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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Women's leadership in Madurese culture: An analysis of gender construction and Antonio Gramsci's hegemony in religious discourse

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ABSTRACT
This article aims to analyze the understanding of the hadith on women's leadership through a textual-contextual approach and to examine its relationship with gender construction and patriarchal relations within the socio-cultural context of Madura. The study is motivated by a research gap between studies of hadith on women's leadership, which primarily focus on textual meaning and historical context, and studies of women and patriarchy in Madura, which tend to discuss social structures, power relations, and women's participation. The lack of integration between these two areas of scholarship provides the analytical space that this study seeks to address.This study employs a qualitative approach using library research. The data were collected through an examination of the hadith narrated by Abu Bakrah in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, the hadith commentary *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, and relevant literature on gender relations and women's leadership in Madura. The analysis draws on M. Syuhudi Ismail's textual-contextual approach to hadith understanding and Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony. The findings indicate that the understanding of hadith needs to be distinguished from the process of interpretation and the use of such interpretations in social life. The literature on Madura demonstrates that women's leadership operates within complex power relations involving gender norms, religious authority, kinship, and politics, while also revealing forms of negotiation and women's agency. The conceptual contribution of this study lies in proposing an analytical framework that connects hadith understanding, gender construction, and social legitimacy without assuming a direct causal relationship between hadith and patriarchy. This framework may serve as an initial basis for interdisciplinary studies of religious discourse, representations of women, and local cultural values, including as a supporting perspective for the development of pesantren literary studies. These implications remain conceptual and require further research using a specific corpus of pesantren literature.

Keywords: women's leadership; gender construction; hegemony; Madurese culture.

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INTRODUCTION

The hadiths of Prophet Muhammad constitute one of the primary sources of Islamic teachings and hold an important position in shaping Muslims' religious understanding and social practices. As a source of teachings encompassing the Prophet's sayings, actions, and tacit approvals, hadiths should not be understood merely as normative texts; rather, they should also be examined by taking into account the historical, social, and cultural contexts, as well as the communicative situations surrounding their emergence. An understanding of hadith that relies solely on its literal meaning may lead to conclusions that fail to account for the complexity of issues arising when hadiths are applied in societies undergoing continuous change. Therefore, contextualization has become an important approach in hadith studies, particularly when religious texts intersect with contemporary social issues involving power relations, gender construction, and cultural change.

One issue that continues to generate debate in hadith studies is women's leadership. This debate is partly associated with a hadith narrated by Abu Bakrah and recorded in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, in which Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) stated that a people would not prosper if they entrusted their affairs to a woman. This hadith is frequently cited in discussions concerning women's status and eligibility for leadership positions. A textual reading of this hadith tends to focus primarily on its wording and the form of its statement, whereas a contextual reading seeks to examine the circumstances surrounding its emergence, the political situation at the time, its scope of meaning, and its relevance to contemporary leadership issues. These different approaches indicate that discussions of women's leadership cannot be limited to quoting the hadith text; rather, they require an analysis that considers the relationship between the text, its historical context, and social realities.

The issue of women's leadership becomes increasingly complex when associated with the social and cultural structures that shape gender relations within society. In the context of Madura, several studies have identified patriarchal relations in family, social, religious, and political life. Nevertheless, patriarchy cannot be understood as a single characteristic that applies uniformly to all Madurese communities. Gender relations and the distribution of power need to be examined in relation to specific social environments, cultural practices, religious authority, and women's experiences. Accordingly, the term *patriarchal culture* in this article refers to patterns of power relations identified in previous studies, rather than constituting a generalization about all Madurese society.

Hefni (2012), in a study of Madurese women and post-marital residence patterns, demonstrates that the tendency toward matrilocal residence after marriage does not necessarily indicate the existence of a matriarchal system of power. The power relations examined in the study continue to exhibit patriarchal characteristics, despite the bilateral nature of the kinship system. This finding indicates that women's positions within family and social structures cannot be determined solely by residence patterns or their proximity to their families of origin. Residence patterns, kinship systems, and the distribution of authority are distinct dimensions and therefore require careful analysis.

In the realm of local politics, Rahmawati, Susanti, and Suyanto (2021) examine women serving as *klebun*, or village heads, within Madura's patriarchal power structures. Their study demonstrates that women occupying leadership positions may encounter pressure and limitations in carrying out their roles. This finding indicates that women's participation in formal positions does not automatically eliminate gender inequality. Women may attain leadership positions while simultaneously facing social and political structures that constrain their room for action.

The religious dimension in the formation of gender relations is discussed by Umam and Zahroh (2021) through their study of religious patriarchal hegemony in the socio-cultural dynamics of Madurese society. Their study highlights the relationship between gender construction, religious authority, and the social environment in shaping women's experiences. This perspective is relevant because understandings of women's roles do not develop in a social space separate from religion. Religious knowledge and authority may interact with cultural norms and social structures in shaping views concerning women's status. However, this relationship does not mean that Islamic teachings as a whole are identical with patriarchy. The analysis needs to distinguish between religious texts, interpretations of those texts, the authorities that disseminate such interpretations, and the social practices that develop within society.

Anhary's (2023) study of patriarchy and gender bias in Madura from the perspective of Islamic sociology further enriches the discussion of the relationship between social construction and gender inequality. Meanwhile, Rahmawati, Mulyaningsih, and Hamida (2024) examine women's empowerment in Madurese villages by highlighting women's resistance within patriarchal power structures and political dynasties. These two studies demonstrate the importance of viewing women not merely as individuals experiencing restrictions, but also as agents capable of negotiating, resisting, and creating spaces for participation. Thus, research on patriarchy in Madura reveals dynamics that are more

complex than a simple opposition between men and women. These dynamics involve power structures, religious authority, political practices, and women's agency, all of which interact with one another.

On the other hand, studies of hadith on women's leadership have focused on textual meaning, scholarly explanations, and the relationship between the wording of the hadith and the context in which it emerged. Studies on hadith contextualization also provide a methodological foundation for understanding hadith by considering the historical circumstances and social realities surrounding its emergence. Both areas of scholarship are important to this article because the issue of women's leadership is not only related to how a hadith is understood, but also to how that understanding is brought into dialogue with concrete social issues. Accordingly, hadith interpretation needs to be conducted carefully, maintaining due regard for textual authority and the scholarly tradition of hadith commentary while also considering the social context in which the resulting understanding is applied.

Based on previous studies, research on women and patriarchy in Madura has demonstrated the complexity of gender relations in family, social, religious, and political life. Meanwhile, studies of hadith on women's leadership address debates concerning the meaning of hadith texts, the contexts in which they emerged, and the relevance of their interpretation to contemporary life. These two groups of studies provide important foundations for understanding the issue of women's leadership, but they have different points of emphasis. Research on patriarchy in Madura primarily helps explain the social context experienced by women, whereas hadith studies focus on the meaning of religious texts and methods of interpretation. Therefore, there remains an opportunity to bring these two perspectives together through an analysis that specifically connects the understanding of hadith on women's leadership with findings from previous studies on patriarchal relations in Madura.

On this basis, this article does not begin with the assumption that patriarchy in Madura is directly caused by the understanding of a particular hadith. The relationship between religious texts and social structures is an issue that requires analysis by taking into account the various factors that shape it. This article seeks to examine how the hadith on women's leadership is understood through textual and contextual approaches and subsequently bring the results of this interpretation into dialogue with previous studies on patriarchal relations and the dynamics of women's leadership in Madura. Through this approach, the local context is not positioned merely as an illustration, but as an analytical space for examining the

relevance of hadith interpretation to the issue of women's leadership in contemporary society. The intended novelty lies in the analytical dialogue between hadith studies and socio-cultural research on Madura, while remaining open to the possibility that both previous research findings and hadith interpretations may reveal diverse perspectives.

This article aims to analyze the understanding of hadith on women's leadership through textual and contextual approaches, identify the dynamics of patriarchal relations and women's leadership in Madura based on previous studies, and bring the interpretation of the hadith into dialogue with the socio-cultural context. To achieve these objectives, this study addresses three research questions: (1) How is the hadith on women's leadership understood through textual and contextual approaches? (2) How do previous studies describe patriarchal relations and the dynamics of women's leadership in Madurese society? and (3) How can the hadith be brought into dialogue with the socio-cultural context of Madura, and what are the implications of this analysis for social transformation? This study is expected to contribute to the development of hadith studies, particularly by explaining the relationship between religious texts, social contexts, and the issue of women's leadership in contemporary society.

METHOD

This study employs a qualitative approach using the library research method. It focuses on analyzing the hadith on women's leadership and bringing its interpretation into dialogue with research findings on patriarchal relations and the dynamics of women's leadership in Madura. The contextual approach draws on the thought of M. Syuhudi Ismail, particularly his work *Hadis Nabi yang Tekstual dan Kontekstual: Telaah Ma'ani al-Hadits tentang Ajaran Islam yang Universal, Temporal, dan Lokal* (Ismail, 1994). This framework is used to examine the wording of the hadith, its historical context, scholarly explanations, and the relevance of its meaning to contemporary social issues. Since this study does not involve fieldwork, its analysis of Madurese society is based on findings from previously published research.

The data sources consist of primary, supporting, and methodological sources. The primary sources include the hadith on women's leadership narrated by Abu Bakrah and recorded in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, as well as relevant hadith commentary literature, particularly *Fatḥ al-Bārī* by Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī. Supporting sources comprise studies on patriarchy, gender relations, and women's leadership in Madura, including Hefni (2012), Rahmawati et al. (2021), Umam and Zahroh (2021), Anhary (2023), and Rahmawati et al. (2024). Methodological sources include literature on textual and contextual approaches to hadith

interpretation. The selection of sources was based on their relevance to the research focus, credibility, and the traceability of their arguments.

Data were collected through documentation and systematic literature searches. The process involved identifying the relevant hadith and scholarly explanations, examining literature on its historical context and various interpretations, and compiling studies on patriarchal relations and women's leadership in Madura. The collected data were subsequently classified according to the themes and focus of the study.

Data analysis was conducted in four stages. First, the wording of the hadith and relevant scholarly explanations were examined to identify its meaning and the range of interpretations offered. Second, the historical context of the hadith was investigated using traceable sources and scholarly arguments. Third, previous studies on patriarchy and women's leadership in Madura were analyzed by considering differences in research locations, objects, and findings to avoid generalizing Madurese society as a homogeneous group. Fourth, the findings from the hadith analysis were brought into dialogue with socio-cultural research findings to identify points of relevance, tension, and conceptual implications for understanding women's leadership. This analysis does not assume a direct causal relationship between the hadith and patriarchal structures. Rather, the implications for social transformation are presented as conceptual reflections, not as evidence of social change established through field research.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Women's Leadership in Hadith: Text, Historical Context, and Understanding

The hadith on women's leadership is one of the narrations widely discussed in hadith studies and contemporary Islamic thought, particularly in relation to issues of authority, gender, and public leadership. One of the hadiths frequently cited in this discussion is the narration of Abu Bakrah, recorded in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. In this narration, Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) makes a statement concerning a people who entrust their affairs to a woman. Understanding this hadith requires more than a literal translation of its text; it also involves examining its wording, the historical context in which it was transmitted, and the explanations provided by hadith scholars. Accordingly, this subsection examines the hadith on women's leadership through M. Syuhudi Ismail's textual-contextual approach, with the aim of distinguishing the meaning conveyed by the text, the historical circumstances surrounding the narration, and its potential relevance to contemporary leadership issues.

Aspect Examined	Textual Data or Source	Analysis
Hadith wording	Abu Bakrah's hadith in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*: « لَنْ يُفْلِحَ قَوْمٌ وَلَّوْا أَمْرَهُمُ امْرَأَةً»	The wording of the hadith connects the prosperity of a people with the act of entrusting their affairs to a woman. The phrase *wallaw amrahum* refers to the act of granting or transferring authority over an affair. However, the wording alone does not fully explain the scope of leadership being referred to or how the hadith should be applied to different forms of leadership in different contexts.
Source of transmission	The narration of Abu Bakrah recorded in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*	This narration serves as the primary source in discussions of the hadith on women's leadership. Its inclusion in an authoritative hadith collection is important for establishing the source of the study. Nevertheless, the analysis of its meaning still needs to consider the text, the context of transmission, and scholarly explanations.
Historical context	Abu Bakrah's narration connects the transmission of the hadith with the news concerning the appointment of Kisra's daughter as ruler of Persia.	The connection between the narration and the political situation in Persia provides a historical context for understanding the hadith. This context may help explain the circumstances surrounding the Prophet's statement, but it does not automatically establish that its meaning applies only to that particular event. The relationship between the specific context and the scope of the hadith's meaning needs to be examined through scholarly explanations and analysis of its wording.
Framework for understanding	M. Syuhudi Ismail's textual-contextual approach in *Hadis Nabi yang Tekstual dan Kontekstual*	This approach is used to distinguish between an understanding based on the wording of the hadith and one that takes into account the context in which it emerged. In this study, the approach serves as a framework for assessing the relevance of the hadith to contemporary leadership issues without disregarding the text or using context as a unilateral basis for restricting its meaning.

Table 1. Data and Analysis of the Hadith on Women's Leadership

Table 1 presents four aspects that form the basis of the analysis: the wording of the hadith, its source of transmission, its historical context, and the framework used to understand it. In terms of its wording, the hadith establishes a connection between the prosperity of a people and the entrusting of their affairs to a woman. Historically, Abu Bakrah's narration associates this statement with reports concerning leadership in Persia. Meanwhile, the textual-contextual approach is employed as an analytical framework to examine the relationship between the wording of the hadith and its historical context. Thus, the table does not merely identify the source of the hadith; it also emphasizes that understanding it requires an approach that considers linguistic and historical elements simultaneously.

Drawing on M. Syuhudi Ismail's textual-contextual approach, understanding a hadith requires distinguishing between the meaning derived from its wording and the interpretation developed by considering the circumstances surrounding its emergence. A textual reading focuses on the hadith's statement concerning a people who entrust their affairs to a woman, whereas a contextual reading takes into account the political situation underlying the narration. These two approaches do not necessarily need to be viewed as

opposing perspectives. Context can enrich the understanding of a text, but it does not automatically invalidate its textual meaning. Conversely, the wording of a hadith should not be directly applied to every form of modern leadership without examining its scope of meaning, the circumstances involved, and the issues it addresses. Within this framework, the interpretation of a hadith should be developed through an argumentative relationship between text, context, and application, rather than by considering any one of these elements in isolation.

The hadith on women's leadership, therefore, needs to be approached as a religious text that requires careful consideration when relating the Prophet's statement to contemporary leadership issues. The wording of the hadith serves as an indispensable starting point, while its historical context helps explain the circumstances surrounding its transmission. However, these two elements alone are insufficient to justify a hasty conclusion that the hadith prohibits all forms of women's leadership in every social and political sphere. Such a conclusion requires further argumentation concerning the scope of the term *leadership*, scholarly explanations of the hadith, and the relationship between its historical circumstances and contemporary conditions. Therefore, the textual-contextual approach provides a means of maintaining fidelity to the text while allowing room for a balanced analysis of issues concerning women's leadership.

A balanced understanding of the hadith has implications for Islamic studies and discourse on women's leadership. In the academic sphere, a textual-contextual reading of hadith can encourage studies that go beyond translating the hadith text by also examining its sources, the context of its emergence, and the arguments underlying its interpretation. In the social sphere, this approach can provide a foundation for discussing women's leadership more critically, without treating a single hadith statement as the sole basis for assessing women's capacities across all areas of leadership. In relation to Madurese society, this framework can be used to examine how the hadith is understood and connected with social norms concerning women's roles. However, since this study employs library research, these implications represent a conceptual direction for further analysis rather than empirical findings concerning the views or practices of the Madurese community as a whole.

Patriarchal Culture and Women's Leadership in the Madurese Context

Discussions of women's leadership in Madurese society need to be situated within the broader context of the relationship between customary practices, religion, kinship structures, and the distribution of power. In this study, patriarchal culture is not understood

as a characteristic uniformly inherent in all Madurese communities, but rather as a pattern of social relations that, under certain circumstances, may grant greater authority to men and constrain women's agency. Hefni's (2012) study identifies the coexistence of matrilocal residence patterns, a bilateral kinship system, and patriarchal power relations in Madura. Meanwhile, research on women serving as *klebun* (village heads) demonstrates that women's participation in village leadership does not necessarily mean that they are free from the influence of patriarchal power structures (Rahmawati et al., 2021, 2024). These findings highlight the importance of distinguishing between women's presence in leadership positions and their ability to exercise authority independently. Therefore, this subsection examines patriarchal culture and women's leadership through previous studies and subsequently uses these findings as a socio-cultural context for examining interpretations of the hadith on women's leadership.

Aspect Examined	**Data from Previous Studies**	**Analytical Findings**
Kinship structures and power relations	Hefni (2012) identifies a combination of matrilocal residence patterns, a bilateral kinship system, and patriarchal power relations in Madura.	Post-marital residence patterns do not, in themselves, determine who holds authority within the family or society. This finding demonstrates that women's positions within kinship structures need to be distinguished from the distribution of power operating in social practices.
The relationship between religion, culture, and gender	Umam and Zahroh (2021) examine religio-patriarchal hegemony and gender inequality in the socio-cultural dynamics of several research locations in Madura.	The relationship between religion and patriarchy needs to be examined through the processes of religious interpretation, the dissemination of religious knowledge, and the accompanying social practices. These findings do not mean that Islamic teachings as a whole are identical with patriarchy; rather, they indicate the need to examine how particular religious understandings interact with social structures.
Women's participation in village leadership	Rahmawati et al. (2021) examine the experiences of women serving as *klebun* and identify pressures and restrictions on their agency within patriarchal political structures.	The presence of women in public office does not automatically indicate equality in the distribution of power. An analysis of women's leadership also needs to consider nomination processes, support from family networks, autonomy in decision-making, and the capacity to exercise authority.
Women's negotiation and empowerment	Rahmawati et al. (2024) demonstrate that women *klebun* face tensions between their positions within political kinship networks and their efforts to exercise leadership independently. The study also identifies strategies employed by women to strengthen their positions and respond to existing power structures.	Women are not merely recipients of the effects of patriarchal structures; they can also act as agents who negotiate and transform power relations. Thus, women's leadership needs to be understood as an arena that reveals both constraints and possibilities for social change.

Patriarchy and gender bias as social issues	Anhary (2023) analyzes patriarchy and gender bias in Madura through the perspective of Antonio Gramsci's cultural hegemony.	The perspective of hegemony helps explain that gender inequality can be maintained not only through formal rules or coercion, but also through the acceptance of norms regarded as natural. In this study, this perspective is used to examine how social norms and religious understandings may be associated with the acceptance of or restrictions on women's leadership.

Table 2. Data and Analysis of Patriarchal Culture and Women's Leadership in the Madurese Context

Table 2 illustrates that the issue of women's leadership in the Madurese context is associated with several interconnected dimensions, namely kinship structures, religious understanding, political participation, and the negotiation of power. Hefni's (2012) study demonstrates that matrilocal residence patterns do not necessarily correspond to matriarchal power relations. The studies by Umam and Zahroh (2021) and Anhary (2023) highlight the importance of examining the relationship between social norms, religious understanding, and gender inequality. Meanwhile, the studies by Rahmawati et al. (2021, 2024) demonstrate that women may occupy village leadership positions while continuing to face the influence of kinship networks, political dynasties, and male-dominated power structures. Overall, these studies indicate that women's presence in public positions and their ability to exercise leadership independently are two distinct issues. Nevertheless, each study has its own focus and scope; therefore, its findings cannot be directly generalized to the entire Madurese community.

To analyze these findings, Antonio Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony provides a useful perspective for understanding how a social order is maintained through the acceptance of values, norms, and beliefs regarded as natural or legitimate by society. In the context of gender relations, this perspective helps explain how the division of roles between men and women may gain legitimacy through social customs and particular interpretations of religious teachings. Hegemony does not always operate through explicitly stated prohibitions; rather, it may function when particular norms are accepted as natural and unquestionable. However, this concept does not imply that all Madurese communities accept patriarchal norms in the same way. Research on women serving as *klebun* (village heads), for instance, reveals forms of negotiation, strategies of resistance, and empowerment efforts that demonstrate how power relations can be challenged and transformed (Rahmawati et al., 2021, 2024). Thus, the concept of hegemony is used to examine the social mechanisms that may sustain inequality while also providing an analytical basis for understanding resistance and social change.

From the author's perspective, patriarchal culture and women's leadership in the Madurese context need to be understood as dynamic social relations rather than as a simple opposition between tradition and modernity or between religion and gender equality. Women may hold important positions within families and communities, but such positions do not always correspond to equal access to public authority. Conversely, when women enter leadership spaces, their participation does not necessarily eliminate the influence of family networks, gender norms, and established forms of social legitimacy. Previous research also demonstrates that women have the capacity to negotiate their roles and create spaces for action within restrictive structures. In relation to hadith studies on women's leadership, these social conditions provide an important context for examining how the hadith is understood, cited, and used in discourse concerning women's eligibility for leadership. However, studies of patriarchy in Madura do not, in themselves, establish that the hadith on women's leadership is the cause of such inequality. The relationship between the hadith text and social practices must be analyzed by examining the processes through which the text is interpreted and used, rather than assumed from the outset.

The implications of this discussion highlight the need to distinguish among three issues that are often conflated in debates on women's leadership: religious texts, interpretations of those texts, and social practices that develop within society. In academic research, this distinction enables scholars to critically assess whether restrictions imposed on women originate from the wording of religious texts, particular interpretations, cultural norms, or interactions among these elements. In the social context, this discussion also emphasizes the importance of evaluating leadership based on capacity, responsibility, and the authority exercised, rather than solely on gender. For this study, findings concerning patriarchy and women's leadership in Madura serve as a socio-cultural context for analyzing interpretations of Abu Bakrah's hadith. Since this research employs the library research method, these implications constitute conceptual arguments developed from the literature rather than empirical conclusions about how all members of Madurese society understand or apply the hadith.

Patriarchal Culture and Women's Leadership in the Madurese Context

Discussions of women's leadership in Madurese society need to be situated within the broader context of the relationship between customary practices, religion, kinship structures, and the distribution of power. In this study, patriarchal culture is not understood as a characteristic uniformly inherent in all Madurese communities, but rather as a pattern

of social relations that, under certain circumstances, may grant greater authority to men and constrain women's agency. Hefni's (2012) study identifies the coexistence of matrilocal residence patterns, a bilateral kinship system, and patriarchal power relations in Madura. Meanwhile, research on women serving as *klebun* (village heads) demonstrates that women's participation in village leadership does not necessarily mean that they are free from the influence of patriarchal power structures (Rahmawati et al., 2021, 2024). These findings highlight the importance of distinguishing between women's presence in leadership positions and their ability to exercise authority independently. Therefore, this subsection examines patriarchal culture and women's leadership through previous studies and subsequently uses these findings as a socio-cultural context for examining interpretations of the hadith on women's leadership.

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	perspective of Antonio Gramsci's cultural hegemony.	through the acceptance of norms regarded as natural. In this study, this perspective is used to examine how social norms and religious understandings may be associated with the acceptance of or restrictions on women's leadership.

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The implications of this discussion highlight the need to distinguish among three issues that are often conflated in debates on women's leadership: religious texts, interpretations of those texts, and social practices that develop within society. In academic research, this distinction enables scholars to critically assess whether restrictions imposed on women originate from the wording of religious texts, particular interpretations, cultural norms, or interactions among these elements. In the social context, this discussion also emphasizes the importance of evaluating leadership based on capacity, responsibility, and the authority exercised, rather than solely on gender. For this study, findings concerning patriarchy and women's leadership in Madura serve as a socio-cultural context for analyzing interpretations of Abu Bakrah's hadith. Since this research employs the library research method, these implications constitute conceptual arguments developed from the literature rather than empirical conclusions about how all members of Madurese society understand or apply the hadith.

Contextualization of the Hadith and Its Implications for Social Transformation

The contextualization of the hadith on women's leadership involves not only examining the relationship between the text and its historical context but also exploring how religious interpretations contribute to shaping societal perceptions of leadership. Within a patriarchal cultural context, the hadith needs to be interpreted carefully to ensure that its religious message is neither detached from the circumstances surrounding its emergence nor applied without considering the issues faced by contemporary society. At the same time,

contextualization should not be used to justify disregarding the hadith text. Rather, it must be grounded in an approach that takes into account the wording of the hadith, its historical context, scholarly interpretations, and its relevance to contemporary social issues. Accordingly, the discussion of social transformation focuses on how contextualized interpretations of the hadith may contribute to reassessing gender norms and fostering more critical perspectives on women's leadership.

Analytical Aspect	Data and Research Sources	Analysis
Textual and contextual understanding of hadith	Abu Bakrah's hadith concerning a people who entrust their affairs to a woman, recorded in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*; Syuhudi Ismail's textual-contextual approach.	Understanding the hadith requires consideration of its wording and the context of its emergence. Contextualization helps examine arguments concerning the scope and application of the hadith without initially assuming that its meaning applies only to a particular historical context or universally to all forms of leadership.
Authority in religious interpretation	Umam and Zahroh's (2021) study of religio-patriarchal hegemony.	Religious understanding can be examined in relation to power relations and gender norms. However, this relationship needs to be demonstrated through an examination of the forms of interpretation and their use, rather than being assumed as a direct consequence of the existence of the hadith.
Social structures and women's leadership in Madura	Hefni's (2012) study of kinship relations and patriarchal power; Rahmawati et al.'s (2021) study of women *klebun* within patriarchal power dynamics.	This literature provides a context for understanding that women's positions in society cannot be assessed solely on the basis of their presence in the public sphere. Access to positions, decision-making authority, and power relations are distinct aspects that need to be considered when analyzing women's leadership.
Hegemony and the legitimization of gender norms	Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony, employed as a framework for social analysis.	Hegemony helps explain conceptually how a norm can be accepted as natural through the process of forming social consent. In this study, the concept is used to examine the possibility of social legitimation of religious interpretations, rather than to conclude that all Madurese communities share the same views.
Women's agency and negotiation	Rahmawati et al.'s (2024) study of women's empowerment and resistance within patriarchal power structures.	The existence of patriarchal structures does not necessarily eliminate women's ability to act, negotiate, and establish authority. Women's leadership needs to be understood by considering the relationship between structural constraints and women's agency.
Implications for social transformation	A synthesis of Syuhudi Ismail's textual-contextual approach and Gramsci's concept of hegemony with literature on women and Madurese society.	The contextualization of hadith can provide an analytical foundation for reassessing religious arguments used in debates on women's leadership. This contribution is conceptual and does not, in itself, demonstrate changes in social attitudes or practices.

Table 4. Contextualization of the Hadith on Women's Leadership and Its Implications for Social Transformation

Table 4 illustrates that the contextualization of the hadith on women's leadership involves several interconnected domains, namely textual meaning, authority in religious

interpretation, social structures, the legitimization of gender norms, and women's agency. These five domains demonstrate that the issue of women's leadership cannot be adequately explained through an examination of the wording of the hadith alone.

Understanding the text needs to be accompanied by an analysis of how interpretations are constructed and situated within particular social contexts. The literature on Madurese society provides a context for discussing gender relations and power, while studies of women's leadership highlight the importance of distinguishing women's presence in public office from their capacity to exercise authority. Nevertheless, the available literature does not provide sufficient evidence to conclude that Abu Bakrah's hadith directly shaped or sustained patriarchal culture in Madura.

Theoretically, M. Syuhudi Ismail's textual-contextual approach provides a foundation for examining the relationship between the wording of the hadith, the context of its emergence, and its application in different situations. This approach encourages readers to move beyond a purely literal understanding while also cautioning against disregarding the text when relating it to contemporary issues. Meanwhile, Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony is used to analyze the social dimension of interpretation, particularly the possibility that a particular perspective may acquire legitimacy and become accepted as a natural norm. These two perspectives serve different but complementary functions: Ismail's approach focuses on the interpretation of hadith, whereas Gramsci's concept helps examine the relationship between interpretation, authority, and social acceptance. Through this combination, the analysis can distinguish between the message derived from the hadith text and the ways in which particular religious interpretations are used in discussions of women's positions. This distinction is important to ensure that social analysis does not replace hadith studies and that hadith studies do not overlook the social context in which religious interpretations develop.

An important implication of contextualizing the hadith on women's leadership, in the author's view, lies in creating space to evaluate the arguments used to assess women's eligibility for leadership. Such evaluation does not need to begin by accepting or rejecting the hadith as a whole. Instead, it should examine the basis of the interpretation, the scope of its meaning, and the arguments used to apply it to particular forms of leadership. In the Madurese context, this approach makes it possible to examine the relationship between religious interpretations and gender norms more carefully, without treating Madurese society as a homogeneous group. Women who hold public office, for example, do not automatically indicate that power structures have undergone fundamental change.

Conversely, the existence of patriarchal norms does not mean that women have entirely lost the space to establish authority and engage in negotiation. Therefore, contextual reading needs to take into account the diversity of social experiences and distinguish between explicitly stated norms, existing practices, and the religious arguments used to explain both.

The implications of this study can be considered at two levels. At the academic level, the contextualization of hadith provides a framework for bringing the analysis of religious texts into dialogue with studies of gender relations and power. This framework helps avoid reducing the issue of women's leadership to an opposition between religious texts and the demands of social change. At the social level, this approach can serve as a basis for more critical dialogue on religious interpretation and women's leadership, while maintaining accuracy in understanding hadith sources and recognizing the diversity of social contexts. However, since this study employs library research, these implications should be understood as potential analytical contributions rather than evidence that the contextualization of hadith has produced particular social changes in Madura. Further empirical research is needed to determine how the hadith is understood by religious scholars, community leaders, women leaders, and other social groups, as well as how such understandings relate to leadership practices in everyday life.

Based on the overall discussion, the novelty of this article lies in developing an analytical framework for contextualizing the hadith on women's leadership that clearly distinguishes three domains: the hadith text, the process of interpretation, and the social legitimation of that interpretation. These three domains are brought together to explain why the issue of women's leadership cannot be examined solely through the opposition between textual and contextual readings. It also requires consideration of how particular religious interpretations acquire meaning and relevance within specific social structures. Within this framework, M. Syuhudi Ismail's textual-contextual approach is used to examine the relationship between the wording of the hadith and the context of its emergence, while Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony is employed to examine the possible relationship between religious interpretation and the social acceptance of gender norms. The social context of Madura is positioned as an analytical space in which these two perspectives can be brought together, rather than as evidence that the hadith on women's leadership is the direct cause of the formation of patriarchal culture.

Thus, the contribution of this article does not lie in determining that the hadith on women's leadership must be understood either universally or exclusively within its historical context. Rather, it emphasizes the importance of distinguishing the meaning of the

text, the arguments underlying its interpretation, and the use of that interpretation in social life. This distinction enables hadith studies to move beyond normative debates toward a more critical analysis of the processes through which meaning and social legitimacy are constructed. Since this study is based on library research, the proposed framework constitutes a conceptual contribution that still requires empirical examination to determine how the hadith on women's leadership is actually understood, used, or negotiated by social actors in Madura. Therefore, this article offers an analytical perspective for examining the relationship between hadith interpretation, gender construction, and social dynamics without oversimplifying the diversity of religious views or women's experiences in Madurese society.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the hadith on women's leadership, narrated by Abu Bakrah in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, needs to be understood through both textual and contextual approaches. M. Syuhudi Ismail's framework provides a basis for examining the relationship between the wording of the hadith, its historical context, and its contemporary application. Meanwhile, previous studies indicate that women's leadership in Madura is shaped by interconnected factors, including gender norms, religious authority, kinship relations, and power structures. These dynamics demonstrate that women's presence in leadership positions does not necessarily guarantee their independent authority, while Madurese society cannot be treated as homogeneous.

The main contribution of this article lies in proposing an analytical framework that brings M. Syuhudi Ismail's textual-contextual approach into dialogue with Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony. This framework distinguishes three interconnected domains: the hadith text, the process of interpretation, and the social legitimation of religious interpretations. It offers a perspective for examining the relationship between hadith interpretation, gender construction, and women's leadership without assuming that the hadith directly caused patriarchal culture in Madura. Thus, contextualization may encourage more critical perspectives on the religious arguments used in debates about women's leadership.

Since this study employs library research, its findings constitute conceptual arguments rather than empirical evidence of social change in Madura. Future research using interviews, observations, or case studies is needed to explore how religious scholars, community

leaders, and women leaders interpret and negotiate the hadith in everyday social and leadership practices.

DECLARATIONS

Ethical Considerations

This study employs the library research method to examine the understanding of the hadith on women's leadership and its relationship with patriarchal structures and the dynamics of women's leadership in Madura. The study draws on published written sources, including hadith collections, hadith commentaries, and relevant previous studies. It does not involve human participants, interviews, surveys, experiments, interventions, or the collection of personal data. Therefore, formal ethical approval for research involving human participants is not required. The analysis is conducted by taking into account the historical context of the hadith, the diversity of interpretations, and the social and cultural complexities of Madurese society.

Use of Artificial Intelligence

Artificial intelligence tools were used to assist in the manuscript preparation process, particularly in language refinement, the organization of ideas, and the improvement of academic expression. The author assumes full responsibility for the originality and accuracy of the manuscript, the interpretation of textual sources, theoretical arguments, analysis of previous studies, and the conclusions presented. The use of artificial intelligence does not replace the author's academic judgment or responsibility for verifying the accuracy and relevance of the sources cited in this article.

Conflict of Interest

The author declares that there are no conflicts of interest that could have influenced the research process, analysis, interpretation, or publication of this article.

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