The Relationship of Community Social Control to The Boarding School Institution

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Abstrak

This study aims to analyze the social relationship between the community and pesantren educational institutions and examine the social control that occurs in them. The research method used is a literature study by collecting data through identification of data sources, data collection, data selection, and data analysis. Thematic analysis is used in this research which focuses on an in-depth understanding of certain themes or patterns in the data collected. The results of data analysis show that the social relationship between the community and pesantren is in the form of a reciprocal relationship, where both parties influence and interact with each other. Pesantren as educational institutions play an important role in providing quality formal and non-formal education for community children, as well as providing moral and religious education for the community. Nevertheless, this study also found several cases that need to be addressed in an effort to improve the quality of relationships and social control between the community and pesantren for better educational sustainability in the future. The results of data analysis show that there are cases of controversy that lead to the need for social relations between the community and pesantren as a form of reciprocal relationship.

Keywords: Pesantren; Social Control; social relations; reciprocal relationships; Mastarakat and Pesantren Relationships.

A. Introduction

Pesantren has an important role or task in society, including teaching religious knowledge, maintaining the values and norms that exist in society. (Maesaroh & Achdiani, 2018), included in community empowerment.(Fabiana Meijon Fadul, 2019) Public trust in pesantren is evidenced by the existence of pesantren to this day. One of the factors is none other than a Kiyai who plays a charismatic role that can easily attract public sympathy to entrust their sons and daughters in pesantren institutions. (Royani, 2018).

Islamic educational institutions (pesantren) are institutions that give birth to students with character. (Kahar et al., 2019), Even pesantren function as institutions that contribute to controlling and preventing fraud in the community. It is undeniable that many religious figures were born from pesantren institutions with a qualified scientific understanding and strong character. Pesantren also contribute, not only to the community but also to the nation. (Wahyuddin, 2016). The bad news is that recently, pesantren institutions, which are trusted by some Indonesians, have raised cases of immoral acts. In the last 3 years, several cases of violence and sexual harassment have occurred in several pesantren.

The cases that befell the students include: 1). Lumajang case, a kyai molested 3 female students at the Arafat Valley Islamic Boarding School. The pesantren, which had 30 students, was then raided by local residents with the help of the police after 2 children reported to their parents about the painful incident in the Curah Petung area, Kedung Jajang, Lumajang, East Java. 2). Depok case, 11 female students were abused by 3 ustadz and 1 senior at the Riyadul Jannah Orphan Palace Islamic Boarding School located in East Beji, Depok, West Java. 3). Subang case, a boarding school caretaker committed cruel acts on a 15-year-old female student. The action was finally revealed when the santriwati's letters were found out by the victim's parents who were studying in the Kalijati area, Subang, West Java. 4). Bandung case, Herry Wirawan became the center of attention of many parties when he committed sexual violence against 13 female students until some of them gave birth to up to 9 children, and one student gave birth twice. The head of the Islamic Boarding School, owner of Pondok Tahfiz Al-Ikhlas, Manarul Huda Antapani Foundation and Madani Boarding School Cibiru, Bandung City, West Java, is now sentenced to death by the court for his actions. 5). The Jombang case, Bechi, who is the son of a well-known cleric in Jombang, committed sexual harassment on his students under the pretext of applying metafact science. The case, which was reported in 2019, was only handled by the police because it was obstructed by the pesantren leadership

(Bechi's parents) who considered that Pesantren Shiddiqiyah Jombang, East Java, had been slandered by other parties. 6). Ciparay case, a pesantren teacher committed acts of harassment since 2019 and was only reported in 2022. The 15-year-old female student experienced harassment under the pretext of internal energy lessons.(Permana, 2023; Ridwan, 2022; Tim TV One, 2022).

The news not only shocked the public, but could reduce public trust in pesantren institutions. Moreover, the immoral acts committed have been categorized as extraordinary so that the death penalty is applied to the perpetrators. As decided in the Heri Wirawan case. It is hard to believe that if Islamic educational institutions are supposed to be the main alternative for character education in this era, the empirical fact is that the news is true. The culprit is the main figure in the institution. Previous research entitled Investigating the Role of Religious Leadership at Indonesia's Islamic Boarding Schools in the Sustainability of School Management showed that leadership in pesantren positively and significantly influenced the relationship between teachers, school facilities, systems, and student achievement. The study recommends further research in administration and governance for leaders which will be discussed in this article.

Other research states that the support system and facilities in pesantren help santri achieve a respectable position in society and play a role as social reformers and educational institutions that are the basis for bringing about changes in society. Especially in the kyai family who has power in the pesantren. (Assa'idi, 2021). Meanwhile, some news articles showed controversy with the involvement of respected people in pesantren. Meanwhile, other studies also place pesantren as Islamic educational institutions that uphold human rights, are democratic, pluralist, and tolerant of differences (language, culture, ethnicity, and religion) (Anam et al., 2019). Of course, the balance in research also needs to be shown with casuistics that may be very small in percentage but receive great attention from the community.

It is interesting to ask, How is the social relationship between the community and pesantren in the context of education and religious values based on the analysis of existing literature? How is social control exercised by the surrounding community towards pesantren that face controversial problems or cases based on the review of available literature? By focusing on literature analysis, this research can provide in-depth insights into the topic based on a collection of reliable sources that have been published previously. Through the answers to the two problem formulations, this research is expected to contribute to policy makers in the government, the community, and the pesantren institution itself to take preventive steps, so that this

kind of case will no longer be repeated, because it can harm the community, especially educational institutions.

B. Methods

This research uses a qualitative approach with a type of literature study conducted by collecting and reviewing theories, scientific references, and sources of information available in libraries or other media.(Sugiyono, 2015) The literature study conducted in this study aims to gather information about community control over pesantren, evaluate the current state of some problems in pesantren, and draw appropriate solutions and conclusions from the data analysis. The steps in this study include: 1). Selecting sources of information that are appropriate and relevant to the topic under study, 2). Examining these sources carefully and summarizing the information obtained precisely and accurately, 3). Drawing connections between the sources studied and summarizing the information obtained holistically. (Moleong, 2014).

Data collection techniques are carried out by semantic reading by examining the literature carefully and carefully so as to obtain the essence of the literature used in the study. (Garrod & Sanford, 1977). Then connecting with the chosen topic so as to produce a comprehensive textual interpretation. The thematic data analysis techniques in this research are: 1). Data identification, by collecting literature relevant to the research topic, including books, journals, articles, and other documents related to the social relationship between the community and pesantren and the social control that occurs in it. 2). Data selection, selecting the most relevant and high-quality literature to be used in the analysis. The selected data will be the basis for identifying the main themes in the research. 3). Data categorization, the selected data were grouped based on certain themes that emerged from the literature analysis. 4). Organizing data, by organizing data based on the themes that have been identified. 5). Data analysis, data that has been grouped and organized is used to conduct thematic analysis. Through the search for patterns, similarities, and differences in the data to identify deeper meanings about the community's social relationship with pesantren and the social control that occurs in it, results will be obtained that can be raised from this research. 6). Drawing conclusions, based on the results of thematic analysis, then conclusions are drawn about the research findings. These conclusions help answer the problem formulation and provide greater insight into the social relationship between the community and pesantren and social control.

C. Discussion

1. Social Control Theory

Social control refers to the ability of the social (community) to organize their own lives based on the norms and values that apply to the community. (Black, 1983). The idea of the concept of social control at the beginning of its emergence as a scientific discipline was a concept to analyze social organization in the development of the industrial revolution. Subsequently, this term was one of the intellectual tools to connect sociological analysis with human values and philosophical orientations used by some pioneering sociologists who were interested in "social progress" and the reduction of irrationality in social behavior.(Janowitz, 1975). Social control involves the capacity of constituent groups in society to behave in ways that aim at a morality and collectivity that they recognize, it does not imply cultural relativism. The term social control has continuity because social control can be understood as a value commitment to two elements: 1). The reduction of coercion, although recognizing elements of coercion occur within systems of legitimate authority, and 2). The elimination of human misery, while recognizing the persistence of some degree of inequality (Janowitz, 1975).

In the criminal context, social control refers to the extent to which a person adheres to values associated with lawful behavior. The assumption is that the more important these values are to an individual, the less likely he or she is to engage in unlawful behavior. (Hirschi, 1969). When moralistic crimes are dealt with by the police or tried in court, the official definition of the event differs drastically from that of the people involved, especially from that of the alleged perpetrator. (Black, 1983). No exception if the crime is committed by highly respected religious leaders. It could be that the supporting community still considers it innocent because perpetrators with certain social communities (religious leaders, the highest caste, social leaders) are untouched by the law (Guvaherath et al., 2019; Narula, 2008).

Basically, charismatic religious leaders are able to form better social ties among their communities. (Lalich, 2004). However, as the supreme religious leader, his social engagement and social ties are sometimes lower than those of his devotees (the community below). Excessive reverence for the supreme religious leader can become a cult of the individual. While the cult of the individual leads to authoritarian leadership (Strong & Killingsworth, 2011). This legitimacy can allow leaders to abuse their positions, including no longer seeing values and norms in social ties.

Broken social ties can be a factor that influences a person to commit a crime. Social control theory states that individuals are more likely to commit crimes if they feel detached from the social ties that exist in society. These social ties can be relationships with the community, family, friends, or society at large. If an individual does not have strong ties to these social groups, they may feel they have no reason not to commit a crime (Glaeser et al., 1996). Social control is one of the ways that can be used to prevent crime in society. There are several ways in which social control can be exercised, including: 1). Social norms, 2). Social bonds, 3). Social institutions, and 4). Social sanctions (Conger, 1976).

Social norms are rules applied in society that guide individual behavior. These social norms can be formal, such as laws, or informal, such as customs. (Lessig, 1995). Social ties are the relationships that exist between individuals in society. Strong social ties can make individuals feel attached to society and make it less likely that they will commit crimes (Black, 1983). Social institutions are institutions that exist in society, such as families, schools, churches, and so on. These social institutions can play an important role in providing social control over individuals. (Coleman, 1990). Social sanctions are forms of punishment or sanctions given by society to individuals who commit crimes. This social sanction can be in the form of formal punishment, such as imprisonment, or informal punishment, such as criticism from friends. (Johnson, 2013).

2. Hierarchy and Social Conditions of Pesantren

Pesantren have a long history in Islamic education in Indonesia. During that time, the challenges and conditions of each era faced by pesantren changed. Problems of pesantren such as leadership factors, interpersonal communication between leaders and subordinates, and conflict management (Mukhtar & Prasetyo, 2020) that color the life of pesantren is a study that continues to be researched.

Transformational leadership style is the key to leadership in today's pesantren. Transformational leadership in pesantren is a leadership style that emphasizes transformation and positive changes for the sustainability of the pesantren (Fananie, 2011). These conditions can be carried out by pesantren leaders or by students who have the enthusiasm to bring positive changes to the pesantren. The characteristic of transformational leadership is by motivating santri to be involved in activities that are beneficial to the pesantren and the surrounding community, and inviting santri to understand and apply Islamic principles in daily life. In addition, transformational leadership can also be carried out by developing

new programs that are beneficial to pesantren and the community, as well as opening opportunities for cooperation with various parties to improve the quality of pesantren.

In pesantren, there is a hierarchy that regulates the governance and leadership structure. The hierarchy varies depending on the traditions and conditions of each pesantren, but in general it consists of 1). Kyai who is the highest leader in the pesantren, responsible for the sustainability and development of the pesantren, 2). Kyai ma'ruf is the kyai's assistant in managing the pesantren, 3). Sanad is the teachers who teach in the pesantren, 3). Santri are students who study at the pesantren, 4). Mukimin are students who have graduated and are involved in activities in the pesantren (Muhammad, 2019; Mujib, 2018). In this hierarchy, the kyai has the highest authority and is responsible for decisions made in the pesantren.

In some pesantren (especially salaf), the leadership style is still not egalitarian and there is a wide distance between the kyai or ustadz and the students. (Haryono, 2015). This situation can be traced from the history of pesantren, which before pre-Islam was a hermitage or kadewaguruan where brahmins (the highest Hindu caste) conducted lessons to their students. Furthermore, when Islam came, the existence of the hermitage was not destroyed but replaced with Islamic-style education which is now widely found in the Java area. (Abdurrahman, 2020). Furthermore, the terminology of barokah and karomah which means extraordinary things to the kyai makes the santri's belief in the charismatic kyai increase and it also becomes the kyai's authority as the highest hierarchical leader in the pesantren. (A'dam, 2016). Although affectionate relationships are also not uncommon in leadership in pesantren that make students feel nurtured, protected, and protected by their kyai (Azaria, 2020).

The relationship between kyai and santri then produces interactions based on three perceptions, namely: 1). The existence of respect, charismatic, exemplary, and inspiration for santri towards kyai, 2). Equivalent interaction patterns between body/physical (al-mu'amalah al-jismiyah), spirit/spirit (al-mu'amalah al-rûhiyah), and mind/intellect (al-mu'amalah al-fikriyah), 3). Religio-transformative leadership that builds santri motivation in interpreting life and life and is useful in the midst of society (Haryanto, 2015). This includes building networks, the economy, and politics in the surrounding community.

The charismatic kyai can even be aligned with the most respected state elites in the society and state (Ilahi, 2014). At least every time there is a general election or election to the region, political elites flock to the kyai and ask for support in order to

win in the general election. Kyai can mobilize the masses and have a great influence in the eyes of the community as an extension of the holder of God's message on earth. Even the blessing of the kyai in various matters becomes a kind of binding legitimacy because the kyai is like a divine representative in the pesantren environment and in the surrounding community (Marhumah, 2011). The keywords charismatic, exemplary, inspiring, nurturing, and protecting are some of the santri's perceptions of kyai or ustadz in pesantren. These perceptions then make the kyai actually more introspective about their social interactions in the pesantren. (Zamzami, 2018). For example, there are rules that make kyai and nyai's houses in pesantren cannot be entered arbitrarily by students or the manners of visiting pesantren. However, it turns out that cases of sexual harassment in pesantren have become news that has shaken the community throughout 2022. This condition is still an iceberg phenomenon that is only visible on the surface and the rest is only allowed to pass or deliberately covered by those who want it.

3. The Roots of Sexual Violence in Pesantren

The Indonesian Teachers' Union Forum summarized that throughout 2022 there were 6 sexual assaults that occurred in Islamic boarding schools. (Rojab, 2023). The motives of the perpetrators who committed violence and sexual harassment in pesantren included learning the fiqh of puberty and thoharoh, providing magic knowledge, being told to massage as a sign of devotion to the kyai/ustadz. From the harassment in the pesantren, the perpetrators (pesantren leaders/children of kyai) consisted of 1 pesantren leader, 1 child of kyai/ pesantren leader, and 4 teachers/teachers (Wuragil, 2023).

The root of the problem of sexual harassment of female students is essentially also due to the lack of acceptance of the leaders of pesantren institutions on social gender issues (Ni'ami, 2022). Patriarchal culture still dominates the order of the education system which makes male hegemony still strong in pesantren education. Meanwhile, the position of women in traditional fiqh studies is also still seen as a complement in all matters of life (Hannan, 2016). The patriarchal system that is still a culture in the social life of pesantren makes the perpetrators who have high authority in the pesantren hierarchy able to do as they please without considering the norms and legal elements again in the pesantren world which seems closed from the social observation of the community. The relationship between gender and the hierarchy of social leadership is interrelated when the authority figure in pesantren becomes dominant in power. The santri, whose position is inferior in social status in pesantren, will always perceive that their teachers or kyai

are inspirers, protectors, and central in social life can do anything. As if implicitly the owners of authority can do anything to the victims. As in the case of Herry Wirawan, who easily distorted the thinking of his santri with the mode of obedience to the teacher, will pay for college, and take responsibility for the children produced from this power abuse relationship (Permana, 2023).

This perversion of the patriarchal system results in victims of sexual harassment not fighting back much because culturally the victims will only get social ostracization when revealing the incident. Like the case of Mas Bechi Jombang, where the victims were even accused of deliberately spreading slander about the existence of the large pesantren (Dedi, 2022). Psychological and social impacts are two important things that make victims of harassment never want to report to the authorities (Trihastuti & Nuqul, 2020), so that the disclosure of sexual violence issues that occur in this place that is seen as the "guardian of morals" is often covered up

4. Community Social Relations and Islamic Education Institutions (Pondok Pesantren)

Communities and pesantren have one thing in common, namely both as organizers and centers of education (Mursalim, 2019). Through SKB 3 Ministers No. 6 of 1975, namely the Minister of Religion, the Minister of Education and Culture, then the Minister of Home Affairs, about improving the quality of education in Madrasahs. The policy also gave birth to the Pesantren and Community Development Association (P3M) on May 18, 1983 in Jakarta. This association is the forerunner of a forum for communication, consultation, and cooperation between pesantren in an effort to develop themselves and the community in the pesantren environment (Fadli, 2012).

Pesantren as an Islamic educational institution as well as its leaders are the benchmark for shaping akhlakul karimah in society. (Hasanah & Putri, 2021). As an institution, pesantren has a dual role in the community, namely the implementer of Islamic education and community developer (Zaenurrosyid, 2018). The success of pesantren cannot be separated from the charismatic figure of a Kiyai. However, it is not uncommon for the very strong power of the pesantren leader (Kiyai) to cause a fairly high dividing wall with the community. One of them is in Madurese society, the figure of Kiyai is considered to have a higher role than ulama (Susanto, 2007). Too much in assessing the kiyai (subjective), causing the figure of the kiyai to become more exclusive, the impact is that this perspective unconsciously perpetuates patriarchal culture in society. Another obvious effect is that the superiority of kiaiKiyai in society can be misinterpreted and utilized by some individuals (kiaiKiyai) to commit acts of violence and sexual

harassment. The community also needs to realize that its contribution to education is quite large, besides being the center of education, the community also has a role in controlling the education process, including in pesantren. With this kind of perspective, the community and pesantren will have a more harmonious relationship, without considering who is better or more important, because both have a social control role.

5. Community Social Control of Educational Institutions (pesantren)

The rise of sexual harassment cases in the pesantren world is sufficient evidence of the weak control and social integration of the community. as a result, it can have a worse impact on deviant behavior in pesantren educational institutions. (Syam et al., 2020). The breakdown of social integration, Groups with weak social ties tend to break the law because they feel less bound by conventional rules or everything that is based on agreement (Mahdalena & Yusuf, 2017). A case of harassment in an Islamic boarding school in East Java resulted in MSAT being charged with only 7 years in prison, on the grounds that what he did was categorized as obscene, not rape (Wibowo, 2023). If you don't get raped, it is not a serious crime. Different perceptions of values also hamper social control in society. Legal decisions are based on empirical evidence, so the results of the decision sometimes cannot satisfy the victim who has lost physically and psychologically. In order to maintain moral values, social control in the form of social sanctions by the community should not be completely lost. in addition to providing a deterrent effect to the perpetrator and providing psychological support to the victim. A way that can be done in this digital era is to criticize on social media. Thus the community is also more concerned about the conditions around them, and more preventive against deviant behavior.

D. Conclusion

The social relationship between the community and pesantren can be seen from various perspectives. First, the community often considers pesantren as important and beneficial educational institutions for the intellectual and spiritual development of their children. Second, pesantren are often considered as institutions that play an important role in maintaining and developing community traditions and culture. Third, pesantren are often considered as institutions that play an important role in the formation of community leaders and the formation of a solid community. Fourth, pesantren are often considered as institutions that play an important role in the formation of social and economic networks.

The great trust in pesantren from the community must be accompanied by social control of the community on pesantren. The community's social control of pesantren includes: 1). Normative control, which can be done through monitoring and evaluation conducted by the community on pesantren, 2). Sanction control, the community can give sanctions, both positive and negative, to pesantren that do not meet the specified norms and expectations. Negative sanctions can be in the form of boycotts or demonstrations, while positive sanctions can be in the form of support and recognition, 3). Participatory control by providing input and suggestions to improve the quality of pesantren, 4). Legal control, the community can use legal mechanisms to control pesantren that violate the law or commit actions that harm the community. The contribution of this research is to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the social relationship between the community and pesantren as well as the social control mechanisms carried out by the community towards pesantren. In addition, this study also provides an overview of how the community exercises social control over pesantren as a response to the implementation of pesantren's social and moral responsibilities towards the community. This contribution is important in understanding the dynamics of the relationship between pesantren and the community, as well as its implications for the development and sustainability of pesantren as educational and social institutions in the community.

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