PESANTREN'S SEXUALITY STRUCTURATION

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Abstract— **The phenomenon of deviation and discrimination sexual in Pesantren is worried by some people. Homesexual and discrimination between women and children, make pesantren doubtfull as a source of noble culture in society. This cannot be separated from the process of structuring the internal pesantren own culture. This article is prepared from structuration theory perspective, which assumes that every culture or social action is born from the relationship between agents and their structures. The cultural sites that will be studied are pesantren in the horseshoe area, Eas Jawa Province. The study focus are how is the relationship between the structure and the cultural agents of pesantren sexuality? and how is the ideal cultural model? The aim is to describe holistically the sexuality structuration of pesantren. The rationality relation between structure and agency of pesantren's culture, is very complex. The change is determined by the structure domination pattern and religious reasoning conditions of the pesantren's culture actor (agency). Religious values that succeed rationally in accordance with the agency interests, will bear a culture of moral sexuality. On the other hand, even though the structure of religious values is strong, but it cannot be rationally reflected, will potentially bear to acts of immoral sexuality. Second, The ideal sexuality structuration occurs, if that is developed by strengthening the holistic structure based on the history sexuality. Then it is supported by managing the transformation of sexual micro desire into macro eroticism.**

Keywords - Structuring, Secdifficulty, Culture, Discrimination, Pesantren

I. INTRODUCTION

Sexuality has immoral tendencies in the majority of cultures around the world. There are even some religions that prohibit marriage because it relates to acts of sexuality that are considered dirty. Catholicism is one of them, this religion forbids church leaders to marry. Even so, a monk must not have a marriage relationship. It is this prohibition that Foucault denies that quality in the macroculture of society is considered deviant and immoral behavior. In his view, sexuality was rejected by the development of modern culture.[1]

Foucault's opinions on sexuality inspired Giddens, a British sociologist, to look again at the conception of sexual culture in the culture of society. He argues that the taboo of sexuality in some traditional cultures is irrational. Sexuality is a psychological certainty born of the needs of human instinct. The restriction of impure acts of sexuality was developed to remove the conception of sexuality purely from the human mind. He cited Foucault and Freud extensively in constructing the objective idea of sexuality.[2] For him, the act of sexuality cannot be separated from the process of cultural structuring of society. According to him, structuration occurs due to the relationship of cultural structure and agency on a specific scale of space and time.[3] Thus, sexuality as a cultural part of society is also formed from existing ethical relationships and the interests of cultural actors in the space and time of existing phenomena. Such ideas revived the studies of sexuality in the theoretical discourse of the cultural formation of society.

Sexuality is also an essential study in the development of culture in Indonesia. Indonesian culture formed from the heterogeneity of religious teachings is in line with what has been written by Foucault and Giddens. Sexual morality develops according to social changes. If Foucault explains that the cultural differences in sexuality are influenced by modernization currents that re-examine the sexual boundaries of society,[1] Of course, this is the same as what happened in Indonesia. The current modernization that became the gateway to the growth of globalization has changed the viewpoint of the ethical limits of people's sexuality. One expert who reads such facts is Suryakusama. He states that sexuality is changing with modern currents. The side of morality changed from being based on sacred texts and religious teachings to following the rational formal rules of the government.[4] The weakening of traditional religious rules became the cultural influx of modern Western sexuality. Davies explained that the substantial freedom of sexuality in America, Australia, and other Western countries also encouraged the reform of the conception of sexuality in Indonesia.[5] Such changes are contrary to the local culture that has been created before today.

Speaking of Indonesian local culture, it cannot be separated from the strength of religious culture created since pre-colonial. One of the most significant cultural forces in Indonesia is pesantren. Pesantren is a substantial subculture in the culture of society in Indonesia, specifically in the development of the world of education. Historically, its growth has begun since pre-colonial. Its existence became the forerunner of Indonesian culture, especially in religious culture. The religious values and traditions of pesantren are still deeply rooted in the community today. Not surprisingly, in terms of the development of education – Dawam Raharjo – one of the pesantren research experts, explained that the cultural strength of the community comes from pesantren. If there is no colonial, the most robust system in the world of community education is the pesantren education system.[6] Such a statement is certainly born from the urgency of pesantren in the formation of culture in society.

The strength of pesantren culture cannot be separated from the position of Kiai, who have successfully become cultural actors in cross-changing the culture of the archipelago. Ziemik noted the influence of kiai from the colonial era until the independence process was inseparable from its role. He said the result of kiai in the past period was more substantial than today.[7] Some of the causes of this power are because kiai and pesantren were present as

a source of solving societal problems at that time. Pesantren appears as the closest institution to the community and is even considered a place of consultation for the community's issues. Kiai is not only considered someone who can solve religious problems but is also able to solve problems faced by society..

The strong culture of pesantren in today's era of globalization is beginning to experience pressure. One of them is undoubtedly the change in the conception of sexuality due to the current globalization. Globalization, according to Friedman, is continuing this Cold War era (Cold War). The negative impact of globalization is the opacity of values. Unrestricted communication leads to a battle of values in culture.[8] As a result, no substantial value persists in the current contestation that occurs. Pesantren culture as a holistic cultural resource is much concern by many experts, mainly as a hegemony of the noble values of society. As an institution that exists at the source of cultural domination, pesantren institutions are feared to be unable to adapt to the modernization culture that occurs today. Although, on the one hand, it can be a control of cultural change, transcendental religious values will rationally weaken its hegemonic power. People will prefer a modern culture that is more rational and leaves behind the source of power of pesantren values.

Mainly related to the development of sexuality culture today, pesantren are doubtful that they can play an essential role in controlling the changes that occur. Although pesantren have solid Islamic values, when it comes to sexuality culture, many people worry about it. First, the many phenomena of deviant sexuality. Several scientific facts explain the phenomenon of home sex in pesantren. Some experts who write about this, among them, Irna Halimah,[9] Amanah Nurish,[10] Dwi Rubiyanti,[11] dan Iskandar Dzulkanain[12]. All of these researchers focused on the fact of same-sex sexual deviance in pesantren. The majority of researchers explain that perpetrators have adherence to religious teachings. The action was carried out because it was an emergency condition to fulfill his high sexual desire. The existence of these facts makes the conception of pesantren sexuality essential to be examined.

Second, there are several facts of sexual discrimination in pesantren. Recently, several communities have been shocked by the emergence of cases of discrimination against women and children in pesantren. The police arrested several stakeholders for allegedly sexually assaulting their students. The first case that emerged was the case of Herry Irawan in a pesantren in Bandung. Then followed by other cases, such as the Depok ustads, Magelang, and Kiai politicians in Banyuwangi, to what happened in the city of students, Jombang, with the suspect, Gus Beci. All discrimination that occurs makes the image of pesantren as a driver of archipelago culture weakened. The reason is that pesantren, which initially appeared as a posse for the penetration of noble moral culture, instead became a place where immoral sexuality cases occurred.

Several sexuality phenomena that occur in pesantren are one of the descriptions of cultural sexuality. This article will approach these facts with a theoretical framework of structuring. As explained earlier, Giddens said that sexuality as part of the communal culture of society is born from the relationship of structures and actors in a specific time and space scale. The author chose to research several pesantren in Horseshoe, East Java. In this area, many pesantren stand and have a substantial role in the flow of cultural change in the community.

II. METHOD

This research is qualitative type. The approach used is Phenomenological Analysis of Interpretation (AFI). This AFI approach will be the basis for determining participants in the data analysis process. It is called phenomenological analysis because AFI involves examining and encouraging data sources to be objectively explored. Jonathan A. Smith and Mike Osborn explain that this approach explores the meaning of the source personally

and the social conception that develops. The main target of research with the AFI approach is all phenomena that include the subject of study.[13] So the approach used also seeks to liberate the perception or interpretation of the source to the case or phenomenon studied.

AFI's approach is also considered very appropriate because this study focuses on examining the conception of sexuality structuring pesantren. Structuration is a phenomenon of cultural formation; in this study, it is contextualized on the culture of sexuality that occurs in pesantren. The structuring process focuses on elaborating the relationship between the roles of structure and agency. An agency is a cultural actor that has a variety of meanings in the system that occurs. As Priyono explained, agencies are people in the continuum of phenomena that occur. While the system is a rule and resource, actors plan the form, and several actions are carried out, often to take the form of binding and deceptive norms. The general agency responds to structures with unconscious, practical awareness, and discursive cognition..[14] Some of this agency's awareness can then be described in detail through AFI's approach.

In practice, all data in this study were determined based on the significance of forming pesantren culture along the horseshoe area, East Java. Some of the pesantren chosen are Nurul Jadid Paiton-Probolinggo, Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Sokerjo-Situbondo and Al Qodiri Jember Islamic Boarding School. The resource persons are determined based on the students, time, and the relationship between the conspicuous acts of sexuality that occur in pesantren. So, this study analyzed the interpretation of several research subjects on the phenomenon at hand.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The focus of the study in research is the structuration process that occurs and focuses on the expected ideal development efforts. The last focus is undoubtedly an indispensable part of the first. The perfect conception of structuration is explained post-or in discussing which theoretical focus is first. Thus, the focus of the data presented in this section is all critical issues in describing the structuring of sexuality in pesantren. Based on the general framework of substructuring, there are several important things to discuss, among them structure-agency relations and time and space.

a. Structuring Pesantren Sexuality

Several pesantren that became research locations are boarding schools with thousands of students and have long been established. Long-standing and the number of students indicates that the pesantren culture has been created. Pesantren, institutions with dormitories and special activities, have a different culture from society's. One of the differences, of course, is that there are different perceptions of agency and the prevailing norm structure, especially in terms of sexuality culture.

Some facts are unique and occur in the culture of pesantren sexuality. Pesantren as educational boarding institutions give birth to cultural constructions that are different from sexuality in general. One of them, of course, is the existence of same-sex sexual habits. These homosexual deviant acts have been ordinary in pesantren. This indicates a different structuration in general. The structure-agency relationship is undoubtedly other, both in terms of the role of the structure and the knowledge and interests of the agency. Judging from the system, there are several factors that are seen to be related to the sexual behavior of pesantren. Among these, the most dominant are religious teachings. Some rules in several pesantren are based on sharia law, which comes from fiqh law. Regarding the conception of sexuality, several religious laws are often used as a basis for creating cultural structures that limit the concept of sexuality of students.

First, the cultural structure of pesantren is adapted from the teachings of the book of fiqh that are commonly studied. Some of

the books in question are general books discussing sexuality in Islam. The general book in question is the book of fiqh, which is the basis for the basic understanding of the santri. Some of them are *Safinat al-Najah* by Salim ibn Abdullah ibn Sa'ad ibn Sumair al-Hadhrami and Kitab *Matan Ghayah wa al Taqrib* by Abu Shuja' Ahmad Ibn Husayn ibn Ahmad al Asfihani. These two books discuss not only sexuality but also fiqh issues in general, from *thoharo'*, buying and selling, zakat, and so on. I was referred to as the basis for understanding Santri because the three pesantren studied in these two books are essential guidelines in the daily life of students. Some of the rules and norms that apply in pesantren are based on the postulates and explanations contained in these two books, including the laws of worship and social interaction of the students.

As for the book in particular, there are also two similar books studied in these three pesantren, namely Kitab *Sharh Uqud al-Lujjayn fi Bayan Huquq al-Zawjain* by Muhammad ibn Umar al-Banteni al-Jawi and the book *Sharh Qurrat al-Uyun* written by Abu Muhammad al-Tihami. Both books deal specifically with male and female sexual interactions. *Uqud al-Lujjayn* contains four articles that have the duties of men, husbands, the importance of women, the duties of women as wives, and the haram of men looking at women.[15] While *Qurrat al-Uyun* discusses all aspects of good intercourse, including ethics.[16] These two books are considered unique because they are studied explicitly at a specific student education level. The three pesantren included these two books in learning students who were ready to get married. In addition to these two books, it discusses explicitly the issue of male and female sexual relations.

This fact hints at the strengthening of structures based on religious ethics. The cultural system derived from the primary references to fiqh above is seen in several artifacts and some documentation of the rules in the three pesantren. The most potent and strict rules are related to interactions between the opposite sex. Third, pesantren try to minimize the intensity of women, men, and women. Pesantren Nurul Jadid Paiton and Salafiyah Syafi'iyah separate the learning process between men and women, likewise at the Al Qodiri Jember boarding school. Some educational institutions have been distinguished by gender. This is recognized as an effort to implement religious teachings that prohibit interaction with the opposite sex who are not *mahrom*. The management of the three pesantren rules is by what is in the primary and commonly studied religious books in the pesantren.

In addition, the cultural structure of pesantren is seen to have an empowering role in religious and social exoticism. Both of these exoticisms comprise spiritual routines and social activities in pesantren. Religious practices among them, of course, consist of several religious education activities carried out by students. In this activity, students are encouraged to change their desire for sexuality and physical exoticism into religious exoticism. As taught in Islamic teachings, to suppress the urge for sexuality, it is necessary to approach God by increasing worship. In addition, the role of empowerment is also carried out on the social desires of the students. Students are encouraged to help each other and get along well while in pesantren. Boarding by class and communal strengthening of learning group interaction are efforts to reduce the space for micro-reflection of student sexuality.

Based on the above findings, the cultural structure of pesantren in terms of structuring their sexuality seems to limit the act of interaction between the opposite sex. Restrictions on this side immediately limit the imagination or intimacy of the sexuality of the opposite sex. If the issue of sexuality is considered a passion of exoticism, then what is defined is the exoticism of the imagination of the opposite sex. On this side, pesantren norms and values become a limiting tool for the conception of sexuality of pesantren cultural agencies. In addition, the cultural structure of pesantren is also seen to empower macro sexual desires through maximizing the urge to carry out religious and social activities. The system in

this form is expected to transform the desire for micro sexuality into the macro.

As for the role of agencies in the structuring process, some patterns are varied. Agency awareness and interest are dominant in responding to existing structures. Cultural agencies, which are pesantren societies, rationally accept commonly understood religious teachings. Their spiritual consciousness becomes their adherence to the prevailing system. But it is different when faced with the orientation of his sexuality. The desire for microsexuality of students is not easy to negotiate with existing structures. The micro-imagination of sexuality students seeking high in some phenomena often fails to turn into the ideal desire of metrosexuality. Many students still reflect on finding an emergency way to fulfill this desire. In other words, efforts to limit the structure have not been maximized to restrict and direct the sexuality of students ideally.

b.   *Cultural Forms of Pesantren Sexuality*

One of the structure's weaknesses is that it is not supported by consideration of changes in the space and time of its structuration. The system does not consider space changes that affect the process of changing the microsexuality of the students. The geographical separation between men and women in pesantren, of course, removes their imagination and micro-desires of sexuality. Moreover, related to the time of structuration that occurs, not always the santi live with the awareness of the cultural structure of pesantren. At certain times, especially during holidays, students go home to their respective residences. Thus, the perception of sexuality is not entirely shaped by pesantren norms. The management of the three pesantren recognizes this. Outside information, both on vacation and free access to information, also affects the level and form of their sexual interests. So, it is undeniable that although geographically, the intensity of meetings between the opposite sex is low, the desire for student sexuality remains high. In this condition, the sexual cultural structure of pesantren will fail to negotiate with the interests of fulfilling the lust of the students.

In addition, in emergency conditions the fulfillment of the sexual desire needs of students goes hand in hand with structural weaknesses in arranging the reflection room of the students. The interaction space of same-sex students is freed. In these three Islamic boarding schools, it is not uncommon to find male students bathing together and are not shy in showing each of their intimacies. It is in this roar of interaction that the negotiation of reflection on the sexuality of the students takes place. What happens a lot is that there is a tradition of deviant sexuality in the lives of students, both students and students.

The deviant act in question is a phenomenon of same-sex liking. All speakers from several pesantren admitted such bad behavior. Nurul Jadid Paiton Islamic Boarding School, for example, has the term "dalaq". Usually pinned on students who are handsome, smooth, and have things that other fellow students commonly like. A dalaq is typically the target of another student's sexual act. As for students who have a high desire to perform sexuality, among others, in Nurul Jadid Islamic Boarding School, it is known as "kernel." While in Salafi Islamic boarding schools, Shafi'iyah is called "bheje." Unlike those in Al Qodiri pesantren, although there are not as many as those in the two previous pesantren, the act of liking the same sex, is also said to have been commonplace for a long time in this pesantren.

Based on the above facts, the structuring of sexuality in pesantren occurs through the relationship of religious structure and traditions with the interests and rational assumptions of students. The meeting of the two was affected by the changes in time and space that occurred. The intensity of opposing sessions limited by existing cultural structures cannot maximally transform metrosexuality into metrosexuality of pesantren communities. The weakness of the system in carrying out empowerment and

restrictions on sexual reflection holistically is giving space for deviant agency sexual reflection.

c.   Model of Sexuality Structuring of Pesantren

The structuring of pesantren sexuality results from negotiations between agencies and existing structures. The evolving culture is not separated from the role of the two in the scale of space and time. There are two essential things described in this research study, namely, the structuration process that occurs and the process needed to form an ideal culture. The whole is based on pre-detailed data.

The structuring of sexuality cannot occur without reading the two sub-element roles present in it. From the perspective of sociology, the core problem of structuration is the relationship between humans and pre-existing cultural structures. Thompson explains that his dialectical fundamental question is about the possibility of the most vital role between humans as cultural actors or natural environments and limiting the role of humans.[14] Ritzer and Goodman more simply detail the main issues of structuration related to the relationship of agency roles and structures or micro and macroculture.[17] Likewise with the study of the structure of pesantren sexuality in this research study. The main issue that is important to reveal is the role of existing agencies and structures in terms of shaping the culture of sexuality of pesantren.

The cultural structure of pesantren about sexuality is formed from various values and understandings that have been strong since the beginning of pesantren. Two elements are rooted in the consensus of values and cultural norms of pesantren, namely religious teachings and habituation that have been traditional in pesantren. His spiritual teachings come from Islamic religious education materials that have been taught since the beginning and routinely. From some facts in the study results, several materials come from the classic yellow book. Some books that have influenced the formation of the structure are the books of fiqh such as Safinat al-Najah, Matan Ghayah wa al Taqrib, Sharh Uqud al-Lujjayn and Sharh Qurrat al-Uyun. This book has much to say about restrictions and ethics in interacting with the opposite sex. Religious norms born from such religious sources are the decisive role of structural limits in the interaction of opposite-sex sexuality.

Giddens explained the role of structural restrictions as they occur in the process of structuring the sexuality of pesantren. The structure, in his view, consists of what has been tradition and general truths believed for generations. Because it has been believed together, all cultural actors will submit. Such a role he referred to as the role of constraining structure. In the context of the sexual system of pesantren, too. The part of constraining community history and religious teachings that repeatedly occur has shaped the conception and pattern of awareness and sexual acts of the pesantren community.

So, based on this view, the pesantren community's conception of sexuality is also dominated by hereditary customs and religious teachings that are commonly mastered and taught in pesantren. If it is found that several books reference spiritual teachings related to sex, then the content of the book limits many sexual acts and awareness of pesantren cultural actors. As stated at the beginning, the book discusses prohibiting intense communication with the opposite sex. This rule gave birth to the understanding of the ban on seeing, let alone having meetings with the opposite sex who are not mahrom. The agencies were powerless against the ban. If they violate the prohibition, it breeds feelings of guilt and even sin.

Moreover, this rule also limits the romantic pattern of relationships between the opposite sex. The love, affection, and the entire intimacy conception of the pesantren community is also determined by such a cultural structure. The interaction of mutual love and affection is limited by fear of legal sanctions, even religious sins.

The limiting structure vis-à-vis the interests and instincts of the pesantren community as a cultural agency. About the structuration studied in this study, of course, what is limited by the structure of pesantren is the desire for sexuality. Religious norms vis-à-vis the fulfillment of sexuality is not the first time it has occurred in the cultural production of society. The presence of religion as part of the structure and limiting the conception of sexuality does not only happen in the structuring of the sexuality of pesantren, but it does not even occur in Islamic religious discourse. The dominance of religion on the perception of human sexuality is commonplace. For example, in Catholicism, his teachings on sexuality were once the target of criticism from his adherents. Kimba Allie Tichenor discussed a lot about it. He explained that there is a significant conflict between Catholic reformers about the issue of sexuality. They say the church's domination of sexuality violates the right to sexuality. The debate of the reformists became the point of transformation of Catholic sexuality. Reformists regarded restrictive structures as instruments of authority for discrimination. Moreover, this rule also limits the romantic pattern of relationships between the opposite sex. The love, affection, and the entire intimacy conception of the pesantren community is also determined by such a cultural structure. The interaction of mutual love and affection is limited by fear of legal sanctions, even religious sins.[18]

The pesantren culture is not, and there are no reformists who try to break the conception of sexuality from a religious perspective. However, the tendency to fulfill the sexual desires of the pesantren community cannot be maximized by spiritual teachings. The ethical structure of pesantren sexuality tends to limit the issue of opposite-sex relationships. For same-sex sexuality, although religious teachings regulate this issue, the system of pesantren is not sufficiently representative in restricting it. Other factors, such as historically more decisive pesantren, provide room for the fulfillment of such sexual desires. The history in question consists of the conditions of social, ecological, and political interaction of pesantren. The third condition in the culture of pesantren sexuality is related to tradition, power, and environment. Homosexual boarding schools are formed because of the role of less-than-perfect sexuality structures.

Even if more deeply analyzed, there is a condition of chaos between structural elements that acts as constraining ethical acts of pesantren sexuality. On the one hand, the structure is developed based on the teachings of Islam. On the other hand, there are also structural elements that act as enabling acts of ethical deviation from religious sexuality. The limiting structural component is undoubtedly the rule of pesantren that is common today. The enabling structure, of course, is an old structure related to the history of the pesantren community. There are two enabling systems that, in this case, are important to detail, namely the structure in pesantren and the pre-community structure of pesantren, especially students, before entering into part of the social life of pesantren. Before joining the pesantren, the students have known the conception of sexuality. Sure, every human being has formed his sexuality early on. So the concept of student sexuality has been influenced by the social conditions before entering pesantren. Such conditions make it possible when you become a student that micro-desires still grow naturally. Such desire then meets the sexuality structure of pesantren social life. In pesantren, the perception of student sexuality began to be limited by some applicable rules and norms. Unfortunately, the applicable regulations or laws only partially limit sexual interactions. There is a potential for neglect (you could say the role of enabling) in the freedom of ethical deviation of sexuality. Same-sex interactions are left without the moral norms of sexuality, even supported by the traditions of senior students, combined to form an act of deviance, homosexuality. Such structure-agency relations continue to be part of the culture of pesantren sexuality.
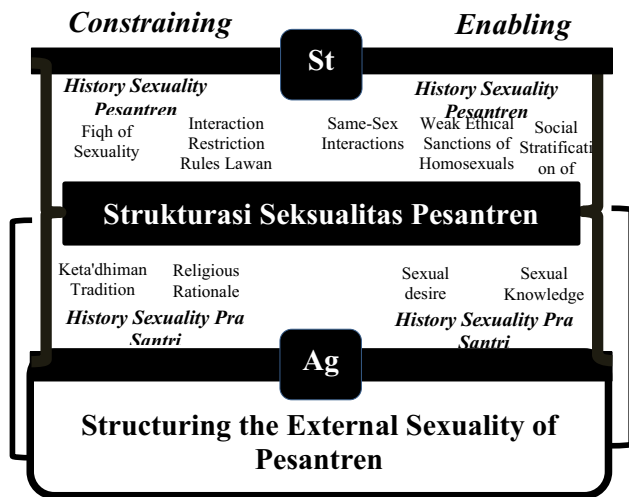
Figure 1. Flow of Sexuality Structuring Pesantren

d. Structuring the Ideal Sexuality of Pesantren

The structuring process that has been occurring in pesantren is undoubtedly not ideal in shaping the culture of sexuality as it befits an Islamic religious educational institution. Based on the theoretical discussion of the sexuality structuring model of pesantren above, it was found that there were several problems in the process of cultivating sexuality that occurred. First, weak ethical sanctions and same-sex social interaction in pesantren. Rules related to the ethics of sexuality of pesantren seem to be dominated more by ethical awareness of sexuality of the opposite sex. The openness of same-sex exotic interactions exacerbates the weakness of this rule. For example, many students still have the habit of bathing together. This habit indirectly forms a strange imagination of a kind. In addition, the dominance of senior students and Kiai as cultural sources is also very influential. Their power as a high social class is supported by legality, and they provide space for discrimination and ethical cultural resources. Their actions will be easy to agree upon and become a source of culture. If the activities do not follow religious ethics, then the birth of a culture of deviating actions from religious ethics will also become a habit holistically in pesantren.

The above problem can be resolved by comprehensively reinforcing religious rules as a structure limiting the sexuality of the pesantren community. Restrictions and limitations of sexuality have been substantial, and spiritual teachings have been followed. However, it needs to be strengthened again by laws prohibiting homosexuality and discrimination that can bind all cultural actors fully regardless of class. In addition to forming comprehensive rules, it is also necessary to support the facilities and activities of student life, especially in social interaction. The facilities in question, for example, student activities related to exoticism, such as bathing and the like, need to be regulated and supported by adequate facilities. Exotic interactions are suppressed from occurring and give rise to the imagination of same-sex sexuality. This method can be called managing the social environment to fit the ideal structure. The concept is certainly developed from a theoretical understanding that states that sexuality is a response to the existing social environment.[22]

Second, the weak management of students' sexuality awareness. The pesantren community is the same as humans in general, has sexuality needs. The desire for student sexuality cannot be overcome only by managing its structure. However, it is necessary to deceive these desires so that they can be directed and not cause them to engage in deviant sexuality.

Theoretically, the solution can be taken by understanding the basic concepts of sexuality management. In this case, it can develop the idea of the development of human sexuality. Freud explained that sex is not only a matter of physical exoticism but also of social exoticism. In this case, it states that there are five stages of human sexuality, namely the oral, phallic, latent, and genital stages.[23] Giddens simplifies these five stages by calling them micro and macro sexuality. Micro is referred to as the oral to phallic stage. While latent and genital are referred to as macro sexuality, which is a transition from the exoticism of touch to public social interaction. This stage of sexuality represents the disappearance of sexual micro-interests.[2]

Giddens' idea can be developed into a pattern of managing the sexuality of the pesantren community. Sexual discrimination occurs because of the strong passion for freedom of metrosexual fulfillment to violate its macro social consensus. For this not to happen, pesantren need to initiate an educational model that encourages the transformation of human metrosexual desire. The trick is to narrow the space for reflection on micro-exoticism and strengthen activities that birth to social exoticism. The purpose of suppressing sexual instincts which are blind to religious ethics taught in pesantren.

The picture above shows that the structure of pesantren needs to be revised. Paran structure overrides aspects of historical sexuality. Stephen Garton widely discusses the history of sexuality. He said that the act of one's sexuality will never be separated from the phenomena that occurred before. Social, political, and economic breakdown interventions are essential aspects in determining ethics and perceptions, and all related to the formation of a culture of sexuality. According to him, sexuality comes from the exotic idea of culture. The concept of exotics in each era continues to develop naturally based on social and economic changes.[19] The cluster of cultural sexuality of pesantren cannot be separated from previous social phenomena. For new students, on the other hand, the imagination of sexuality is still ordinary (in the opposite sex), constrained by the structure of the norm: "no dating" and the like. Time after time, the need for high sexuality continues to negotiate on constraining structures. In the end, they are also faced with a system that opens up the space for the independence of their sexuality. Cultural history and weak structural conditions governing the ethical sanction of same-sex interaction prompted cultural agencies to choose exempt acts of sexual deviance.[20] One of them is homosexual.

As for the problem of discrimination that occurs in pesantren, it is actually caused by the cultural structure of pesantren that empowers some agents to discriminate. As Mottier explains, discrimination is closely related to the legality of existing structures.[21] Legality in some cultural agencies authorizes acts of ethical violation. The existence of social stratification legalized by the structure will empower the interests of social actors. On this side, because of the disaster, there was discrimination either by senior students in their juniors or Kiai as a social caste class of pesantren in their students.

The relationship of agency and cultural structure of pesantren sexuality is also inseparable from the scale of space and time. Pesantren, as a communal cluster of people who are distant from other social communals, have a limited range of cultural influences. That is, acts of agency sexuality that occur in pesantren cannot be ascertained to continue to be carried out outside the communal culture of pesantren. This is what the author in the picture above termed the relation of two structures. Both students, while in pesantren and outside pesantren, live in two structuring processes. Homosexual acts of pesantren can not occur to students while living in an external pesantren culture. Thus, it can be concluded that the structuring of pesantren sexuality is formed from agency-structure relationships and also with other structures outside the pesantren.

IV. CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion above, it can be concluded that the structuring of pesantren sexuality occurs due to agency relations, structure, and inter-structuration outside the pesantren. Deviant sexuality occurs due to the role of imperfect systems. The existing structure has regulated ethical sexuality according to Islamic religious teachings, but the weak element of historical sexuality makes the empowerment of agency sexuality inappropriate. This has resulted in homosexual acts and discrimination. These deviations in sexuality that indicate the structuring of pesantren sexuality are seen as not ideal.

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