THE KIAI'S MODERATE LEADERSHIP MODEL IN IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

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Abstract

This research is basically based on the phenomena that the Kiai (religious leader) has a significant role at the Islamic Boarding Schools (Pesantren). An effective leadership of Kiai will absolutely determine model of changes conducted by Pesantren in improving the quality of education services without removing its Islamic education values. Generally the study is field research and conducted at the Islamic Boarding Schools (Pesantren) Al-Hikmah 2 and As-Salafiyyah Brebes. It uses qualitative approach. Whereas the method of data collection is interview, observation, documentation and triangulation in which the key instrument is the researcher himself. Results of research are: (1) vision of Kiai has a philosophical sense, namely building moderate Islamic character of santri (student) is a worship and devotion to Allah SWT, (2) the strategy of As-Salafiyah Islamic boarding school is to preserve and defend existing salaf (classic) pattern, meanwhile al Hikmah's strategy is to respond modernity trough development and open some new general education institutions.

Keywords: leadership model; kiai; pesantren; education; services quality

ملخص البحث

يأتي هذا البحث من الخلفيات التي تتصور عن شخصية كياهي الذي له دور مهم ومحوري كما أنه يتصف بقيادة فعالة في تحديد اتجاه التغير في المؤسسة التي يرأسها من أجل ترقية نوعية الخدمات التربوية دون أن يزول منها القيم التربوية الإسلامية. يعتبر هذا البحث بحثا ميدانيا حيث يجعل بيسانترين الحكمة ؟، وبيسانترين سلفية بريس، موضوعين للبحث. ويكون البحث على المنهج الكيفي والمعطيات تحصل من طريقة المقابلة والملاحظات والتوثيق لتلك المعطيات. والنتيجة للبحث : ١- إن الرؤية الإشرافية لكياهي لها معنى فلسفي يعني بناء أخلاق الطلبة الإسلامية والمعتدلة، وهذا من ضمن التعبد إلى الله عز وجل.٢- إن استراتيجية سلفية هي الحفاظ على السلوكيات لسلف العلماء بينما يقوم الحكمة باستجابة الأفكار المعاصرة والانفتاح أمام المؤسسات التربوية الجديدة باعتبار أن انتشار الإسلام في بيسانترين يأتي على القيم الإسلامية المنفتحة.٣- إن توزيع السلطات لدي كياهي في بيسانترين السلفية يكون بشكل واسع ومرن، بينما التنظيم في بيسانترين الحكمة أكثر تعقيدا ٤- إن نمط التنظيم في السلفية على شكل جماعي حيث إن الحكمة على إدارة منظمة.

الكلمات الرئيسية : نموذج القيادة ؛ السلفية؛ نوعية الخدمات التعليمية؛ الحكمة

Preface

Social studies relating with Islamic leaders Islam in Indonesia has shown that Kiai is a figure who has a strategic and central position in the community, therefore existence of Kiai as the leader of Islamic boarding schools is very vital. the success Islamic boarding schools most is depend on Kiai leadership factor. The majority opinion stated that Kiai leadership at pesantren is "individual " so Pesantren is heavily depended on charisma of Kiai who leads Islamic boarding school.[1]

The majority of Islamic boarding school in Indonesia only rely on the figure of Kiai as a leader, but it is difficult to find an effective leadership of kiai in maximizing all Pesantren's resources to achieve the goal. This was caused by a social-political polarization factor that are coming upon the nation and the role of the Islamic boarding school leadership that leaned on moral strength nor on organizational skill.

Therefore individual leadership profile relying on charismatic and not in organizational skill will foodstuff authoritarian attitude. in addition, forming of cadres process, only limited on Kiai's descendants, will generate absolute power which will not survive for a long time, because not all Kiai's descendants have similar capacity, orientation and trend with the father, so that not a few sons of Kiai escaped to the public realm.

Sustainability of educational institutions in Pesantren that only rely on figure of kiai as a single leader will not last for a long time. It is because not only piety and charm which is owned by Kiai but also the skills to plan, organize and drive or mobilize in leadership are extremely required for Islamic boarding school continuity.

In such centralistic leadership of Kiai then relationship between Pesantren and Kiai very determine the journey of Islamic boarding school either on this policy orientation or on program arrangement. This means that the figure of

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[1] Majid, Nurcholis, *Bilik-bilik Pesantren*: *Sebuah Potert Perjalanan* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1998), p . 59.

Kiai is a determining key for quantity and quality of Pesantren, especially relating with implementation aspect and educational services in accordance with needs of society.

According to Mastuhu, leadership of Kiai in Islamic boarding school is considered as "art" of utilization all resources (funds, means, infrastructures and power) belonged to Islamic boarding schools to achieve goals of Islamic boarding school. The prominent manifestation of what so-called "art" of utilization is how to drive and direct elements on Islamic boarding schools to do something which is line with the will of Kiai as a leader in order to achieve the goal.[2]

Rapid advances of science and technology in global era are determining changes of education services in Islamic boarding school. Such kind of condition forced Kiai to adapt his leadership pattern; that was originally traditional to more flexible leadership. It means that Kiai is no longer a single authority in all of Islamic boarding school activities, but he must distribute his power to someone else who has capacity and ability to excute to policy. In addition, Islamic boarding schools must be more functional, so it is able to give various models and types of education services needed by community.

Based on previous research, there had been many Islamic boarding school that made some changes. Those changes take a number of forms; (1) participative decision-making model, (2) a better settlement and management of conflict (3) build a strong team in order to preserve its sustainability of Islamic boarding school. These three strategies, up to present, have successfully carried out in several Islamic boarding school giving response to need of community on educational providing in Pesantren.

Management of education either in classic (*salaf*) or in modern Islamic boarding school, requires leadership skills that can maintain its institutions amid the many demands of time and market. Classic Islamic boarding school in which religious curriculum and study of *kitabkuning* (classical books) recognized as characteristic and excellence of salaf Pesantren to deepen

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

knowledges of religion. *Salaf* Islamic boarding school is still being choise for some people in providing education for their children. Though a few of people who doubted graduates of pesantrans who can be accommodated in occupation market, the clasic Islamic boarding school, at this stage, is still exist and able to compete with another educational institution in the middle of modernization.

Different with a pattern of education given in common Islamic boarding school, Al-Hikmah is categorized as semi-modern Pesantren. It is because Pesantren Al-Hikmah has given opportunity to students (*santri*) to choose type of education by providing modern curriculum and still preserve classic (*salaf*) curriculum of Pesantren.

As-Salafiyah and al-Hikmah Islamic boarding schools with their typical characteristics of educational model, until these days, are still going on and become alternative choice for the community to provide educational services. Sustainability and development of these Islamic boarding schools, of course are unseparated from Kiai who became the leader Islamic boarding schools. Their leadership Model will affect the development and educational character that become choices in each Islamic boarding schools.

The development of those two Islamic boarding schools, in principle, was a proof of Kiai's success in improving the educational services quality especially for students and society in general. However, we can see similarity of leadership model of Kiai in those Pesantren; that is central role of Kiai which extremely determines 'fate' of Pesantren. Beyond their similirarity, those two Pesantren have disfferent style and orientation in the implementation of education, especially in responding to society demands of development management of educational institutions. Concerning on explanation above, the focus of this research is leadership model of kiai in providing education in both Pesantren As-Salafiyah and Al-Hikmah. To understand focus of this research, it will be revealed with some of the questions below: (1) What is vision in Kiai in providing educational services? (2) How is authority distribution performed by Kiai to improve the educational services quality? (3) How does kiai prepare his

successor in Islamic boarding schools? (4) what strategy and program are carried out by Islamic boarding schools to provide education services? (5) How does implementation of functions management program for educational services run? (6) what kind of leadership Model is implemented by Kiai to manage educational services in Pesantren (Islamic boarding schools)?

Research Method

This research is qualitative that aims to gain a deep description and to analyze leadership model of kiai improving educational services quality at Pesantren As-Salafiyah and Al-Hikmah 2. This study is also to deeply identify and analyze kiai leadership and its implementation in management of educational institutions at Pesantren. Having focused to get factual forms of leadership pattern or model belonged to kiai. Teoritical and empirical analysis focus of leadership pattern strongly related with dimension of leadership model. As a comprehemsive process, identification and analysis have been used to look implications of kiai leadership toward the performance of Pesantren community (*santri* / student), administrators, teacher team, school principals). In addition, to get a description about outputof education management performance at Pesantren.

This research is considered as a field reseach by using a qualitative approach, namely a case study with particular approach that emphasized more on phenomenological analysis.

To obtain holistic and integrative data and to take into account relevance of data with focus and purpose of research, the researcher used three techniques of data collection proposed by Bogdan and Biklen, namely: (1) indept interview; (2) paticipant observation; and (3) study of document. [3] Jhon W. Creswell added one thechnique namely: Audiovisualmaterials. [4] While Robert suggested six techniques, namely: (1) documentation; (2) archivalrecord; (3) Interview; (4)

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[3] Bogdan, Robert C. And Bilken, Sari Knopp, *Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theory and Methods* (London: Ally and Bacon, 1998).

[4] Jhon W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative* (London: Shagee Publications, 1994).

directobservasion; (5) participant observation; (6) physical artifacts.[5] In this case, researcher chosed three techniques proposed by Bogdan and Biklen, because according to the researcher what was offered by Jhon W Creswell and Robert was overlapped, and it had included three techniques above.

Data Analysis on individual cases was conducted on each objects; Pesantren As-Salafiyah Luwungrag and Pesantren Al-Hikmah. To analyze, researcher interpret data which is in words form, so its meaning could be grasped. Therefor, analysis was done at the same time with data collection process and after data collected.

According to Miles and Huberman, analysis of data can be done through three plot activities that occur simultaneously: (1) data reduction; to classify, to lead, to remove unnecessary data, and to organize data, (2) data displays; to find patterns of meaningful relationship and constitute possibility to draw conclusion, (3) conclusion, drawing and verification; to make meaning pattern of happening events.

Result and Discussion

Moderat Vision of Kiai to Improve Pesantren Performance

Pattern of life, good example, prohibition, teachings and struggle of Kiai Subhan Makmun and Kiai Masruri Mughni pioneering and developing Pesantren are reflection of vision, mission and dream two Pesantren, As-Salafiyah and Al-Hikmah. Eventhough it is not previously documented in writing form, vision, mission, and dream are etched in history of Islamic boarding schools progress sustaining and growing in middle of Pesantren culture until now.

Kiai vision of Pesantren As-Salafiyah and Al-Hikmah is what has been its intention or dedication. Both kiai Subhan Makmun and Kiai Masruri Mughni had

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[5] Robert L. Floods and Michael C. Jackson, *Creative Problem solving*: *Total Systems Intervention* (England: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 1993) p. 15.

a big *concern* powering their efforts to develop Islamic boarding school with teaching Islamic science to santri (students) and to people around Pesantren.

Vision of Kiai Subhan and Kiai Masruri Mughni as the leader of Pesantren As-Salafiyah and Al-Hikmah is a religious service. educating santri is a form of struggle (jihad) to uphold the teaching of Allah. Trough educating santri, Kiai Subhan aimed to build santri's character with classical (*salaf*) system to elevate moral values, to train and to heighten the spirit, to respect for spiritual values and humanity, to teach honest and moral attitudes and behaviors, and to prepare students to live humbly and sincerely.[6]

So did Kiai Masruri Mughni. He has a vision to combat ignorance as work field by establishing Pesantren:

> The purpose of man's life is firstly: *"wamā khlaqtul jinna wa'l-insa illa liya'budūn"*, so the man was created by God to worship (*'ibādah*). types of worship are various, there aretwo terms *'ibādah maḥḍah and muta'adi.* Indeed, I was interested to *muta'adi* worship which has domino effect, by educating people I do worship to Allah. the second of man's life functions are two: *"inna ḥayāta aqīdatun wa jihād"* *Ḥifẓ ra'yi is* to maintain and fight for creeds (*aqidah*). As Muslim, we do jihad with its various, including jihad against unbelievers, *munāfiq*, jihad against forbidden action (*munkar*), and then jihad against lust (*nafs*), fight against ignorance, jihad againts poverty. So jihad has different forms. to fight against unbelievers *ḥarbi*, for instance,we should do it trough holly war after a negotiation whether they want a peace or war? And jihad that I took is to fight against folly. [7]

Kiai vision to educate is based on religious view, the concept of religion is so important, because religion can give spiritual energy that is believed to be able to emerge motivation individualy and collectively. In Islam, it could not be separated between seeking knowledge and teaching knowledge, education process and worship are a form of devotion to God, it is due to that education is social worship (*'ibādah ghayru mahḍah*), while seeking and teaching knowledge are an obligation for every single Muslim.

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[6] Kiai Subhan Makmun, an interview , 01, 2011.

[7] Kiai Masruri Mughni, an interview 03, 2011

Education, according to Kiai, is a form of social worship. So that, educating and all of its supporting activities have a worship values, devotion to God. If we constantly socialize divine value of education to people, it will become spiritual motivation and give contribution to development of forming of Indonesian character.

This research showed that the founding father of Pesantren served ideological basis for Pesantren. The founders of pesantren wanted not only that organizations could stand firmly but also it able to makecore dream of previous founders come true. It is called as core purpose. In addition ideality of founders, at the same time the founders also shape the philosophical basis for moral guidelines and behavior guidelines to run all such organization activities. These guidelines are called as *core value*.

As-Salafiyah leaders have been able to create the philosophy or *core belief* and *core value* . The beliefs and truth that have been achieved by Pesantren As-Salafiyah are due to a value sincerity. Seeking, teaching and actuating of knowledge are a way to worship God. Because in Islamic teachings, the best worship to God is a *religious rituals* and *muamalat*. Religious ritual is not merely serve to God, but it also includes how to behave rightly to other living things. To do a righteous deed to Living creature, we could put religious sciences into practice and finally we achieve perfection of worship which is *religious rituals* (vertical worship).

The philosophy or *core belief* and *core value created* by education of Pesantren As-Salafiyah is not to pursue power, money and worldly glory, but they are deeply embedded to them that learning is merely obligation and devotion to God. [8]there are no difference between As-Salafiyah and Al-Hikmah in their vision, because in educational implementation at the school Al-Hikmah also refers to manifestation of a high quality human resources in faith and piety with self-control and good understanding of religion teaching and moral character. But at Pesantren Al-Hikmah, *core value* and *core obtained* recom-

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[8] Kiai Subhan Makmun, an interview , 03, 2011

bined with modern science and technology. This was done to anticipate demands of progress of time.

In its early stage, vision of Pesantren Al-Hikmah only stressed onits own role as an institution of *tafaqquh fiddin*, with particularities of classical books (kitab kuning) studies and Quran memorization (tahfidz al-Qur'an), it expanded to introduce the concept pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) as a vehicle *tabayyun* besides as a vehicle *tafaqquh fi al-dīn* to continue to hold fast to the *al-muḥāfaẓah 'alā al-qadīm al-ṣāliḥ wa al-akhdh bi al-jadīd al-aṣlāḥ*, Pesantren Al-Hikmah is in process of*tajaddud* (dynamicisation) .

To uphold pesantren educational institutions, leaders of As-Salafiyah and Al-Hikmah have made some changes in their institutions. each Islamic boarding schools make changes being in line with the vision of their respective institutions. Vision that was made by the Islamic boarding schools are influenced by the belief held by the leaders of pesantren. the leader of As-Salafiyah made changes on emphasis on religious sciences with percentage learning religion that more in mastering classical books, so kiai Subhan kept his *salaf*(classic) educational system.

Learning of modern science generally are given in package program B and C that run in the afternoon and was given only to students who have been living for, at least, two years in pesantren. Kiai Subhan as the leader of Pesantren As-Salafiyah is still making changes, however, a given change must be still on the corridor which emphasizes much more on religious knowledge that, so that changes that will be done in relation to manage tradition of pesantren can really achieve the Islamic boarding school students who takes over religious knowledge is highly skilled, and can overcome religious challenges occured in the midst of the people.

Kiai masruri as the leader of Pesantren Al-Hikmah has the philosophical confidence as similar to kiai Subhan, leader of Pesantren As-Salafiyah. To him people can worship trough educating and teaching religious knowledges. kiai Subhan principled that best to worship is to teach religious knowledge

meanwhile Kiai masruri believed that the best worship is *muta'adi worship*, and the *muta'adi worship* is to educate and to teach religious knowledge, but the only difference can be seen in its implementation.Kiai Masruri as the leader of Al-Hikmah have believed that every man is a rook of religion, so any works taken by men in the world has to be prevent himself with goalkeeper to religion and of their respective professions, and the students of Pesantren Al-Hikmah are expected,whatever occupation they take, to have a broad and strong religious knowledge understanding to be a goalkeeper to their profession. therefore Pesantren Al-Hikmah in response to the development of time, opened public schools in its institution.

The difference vision Pesantren As-Salafiyah and Al-Hikmah is on point of view belonged to Kiai seeing how to devote to God. Kiai Subhan as the leader of Pesantren As-Salafiyah managed his institution with principled that there must be some people from us who keeps religious sciences alive. Therefore kiai Subhan focused on religious sciences in his pesantren by understanding classic books and Qur'an. Kiai Subhan laid his belief on Quranic verses, al-Tawbah chapter 22, as follows:

$$ \text{وَمَا كَانَ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ لِيَنفِرُوا كَافَّةً ۚ فَلَوْلَا نَفَرَ مِن كُلِّ فِرْقَةٍ مِّنْهُمْ طَائِفَةٌ لِّيَتَفَقَّهُوا فِي الدِّينِ وَلِيُنذِرُوا قَوْمَهُمْ إِذَا رَجَعُوا إِلَيْهِمْ لَعَلَّهُمْ يَحْذَرُونَ ﴿١٢٢﴾} $$

"Nor should the Believers all go forth together: if a contingent from every expedition remained behind, they could devote themselves to studies in religion, and admonish the people when they return to them,- that thus they (may learn) to guard themselves (against evil)."

Different with Kiai Masruri Mughni who initiates dynamicisation (*tajaddud*) by developing pesantren as an ideal of *tafaqquh fi 'l-dīn* with educational providing to createsantri (pesantren student) mastering religion experts and *taddayun* by organizing public education. There was a number of underpinning factors for its causes. departed from the point of organizational experience, kiai masruri is figures of provincial level. It is due to sufficient experience of organization, kiai Masruri has a quite wide network in every level, so that in

order to develop his pesantren he could access some assistances from various *steakholder, eitherfrom* central and local government or even from a broad especially middle eastern countries, and a number of public figures.

Distribution of Kiai Authority

To arrange organizational structure, Pesantren As-Salafiyah and Al-Hikmahadjusted work pattern that will be done in each pesantren. form of organization was a strategy to make it easy for acchieving goals in the organization pesantren. each unit of pesantren has distribution of authority and power, starting from smallest level unit, board of room for sudent, complex, pondok until board of pesantren foundation.

The organizational system of Pesantren As-Salafiyah,in general, can be divided into three: (1) the main board which has policy to plan activities and general affairs in relation with educational and economic development pesantren; (2) The complex board which is in charge to run educational activities in every complex that consists of some rooms; (3) the chamber board which has a duty to formulate and carry out daily activities in every rooms in one complex.

Organizational Structure used in As-Salafiyah could be classified into two models, namely the foundation (*pondok*) board and the school (*madrasah*) board, but the school (*madrasah*) boardand school programs should follow and adapt the workflow patterns of As-Salafiyah foundation board.

The structural management of Pesantren Al-Hikmah 2 Bendais classified as pesantren that have more complex organizational structure. It is because in pesantren there are two organizational structure, firstan organizational structure that is in hierarchy offoundation and second, an organizational structure that is in hierarchy of pesantren in general. Foundation board controlled education of formal, non-formal and skills, while the board in pesantren managed various activities that are in Pesantren Al-Hikmah.

Organizational structure pattern of two Pesantren As-Salafiyah and Al-Hikmahagreed with findings. the form of organizational structure in Pesantren

As-Salafiyah is simpler, because in Pesantren As-Salafiyah education services unit is still simple, and it is not as complicated as Pesantren Al-Hikmah. service unit only focuses on two programs;pesantren program and madrasah program, therefore Pesantren As-Salafiyah does not specify standardization of organization as well as bureaucracy. Because bureaucracy organization design is characterized with routine operational tasks, which is achieved through specialization, rules and very formal provision. the tasks are grouped in various functional department, centered-authority, a narrow control range, and top down decision-making procedure (command system).[9]

Leadership Generation in Pesantren As-Salafiyah

Relating to forming of leadership cadre, Pesantren As-Salafiyah practices genealogical leadership system which is family-baseleadership (*dhuriyah*). This system is different with leadership system of Pesantren Al-Hikmah. Descendants of Kiai at Pesantren As-Salafiyah, from firstgeneration until now, haveequivalent high scholarly qualifications and discipline matter yhat is they have capacity of *salaf sciences* with competency on *alat* knowledge. In the other hand, leadership generation of kiai at Pesantren Al-Hikmah have various knowledge competency, so it seems that there is no cadre preparation in *salaf sciences*.

Tradition at Pesantren Al-Hikmah looks more flexible than at Pesantren As-Salafiyah, but a kiai is still on the highest social structure. It shows that social hierarchy of pesantren is very strong. Respectively, social hierarchy is kiai, wife of kiai (*Nyai*), oldest son of kiai, youngest son of kiai, daughter-in-law and senior cleric, senior and junior *santri* (pesantren student).

Both pesantren have similarities in understanding the importance of cadre as leader successor, to maintain pesantren continuity after it was left by the founder. Therefore this research has shown the highest leader in those two

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[9] P. Tim Robbins, *Organizational Behavior*(5 -h.ed) (New Jersey: Pretice-Hall, 1996), p. 226.

pesantren is entirely to elements of *dhurriyah*. Although collective leadership is carried out at Pesantren Al-Hikmah Hikmah with various management members who came from alumni (senior teacher), implementing a commitment scholarly Islamic boarding schools that have become pesantren character. For example, men who have right to be leader of Pesantren Al-Hikmah is not just from *dhurriyah,* neverthelles they must have a scientific competency as the founder who has successfully built Islamic boarding schools and developed it to Islamic boarding schools that are trusted by the society in education and community empowering. while the pattern of leadership Islamic boarding school As-Salafiyah only based on *dhurriyah,* with a must that must have the ability to competency of pesantren knowledge as scientific co-founder Islamic boarding school that has become a leading Islamic boarding schools.

From the explanation above, it can be concluded that distinction of scholarly tradition at two pesantrenis not substantial differences, the difference is just because there are difference of intellectual transmission and literature transmission among the founders of pesantren, this is the occurrence that caused each Islamic boarding school. The difference is merely a technical in accordance with different form of organizational structure.

The power of pesantren continuity and leader commitment to increase the quality of education services at Pesantren As-Salafiyah is located on commitment of pesantren leader to preserve scholar tradition that has been built by the founder of Islamic boarding school without conducting experimentation and diversification in scholarly Islamic boarding school. while the occurrence of Islamic boarding school development at Pesantren Al-Hikmah located on flexibility of leader to easely delegate authority and duty unto the others, so they could innovate in developing the institution that was built by founder by doing any experimentation and diversification on heritage knowledge of pesantren.

Strategy of Pesantren Program for Educational Services

Pesantren As-Salafiyah does only teach religious sciences in madrasah programs. the relationship between madrasah and pesantren managerially is

integrated, because all of students at pesnatren As-Salafiyah automatically become students of madrasah. In policy aspect, madrasah is still under full authority pesantren leader including management of madrasah and its curriculum.

Character of educational system in pesantren *salafiyah* is recognized as a matter of obedience belong tostudents of As-Salafiyah toward their leader (kiai) to follow the teachings of traditional ulama. What meant by traditional ulama here is the entire of culture that is usually done by pesantren community; for example, diniyah school using a source of learning from classics books, *wirid* after praying, *tawasul*, taraweh prayer in 20 *rakaats*, slametan, even wearing a black *kopiah*. In relation to this phenomena, it was argued pesantren was called a *salafiyah* world (traditional Islam). It is due to pesantren has inherited and maintained continuity of Islamic tradition that developed by *ulama* (Muslim scholar) from time to time which is not limited to a certain period in Islamic history. This sense is different with the understanding the meaning of salaf in the context salafi, where the definition salafi are those who hold understand about "pure Islam " in the early days that have not yet been influenced by bid'ah and superstition.[10]

While strategy model of educational services performed by Pesantren Al-Hikmah includes two ways; first is pesantren and schooling model (*madrasah*). second model is a double educational system. It means that this model of education program integrated educational program with vocational program as provisions for graduates to face competitive job market.

A strategy that will be done in Pesantren Al-Hikmah first is to maintain and todevelop the concept pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) as a medium for *tafaqquh fi 'l-dīn* . The concept is offered by the Islamic boarding school to students who want to devote himself to be religion experts. To the Muslim students this group units has to offer special education that has strengthened its

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[10] Azra, Azyumardi, *Islamic Education: Tradition and Modernity toward New Millennium.* (Jakarta: Logos, 2000), p. 107.

institutions, such as Madrasah Tahfidz al-Qur'an cetak awal, the school Mu'allimin/Mu'allimat, Aliyah religious, and al-Ma'limitations al-Ali. For the group Islamic boarding school students, matter study is fully science classical Islamic scholarly tradition in the categorization which was made by the High Priest al-Ghazali grouped into science *Muqaddimat, Ushul, Furu',* and *Mukammilat.*

Second, the concept of pesantren as a medium for *tadayyun* offered to prospective students who are oriented to be a specialist of religion expertise. The students are those who would be able to understand and practiced the teachings of the religion that has a status *fard 'ain* , but later plunged intorealm of science under *fardhu kifayah.* To such group of students, Pesantren Al-Hikmah offers MTs, MA, junior and senior high school, who has been enriched with some specifications to meet the needs of *mental skills* and *life skills* . In between specification that has been developed is English, fisheries, fashion, computer, and welding.

Implementation of Program Management Functions for Educational Services

Eventhough Pesantren As-Salafiyah did not conduct formal and fixed planning strategy, As-Salafiyah had performed principles of planning well. Planning at Pesantren As-Salafiyah has been done through proposals of complex board that consists of rooms board in single complex. These proposals will be formulized into a number of programs held in Pesantren; in every room and complex.

The pattern of organization applied in Pesantren As-Salafiyah is considered as an informal organization which is more focused on team work collectively to achieve common goal. Distribution of rolesand authorities is intended to make duties easier to be accomplished. Such distribution is more emphasized on compatibility one another.

An evaluation process is done by at Pesantren every year. And in turn, the plans for next year program is based on previous evaluation. Monitoring behavior of *santri*, if *santri*made a mistake or brook the rule, then *santri* will feel that they are visited by kiai Subhan as a teacher warning mistake of his disciples.

In the other side, planning agenda at Pesantren Al-Hikmahhasmore complex challenges because of higher aspiration of society toward education in this institution. accompanied with various policy issues of education affairs in macro level. This situation insists this pesantren, Al-Hikmah, toplay a significant role and to keep tradition and continue to meet the need for renewal.

To arrange a plan, Pesantren Al-Hikmah is based its strategy on the three coverages which are short, medium term and long-term. Strategic Planning done at pesantren should be accordance with the ruling processes. It can be said that planning process must be done through planning process based on the system.

The pattern of organization performed by pondok As-Salafiyah and Al-Hikmah, in essence is to make task distribution of managing institution much easier. Different of organizational type is due tothe size of educational institution, big or small,should be managed and the quantity of program, little or many, should be developed in an organization.

At a level of *satisficting,* Pesantren Al-Hikmah hasexperiencedsome of difficulty in connection with multiple interests demanding a priority to be fulfilled, so it bring consequences one interest would be eliminated by other interest. In order to anticipate these difficulties, education planning formulated over the minds kiai then will be reformulated by assistants into a Master plan of development which provides choices and streamlining priority. Thus, conflict of interest between educational units can be minimized.

In other hand optimalization and adaptation ofplanning pattern is adjusted to short-term changes and important changes that will happen in the future. however it does not used a technical words, the ideas of Kiai that laid out in the planning of educational service quality at Pesantren Al-Hikmah have in fact included subtantif elements needed in a planning of educational service quality. This is shown in, for example in the areas of study, asset of physical infrastructure, financial assets, and human resource assets, all of these assets contain strategic valuesfor the survival and development of educational service quality.

Kiai Leadership Model in Impoving Educational Services Quality

Based on research results, the figure of Kiai Subhan as leader of pesantren had character of a charismatic leader who indeed could influence attitudes and behavior of his followers. In addition, leadership type that will be done by leader of Pesantren Al-Hikmah indicate the pattern of transformational leadership, leader attempts to make a *transforming of visionnary* to common vision, so subordinate level(subordinate plus leaders) are working to bring vision into reality. Such leadership type can be seen in the picture below:
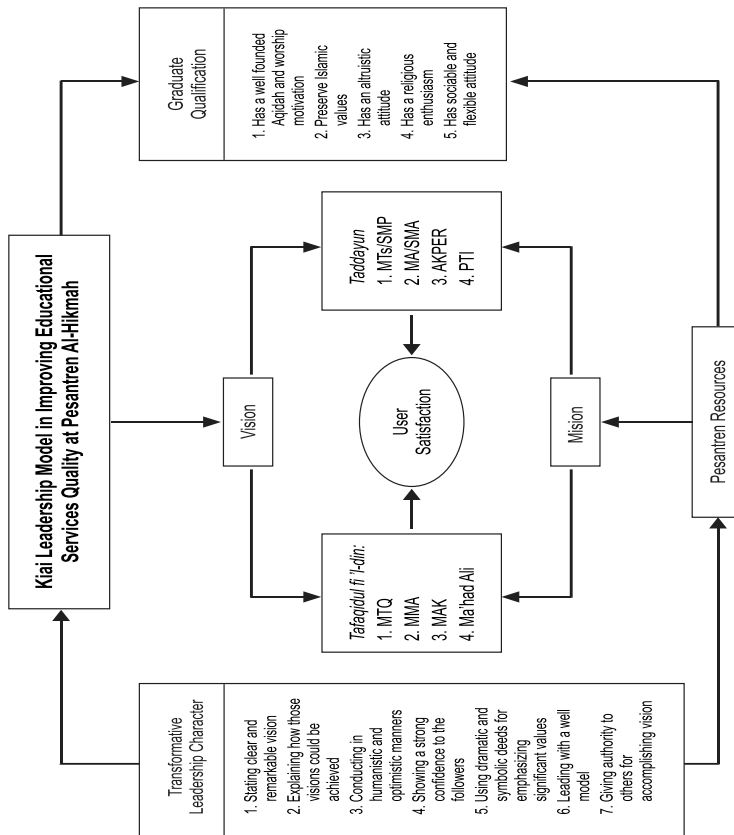
Picture 1.
Leadership Model Kiai in Improving Educational Service Quality
at Pesantren Al-Hikmah

On picture above, it can be seen that transformational process can be seen through a number of leadership behaviors, such as; (1) stating clear and remarkable vision. a clear vision about what can be achieved by organization or what organization will be in future really help people to understand the common goal. (2) Explaining how those visions could be achieved. (3) Conducting and acting in humanistic and optimistic manner. Followers will not sure about vision unless the leader shows self-confidence and strong convections. (4) showinga firm belief to followers. (5) Using dramatic and symbolic deeds for emphasizing significant values. a vision is strengthened by leader behavior which is in line with vision itself. (7) leadingwith a well-modeled leadership. This case can be called "making role model leadership", (8) givingor distributing authority to some people in order to reach vision. Authority distribution reflectsa delegation ofdecision making on how to accomplish workstrough some people in one team.[11]

according to Blumberg & Greenfield leadership at educational institution, previous and recent moments, essentially can be grouped into four typologies of institutional leadership, they are *the value based juggler, the humanist, the broker,* and *the catalyst* leadership,

If we try to analyz with the theory above, then leadership of kiai Masruri Mughni as the leader of Pesantren Al Hilmah includes in *value -based juggler typology,* because he was able to create changes and improvement continuously at Pesantren that has been led by him, using the religious values and persuasive approach so that all of resources elements; *ustadz,* board management, *santri,* and *wali santri* can be influenced to support the changes and improvements in improving the educational services quality. Priority of changes and improvement should be based on role of kiai Masruri to increase quality of pesantren graduates.

Overall elucidation, those two pesantren have same vision to develop each pesantren through some enhancements in improving the educational services

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[11] Yukl, Gary, *Leadership in organizations* (New Jersey: Englewood Cliffs, 1998), p. 371.

quality. However they have a different leadership model, similar leadership model in improving educational services quality can be illustrated in the following picture.
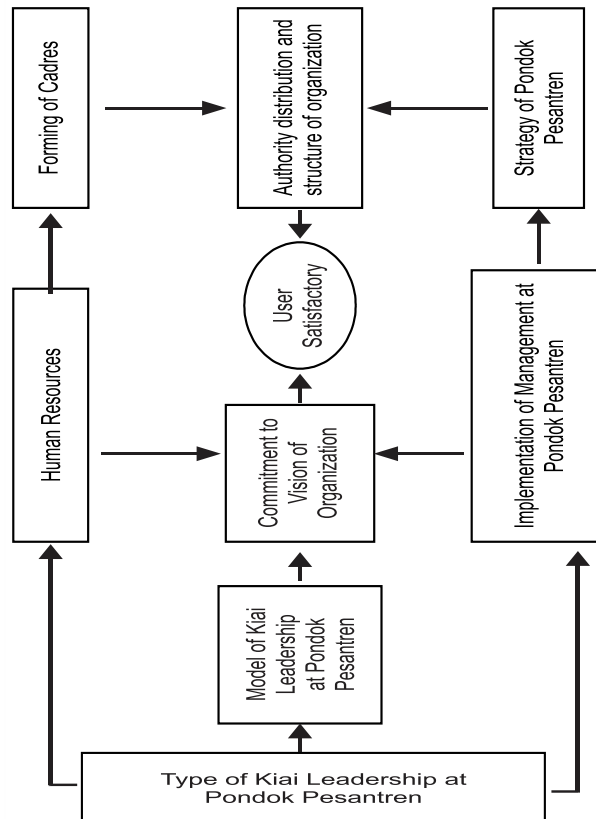
Picture 2.
Services quality at Pesantren As-Salafiyah and Al-Hikmah

Conclusion

Vision of kiai about performance at two Pesantren As-Salafiyah and Al-Hikmah was lied on prespective and views of each kiai which underlying typology of educational services at each Pesantren. Pesantren As-Salafiyah and

Al-Hikmah have educational values of inclusive Islam which develops islamic values based on the concept of "*raḥmatan li'l-ʻāllamīn", so* that leaders od Pesantren As-Salafiyah and Al-Hikmah developed their Pesantren by strengthening Islam creeds with an rational approach and emphasizing a balance between world and hereafter. As the base of religion defense, kiai put themselves intoa role model whose both their words and deeds are copied by people. Then santri learn religion teachings and practice them with the concept of sincerity which only devoted to Allah swt.

Pesantren As-Salafiyah and Al-Hikmah apply particular management system in order to keep image of pesantren character. Educational management of two pesantren are aimed to increase the quality of pesantren graduates who are well qualified and have high moral. Pesantren As-Salafiyah maintained its salaf (clasicx) pattern by avoiding to open new formal educational institution and to adopt modern educational materials (secular sciences), nevertheless As-Salafiyah keep on increasing teaching models for its salaf system by completing facilities and infrastructure. Meanwhile Pesantren Al-Hikmah respond modernity, globalization and community demands through proposing and launching some new modern-education institutions from junior high school level to university level to increase cooperation with stakeholders.

Pondok peantren As-Salafiyah established organizational structure that is solarge and flexible such as functional organization design. It is just because Kiai, at As-Salafiyah,gives big authorithy to board management to decide form and design of organization that will be applied at pondok peasantren As-Salafiyah. In other case, Pesantren Al-Hikmah, have more complex organizational structure, because of a big amount of institution units at Islamic boarding school. Therefore formalization of organization design applied at Pesantren Al-Hikmah has been departemental system. decision-making Process at Pesantren hold two patterns; centralization and decentralization.

Planning model conducted by Pesantren As-Salafiyah followed educational planning process based on systems approach according to international *city*

management.organization pattern is implemented at Pesantren As-Salafiyah as an informal organization is more focusing on collective work to achieve common goal. Authority and task distribution is intended to make duties easier, but it should berelied on compatibility of one another. Kiai Subhan Makmun performedhis function as activatorby giving motivation through values of religion which are basis for behavior that is attached to kiai his self and also to give an example as model for pesantren community. Evaluation system applied at Islamic boarding school is done once a year to plan some programs for next year and it is based on evaluation of Previous year. leadership Kiai Subhan based on spritual leadership overseeing character of santri. if they made a mistake, then they feel led by kiai as Subhan as a teacher who warned a mistake of his disciples.

Implementation of management at Pesantren Al-Hikmah, kiai leadership play as planner of education at Al-Hikmah which represents some modes: (1) *satisficing,* namely to defend the way that is often done; (2) *optimizing,* namely to optimize organization membership; and (3) *adaptivizing*, try to adapt a few examples that developed in innovation.

In Monitoring and Auditing functions, Kiai playes a role as duties and responsibilities controller in each educational units, and when viewed from the job he is charged to motivate and give motivation to management, and to play correcting effectiveness and efficiency in education.

Leadership regeneration at Pesantren As-Salafiyah tends to a geneological system, a leadership tradition based on the family basis (*dhuriyyah*), but forming cadres at Pesantren As-Salafiyah is different from Al-Hikmah. Descendants of Kiai at Pesantren As-Salafiyah, from firstgeneration until now, haveequivalent high scholarly qualifications and discipline matter that is they have capacity of *salaf sciences* with competency on *'alat* knowledge. In the other hand, leadership generation of kiai at Pesantren Al-Hikmah have various knowledge competency, so it seems that there is no cadre preparation in *salaf sciences*. In tradition at Pesantren Al-Hikmah looks more flexible than at

Pesantren As-Salafiyah, but a kiai is still on the highest social structure. it shows that social hierarchy of pesantren is very strong. Respectively, social hierarchy is kiai, wife of kiai (*Nyai*), oldest son of kiai, youngest son of kiai, daughter-in-law and senior cleric, senior and junior *santri* (pesantren student).

Leadership model of Kiai Subhan is a charismatic leadership. Charisma or authority that showed by kiai Subhan Makmun voiced with admiration of all the Islamic boarding schools and local communities. this is reinforced by this mindset, faith, oracle speech, attitude, behavior, and self appearance.

While leadership type that will be done by leaders of Pesantren Al-Hikmah indicate a pattern of transformational leadership. It means transformational leaders are attempting to make tranforming of visionnary into common vision so that they are subordinate level (subordinate and leaders) are working to bring vision into reality.[]

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ANGKOLA BATAK TRADITION: ISLAM, PATRILINEALITY, MODERNITY: Reviving and Challenging

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Abstract

Identity attached in a group always coincides with the perception within it. Identity of general Batak society is perceived as the masculine identity created the gap between female and male in term of the social and economy resources. Batak society who live outside of Bonapasogit likely more solid than they live in Bonapasogit. Itcan be proved by the intense meeting internal Batak community more often than in Bonapasogit. Due the penetration from other cultures force them who reside out Bonapasogit more united among them. Meanwhile, for people live in Bonapasogit the only threat coming from their own community because they didn't face the penetration from outsiders. Especially, for female Batak community the threat is the dominating patrilineality who standstill the tradition which isn't favored to female. In densely population in cities, marga *can be used as the supported tools in relationship even many female Batak were born outside* Bonapasogit *still use* marga *for their advantage purpose, especially in bureaucracy. Meanwhile for Angkola Batak who live their hometown has the different situation due don't get advantage the beneficiary of* marga. *Because of pressure from their own community*

Keywords: Islam; patrilineality; inheritance; human right; identity

ملخص البحث

إن الهوية الملتصقة بمجموعة من المجتمع دائما تتوافق مع التصور الذي بداخلها. إن الهوية لمجتمع باتاك غالبا تعتبر هوية المذكر، حيث خلقت الفجوة بين الذكور والإناث في الموارد الاجتماعية والاقتصادية. إن البتاكيين الذين يعيشون خارج بوناسوجيت، أكثر متانة من الذين يعيشون في داخلها، جراء كثرة التواصل والتخاطب بينهم. بينما الذين يعيشون داخلها فإنهم يواجهون المشاكل والتهديدات من عند أنفسهم. فضلا عن الباتاكيات اللاتي يواجهن نظام الأبوة الذي يسيطر على التقاليد والطقوس التي يعاني منها نساؤهم. وفي المدن الكشاف سكانها خارج بوناسوجيت، إن مارجا كثيرا ما تستعملها الباتاكيات من أجل مصالحهن لا سيما في الأمور الإدارية والبروقراطية.

الكلمات الرئيسية: الإسلام؛ الابوة؛ المجتمع

Preface

Batak tribe has six branches thus in Dutch colonial era was well-known one of dynamic ethnic. The concentrated Batak tribe who live beyond the Bonapasogit in Java Island and other parts in Sumatra.[1] Term of research about Batak tribe likely less about the Angkola Batak who are majority Muslim in southern of North Sumatra. The focus of research isn't about the demography but it's more stressed in female Angkola Batak's perspective toward Angkola Batak culture. Angkola Batak culture is still implemented by majority clan in Angkola Batak tribe. Angkola Batak tribe has the unique because Batak Angkola majority are Moslem prevalent high spirit to keep *adat* (tradition). [2]

Impact of penetration state law and Islam for some areas within *adat* spark tense within Angkola Batak society, especially is related about heritage, marriage.[3] The female's role in Angkola Batak took small portion within the culture even likely ignored in term of the right to own property or the important ceremony. Majority of Batak tribes are still proud the ethnic symbol (*marga*) were attached with their name due as the clan's name that it can be used for many purposes. The symbol of the ethnic were very useful while you migrate beyond Bonapasogit (hometown) because it can be as an interactive emotional to support each other. Even in Jakarta, it's very easy to see the domination of Batak ethnic in some professional areas, like lawyer, police, army, contactors. It's like unspoken emotional relation while you reside outside of Bonapasogit amid as minority you need the clan's identity to attach with others who have the same perception. The advantage for Batak community who reside outside Bonapasogit, majority of Batak still use marga as the symbol clan.

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[1] Kipp, *Dissociated Identities: Ethnicity, Religion and Class in Indonesia Society* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), look also, Kusnick, "Parent-Offspring Conflict among the Karo of North Sumatra", *PhD dissertation*, Seattle: University of Washington, 2006, see also, Singarimbun, *Kinship Decent and Alliance among the Karo Batak* (Barkeley: University of California, 1975).

[2] Susan Roger, 2005, Print, Poetic, and Politics: a Sumatran Epic in colonial Indies and New Order Indonesia, Leiden: Brill).

[3] Borgerhoff Mulder, *Hamilton's Rule and Kin Competition: Kipsigis'case, Evolution and Human Behavior* (Boston: Blackwell, 2007), p. 297-310.

Batak tribe are very proud the symbol of *marga* because there is the perception that the *marga* as the royal status, it's consequently every Batak community feel equal as royal society, it's very different with the common monarchy was established by separating social status among society. *Dalian natolu* as Batak life's philosophy moulds the unique character of community because the king's status mostly used traditional ceremony will be implemented as rotation according to the situation (Dalian Natolu is the famous slogan in Angkola Batak which describes the harmony relation among the three equal positions in term of patriarchy, matriarchy, and the clan members. This position will be rotated according to the position you are in when adat ceremony occurred). For male the system of Angkola Batak culture more favored because of giving advantage not only in economy but also in social privilege, but it's reversible for female Batak who feel disappointed for some rules. Female in Angkola Batak commonly faced the transition while one side they are proud as Batak community meanwhile they are internally pressed and often complain some rules of Batak tradition ignore their existence. Angkola Batak female try to demand the some rules are changed because it's blatantly violence the universal moral code such as the right to get heritage's property from their parents. But the female's demand about the equal right for the property could dismantle significantly the established rule for centuries which form the Batak characters. In spite of Angkola Batak female demand the more equal right with male but they won't still demand totally equal like female in western countries.[4] For Angkola Batak female's demands are more attraction so that their right to be paid attention by the community leaders who predominantly by male.

For Angkola Batak female's perspective who live in Bonapasogit must be different with the female who reside beyond it while they perceive Angkola Batak culture. Mostly the pride is feeling to come from Angkola Batak's clan

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[4] Alison M., "Feminism and the New Democracy: Resitting the Political", *Journal of Woman's History* Vol. 10. No. 4.

more favored while they reside outside Bonapasogit. In densely population in cities, *marga* can be used as the supported tools in relationship even many female Batak were born outside Bonapasogit still use *marga* for their advantage purpose, especially in bureaucracy. Meanwhile for Angkola Batak has the different situation, they don't get advantage the useful of marga which is attached with theirs due to obtain pressure from the internal.

Meanwhile female in Angkola Batak culture face obstacles within their own community in Bonapasogit because the pressure for female in Bonapasogit higher than those who live in outside it. Obviously, the family attitude put priority toward male's member clan than female make uncomfortable for them. Almost all family's resources will be transferred to male member's clan. The heritage is likely never considered for female because clan members thought that the property will be moved to the other patrilineality.

For Angkola Batak female who challenge the status quo will face the resistant from their own clan community amid destroy the community's rule.[5] But the rapid information has hit almost whole over in this world make female Angkola Batak try to challenge the current situation for equality[6]. The amount pressure of resistant from status quo force the female reformist to move from their home town. Off course, not all female Batak Angkola who migrate from Bonapasogit is caused the pressure from the conservative in the inner circle, some who migrate due to invest for the future like education, or professional reason. For Angkola Batak female the migration is the last choice, especially who decided to migrate abroad. For Batak Angkola community to migrate abroad is a something shameful because a woman shouldn't go far from protection of her community.[7] So it's like difficult to find data migrant worker

[5] Steedly, "The State of Culture Theory in the Anthropology in Southeast Asia", 28, Annual Review of Anthropology, 1999, p. 431-454.

[6] Cassanova, "Globalism, Neoliberalism, and Democracy", *Social Justice Journal*, Vol. 23, No. 1-2, 1999, Spring, p. 36.

[7] Shutes, "The Employment of Migrant Worker in Long Term Care: Dynamic of Choice and Control", *Journal of Social Policy*, Vol. 41, January 2012, p. 43-59.

from ethnic back ground in southern of North Sumatra, it's different like in Java even the local government to endorse its people to be migrant worker due the remittance can give significant contribution.

Heritage is one of reasons for Angkola Batak female face discomfort and inimical until now, except for female who live in big city outside of Bonapasogit. For male within Angkola Batak that the system of Bonapasogit's rule is like to establish their permanent position. Even many of male Angkola Batak after serving many years outside Bonapasogit instead of retirement they will go home to Bonapasogit because they have still large land. The area can be usually used for profit orientation like in plantation or farming field. But it's never happen for female because they don't have any property's right from their parents. The tradition which is perceived woman as the pariah was Hinduism legacy within Batak community. For farming society is usually perceive woman as the weak who can't empower the farming field.[8] Woman was seen as the weak creature so they aren't deserved to receive the property right from their parents because the land would be assumed to be triviality.[9]

Most patrilineality society was commonly created from the agrarian community which needs the strong men to handle the land. But for once a time, women tried to involve the production in farming field so that they were considered to give contribution for family income. It's very different with other ethnic like Melayu in North Sumatra that the woman's role is not felt insubordinate because female Melayu don't have much cultural pressure in their clan. In many towns or cities in traditional market can be easily seeing the female Batak's role as the majority of the Vendor traders there. The cultural pressure that didn't have access property right from their parent consequently forced female Batak more active in economy activities.

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[8] Portier, and Slaats, *Woman and the Division of Parental Land in Karo Society (Ed), Cultures and Societies of North Sumatra* (Berlin: Dietrich Reiner Verlag, , 1987), p. 303-308.

[9] Hardy and Judge, "Darwin and the Puzzle of Primogeniture: An Essay on Biases in Parental Investment After Death", *Human Nature*, 1993, p. 4.

The cultural pressure for Angkola Batak female isn't only about the heritage but also the marriage manner. For general Batak society is a stain for widow female in Angkola Batak who remarried after the death of her husband. For those who decided to remarry must go out from her deceased husband's village. The widow who decided to remarry must leave her deceased husband's house because her action is considered as stain within her clan ethnic. Meanwhile Angkola Batak female who decided not to remarry after the death of her husband will be perceived as the loyal wife.

The perception above like was derived from Hinduism which let a wife to be burned if her husband died due the existence of Hindu had been rooted in the region. This assumption is supported by the heritage of Hindu temples like in the famous one in Portibi near Gunung Tua the capital of Padang Lawas Utara. Meanwhile in Java where was the center of Hinduism the Javanese society likely face no objection if a widow remarries after the death of her husband. Whether this gesture assumed that the Hinduism more rooted in Angkola Batak than in java.

Subject and Method

The role of Angkola Batak Female within society is inevitably but for some people that it's like duplicitous language, one side to admit the female's role has significant role the other side they are still treated as the second class within society. To measure the satisfaction of Angkola Batak female toward their own culture is minimized with the three areas; marriage, heritage, and marga. this research is likely difficult to get adequate data from official sources because the stressing point in this research mainly to calculate the dissatisfaction Angkola Batak female toward their tradition in Bonapasogit and Medan as one of most populated Angkola Batak community beyond Bonapasogit area. The comparative survey between in Bonapasogit and Medan means to produce the fair research. This method also tries to dismiss the bias assumption.

Table 1.
The Marriage Section

Item Number	Item	Affirmative Responses					
		Bonapasogit			Medan		
		N	Y	Result	N	Y	Result
1	Did you remarry after the death of your husband	88	12	88%	60	40	60%
2	Do you worry that you may not be able to feed your children after the death of your husband	35	65	65%	55	45	55%
3	Do you wish to remarry if you found the proper husband for you and for your family	80	20	80%	25	75	75%
4	Do you feel the clan tradition fair enough for marriage rule	90	10	90%	40	60	60%
5	Have you ever been seeing woman remarried to stay in the Bonapasogit village	100	0	100%	100	0	100%
6	Do you think that widow has right to decide to re-marry and stay in Bona-pasogit	62	38	62%	90	10	90%
7	Do you think the marriage rule suitable with Islam value	67	37	67%	53	47	53%
8	Do you think the based religion court as the solution for widow who decide to remarry	55	45	55%	60	40	40%
9	Do you feel have any pro-tection from your parent clan ethnic	87	13	87%	20	80	80%
10	Do you think migrate from Bonapasogit as the solution for widow who want to remarry	0	100	100%	45	55	55%

Table 2.
The Heritage Section

Item Number	Item	Affirmative Responses					
		Bonapasogit			Medan		
		N	Y	Result	N	Y	Result
1	Did you ever accept the heritage of property's right from your parent	90	10	90%	4	96	96%
2	Did you brother ever share the ownership of heritage of property's right	80	20	80%	3	97	97%
3	Do you think heritage of property's right should be divided equally	65	35	65%	55	45	45%
4	Do you agree with the Islamic heritage law which is favored to male	20	80	80%	56	44	56%
5	Do you still use your marga in public	45	55	55%	30	70	70%
6	Do you think whether it's fair while your husband get the heritage meanwhile his sister "not"	35	65	65%	80	20	80%

Qualitative Data Perception

The survey took place both Padang lawas Utara (North Padang Lawas) and Medan, the reason to choose the places were based on the fact the both as the most concentrated population live Angkola Batak community. Besides the both places were considered as the easy way for collecting the valid data are suitable the purpose of this research. This is research is to aim prove the assumption that phenomenally Angkola Batak female suffers for some of rules of the tradition within their ethnic clan.

The type of the question is classified based on the initiative to break the covered perception about the tradition. The factors from the inside clan ethnic who was born non- Bonapasogit make the people interviewee more comfort to share their objection toward the tradition. The typical question is chasing the hidden concern for female both who live in Bona pasogit or outside. The correspondents of this research were selected based on the ethnicity background so that it can get the aim of this research to prove the phenomena within Angkola Batak community. The correspondents were categorized as the part of Angkola Batak stake holders who are very competence to involve the tradition. It's very important to distract from the bias, the correspondents residence both in Bonapasogit and Medan were selected to find the logic measurement of the result. For correspondents who live in Bonapasogit amid not from specific village but they are still in the range of mostly in Northern South Tapanuli. Because it's very difficult to find the correspondents within certain area due the issues are categorized sensitively within Angkola Batak society.

The selection of the typical question to identify the following: 1) How female Batak perception for the tradition generally. 2) Whether female Angkola Batak's demand like the general feminists who demand the equal right with male position. Then some of the segment of the categorized will be put in the certain spot that it is expected easier to be analysized

Analysis of Data Quantitative

Sometimes the perception of the progress of the equality in term of gender is different between male and female in Angkola Batak community. For male that tradition has been a lot of adapting the female's demand to be given the broader role within tradition. But the adapted role is not enough to elevate female's demand. According to wall street journal survey to men and women about the equality is different perception to see the progress in equality about the gender in the range of the past 20 years.[10] For most women didn't see any

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[10] Richard Paul Eibach and Joycee Ehrlinger, published online 28 August 2010, "Reference Points in Men's and Women's Judgements of Progress Toward Gender Equality", *Springer Science and Business Media*, p. 1-13

significant progress to lift the gap between men and women. Meanwhile men see the blatantly the significant role almost every sector of life was categorized equal in pay or opportunity.

The survey about the perception Angkola Batak Female perception can be counted as the female demand to see the reality of their lives within tradition. Here the data delay between reality and expectation of two Angkola Batak female residents.

The figure was in the survey that Angkola Batak female tried to stem the exuberance of male's dominance. In this case, sometime the objections of the researcher to determine between the discovery and the justification. Because sometimes the theories were built by the famous theorists mostly affected the atmosphere in western cultures, meanwhile the social problems are being discussed very local case. To attach the certain theory toward this case is likely difficult. One of the obstacles to determine the right theory in the case amid the theorists in social science mostly westerners who made the social theories are based on the inner western atmosphere.[11] For this reason, a researcher must act subjectively in term of focusing case. One of the difficulties to select the most favored theories was being discussed due to the most sophisticated methods coming from western scientist. They usually formulate the social theories were based on the event happened within their society.[12] In this term, it's better emphasize ongoing phenomena before using the specific ones in the research.

Discussion

Actually, the gender cases occurred not only in Batak (Indonesia) but also in other places in this planet. Amid the gender cases always happen in social life but the cause of the cases were triggered by different patterns. Sometimes in an

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[11] Richard Swedberg, published online 12 November 2011, "Theorizing in Sociology and Social Science: Turning to the Context of Discovery", *Springer Media and Business Media*, p. 5-15.

[12] Breslau, "Sociology after Humanism: A Lesson from Contemporary Science Studies, Sociological Theory", *ProQuest Sociology*, July 2000.

area, it can be assumed as the gender issue but the other ones weren't categorized as the gender problem.[13] From all the gender issue there is one that it can be bridging the whole gender issue due in demanding female participation in many fields. In western society, women challenge their environment to be given equality in all sectors. But in the other side, they ask also to be treated exclusive, especially for naturally inevitable as a female who gives birth or menstruate.[14]

The demand many women to be treated equally likely difficult to be realized due God had created both differently. The female workers who in pregnancy or menstruate give an impact, especially in economy. For some reasons, the gender issue sparks the dilemma because feminists demand that women are treated as equal as male. Meanwhile, this attitude likely ambivalence in same time they ask every ones to understand that God created women differently with men. The gender problem will be going in hot issue because the dissatisfaction always grows as the new demand will appear coincide with the dynamic of society. The steady value will be challenge by the people who disadvantage with the status quo value. Actually, Angkola Batak Female's perception toward the tradition is to insist that Batak' stake holders within the community to give more space for women involve in their tradition. They want to show up their new identity who can contribute to society, for structuralist, what's going on the tradition is one of the logical instruments to create the stable condition.[15] The structural society is mostly creating the hierarchy structure within society that for some people is natural. Thus, in the social identity approach seems the structural theory didn't give the proportional role

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[13] Frost, 2009, Exploring the Nature of Gender-Equitable attitudes among Ghanaian Men: a Mix Methods Study, Pennsylvania University, UMI Dissertations Publishing, ProQuest)

[14] (Xiumei, Spring 2011, Feminist Theory Reader: Local and Global Perpectives / Feminism Redux: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Critism / Gloria Anzaldua Reader, NWSA Journal, 281-287)

[15] Vanderberghe, "The Real is Relational: Epistemological Analysis of Pierre Bourdieu's", *Sociological Theory*, March 1999, p. 32.

for marginal group. Sometimes, the marginal ones can be lead in the economy or politics in formal public service. Although the structural society created the hierarchy status within society but it's perceived to give the guaranty for social order. Absolutely, every community always form the hierarchy social structure that still give contribution for social order as long as the marginal not feel as the victim of the system. The problem become chronics while the individuals who are in the top hierarchy position were created are not based on quality of social contest. Without the social contest must create the resistant from inner social community toward the social agreement. It's not surprised why Angkola Batak female challenge the tradition amid the hierarchy in the society just give artificial right within society. The phenomena show that female want to be considered as the ostensible identity not quasi identity.

Identity attached in a group always coincides with the perception within it. Identity of general Batak society is perceived as the masculine identity created the gap between female and male in term of the social and economy resources.[16] The eldest son usually manipulates the economy share by increasing the quantity of the children. This way is designated to gain more property right from their parents.[17] This action can be describe as the tactics to get their parents attention on behalf to defend the pride of family to empower the land likely better give the more portion the economy resources to the eldest son who brought the family's pride. Slightly, the economy motivation is the women's desire to demand the equality in Batak society, especially in Batak society. But for female who live in outside Bonapasogit the economy motivation is not as the tagline but mostly in the identity manner. The identity is one of the crucial issues within people live outside of the hometown. They feel their identity is in danger due the penetration coming from many cultures likely

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[16] Rummens, "Conceptualizing Identity and Diversity: Overlaps, Intersection, and Processes", *Canadian Ethnic Studies,* 2003, p. 10-25.

[17] Clark, "Sex Ratio and Local Resource Competition in a Prosimian Primate", *Science*, 1978, p. 163-165.

want to crush their identity. They don't want to become Pariah live in far from Bonapasogit. Due the strong identity as Batak community is considered effectively enough to shield the threat coming from penetrator. They don't want to be considered as the outsider even they were born outside Bonapasogit.

Batak society who live outside of Bonapasogit likely more solid than they live in Bonapasogit. This thesis can be proved by the intense meeting internal Batak community more often than in Bonapasogit. The penetration from other cultures force them who reside out Bonapasogit more united among them. Meanwhile, for people live in Bonapasogit the only threat coming from their own community because they didn't face the penetration from outsiders. Especially, for female Batak community the threat is the dominating patrilineality who standstill the tradition which isn't favored to female. The strong threat was postured by the patrilineality domination so feminist need the ammunition to topple hegemony the old tradition. The ammunition means here the religion value or the formal state law. Religious value and formal state law are assumed to enable to challenge Batak tradition which wasn't pro for woman. It seems ostensible that Batak feminists try to put Batak tradition face to face with religion and formal state law, especially some elements in the tradition are perceived to break the human right code value such as the heritage of property from parent or right to remarried. Look at the data releases by religious court in Padang Sidempuan shows the personal law (perdata) increasing year by year the content of the cases mostly divorce, heritage among siblings within family (Data, 2013, released by court- Based Religion in Padang Sidempuan the Capital of South Tapanuli). The divorce cases dominated that wives try to appeal the court to dismantle the marriage, it indicate that female Batak even in Bonapasogit have courage to challenge the patrilineality by using the state formal instrument.

In social conflict approach can inflict two sides like in coins, one side give negative impact and the other side makes the positive. The negative impact here means that conflict social approach can damage the social relation among the community but this conflict can spark new mutual understanding among the

element within society which aren't accommodated in the current situation.[18] Pemangku adat as the crucial element to solve any problem within society likely not in trust group who can accommodate female's interest because *Pemangku adat* is categorized as the status quo who are disagree the amendment of the tradition (Pemangku Adat means the elders within Angkola Community who have unspoken right to run the old tradition within clan ethnic).

The challenges the tradition within Batak Angkola community are seriously because the tradition must face the religion and formal state law. *Pemangku adat* likely aware that the the convention of the tradition in dangerous level in term of the existence. they knew that it's impossible for them to win the battle vis a vis. The logical steps are taken to use religion and state formal law as the tools as justification to make the tradition to keep exist. Trick to make the tradition seem suitable with Islam by combining the tradition with chanting the religious value. Even the state formal law is interpreted bias such as heritage cases almost untouchable in Bonapasogit, the trend which not give access for female the parent's asset still easy to be found in rural area in Bonapasogit. By using the biased interpretation of religion and the state formal state is easy for *Pemangku adat* to twist into the scenario that can make the tradition steady.

Angkola Batak female maneuver to challenge the tradition seem unsuccessful that force them to look for the other tool to empower their struggle. They don't have any alternative to be used to topple the Patrilineality domination except inviting the outside power. The outside power mean here is to use the human right issue as the tagline to challenge the tradition. The tagline is expected to defeat the tradition because the human right issue is powerful enough to tackle the tradition. Feminist within Batak community try to make the negative stereotype whoever still don't want to accommodate the human right issue because of facing the human whole over this planet. This step likely

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[18] Williem, *Living with Conflict: The Effect of Community Organizations, Economy Assets, and Mass Media Consumption on Migration during Armed Conflict University of Michigan,* (Michigan: UMI Dissertation Publishing, Proquest , 2003).

successful enough to refrain some rules in Angkola Batak tradition. In some areas, we can be easy to see a husband in Angkola Batak family acts his wife' stint even it's not show up blatantly in public. Counter attack toward the patriarchy domination with the human right tagline likely begin to get the sympathy from inner society.

The human right tagline seems very success also to demolish the social suppressive in the other world. The toppled apartheid in South Africa in 1990s, the demolished of Berlin wall in 1986, and the admittance for women to vote or become parliament member in many gulf countries in 2000s indicate the monstrous human right jargon topple the atrocities. But the human right tagline more felt in big cities outside Bonapasogit as educated people. Even the concept of the human right still blurs but it can force the conservative stakeholders within Angkola Batak community to accommodate the female's female. The realization of the pressure is significantly state servant a lot of family clan to care the future of female's career. The moderate solution is giving female Batak Angkola to get access sustainable income like to become the state servant.

For Hanna Arendt the real human right is the local value enables to make the all of elements within society comfort.[19] It's not to force the jargon of universal human right must be implemented in a community. Tagline of human right contains the total mission due the founding countries which proclaim human right declaration is the winner of the Second World War. But here means the human right can bring the hope for the marginal group to be accommodated within the society. Surely, the right of owning property is every one's or chooses the spouse can be categorized as part of basic of human need. But the inescapably tied the local value is inevitably for reasons.

In term of identity approach can be felt the sense of internalized perception, the many things are attached in the person or group is identified the identity within itself. Job, property, or other skills can be assumed as the identity within

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[19] Crishtoph, "The Aporias of Human Rights and the One Human Right Regarding the Coherence of Hannah Arendt's Argument", *Social Research*, Fall 2007.

society. In political identity likely occurred the social value changing in most favored from heredity identity to job which guarantee the sustainable income. One of the life values in Batak generally is to pursuit *Harajaon.* It means to linkage the glory of clan of the community. It's usually related to become stake holders in government. For centuries *Harajaon* concept is one of Batak's orientations in their lives. Whoever has the big role within government will get the privilege in Batak community (Harajaon is in semantic meaning to show the big pride mostly related with the social status within community). It's not surprised to see even Batak community is the small ethnic in Indonesia but the role of Batak people in government categorized as big than Batak ethnic quantities. After Indonesia independence, *Harajaon* concept in Angkola Batak society begin to change. Unspoken respect will be given to any ones who works in government institution as a state servant, police, army. For a girl who has official state status will have bigger bargaining position, especially in looking for her husband candidate. The sustainable income from state servant status will be considered the privilege within community. The changing orientation from the agricultural society to modern shift the paradigm in the tradition, even right now the comparative in quantity in term of state servant among three counties like Padang Lawas Utara, Padang Lawas, and Tapanuli Selatan indicate adequate equal between male and female (Source from Badan Kepegaiwan Negara (State employment Institution) released in 2012).[]

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