

ISLAM AND SEXUALITY: GENDER BIAS IN PESANTREN HUMOR

Sumadi

Pascasarjana Institut Agama Islam Darussalam Ciamis

Email: sumadi2009@gmail.com

Abstract

Humor becomes an important part in institutionalizing the culture of pesantren. Yet, the humor in pesantren often ignores the values that respect gender equality. Understanding Islam pesantren patriarchy becomes the root for establishing the themes of humor that exploit women's bodies and sexuality. Study of humor and sexuality in pesantren in Indonesia are still unnoticed. This study used a qualitative research approach with a feminist analysis in pesantren Priangan West Java. The results of this study showed that Islam patriarchy in pesantren institutionalized within the themes of humor created by kiai, teachers, and students in pesantren. As the implication, humor in pesantren contains the values and ideology of gender bias in the form of stereotyping, objectification, and the domestication of women. Dominant objects in pesantren humor are the body and female sexuality. The body becomes the center of worship and praise despite the epicenter definition, identity, and control on women by men.

Humor menjadi bagian penting dalam pelebagaan budaya pesantren. Akan tetapi humor-humor di pesantren sering mengabaikan nilai-nilai yang menghargai kesetaraan gender. Pemahaman Islam pesantren yang patriarki menjadi akar pembentukan tema-tema humor yang mengeksploitasi tubuh dan seksualitas perempuan. Kajian humor dan seksualitas di lingkungan pesantren di Indonesia termasuk yang luput dari perhatian. Kajian ini menggunakan pendekatan penelitian kualitatif dengan analisis feminis di pesantren Priangan Jawa Barat. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa patriarkisme Islam pesantren terlembagakan dalam tema-tema humor yang dibuat kiai, guru,

dan santri di pesantren. Implikasinya humor-humor di lingkungan pesantren mengandung tata nilai dan ideologi bias gender berupa stereotip, objektifikasi, dan domestifikasi perempuan. Objek yang dominan humor di pesantren yaitu tubuh dan seksualitas perempuan. Tubuh menjadi pusat puja dan puji, tetapi menjadi episentrum pendefinisian, pemberian identitas, dan kontrol pada perempuan yang dilakukan laki-laki.

Keywords: *Islam; pesantren; gender; perempuan; humor.*

Introduction

Pesantren is an educational institution with Islamic characteristics. Since its establishment in Indonesia, *pesantren* have had a special study that other educational institutions do not have, namely the deepening of Islam. Although the current development of the majority of *pesantren* has accommodated various formal education, the deepening of Islam (*taffauqh fiddin*) remains the core of *pesantren* education. Islam became the basis of various scientific studies developed by *pesantren*.

As a forum for deepening Islam, *pesantren* requires students to stay for 24 hours within the *pesantren* environment. The aim is for students to understand the culture of *pesantren* as a whole, from waking up to sleeping again, with the example of *kiai* (Islam expert) as the leader of the *pesantren*. Therefore, the interaction between *pesantren* members, namely *kiai*, teachers, and students, runs intimately.

In the introduction of *pesantren* culture and Islam, one form of interaction used is *pesantren* humor. Humor is seen as a cultural form to entertain as well as a medium to convey the message of Islam. A *kiai*, teacher, or student conveys his humor in Islamic learning, in religious lectures, advice on marriage, and on entertainment stages at *pesantren* big events.

In the process of social interaction in *pesantren*, gender is constructed and institutionalized culturally in the form of humor. However, often humor in the process of cultural enculturation of *pesantren* tends not to consider aspects of respect for gender equality. The main consideration of humor is more on the funny and entertaining aspects so that the message of Islam conveyed reaches the expected destination. In fact, there is a lot of gender-biased humor, reinforcing stereotypes and objectification

of women. There are humor in *pesantren* in the Priangan region of West Java that show women are constructed in a gender-biased manner.

In Crawford's (2003) explanation, humor becomes a tool for establishing discourse and social interaction. Humor becomes a gender construction tool that portrays male and female identities in a discriminatory manner. Humor used by men and women or by one of the sexes, whether men and women, becomes a tool for gender construction. Humor becomes a means of cultural production and reproduction in the *pesantren* environment. Humor is considered an effective medium in conveying the message of Islam. Unconsciously, the humor used in the interaction of cultural formation in *pesantren* shows the formation of a stereotypical identity towards women. In Gunning's study (2001: ii), humor is an important part of the formation of culture in organizations. Humor has several vital functions in forming culture because humor functions in the shape of psychology in a person, in members of an organization/social setting, and in the building of social interaction. Humor with psychic exploitation and women's bodies as objects in gender issues has a role in reinforcing female stereotypes that form a culture of gender bias in the *pesantren* environment. Consequently, humor with the psychological and physical exploitation of women's bodies as its object can be categorized as a form of violence against women that has an impact on the institutionalization of gender bias naturally (unconsciously).

This study focuses on Islam and sexuality, the basis for forming humor in *pesantren*. Various forms of humor show the construction of gender-biased women's sexuality and objectification in *pesantren*. The selection of *pesantren* in this study is a large category of *pesantren* and has a long history of influencing people in the Priangan region of West Java. The *pesantren* in this study are modern *pesantren* and salafiyah (traditional) *pesantren*, namely Pesantren Darussalam Ciamis, Pesantren al-Hasan, Pesantren Arrisalah Cijantung, Pesantren Miftahul Huda Manonjaya Tasikmalaya, Pesantren al-Hamidiyah Langkap Lancar Pangandaran, Pesantren Miftahul Huda II, and Pesantren Miftahul Ulum Maarif Ciamis.

The approach used in this study is a qualitative approach with a feminist perspective (Reinharz, 2005: 21, Hughes, 2002: 48- 106, Jackson, 2009: 21-55). The way to get data is by observing

the humors used by *pesantren* in the learning process, lectures, and marriage advice. In-depth interviews were conducted with ustadz (male teacher) and *pesantren* administrators. Documentation was obtained through humor books published by *pesantren*, photos of activities, and recordings of *pesantren* activities. All data were analyzed by feminist content analysis. Discussions about humor in *pesantren* with a feminist approach and gender analysis in Indonesia still go unnoticed and are hard to find, so this study is essential to do.

Gender-Biased Islam in *Pesantren*

The domination of patriarchal Islamic understanding characterizes gender-biased Islam in *pesantren*. The Islamic perspective of *pesantren* to this day still maintains conservative Islamic thought. The implication is that the domination of patriarchal culture is still deeply rooted in the *pesantren* environment. The relationship between men and women in the books in *pesantren* is considered a standard provision that does not need to be criticized and adapted to the times. Historically, *pesantren* have indeed developed a patriarchal culture because *pesantren* were initially only intended for men (Hasyim, 2010: 317). At first, *pesantren* in Indonesia was only for men. The discriminatory perspective places men who deserve to study various religious knowledge related to the public and individual spheres. Meanwhile, women are seen as sufficient to acquire knowledge related to individual piety as a woman.

The implication is that women, hierarchically, in the *pesantren* culture do not get an equal place. Public affairs belong to men. Therefore, the leadership of the *pesantren* is hereditary and belongs to the men. A girl with strong leadership and managerial skills will not get a power of attorney to become a *pesantren* leader. Women become a subordinated group by being placed in domestic spaces. Islamic teachings developed in *pesantren* are considered final in placing men and women. Within this framework, *Islam pesantren* is Islam developed in a culture that gives privileges to men. Women are religiously constructed in narrow spaces. Women as servants to men. Women's total obedience to men has become an unshakeable culture today. The breadth of women's knowledge does not necessarily give them the right to *ijtihad*

and make policy as possessed by men. Because the authority of *ijtihad* and political power is considered the right of men.

In social interaction, the *pesantren* culture defines women as beings with intellectual strength and physical speed that are lower than men.

...Janten titik beratna ka istri. Pamegeut mah jarang. Dina fikih oge seeur pisan dibahas

istri pamegeut. Contohna missal tentang persaksian istri mah upami janten saksi kirang kuat. Istri dua pamegeut cekap hiji. Upami saksi zina kan pamegeut jumlahnya kedah opat, berarti upami istri kedah dalapan. Nya kitu deui dina waris sareng sanes kanten. Pantès da pamegeut mah ngagendong upami istri kan cekap ngajingjing. [... various rules focus on women. Men are rarely highlighted. For example, regarding testimony, the testimony of women is not strong. Therefore there should be two women, while one man is sufficient. Moreover, the other witnesses. Witnesses of adultery must be four men; if women, the number must be eight. Likewise, in the inheritance chapters and other legal chapters. It's appropriate because men's responsibilities are heavier (pamegeut mah ngagendong) and women's responsibilities are lighter (upami istri kan cekap ngajingjing)] (interview with a female pesantren teacher).

The division of tasks, inheritance, and testimony are categorized as men's duties. Men are placed superior with various physical and intellectual advantages compared to women. Public areas are seen as appropriate for men because men are considered to be twice as strong as women. Women are identified as inferior beings, responsible for domestic areas. The notion that men carry (*pamegeut mah ngagendong*) while women are sufficient of carrying in hand (*upami istri kan cekap ngajingjing*) considers the world of men to be a world related to superiority. Women consider their inferior world as unnecessary as the capacities that men have. According to the theoretical framework (Anshari, 1997: 24) from gender roles, a socialization process forms gender identity, namely the imaging of behavior that should be owned and displayed by someone according to the sex concerned in *pesantren*. Therefore, if there is a difference in behavior according to sex, it is considered a behavioral deviation. The role of women and men is applied in a tangible form according to the culture adopted and accepted in the *pesantren* environment.

Islam is viewed as a religion that builds balanced relations between men and women. God is thought to have created women socially different from men. The verses of the Qur'an and hadith as the source of Islamic teachings are considered perfect without having to interpret

and explain. The space for criticism of Islamic teaching texts that dominate the *pesantren* world is considered a violation of the sacredness of religion. The texts are considered sacred by the arguments built by *pesantren*. Various books that are references to Islam are made of holy and noble moral. Therefore, criticizing books that have regulated the relationship between men and women is considered the same as insulting *pesantren* treasures.

The sources of cultural maintenance that construct women and men in a patriarchal manner in *pesantren* are the *kitab kuning* (traditional books containing Islamic teachings) Viewed from who wrote it (Bruinessen, 1994: 142-145), the 100 *kitab kuning* popular in *pesantren* in Indonesia do not have female authors. This means that women's perspectives in the treasures of *pesantren* do not get a place. Men's interests in the *kitab kuning* were socialized continuously and passed down through the long history of the *pesantren*. In the *pesantren* culture, the next generation is required to maintain the *pesantren* culture. The *kitab kuning* is viewed as a characteristic of *pesantren* culture. In the view of *pesantren*, if there is no *kitab kuning*, it is considered that *pesantren* have disappeared from Indonesian civilization. However, the sources of the *kitab kuning* taught in *pesantren* contain values that are gender biased. The root of the problem with the *kitab kuning*, which discusses women's construction, comes from misogynistic hadiths (Marhumah, 2015).

The *kitab kuning* that influences *pesantren* in the Priangan region of West Java includes books on *fikih* (Islamic jurisprudence) and women's ethics. The *fikih* used in the *pesantren* in the Priangan region of West Java are feudal and patriarchal. The *fikih* with a patriarchal value system is seen as a "holy book" that does not need correction. *Fikih* teachings, which mostly contain values that discriminate against women, are considered standard values that do not require contextualization of the times. In *pesantren* Islamic *fikih*, the value of women is categorized as half men. The *fikih* that is patriarchal is a source of legitimacy for the social order that regulates men and women in *pesantren*. Even though the most representative scientific disciplines describing social phenomena in the *pesantren* are in *fikih* (Mughits, 2008: 3).

In the ethical aspect of Islam, women's bodies are a source for viewing women socially. *Pesantren's* gender bias views women's bodies and sexuality as a source of identities-building for

women. In the Islamic view of *pesantren*, women are considered to have greater lust than men. Women's bodies and voices are seen as containing slander, so they are not worthy of appearing in the broader public. In the view of teachers (*ustadz*) in *pesantren*, the most contrasting difference between men and women lies in the sexual power of women and men.

...syahwat budak istri teh salapan, jadi mun ngaji atawa acara lain di pesantren dihijikeun anu lewih bahaya teh sabenerna aweuwe. Mun lalaki hiji. Tapi istri mah diberi anugrah rasa malu atawa kaera, jadi kuat nahan henteu sapertos pameget. Janten upami ngaos dihijikeun antara pamegeut istri saleresna istri anu gaduh dorongan syahwat ageung (interview with male teacher at *pesantren*). [There are nine women's lust, while that of men is one, so women's lust is greater than that of men. It is just that the advantage of the woman's side is being given a sense of shame. This shame makes women good at hiding themselves or holding back. In fact, if men and women are combined at events or recitations, it is actually women who have higher sexual urges].

In fact, if men and women are combined at events or recitations, women have higher sexual urges]. The difference with men is that women have the urge of sexual desire nine times that of men. Women are considered to have a higher sex drive. That is the basis for prohibiting *pesantren* activities from being separated between women and men. But on the other hand, the firmness of women's defense in maintaining sexual desire is considered stronger than men because women have a great sense of shame, so women are better at hiding their lust than men. Shame is considered a force that can hide the desire to express the solid sexual urges of women.

The assumption that women have a more incredible lust than men unconsciously has an impact on the emergence of the belief that women's most crucial need is the need for sexual desire. For example, in the procession of a wedding in a *pesantren* environment, the aspect of women's sexuality is the main topic of discussion. One of the *kiai* in marriage advice explained that the figure of a man who would be her future husband was old enough and capable of getting married with the provision of knowledge and knowledge from the *pesantren*. But of all these provisions the most essential provision is “*nyaeta anu ngarengkol dina calana kanggo panganten istri*” [male genitals are important for

a woman]. This expression is a proverb that contains the meaning of stereotyped values of sexuality as the primary need of women. Male genitalia is considered the most essential requirement for the bride compared to other conditions in marriage.

In the explanation of the *pesantren* community concerning the body or body parts, it is always associated with the female body. The body has always been the object of discussion. In the process of studying *pesantren*, the *kiai* who deliver material on *tauhid* (aqeedah) use women as objects. *Tauhid* is the material of faith related to faith and belief in God, and supernatural things in religion. One of the supernatural beings, the jinn, is described as having a hideous appearance, primarily his ugly lips. With humor, the *kiai* explained, "*leheung mun biwir awe we mah*" (it would be more exciting and lucky if its lips were those of a beautiful woman). Women's lips are seen as a sexy aspect of the body, so they are the most attractive to be exploited compared to other parts of the body.

Gender-biased values by placing Islamic patriarchy in *pesantren* continue to be maintained along with men's interests in *pesantren*. A *pesantren* institution is like a kingdom. With every change in the generation, *pesantren* have significant economic, political, and social assets for their heirs. Men are born to be figures interested in controlling various important *pesantren* assets. The contestation over the leadership of men and women is constructed as a man's right. Men are placed as the absolute heirs of the *pesantren* leadership. Boys are like the crown prince in a kingdom who automatically becomes the heir to the highest throne of the *pesantren*. Therefore, in the culture of the *pesantren*, while there are still boys, girls are seen as not having the right to become leaders who can continue the journey of the *pesantren*.

The culture that is gender biased in the *pesantren* environment is maintained to strengthen the interests of men in the *pesantren*. Humor is produced in a *pesantren* culture with an Islamic background which is developed in a patriarchal culture so that it impacts the process of cultural production and reproduction that benefits men. Humor reinforces cultural control over women's identity and rights. In Bareeca's study (1991, in Gilbert, 2004), it was stated that there is a relationship between humor and power and control in society towards women. In Nielsen's research (1993, in Gilbert, 2004), the one who performs

or conveys humor controls the one listening, whereas the one listening to humor controls the one delivering the humor. Therefore, humor in *pesantren* can be a cultural tool to control women so that they are in a marginalized position by having a gender identity that is categorized as socially different from men.

Gender Bias in *Pesantren* Humor

Humor in *pesantren* that contains a gender bias towards women is institutionalized in the culture of *pesantren*, which is socialized through daily social interaction by students, teachers, and *kiai*, in public lectures by *kiai* at *pesantren*, as well as in lessons and advice at weddings. Initially, the themes of humor in *pesantren* were in the form of the oral tradition of students, administrators, and *kiai*. The majority of *pesantren* in Priangan included in this study did not record humor texts, such as Darussalam, Arrisalah, Cijantung, Miftahussalam, Cikanyere, al-Hasan, al-Hamidiyah Langkaplancar Pesantren, Miftahul Ulum Maarif Pesantren Ciamis, and others. Humor is conveyed orally as a form of communication that emphasizes humorous aspects by students, teachers, and *kiai* in Islamic studies at *pesantren*.

However, one *pesantren*, namely the Miftahul Huda Manonjaya Pesantren in Tasikmalaya, specifically publishes humorous themes as an officially printed book. Humor print books were made and edited, and the manuscripts were approved by members of the *kiai* council. Printed humorous texts were sold to students and distributed to Miftahul Huda Pesantren as part of Islamic da'wah references. At the Miftahul Huda Pesantren, humorous themes are presented at special events with performers of a student humor group called Batscom.

The Bastcom humor group sounds similar to English and has the same name as a kitchen appliance, namely a basin. Bastcom stands for Barudak Santri Komedi Pesantren Miftahul Huda. Bastcom as a humor group appears in various activities at *pesantren*. For example, on Islamic holidays such as Islamic New Year, grade promotion events, peak events for competitions between students, and perform at community events such as circumcisions and weddings. The institutionalization of humor at the Miftahul Huda Manonjaya Pesantren through the comedy group Bastcom is led specifically by the *pesantren* administrators. The mentors of the Bastcom humor group are a council of

kiai and young *kiai* in the Miftahul Huda Manonjaya environment. Miftahul Huda Pesantren's humor includes *cerdok* (which stands for *cerita Pondok* or short stories), *singrey* (which stands for *singkatan heurey*, which is an abbreviation that has humor), and *gusal* (imitative songs).

Humor for *pesantren* is a form of humorous expression as a tool to strengthen da'wah communication and Islamic learning. There are three humor themes in *pesantren*, namely the nuances of social criticism, the reality of life in *pesantren*, and the theme of women. An example of a theme about social criticism in *cerdok* (short stories) is about the House of Representatives:

Pantesan loba jalma nu pakoer-koer, silih tojer, nepi ka ngagalaleser, masang baliho meni ngajalejer, bendera pageber-geber, merean kaos teu kedah meser, mikeunan duit ngidul ngaler, ngabelaan jadi DPR, geuning lamun jadi DPR, hinup moal kateter, dibere mobil panther, motor tiger, imah gedong teu kudu manjer, hayang nanaon kari gesek langsung tokcer, ngan teu saeutik nu ngagaloler, mabok nepika teller, gantung diri nepi ka meler, mun teu jadi DPR.. (Bastcom Barudak Santri Comedi, 2010: 10- 11). [No wonder many people beat each other (fighting issues), elbowing and kicking each other until they shifted each other, putting up billboards so that they lined up, putting up flags with high flutters, giving T-shirts for free, going around giving money to the community because they want to be a member of the House of Representatives when you become a House of Representatives member, you live happily without any trouble, you are given a Panther car, a Tiger motorbike, you are given a luxury house without a down payment, whatever you want money flowing by swiping the card, but many don't like drinking liquor, some hang themselves because they don't become a member of the House of Representatives].

In addition to the themes of social criticism about the socio-political life of the Indonesian nation and the reality of *pesantren*, the theme of women dominates the humorous themes in *pesantren*. Themes that place women and women's bodies as objects of humor institutionalize a gender bias ideology with an emphasis on stereotyping, objectification, and domestication of women. Women are praised for their bodies, but their status and rights are humiliated. Gender bias in *pesantren* humor is described as follows.

Stereotypes Against Women

Stereotypes of women in humor in *pesantren* place the body and negative image characteristics of women as objects of humor. Women and their bodies and characteristics become objects of humor themes considered entertaining, funny, hilarious, and ordinary. By placing women as objects dominantly, humorous themes are considered more entertaining than male themes. Stereotypes against women

in *pesantren* humor give a negative label. Humorous narratives created by *pesantren* describe women as human beings who are under the control of men's property. Women are seen as weak, so they will always obey prosperous men even though they are old. The power of men over property implies absolute control over women. With property, men are placed as human beings who are eligible to whoever woman he chooses. Conversely, women in a weak position are in a place to accept men's choices. Women are in a passive and naturally oppressed state by men.

Actually, women have high self-esteem in front of men. But the high value of women is in their bodies, not in women's social status and dignity. Women are constructed with high esteem with beauty myths. The body becomes a standard for the value of a woman. For example, a humorous theme that was explicitly created by a member of the *pesantren's kiai* council about *Aki-Aki Ompong* (a toothless old grandfather) and the theme *Jalma Kaya* (rich people):

Aki-aki Ompong..Lamun boga imah sigrong, balong ngemplong, mobil ngadangong, najan pipi kemong, huntu ompong, parawan oge pasti noong, komo randa nu nong-nong (Tohir, 2007:7). [...If you have a luxurious house, a large pool, a luxury car parked at home, even if you are old and toothless, a woman will be attracted, especially if she is a widow].

Jalma Kaya... Bru di juru, bro dipanto, ngalayah di tengah imah, imah tembok, sawah ledok, pamajikan denok montok, rea beras awak waras, si jabrig di pipir, si jambrong di kolong, rawey bewengeun, rambay alaeun, lubak libuk kebon lobak kalebok (Tohir, 2007:6). [...full of treasures, in the corners of the house there are treasures, in front of the door and in the middle of the house full of treasures. The house is made of walls (not bamboo booths), vast rice fields with fertile soil conditions, a beautiful wife, abundant rice, and healthy bodies; Jabrig is on the side, Jambrong is under him, and various foods to eat, lots of plants to harvest, gardens that wide, like the turnip groves that the rich can enjoy].

In *Aki-Aki Ompong* and *Jalma Kaya*, women are placed as male objects. Men who are rich with various possessions, even though they are already toothless with their wealth, women from virgins to widows will be attracted. This means that women in this theme are identified as weak, have a high dependence on men, and men can get women with their possessions.

In the second humorous theme, a man's wealth is seen by the woman he owns. That is a woman who has a beautiful posture). That is the criteria for a woman who deserves to be

a wife. This humorous message in the culture of *pesantren* life, women's bodies become an important identity image of men's wealth. Themes of female humor, such as themes of *neng Elis*, *jablay*, *selebritis*, and *iman kurupuk*, convey messages reinforcing stereotypes about women who are the epicenter of seducing men.

Neng Elis, *wanoja urang ciamis, awakna jangkis rupana geulis, senyumna manis, da biwirna ipis, persis artis nu mapahna teh siga sedan Altis, kira-kira poe Kemis kuring kenalan ka neng elis, dugi ayeuna bayangna dugi ka lapis, ngecewis dina manah meni tiis* (Bastcom Barudak Santri Comedi, 2010:13-14). [Neng Elis is a girl from Ciamis; slim and tall, her body is, and when she walks, is similar to the sedan Altis. About Thursday, I met Neng Elis; haunting me until today, the figure of hers; with the heart of mine, having a dialogue for all times].

With the title "*Neng Elis*," this humorous theme explicitly shows stereotypes towards women. The women in the couplets on this theme sexually become a strong allure for men. *Neng Elis*'s theme does not reveal the quality of a woman's life, for example, because of her intelligence, knowledge, work, or expertise. But it judges women on the adoration of their slim bodies, sweet smile, and other sexy body aspects. Aspects of the empowerment and competence of a woman are unrevealed. The definition and existence of women are equated with women's bodies. A woman's value in social life is considered proportional to the beauty of her body. But on the other hand, women's bodies are considered a social disaster for men.

The strengthening of women's stereotypes as male seducers is illustrated in the following *iman kurupuk* theme.

Iman Kurupuk. *Iman teh ulah kawas kurupuk, teu kaop kacaian ngarumpunyu, teu kaop kapanasan ngarumpuyuk, dimana kahapuk iman teh ambruk, di mana katalipuk iman the ti kusruk, komo biasana mah lalaki mah palebah jam dua isuk ningali awewe anu seksi-seksi nu wungkul make handuk, katingali awakna meni ngabentuk, susuna buled siga suuk, ngagupaian bari pura-pura batuk, ngajak du duan bari ngaringkuk, dina kasur anu empuk, sok sanajan loba rametuk, tapi imin mah angguk-angguk, tah nu kitu iman teh iman anu muruluk, kawas sukro murag kulutuk-kulutuk* (Bastcom Barudak Santri Comedi, 2010:8-9). [Faith is like a cracker; exposed to water slightly shrinks. When hit by a blow will be crushed. If exposed to the influence, faith will collapse, especially a man who, at two o'clock in the morning, sees a sexy woman wearing only a towel; you can see the shape of the curves of her body and breast, even though there are lots of mosquitoes, he is still lustful. That is an illustration of weak faith].

The theme of this humor is the basic idea of someone's religiosity, namely about a weak faith which is depicted with one type of food,

crackers as a symbol of weak faith. Crackers, food that crumbles easily when exposed to water, illustrate the strength of a weak faith that will quickly falter at the slightest temptation. The temptation that undermines faith is women, especially women with beautiful bodies.

This stereotype of humor places a woman's body sexually as a source that can undermine a man's faith. Faith that is based on the relationship between a human being and his God will be destroyed by the enchantment of the beauty of a woman's body. The beauty of a woman's body, the culmination of God's creation of her creatures, is a source of disaster. Women are positioned as creatures that go awry. The beauty of her body is considered a source of pleasure, but on a different side, it is placed as a source of temptation.

Stereotypes in *pesantren* humor by placing women as social disasters, namely men's seducers. In the realm of *pesantren*, women are theologically considered equal to creatures that destroy men's lives. Three factors are a source of disaster for men, namely wealth, throne, and women (Azis, 2008: 18). In this context, stereotypes of the female body are considered slander. Slander is the potential that can have dire consequences for both women and men. Within the framework of Strowaser (2001: 127), "slander" attached to women becomes a concept of social anarchy or chaos caused by women's bodies. The implication is the concept of slander against the female body that the female sex and her body result in social instability.

Objectification of Female Sexuality

Humor in *pesantren* contains stereotypes of women with identities as male sexual objects. The most valuable treasure for women is associated with manhood. In the humor in marriage advice, for example, humor appears: what a woman needs is an ATM (Alat Tusuk Manual/manual pricking tool = penis), *jengkol peda-na kanggo panganten istri, nyaeta anu ngarengkol dina calana kanggo panganten istri, Mobil Fiat Mobil VW, Teu Kuat Hayang Ngewe* [cannot wait to have intercourse soon]. ATMs, *nu ngarengkol dina calana, mobil Fiat-mobil VW* are other names for male genitalia, which are seen as a basic need for women after marriage.

The sexuality of women's bodies is the object of humor in *pesantren*. The sensitive parts of women's bodies are the target of humor in the *pesantren*.

For example, humor about *androk* or from underneath women's clothing. *Androk* became a theme that was considered amusing by the students and other members of the pesantren. With a language mixed between Sundanese and Indonesian, women are constructed with the theme of *androk*, which is depicted in the following humor:

O *androk*, your form was swelled like a shell before, which was cut with a machete, you were very long like a block and thick like a wall so that it was not easy for lewd eyes to see, but you were getting *pondok* (shorter), your thighs were plump, try to rob by many men, your genitals are places where a baby comes, O *androk* wearer, has your faith faded, so that your genitals are no longer benchmark (Bastcom, 2010: 2).

In the theme of humor, *Ema jeung Bapa* [Mother and Father] is about the magnitude of parents' sacrifice for their children. Both parents fought day and night and even lacked sleep for their children. The context when telling about the sacrifice of a mother serving her husband appears as the theme of this humor. The complete humor shown is as follows:

...*Teu aya nu pang ageungna jasa, iwal ti bapa jeung ema, bapa ngabelaan benta ti beres Isya, nepi ka jam dua, pas tatangga taribra, meakeun sakabeh tanaga, nepika ngocor kesangna, kajeun tiris baju calana dibuka, Ema oge ukur capena, dina waktu nu lumayan lila, dintindihan beurat kacida ku bapa, diperes otak, tanaga, oge dada, nepika ditajos ku benda anu sagede cau nangka, malah nepi ka olabna...* (Bastcom Barudak Santri Comedi, 2010: 3-4).

[There is no greatest service, except for the merits of father and mother, father staying up until evening time, until two o'clock when the neighbors are sleeping soundly, spending all their energy, to the point of sweating, even though the weather is cold the clothes and trousers are removed, the mother only gets misery with high levels of fatigue, crushed by the weight of the father's body, racked brain, drained of energy and body, until he was penetrated with an object the size of a banana, until she was overwhelmed.]

The theme of showing women as sexual objects is depicted in the humor of *Istri Ditiung* [a veiled woman]. With the *istri ditiung* theme, women are depicted:

Mun ningal istri ditiung, hawa betah ingkah ge embung, sok sanajan nempona nangtung, karaosna teh asa ngapung, komo mun akhlaqna teh agung, irungna mancung, awakna jangkung, bodina melengkung, kulit bodas batan tipung, sigana mun boga kabingung bakal leungit langsung, mun daek dikawin kuring moal kaduhung (Bastcom Barudak Santri Comedi, 2010: 4-5). [When you see a veiled woman, the atmosphere makes you feel at home and makes you reluctant to go away; it feels like you are in ecstasy, especially if you have noble morals, a sharp nose, a tall and slim body, skin as white as snow, every problem will disappear by seeing her. If she wants to marry me, she will not regret it]

The female figure depicted is a woman with the physical criteria of tall, slim, sharp nose and white skin. If these physical requirements are met, this is the ideal woman for a man to marry. The criteria for women with specific requirements that are entitled to be chosen by men appear in the following humor theme.

...Jablay pinggulmu memang bohai, tubuhmu indah semampai, sekali ngagupai orang-orang terbuai, bahkan nepi ka ngelai atawa ngacay, tapi sayang kau hanya seorang jablay, martabatmu jauh seperti lalay, bahkan lebih bejat dari tupai, kehormatanmu kau jual seperti siomay, yang dijual bari smapay, bari ngagorowok bari palay-palay...bertobatlah wahay jablay sebelum ajalmu sampai (Bastcom Barudak Santri Comedi, 2010: 6-7).

The word *jablay* socially has a negative meaning for women. This humor is full of sexual exploitation and contains elements of violence against women. *Jablay* is an abbreviation for *jarang dibelai* (rarely stroked) which refers to women. In subsequent developments, the word *jablay* was attached to prostitutes or naughty women who were considered lonely and kept looking for male prey.

The term *jablay* has a meaning that is culturally exploitative towards women, which contains values of gender inequality. The *jablay* concept shows that a woman's need is sexual, so if her sexual needs are unmet, she will become a naughty girl who wants sex and is immoral. The *jablay* theme gives a message that the context of the group of people who like to sell themselves and exploit their body's sexuality lies with women. The title *jablay* is only attached to women.

The women who work as artists are stereotypically constructed as naughty women. The identity attached to the artist is a woman who sells her sexy body.

Selebritis, ngaran-ngaran selebritis moal lepas ti awewe geulis, lalaki nu altletis, pakaian nu arawis, dangdanana siga turis, pokokna mah seksi habis, ningali susu jeung pingping teh gratis, da tiap poe katingali dina TV gratis, da tiap poe katingali dina TV meni laris, dina film mistis, film humoris, teu kaliwat dina kuis, meni kuat sing kacewis, nu ngamera meni ngabaris, reporter ge ngudag-ngudag dugika geubis, selebritis selebritis (Bastcom Barudak Santri Comedi, 2010: 16-17). [Celebrities, the name of a celebrity will not be separated from beautiful women, athletic men, the clothes wear is expensive, looks like a tourist, seeing their breasts and thighs for free, because being watched on TV every day is free, in demand continuously, in mystical films, humorous movies, not missing in the quizzes, reporters running until they are falling, celebrities...celebrities..]

The objectification of women's sexuality appears in this humor theme; women are placed as figures with jobs with a source of income from exploiting their bodies. Artists or celebrities are areas where women occupy space to sell their bodies. By basing the idea of humor on various cases that befell artists in Indonesia, the title of female celebrity is considered negative. Celebrities are labeled women who are sexy and naughty. In this humorous theme, the identity of women who become artists with sexual objectification is described, namely sexy with revealing clothes. Women are positioned with a bad image in the entertainment world, so there is an assumption that women who are active in the entertainment world are naughty and immoral.

From a gender analysis perspective, the language used in a group, institution, organization, and society, such as *pesantren* tends to have a long tradition of perpetuating stereotypes against women. This makes it difficult for changes to take sides or be equitable against women. Jeppersen (in Talbot, 2010: 177) explains as a fact in the world of language that women contribute to language to maintain its purity according to their instinctive reduction of vulgar and crude expressions, while men's contributions are energy, imagination, and creativity. Ultimately the language used by men and women builds male significance. On the other hand, the language used by men and women forms ignorance of women. In the context of this study, the implication is that the languages commonly used by men, if used by women, will be 'reproach' or something negative. On the other hand, language that is essentially disapproving of women is considered normal and natural and does not harm women.

Domestication of Women

Domestication of women occurs when women are normatively and destiny categorized as inferior to men. The view that women are inferior not only according to men but also according to women. From physically inferior problems to inferior intellectual issues. *Pesantren* women who are intellectually superior to men, such as some *ustadzah*/female teachers who have the ability and mastery of various religious and other sciences, women still feel like creatures whose intellectual capacities are below men. The same opinion of

women by men and women can further strengthen women in obtaining social distinctions that make their position permanent in the domestic sphere.

Domestication of women in *pesantren* humor by placing women in a subordinated place. If the theme of humor is about leaders, knowledgeable people, and rich people, the context is men. But if the theme of humor is about devotion, loyalty, and partner sacrifice, the context leads to women.

Ilmu. Ilmu mangrupa hiji sarana, pikeun nangtungkeun bagjana jalma, loba contona, jalma nu sangsara, gara-gara teu boga ilmu elmu dina boga jiwa raga, tapi mun jalma geus pinuh ku pangabisa, luhur kanyahona, darajat luhur boga wibawa, teu kudu ngumbara jauh-jauh ka Saudi Arabia, ngabelaan ngudag-ngudag harta, sabab harta datang nyalira, oge teu kudu saembara, komo mun pasea, neangan wanoja percaya teu percaya teu percaya wanoja eta, nu bakal kabita, ka goda, ka jalma nu elmuna loba, naon sababna? (Bastcom Barudak Santri Comedi, 2010: 19-20). [Knowledge is a means to determine one's happiness. There are many examples of miserable ones because they have no knowledge. But if one is bright, has various knowledge, has high prestige, and has noble authority, they don't have to travel to Saudi Arabia to get wealth because, for people with knowledge, wealth will come by itself. Women will be tempted by people with a lot of knowledge; why?]

The domestication of women in this humor is about the theme of context knowledge for men. This humorous text places men as empowered figures with knowledge. Mastery of knowledge and various experiences are synonymous with men. Women are weak and helpless. Because one of the advantages of a knowledgeable man, he will become a bone of contention and a woman's adoration. The height of intellectuality and knowledge attached to men culturally provides a cultural construction in society that people who are knowledgeable and have expertise are men's rights. As inheritors of knowledge in social interactions, men have power over women. Conversely, women become objects of men identified as knowledgeable human beings.

In later times institutionalized humor will impact the formation of a cultural setting. This means that humor with gender-biased values will build gender-biased communication in the *pesantren* environment, which forms gender inequality. Overall, the gender bias against women in *pesantren* humor has two important messages, namely first, that men are increasingly in a superior position with values that elevate classes of

men; second, the meaning of women (woman mainstreaming) as objects of sexuality becomes the dominant theme. Humor in communication studies is an essential part of forming a culture. Humor in the context of social interaction reflects a culture through the long socialization of values in a community or society. Humor in the *pesantren* environment is not just humor with no cultural consequences. Humor is a form of production and reproduction of culture in organizations, educational institutions, and society.

In the *pesantren* humor theme, women's bodies and sexuality are central to defining gender. A woman's body is identified as a woman's identity and character. Therefore, the body becomes the center that forms culturally towards men and women. In the long process of women's bodies and gender construction, Carson (2010: 147) provides a theoretical explanation that the relationship between men and women is formulated through the body. Women's bodies are used to make theories and actions specifically aimed at women. Differences in gender relations are conventionally attached to women's bodies. Men are considered as a group that is superior both in body and mind. As a result, biological processes such as menstruation, emotions, and pregnancy are massively attached to a woman's body, making it the basis for defining a woman. This has an impact on differentiating the distribution of unequal social roles between men and women.

Conclusion

The domination of discriminatory Islamic perspectives on women in *pesantren* becomes a process of cultural enculturation that shapes the behavior, interactions, and social order of *pesantren*, which is patriarchal and gender biased. The *kitab kuning* is considered a source of values that regulate men and women in a discriminatory manner and are placed as sacred texts that do not give room for criticism.

Humor as a medium for spreading Islamic values by exploiting women's sexuality reinforces stereotypes, objectification, and subordination of women. Humor becomes a natural institutionalization tool for the marginalization of women. Along with men's interests, Islam and humor, which initially became a means of exploitation of sexuality, eventually

intertwined with men's political interests in maintaining their power.

Therefore, the development of women-friendly Islamic discourse must be included in a structured curriculum of *pesantren* and *pesantren*. Humor is composed in the process of enculturation of *pesantren* culture as an effort to liberate Islamic patriarchy. Cultural institutionalization of the *pesantren* social order that is gender biased through humor can be eliminated through strengthening cultural agents so that they are based on values that respect gender equality. Empowerment and competence of women who are equal to men in topics of humor will reduce stereotypes, objectification, and marginalization of women.

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