2022)."* Gus Yahya once again emphasized that it is imperative and crucially needed as part of PBNU's goal for the people and the nation.

This is as it relates to the assumption of liberal feminism, which states that women must prepare themselves so that they can be able to compete in the world (both socially, politically, and culturally) within the framework of 'free competition.' Mrs. Khofifah's role in this context can be seen as being in a phase of free competition, where it openly remains in the control or control role of the male lead, Namely Gus Yahya. The assumption is that this free competition aims to bring equality of position to men; however, it is not entirely equal. In reality, the position of Mrs. Khofifah's female leader in the PBNU organization is only still part of the male leadership. Showing the absolute patriarchal cultural position is increasingly evident in the PBNU organization.

This is as it relates to the assumption of liberal feminism, which states that women must prepare themselves so that they can be able to compete in the world (both socially, politically, and culturally) within the framework of 'free competition.' Mrs. Khofifah's role in this context can be seen as being in a phase of free competition, where it openly remains in the control or control role of the male lead, Namely Gus Yahya. The assumption is that this free competition aims to bring equality of position to men; however, it is not entirely equal. In reality, the position of Mrs. Khofifah's female leader in the PBNU organization is only still part of the male leadership. Showing the absolute patriarchal cultural position is increasingly evident in the PBNU organization.

1. Internal and external factors yang influence the current culture of regeneration in PBNU.

There are several Internal Factors in the process of regeneration in the current PBNU Islamic organization. The factors are divided into three levels, namely:

1. PD-PKPNU (Basic Education of Nahdlatul Ulama Driving Cadres is at the primary level.
2. PKMNU (Nahdlatul Ulama Secondary Cadre Education) is at the middle level.
3. AKN-NU (Nahdlatul Ulama National Leadership Academy) is at a high level.

As Gus Ulil told N.U. Online, Tuesday edition:

"So the name continues the previous recitation. It is just that we affix or insert a name that shows the level. So PD-PKPNU for the basics, PKMNU for the middle, then the high level of AKN-Nu, which will later produce cadres who can become administrators at the regional level or large administrators (Aru Lego Triono, 2022).

As for external factors in the regeneration of the PBNU Islamic organization, as conveyed by the Lecturer of political science and international studies at Paramadina University, namely A. Khoirul Umam, said that external or external forces that affect the culture of Nahdiyin regeneration want support from the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board (PBNU) for the investment and political agenda in the future, especially in the 2024 General Elections (Elections As quoted from his written statement received in Jakarta Tuesday (21/12/2021):

"To prevent this, it takes the independence and neutrality of the voters to choose a PBNU leader who is following the aspirations of nahdiyin (FFS, 2022)."

Khoirul Umam, who once served as Chairman of Tanfidz PCI-NU Queensland, Australia, concluded that if the first and second factors are more dominant, it will produce PBNU leadership that is in line with nahdiyin's aspirations. However, if the third and fourth factors are more influential, then N.U. It will become the political machine of certain parties who want to win in the 2024 elections. This is a hegemony for the PBNU organizational environment, especially in the social and political contexts with an orientation close together but sometimes have to be separated. The issue of gender equality seems to be an opportunity for a group of people with the urgency of the same interests. So if you pay attention, the issue of gender equality has recently been increasingly noticed since the number of women chosen to be leaders.

The first and second-factor interventions, or the fourth and fifth factors, are ultimately oriented towards consensus on the leader in leadership. Taking into account the background of Khofifah, who is known as an independent leader and before entering

the position of one of the Pbnu Chairmen, he already had a robust political image both as a minister of Social Affairs in the Jokowi period, to become the Governor of East Java 2020-2025. It shows that Khofifah's political existence is mature, so social existence invites many people or groups willing to support him. This is undoubtedly a strength in itself for Khofifah. Seeing this phenomenon, the decision to choose the role of the usurper as a leader in the PBNU period of Gus Yahya is likely to be influenced by the first and second factors.

The Existence of Gender Equality in the PBNU Organization

1. Significant differences from women's involvement in PBNU today with previous periods

As explained by (Sundari, 2017) in his paper, he explained that institutionally structurally, men and women in the NU organization are indeed separated. PBNU (Nahdhatul Ulama Executive Board) as the highest organizational structure in NU as well as being the center, consists of two executive bodies namely Tanfidziyah and Syuriah, none of the women occupying these two bodies or as a whole. Then until 1960, NU had made and issued an important new decision, that women be included or involved in the ranks of PBNU management in the position of Syuriyah, which at that time included Nyai Fatimah, Nyai Mahmudah Mawardi, and Nyai Choiriyah Hasyim.

Meanwhile, the presence of women in the midst of the management structure of an organization or institution, is part of a form of equality campaign. The NU organization (Nahdlatul Ulama), has made a new breakthrough where there are eight women involved to play a role in NU's management for the 2022-2027 period. The eight women are included in the current figure of the governor of East Java in 2022, namely Khofifah Indar Parawansa (Naku, 2022).

Ketum PBNU KH. Yahya Cholil Staquf also emphasized that the involvement of women in nu's management structure is very meaningful. She also revealed that the participation of women's thinking is increasingly needed in the PBNU body. Therefore, this appears to be an acknowledgment that there are indeed significant differences in the involvement of women in the current MANAGEMENT of PBNU compared to previous periods.

An article (Achmad Mukafi Niam, 2022) explains, after 96 years of Nahdlatul Ulama's establishment, the breakthrough made for now is to involve women in the highest management structure organized. This, apart from being a form of equality campaign, women's work in public reality has also increased rapidly in line with the opening of access to education for anyone and the emergence of awareness of their rights. Women have been given equal opportunities to learn whatever they are interested in and according to their potential.

Organizationally, NU has previously approached the role of women, differently. They were given space within the autonomous bodies of nu organizations specifically. Or more specifically, they are given space to deal with problems within women, such as IPPNU (Ikatan Pelajar Perempuan Nahdlatul Ulama) which was founded in 1955, Fatayat NU which was founded in 1950, and Muslimat NU which was founded in 1946. The nu autonomous body

organization has also shown an extraordinary work for NU in terms of women's empowerment.

In the 2022-2027 management year, important changes have been made in the management of PBNU, where there are two female figures who have been appointed as chairmen of PBNU. The two female characters are Alissa Wahid and Khofifah Indar Parawansa. Then there is also another female figure who was chosen to be the deputy secretary-general, namely Ali Rahmayanti. The three female figures are in a tanfidziyah structure, which will also run the NU association program. The existence of women in NU's management plays a vital role, considering that many NU programs intersect with women, where these programs will certainly not run well if there is no involvement of women in their management.

Facilities or accommodations for the existence of female cadres in NU management are being improved, such as through the NU Da'wah Institute, NU Economic Institute, Agricultural Development Institute, Lazisnu and others. This will certainly allow NU institutions to reach the wider community in implementing their programs. In addition, in nu's articles of association and bylaws (AD/ART), there are no prohibitions or rules that restrict women in NU's management (Achmad Mukafi Niam, 2022).

When welcoming the arrival of the NU Muslimat Branch Management group in Lasem district, Rembang at his official house on Tuesday, February 8, 2022. Taj Yasin Maimoen, revealed that women have a very important role in today's developments. *"The role of women is very important. Women are in great demand in today's era, and have a big hand as children's first teachers (ikp field, 2022)."*

The Deputy Governor of Central Java also considered that women were able to play a role in the development of the country, besides that he also opposed many organizations that made women as mobilizers. Furthermore, Yasin Maimoen also mentioned that there are several programs run by women, with the aim of spreading insights and discourse for the wider community.

"Because after all, women's organizations are increasingly massive movements. NU itself began to involve women in the PBNU management. Then we have collaborated with the cooperation between the government and Muslimat NU starting from organizational management and IT training," explained Yasin Maimoen (ikp field, 2022).

Nawal Arafah Yasin, who is Yasin Maimoen's wife, also said, in welcoming the Muslimat Branch Management group, that women should be able to set a good example to the community. It can start with oneself, as has been implemented by nu Muslim women leaders, and has been exemplified and followed by the wider community easily. *"May you all, be able to be qudwah hasannah (example) for the community. Hopefully it will also provide benefits for others, and hopefully our struggle will all get ridha from Allah SWT,"* said Nawal (ikp field, 2022).

1. The most Significant Impact of Women's involvement in PBNU today from a Religious, Social and Cultural perspective

As one of the chairmen of PBNU, Alissa Wahid said that the involvement of women in the PBNU management structure is a very crucial new breakthrough in the journey of NU, which is an Islamic-based community organization.

"From the beginning the space for women was big in Nahdlatul Ulama. If we look at the Nahdlatul Ulama event, there must be many women performing in public spaces. Well, just like Nyai-nyai in Nahdlatul Ulama, not only takes care of Pak Kiai, but also takes care of students and Islamic boarding schools. Here it is very visible that women can also be dedicated to the PBNU structure," said Alissa during the announcement of the PBNU structure (Siti Maulida, 2022).

Khofifah Indar Parawansah, who is also included in the structure of the Chairman of PBNU, is in line with Alis, and revealed that women in NU are always seen in the public sphere, then he also emphasized that the quality of human resources is determined by the role of women.

"To build Human Resources, it is necessary to increase the Human Development Index (HDI), such as through various programs that can provide economic strengthening for women in rural areas. The second is through education. Not only formal education, vocational and informal education are very important," said the Governor of East Java (Siti Maulida, 2022).

1. The Existence of Women Cadres in PBNU for the Next Period

The role of women cadres in NU has been recognized for a long time. Ketum PBNU Yahya Cholil Staquf, said that for the first time involving female figures in nu management since the organization was founded in 1926. This was conveyed at the time of the announcement of the composition of the organization's management for the solemn period of 2022-2027. *"Since its inception, there are actually no restrictions in PBNU. Now female figures are included because there is an urgent need,"* said Yahya Staquf at the PBNU Office, (Raynaldo Ghiffari Lubabah, 2022). *"There are big issues related to women's issues. We invite the most formidable and strong female figures, such as Mrs. Khofifah who we will rely on later."* added Yahya (Raynaldo Ghiffari Lubabah, 2022).

Alissa Wahid, who was also present at the announcement of the new board, also said that the involvement of female figures in the PBNU management was a very crucial new breakthrough. *"From the beginning of NU, we realized that the women's space was very large. So far, NU women figures have not only taken care of the kyai but also the women's cottage, as well as recitations, and activities in public spaces are also taken care of by Mrs. Nyai,"* she explained (Raynaldo Ghiffari Lubabah, 2022).

Meanwhile, Khofifah Indar Parawansah, as well as the Governor of East Java, who was also present at the agenda, also said that the determination to improve the quality and strengthen the capacity of human resources (Human Resources) amongs the Nahdliyin. Khofifah stated that, especially in welcoming the 100 years of N.U.'s age, the role of N.U. Women must be strengthened. Improving human resources and HDI is a serious consideration that must be fought for.

This shows the elimination of women's subordination. The assumptions of liberal feminism (Arie Cahyono, 2016) argue that the abolition of women's subordination must originate or originate from the system, and women should strive for a fair role over control over the institutions controlled by (men). The author's prediction relates to Khofifah's role in the political and social fields. If this gets stronger, it will also strongly influence the existence of women cadres in the next period of PBNU. Moreover, it was followed by other equally powerful female cadres, so female cadres are likely to last in PBNU. However, as in the previous reviews. It is more likely that the role of women leaders in PBNU remains in the control of men. The existence of women is not entirely a controller in PBNU, but instead has a limit as a support for the achievement of organizational goals for male leadership. Thus in line with the assumption of liberal feminism (Miller, 2015), other feminists who disagree with this approach say that this approach will only further strengthen the patriarchal climate in society.

Conclusion

Based on the discussion above, it can be concluded that Gender Equality in the dynamics of the PBNU organization can be identified through various roles carried out by one of the women leaders, namely Khofifah Indar Parawansa, who serves as the Chairman of Tanfidziyah for the 2022-2027 era—starting from the Vision and Mission, tasks or mandates, internal and external factors that influence the change in the culture of regeneration in PBNU today. Shows that the role of women leaders in PBNU is currently in a phase or period of free competition.

Meanwhile, regarding the existence of Gender Equality in the PBNU organization, it shows assumptions about predictions that if the role of women leaders such as Mrs. Khofifah in the political and social fields is more substantial, it will also have a strong influence on the existence of women cadres in the next period of PBNU. Moreover, it was followed by other female cadres equally vital in the same field. So the existence of female cadres is likely to last in PBNU. In addition, there is an assumption that this free competition aims to present equality of position with men. However, in reality, the position of the female leader Mrs. Khofifah in the PBNU organization is positioned to be part of male leadership, which in fact, increasingly shows the image of absolute patriarchal culture in PBNU.

References

- Achmad Mukafi Niam. (2022). *Terobosan Kiprah Perempuan di Perkumpulan Nahdlatul Ulama*. <https://www.nu.or.id/risalah-redaksi/terobosan-kiprah-perempuan-di-perkumpulan-nahdlatul-ulama-1ke1v>
- Anisa, C. A. (2020). Visi Dan Misi Menurut Fred R . David Dalam Perspektif Pendidikan Islam. *Jurnal Manajemen Pendidikan Islam*, 4(1), 70–87.
- Arie Cahyono. (2016). *Pendekatan kritis teori feminis dalam komunikasi organisasi*. 1–19.

- Aru Lego Triono. (2022). *Konbes NU 2022 Bakal Putuskan Tiga Jenjang Sistem Kaderisasi Baru*.
<https://www.nu.or.id/nasional/konbes-nu-2022-bakal-putuskan-tiga-jenjang-sistem-kaderisasi-baru-QvuTp>
- bidang ikp. (2022). *Terima Muslimat NU Lasem, GUS Yasin : Peran Perempuan Sangat Penting*.
<https://jatengprov.go.id/publik/terima-muslimat-nu-lasem-gus-yasin-peran-perempuan-sangat-penting/>
- Fathoni. (2015). *Inilah Susunan Lengkap Pengurus PBNU 2015-2020*.
<https://www.nu.or.id/nasional/inilah-susunan-lengkap-pengurus-pbnu-2015-2020-vBwHk>
- FFS. (2022). *Pengamat Ingatkan Faktor Eksternal Dapat Pengaruhi Mukhtar NU*.
<https://www.beritasatu.com/archive/870113/pengamat-ingatkan-faktor-eksternal-dapat-pengaruhi-mukhtar-nu>
- Hasri, H. (2018). Emansipasi Wanita Di Negara Islam (Pemikiran Qasim Amin Di Mesir). *Al-Khwarizmi: Jurnal Pendidikan Matematika Dan Ilmu Pengetahuan Alam*, 2(2), 107–114.
<https://doi.org/10.24256/jpmipa.v2i2.117>
- Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI)*. (2022). <https://kbbi.web.id/teknokrat>
- Marasabessy, N. (2021). Patriarchy and Women's Emancipation in Indonesian Film: Marlina the Murderer in Four Acts and Perempuan Berkalung Sorban. *Jurnal Dakwah Dan Sosial*, 4(01), 143–168.
- Miller, K. (2015). Organizational Communication: Approaches and Processes. *Reputation Management: The Key to Successful Public Relations and Corporate Communication*, 153–182.
- Naku, K. (2022). *Pesan di Balik Kehadiran Perempuan dalam Tubuh PBNU*.
<https://www.kompasiana.com/kristiantonaku7768/61e0e0bb06310e72b41ba8c4/pesan-di-balik-kehadiran-perempuan-dalam-tubuh-pbnu>,
- Nasional. (2022). *Gus Yahya tunjuk Khofifah dalam jajaran ketua tanfidziyah PBNU*.
<https://nusantara7.com/gus-yahya-tunjuk-khofifah-dalam-jajaran-ketua-tanfidziyah-pbnu/>
- Raynaldo Ghiffari Lubabah. (2022). *Sederet Tokoh Perempuan di Kepengurusan PBNU, Ada Khofifah hingga Alissa Wahid*. <https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/sederet-tokoh-perempuan-di-kepengurusan-pbnu-ada-khofifah-hingga-alissa-wahid.html>
- Siti Maulida. (2022). *Kata Alissa Wahid dan Khofifah Parawansa tentang Pelibatan Perempuan dalam Struktur PBNU Sumber: https://www.nu.or.id/nasional/kata-alissa-wahid-dan-khofifah-parawansa-tentang-pelibatan-perempuan-dalam-struktur-pbnu-KSeyz*.

<https://www.nu.or.id/nasional/kata-alissa-wahid-dan-khofifah-parawansa-tentang-pelibatan-perempuan-dalam-struktur-pbnu-KSeyz>

Sugiyono. (2021). *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, dan R&D – MPKK* (Cetakan 3).

Sundari, A. (2017). Isu Gender Di Indonesia Dalam Respon Nahdhatul Ulama. *Al-MAIYYAH: Media Transformasi Gender Dalam Paradigma Sosial Keagamaan*, 10(1), 103–114.
<https://doi.org/10.35905/almaiyyah.v10i1.451>