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# The Transformation of the Leadership of the Santi Asromo Majalengka Islamic Boarding School: From Personal Authority to Impersonal

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## ABSTRACT

*This article aims to analyze the transformation of the kyai's leadership at Pesantren Santi Asromo Majalengka. The research is focused on exploring the leadership system, the factors causing the shift in the style of leadership, and the authority of the kyai in the organizational structure of the pesantren. The research was conducted using a qualitative approach through the descriptive analysis method. The research data were collected through observation, interviews and documentation. The results of the study concluded that the leadership system of the Santi Asromo pesantren transformed personal to impersonal, from paternalistic to bureaucratic, from a single authority to a collective. The pesantren leadership system is based on a prototype of lifelong leadership and a kinship system. The shift in leadership styles can be categorized into two periods, namely the leadership period of Kyai Abdul Halim and Kyai Abdul Qohar who tend to be charismatic, and the leadership of Kyai Amas Turmudzi who tends to be rational. The authority of the kyai in the organizational structure of the pesantren has changed along with changes in social society, the education system, and the legalization of the role of the family.*

**Keywords :** Leadership transformation; the authority of kyai; Santi Asromo Boarding School

## ABSTRAK

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis transformasi kepemimpinan kyai di Pesantren Santi Asromo Majalengka. Penelitian difokuskan menggali sistem kepemimpinan, faktor penyebab pergeseran dan otoritas kyai dalam struktur organisasi pesantren. Penelitian dilakukan dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif melalui metode analisis deskriptif. Data penelitian dikumpulkan melalui observasi, wawancara dan dokumentasi. Hasil penelitian menyimpulkan sistem kepemimpinan pesantren mengalami transformasi dari yang bersifat personal menjadi impersonal, dari paternalistik menjadi birokratik, dari otoritas tunggal menjadi kolektif. Sistem kepemimpinan pesantren didasarkan pada prototipe kepemimpinan seumur hidup dan sistem kekerabatan. Pergeseran corak kepemimpinan dapat dikategorisasikan ke dalam dua periode, yakni kepemimpinan Kyai Abdul Halim dan Kyai Abdul Qohar yang cenderung kharismatik dan kepemimpinan Kyai Amas Turmudzi yang cenderung rasional. Otoritas kyai dalam struktur organisasi berubah disebabkan perubahan sosial, sistem pendidikan dan legalisasi peranan keluarga.

**Kata kunci :** Transformasi kepemimpinan; otoritas kyai; pesantren Santi Asromo.

## INTRODUCTION

Pesantren is a socio-religious institution that cannot avoid the process of change and shift, both in the education system, institution, organization, and in the style of its leadership. Analyzing the shift in leadership styles, duties, and functions of the kyai as the leader of the pesantren can be viewed as interesting. That said, because the kyai as the leader of social and religious education institutions, is not only in charge of leading and compiling the curriculum but also carrying out the teaching and learning process related to the religious sciences in the institution they are assigned to. In addition, the kyai also serves as a supervisor, guide, director, and educator of the students so that they become individuals who in the future have the character and characteristics that are by the values of the pesantren.

The existence of the kyai as the highest leader in the boarding school has a wide range of meanings and values. Formally the kyai is the highest leader of the boarding school who determines the pace of operations and the future of the pesantren through policies and managerial capabilities. The managerial ability of the kyai is required to manage the education process following the objectives of national education (UU Sisdiknas). Pesantren is a form of community and Islamic contribution in educating the Indonesian nation and has been recorded in history (Baso, 2012). The history of Islamic boarding schools is very long in hacking an educational system that is unique, distinctive, and in tune with the culture of the community (Ading, 2014). It is also through historical ink that we know why Islamic boarding schools have developed in rural areas (As'ad, 2012). This is the root of the kyai in the Islamic boarding school as well as the informal leadership of the community.

Socially, the kyai acts as a community leader who is considered to have a significant influence in their daily life (Yacub, 1985: 63; Rahardjo, 1998: 1-3; Kuntowijoyo, 1998: 241). In this case, the authority of the kyai takes place not only in the pesantren environment but also in the sphere of social life. Not only in the aspect of pesantren education but also community education which is oriented towards the realization of the practice of behavior under the values of Islamic teachings.

The kyai as the leader of the pesantren and the role model of the community has an important influence in bringing the direction of the life of the community around him. In the process of life development, kyai

become role models for society in anticipating and directing all challenges of change according to their position, beliefs, and functions (Soelaeman, 1998: 147). This social dynamic is characterized by a change in the behavior system from traditional to modern (Schoorl, 1984: 22). However, in reality, in societies and institutions led by kyai, these developments do not show the firmness between traditional and modern. Often the old social systems and behavior are still maintained or at least maintain the old values, traditions that are considered good and take on new, better values.

Preservation of the values and old traditions of the pesantren which are considered good is the capital in maintaining social order and social continuity. This decision-making refers to the special personality possessed by the kyai as a figure of the leader of the pesantren and society (Pudjiwati, 1985: 111-114). In this case, social development for the kyai does not conflict between traditional and modern. However, social dynamics is seen as a reality that provides benefits or not, because the value of the benefit is related to the values and norms of the Islamic religion which shows obedience as much as possible. This means that the figure of a kyai is seen as able to accommodate normative ideals with the development of society.

The leadership of the kyai is considered to have its peculiarities. The accommodation of old and new values as a consequence of changes in social dynamics forms a new tradition that is applied in the pesantren organization. In this case, as an organization, pesantren does not mean that it does not have a job description, standardization, and the entry of skilled employees, but at a certain level, organizational order can be found even though it is in a form and form that is incompatible with the capacity of available human resources.

Kyai as the dominant figure of the pesantren leader has its power, both directly and indirectly, it is difficult to model it as a modern organizational leadership. This is due to the existence of old elements that are still being maintained and the accommodation process for new elements, thus forming new traditions and having an impact on the continuity of the organization. The determinant factor of the kyai is the cause of this continuity. This can be seen both in terms of religiosity, mentality, and intellect. Kyai has become a traditional-modern leadership role model that has an influence both in the pesantren sphere and in the surrounding community. The leadership function of the kyai both theologically and sociologically raises a distinctive feature in the tradition of pesantren leadership.

The leadership of the kyai not only affects the pesantren institutions but also influences the process of social change in society. Kyai has high authority in interacting with their social environment. Even within the internal scope of the pesantren, kyai have the sole authority to determine all decision-making. It is at this point that the kyai's leadership is seen as a 'sky' leadership which plays a role in delivering goodness in both theological (religious and educational) and sociological (socio-cultural-economic-political) aspects. The cleric acts as a director, mentor, and coach who balances social change with religious values and principles.

The reality of kyai leadership in the internal scope of the pesantren can be seen from the process of interaction with the students. In this case, the kyai is seen as a figure who occupies the top of the pesantren leadership hierarchy. The obedient and obedient attitude described by the santri shows the special position of a kyai in the hierarchy of pesantren associations. What the kyai observes becomes the final choice for the students. In addition, this perception of obedience is shown by the attitude of the students who do not want to accept the consequences of disobedience to the kyai. Traditionally, this attitude of obedience shows the fear and/or concern of the students when they oppose the kyai's policies or advice. The theological function of the kyai is the main reason that has an impact on the obedience and obedience of the students.

In addition, compliance can also be seen in the scope of social interactions with the community. The bond between the kyai and the community takes place in the broad interests of life. Society places the kyai as a "sky man" who has the authority to direct his life towards goodness. The pattern of relationships between kyai, santri, and society illustrates the *sami'na wa atha'na* doctrine which places kyai at the top of the leadership hierarchy (Wahid, 1995: 39).

The kyai leadership figure is also seen as having a charismatic style. The special personality possessed by the kyai is seen from his cleverness in reading and understanding the anxiety of the object of his preaching (Dhofier, 1995: 44). The kyai is considered to have a deep understanding of a reality that is not only skilled in reading manifest conditions but also hidden conditions (latent) that cannot be read by ordinary people. This charismatic leadership style led the kyai to have the power of authority which resulted in the minimal participation of those around him. As if, all matters would be resolved based on the fatwa of the kyai. This view was born and believed by the community as a logical consequence of the

processes and patterns of interactional relations with students and society.

In addition, the kyai's leadership style can also be said to be paternalistic. Kyai plays himself as a patron who is not only a religious spiritual guide but also acts as a leader who protects the community from threats and disturbances, both internal and external. In this way, the presence of kyai as leaders of Islamic boarding schools, religions, and societies who are charismatic and paternalistic greatly influences social change, especially in the mental-spiritual field of religion.

The symptoms of a shift in the style of kyai leadership with traditional, charismatic, and paternalistic authority can change over time. Social changes that affect the way people think and act affect reducing the authority of the kyai from being single to collective, from personal to impersonal, from traditional to rational. One of the pesantren that has experienced a shift in the style of the kyai's leadership is pesantren Santi Asromo. Based on observations, from one period to the next, the leadership of the kyai in this pesantren continues to change. Each kyai has a different level of authority and charismatics. This symptom is marked by a leadership transformation from a single-centralistic one towards a collective-decentralized leadership.

During the leadership period of the first kyai of the Santi Asromo Islamic boarding school, namely KH. Abdul Halim tends to have a single leadership authority. Kyai Abdul Halim has strong emotional and interactional relationships with students and their communities. Like "Father" and "Son", this relationship pattern is familial. Kyai Abdul Halim is believed to have the power of karamah, so that he has a deep level of understanding and plays a role in leading society to goodness. In this early generation, the leading authority in this pesantren was traditional, charismatic, and paternalistic.

Subsequent developments indicate a shift in leadership authority. The kyai leadership style at the Santi Asromo pesantren is more rationalistic and participatory. The top of the leadership hierarchy is no longer filled with single kyai figures but is impersonal, collective, and decentralized. This shifting tendency is characterized by internal and external conditions. Internally, the current kyai who leads the Santi Asromo pesantren is not a "founder", but a continuation of leadership who has no blood ties to the previous kyai. In addition, his figure is not only as a kyai, the leader of the pesantren but also as a scholar. In this case, the source of its strength does not lie in charisma, but scientific credibility. In addition, there has been a

change in the pesantren education system as a whole as well as a tendency for institutional consolidation in both the leadership and management aspects of the pesantren. The kyai's relationship pattern is no longer familial in nature, but more formal in nature.

Externally, this shift is influenced by the dynamics of social, economic, cultural, and political development. For example, a change in the orientation of community education based on formal educational institutions affected the implementation of the Santi Asromo Islamic boarding school education. Formally, the formation of a foundation as a boarding school legal entity has a significant influence on the process of providing education. Pesantren not only teaches the scientific treasures that are characteristic of pesantren but also other scholarly features whose orientation is not only on religious education but also general education. This institutional change marks a shift in the authority of the pesantren leadership into impersonal-rational (collective) and decentralized leadership.

Previous research on the transformation of pesantren leadership was carried out by [Sulaiman \(2016\)](#) who examined the leadership of the kyai in the transformation of Islamic education. The research was conducted at the Situbondo Islamic boarding school. The results of the study concluded that the leadership behavior of the kyai in the Situbondo pesantren emphasized the process of guidance, direction, and affection. The leadership style displayed by the kyai is collective or institutional leadership. The development of non-formal education pathways in the form of yellow book recitation, majelis ta'lim, and al-Quran teaching; informal education in the form of education and training, tahfidz Quran, agriculture, animal husbandry, computer programs, da'wah and leadership, and tilawatil Quran; and formal education in the form of Madrasah Ibtidaiyyah, Madrasah Tsanawiyah, and Madrasah Aliyah.

Research [Muh. Sholeh and Suwarna Al-Muchtar \(2018\)](#) examined the values of transformation and succession of pesantren leadership. The research is directed at exploring the social system built-in Islamic boarding schools. The results of the study concluded that Islamic boarding schools as a social system have a significant role in directing, guiding, and fostering the community. The leadership of the kyai as a transformative and visionary figure will balance the social processes and dynamics in society. Pesantren is seen as having a unique and distinctive form that is in tune with the culture of Indonesian society. This is marked by the existence of a process

of preserving the values of the pesantren which influence the social conditions of the community.

Research by Ahmad Ihwanul Muttaqin and Canda Ayu Pitara (2019) examines the transformation of pesantren leadership in responding to the challenges of globalization. This research was conducted using a qualitative approach with the object and location of the study at the Bustanul Ulum Krai Lumajang Islamic boarding school. The results showed that Bustanul Ulum Islamic boarding school was seen as adapting to the dynamics and challenges of globalization. One of the keys to its success is the leadership characteristics of the pesantren which accommodate new and transforming values. This change in leadership patterns shifted from a single pattern to collective collegial leadership and took the form of a foundation. As a result, the existence of pesantren can be maintained, and to this day the pesantren has developed quite advanced.

Research with the location at the Santi Asromo Islamic boarding school was carried out by Ade Arip Ardiansyah (2020) who researched the Santi Asromo Majalengka Islamic boarding school. Specifically, his research is related to the application of the inquiry method in learning Arabic. The research was conducted with a quantitative approach. It is concluded that the application of the inquiry method is effective at 53 percent for increasing proficiency in learning Arabic. Another research conducted by Abd. Muhith and Umiarso El-Rumi (2020) researched the leadership of young kyai or commonly called Lora and the transformation of Islamic boarding schools in Madura. The research was conducted at the Mambaul Ulum Bata-Bata Pamekasan Islamic boarding school. The results of the study concluded that Lora's leadership was based on Islamic religious values in managing the pesantren so that they were able to transform from traditional (salaf) to modern (Khalaf) pesantren. This process is coupled with the development of an interconnective-integralist paradigm which implies that the pesantren model which only teaches religious knowledge will be replaced with new nuances, namely combining and integrating religious knowledge with general science.

The research above becomes the author's reference in exploring the leadership transformation at the Santi Asromi Islamic boarding school. This research is directed to explore the shifting of the authority of kyai from personal to impersonal. In addition, the research was also directed at finding the driving factors for a shift in the leading authority of the kyai in the Santi Asromo pesantren. The research location is in Pasir Ayu Village,



Sukahaji District, Majalengka Regency. This location selection was based on demographic and sociological considerations which indicated a shift or transition as a prismatic society from traditional (village) life patterns to modern (city) life. The research was conducted using a qualitative approach through descriptive analysis which aims to describe the leadership of the kyai in the Santi Asromo Islamic boarding school. This method was chosen to describe the results of the study in the form of descriptive descriptions in the form of written or spoken words of people whose behavior was observed (Moloeng, 2004: 107).

Research is carried out systematically on records or data sources. The research data was obtained through observation, planning, and in-depth interviews with many key informants consisting of pesantren leaders, teachers / asatidz, foundation administrators, students, alumni, village heads, and many communities around the pesantren. In addition, data collection was also carried out in the form of documentation in the form of books, articles, and related journals. Data analysis was performed using the Miles and Huberman technique which was divided into three stages, namely data reduction in the form of selection, simplification, abstracting, and transformation of field data in the form of data classification or categorization. Presentation of data in the form of models, graphs, tables, and so on. And verification or drawing conclusions that refer to research questions related to the shift in the leading authority of the kyai as well as the main factors causing a shift in authority in the transformation of pesantren leadership in Santi Asromo Majalengka.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

### Leadership System of the Santi Asromo Islamic Boarding School

The first period of leadership of the pesantren by Kyai Abdul Halim in 1932-1962. Abdul Halim was born on 4 Shawwal 1304 H or to coincide with 26 June 1887 M. Abdul Halim is a descendant of KH. Iskandar, a leader in Jatiwangi Majalengka District. His lineage reaches Maulana Hasanuddin from Banten. Based on oral history, his descendants first founded the grand mosque in Majalengka. Kyai Abdul Halim spent much of his youth studying at Pesantren Lontang Jaya Majalengka and Pesantren Bobos Cirebon. After completing his studies there, he continued his education at the Ciwedus Kuningan Islamic Boarding School, several Islamic boarding schools around Cilimus Kuningan, and finally at the Kedungwuni Pesantren Pekalongan. At the age of 22, he continued his



studies in Makkah for almost 3 years.

Upon his return from Makkah, Abdul Halim was active in carrying out dakwah activities and religious teaching. This activity developed into the basis of future educational activities. In 1911 and 1912, he founded the Al-ilm Council and the Hayat Al-Qulub organization, a kind of savings and loan cooperative whose aim was to help its members, consisting of farmers and traders, become more empowered. Then in 1916, Abdul Halim founded a madrasah which was named Jam'iyat l'anat al-Muta'allimin, and later it became the forerunner of the Organization of the Ulama Association.

The peak of Abdul Halim's activities in the field of da'wah and education ended with the establishment of an Islamic boarding school named Santi Asromo in 1932. Santi Asromo embodies his ideas in the fields of education and preaching. For about 30 years, Abdul Halim led this pesantren and he died on May 7, 1962. During his leadership, he became a figure with sole authority. Apart from being a pioneer, he is the executor and determinant of pesantren policies. Abdul Halim compiled a boarding school curriculum and disseminated it to the public in the form of writings and brochures published by Santi Asromo and the Islamic Board of Commissioners (PUI).

During his leadership period, Abdul Halim thought about the physical facilities of the pesantren. At least, in the period 1932-1962, the physical facilities that were successfully built included a mosque, study room, house for the kyai or asatidz, the residence of kyai Abdul Halim, Polyclinic, Hall or Pendopo and Dormitory (kobong) for male and female students. Princess. The number of students starting from this pesantren is around 13 people. Then the following years experienced a significant increase, there were even santri from outside Java, such as from Sumatra and Kalimantan. Then at the end of his leadership, Abdul Halim opened a Junior High School named Prakarya Junior High School in response to the various demands and needs of the community.

Based on the results of interviews with leaders, asatidz, students, alumni, and the surrounding community, Abdul Halim's leadership style is known to be very charismatic. He is a boarding school leader figure who has a single authority (Charismatic and Traditional). However, Abdul Halim did not become a kyai with an authoritarian leadership style, the breadth of his knowledge and experience became an open kyai figure, respecting other people's opinions and willing to accept suggestions or input and even

criticism. His skills in leading the organization add to his experience in playing the leadership function of pesantren and society. Abdul Halim became a *uswatun hasanah* for the *asatidz*, students, alumni, and the surrounding community. He became a leader in the theological (internal pesantren) and sociological (community) aspects. This is evident from the many research interests conducted on this pesantren, not only among Muslims but also researchers from non-Muslim circles (Steenbrink, 1986: 72-76).

The next leadership period was filled by KH. Abdul Qohar in 1966-1977. Abdul Qohar was born in Plumbon-Cirebon, as a child, he studied at an elementary school in Cirebon. As a teenager, he continued his education at Madrasah Darul Ulum Majalengka (equivalent to SLTP-SLTA), which at that time was the flagship school of PUI under the leadership of Kyai Abdul Halim. Kyai Abdul Qohar's last formal education was recorded as the first batch of *santri* at the Santi Asromo Islamic boarding school. Until finally it was trusted by Kyai Abdul Halim to become a teaching staff at his *alma mater*.

Based on the results of the interview, the figure of Abdul Qohar was assessed as a *santri* who was smart, determined, steadfast, helpful, had a personality, and had good morals. Based on this attitude, Kyai Abdul Halim directly appointed Kyai Abdul Qohar as his successor. In the first half of his leadership, it could be said that he did not encounter significant obstacles, this was due to several reasons: (1) internally, the condition of the pesantren was sufficient, both in terms of physical facilities, teaching curriculum, teaching staff, institutional management, partnership cooperation and so on; (2) externally, the condition of the surrounding community has experienced independence, so the level of education and economy is better than before.

The second half of his leadership was marked by the establishment of the Santi Asromo foundation which was named the K.H. Abdul Halim. The establishment of this foundation was based on several considerations, including: first, to maintain the continuity of Kyai Abdul Halim's vision, mission, and ideals in the fields of education and socio-religion. Second, there is an internal leadership crisis which is suspected to be the origin of difficulties in the regeneration process of pesantren leaders. In addition, many students are involved in becoming government and private employees. So, this has become Kyai Abdul Qohar's anxiety to think about the continuation of Kyai Abdul Halim's struggle in managing the Santi

Asromo Islamic boarding school. It was during this time that the santri and alumni of Santi Asromo began to experience a decline in influence and popularity in society. This is evidenced by the decrease in the number of students and the lack of influence of teaching staff in the surrounding community.

The next period of leadership was filled by Kyai Amas Turmudzi from 1977 to the present. The period of his leadership began with a leadership vacuum after leaving Kyai Abdul Qohar. At that time, the Bani Halim Foundation management appointed KH. Aziz Halim becomes the head of the pesantren. It's just that, his busy life as the Head of the PUI Muallimin Madrasah in Majalengka and a DPRD Legislative Member made him not focus on managing the pesantren. In the end, Aziz Halim chose to hand over leadership to the foundation management. So through the foundation's deliberation mechanism, finally the leadership of the pesantren was entrusted to KH. Amas Turmudzi.

Amas Turmudzi was born and raised in Singaparna, Tasikmalaya. Elementary education background, PGA and IAIN. After completing his PGA education, he was appointed as a civil servant in the Department of Religion in Majalengka Regency. Abroad, he married one of KH's daughters. Abdul Qohar's name is Ianah. Since his marriage, he has lived at the Santi Asromo Islamic Boarding School complex. Within two decades of his leadership, there were changes at the Santi Asromi Islamic Boarding School in at least three ways, namely (1) from an institutional perspective, an increase in the level of education with the establishment of Kindergartens and Senior High Schools named SMA Prakarya; (2) the style or pattern of leadership is collective; and (3) changes to the Islamic boarding school teaching curriculum.

In the first aspect, the addition of institutions was intended as a response to the development of educational institutions outside Santi Asromo. In addition, this is following the needs of the community who require formal education institutions at the kindergarten and high school level. In the second aspect, the change in leadership style is based on the reason that the addition of institutional units affects the effectiveness of institutional management. The division of tasks involving Asatidz and alumni was intended as an effort to distribute roles and prepare leadership cadres in Santi Asromo's environment. In addition, the division of tasks in the form of focus on academic assignments carried out by KH. Amas Turmudzi and the role of administration, partnerships, physical facilities,

and socio-religious activities are carried out by the board of the foundation.

Meanwhile, in the last aspect, curriculum changes are based on the consideration of meeting the needs of the times. In academic activities, the implementation of education at Santi Asromo is divided into two parts: (1) education and teaching in schools, which consists of kindergarten, MI, SMP, and SMU. The person in charge of the implementation of this daily task is delegated to each school principal. (2) traditional pesantren education, which consists of reading books and general recitation. (3) skills and entrepreneurship education that enriches the life skills of students with practical matters related to meeting their daily needs.

Referring to the leadership period above, the leadership system at Pesantren Santi Asromo Majalengka can be categorized based on several reasons. First, a leadership system that demonstrates a lifelong prototype. This leadership system can be seen in the transition period from Kyai Abdul Halim to Kyai Abdul Qohar. This leadership system is based on emotional inner connection. The process and intensity of the kyai's interaction with the students and the community led to an assessment that was difficult to say to be objective. Namely an assessment based on consideration of feelings or emotions.

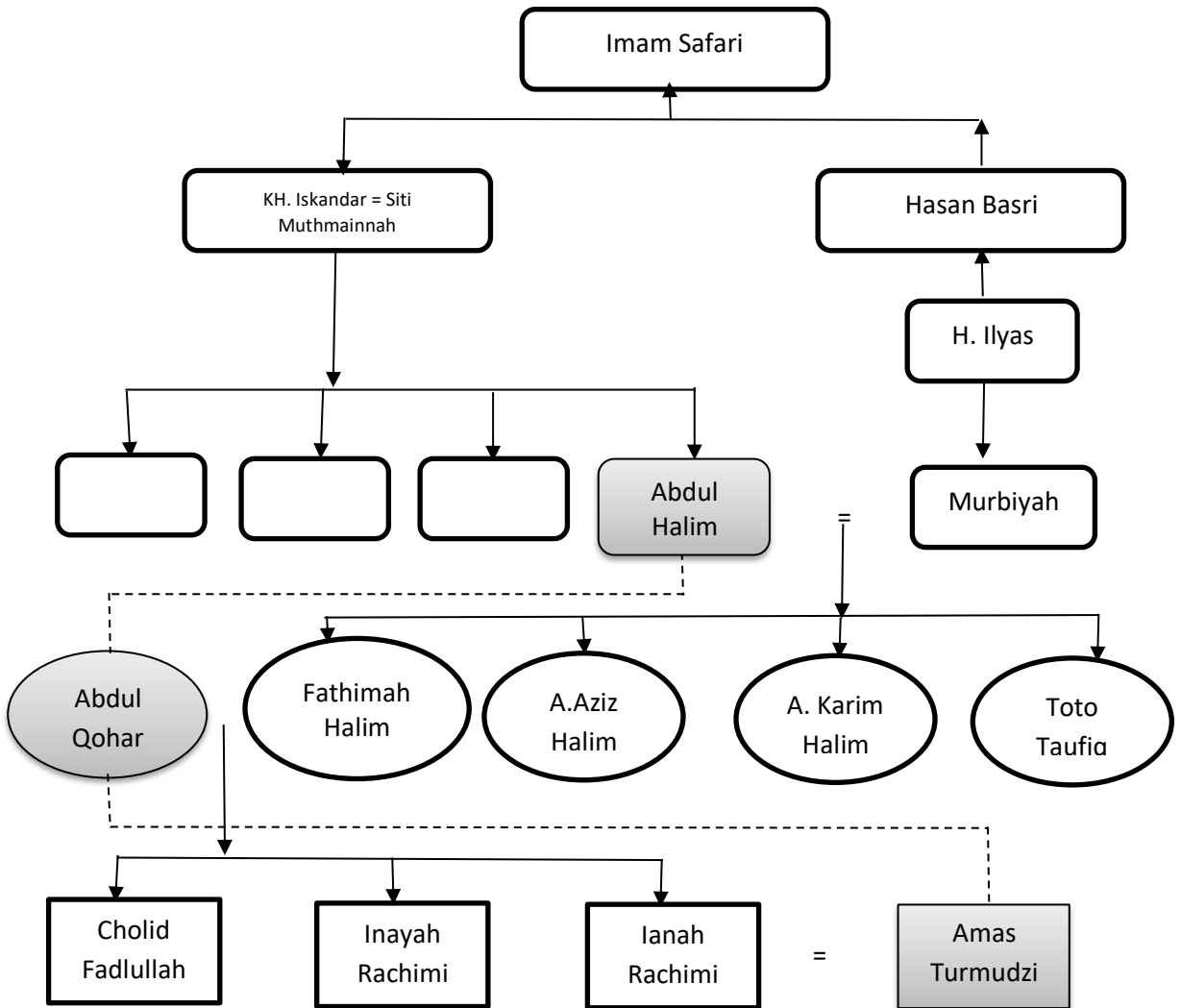
In the view of most teachers, students, alumni, and the surrounding community, Kyai Abdul Halim and Kyai Abdul Qohar have charismatic that outperform society in general. The strength of their karamah is seen in the process of their daily interactions. Both materialize into a person with the strength and potential who delivers, guides, and directs society as an object of preaching to goodness. Both of them can deeply understand the thoughts and feelings of others and can develop them with the interests of their interlocutors, whether it is from among the kyai, scholars, students, farmers, and various other types of humans. Therefore, with both leadership styles, in later times there was difficulty finding pesantren leaders who could continue their leadership model. In this way, both of them manifested themselves as symbols of the strength of society which functioned in building a civilization in both theological and sociological aspects.

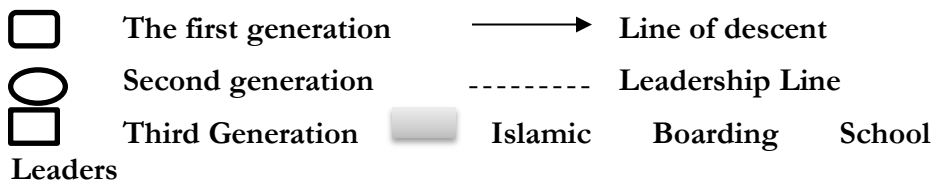
Second, the leadership system with the kinship system. This is based on the fact that the leadership lineages of the Santi Asromo pesantren are tied together. Since its establishment, the Santi Asromo Islamic Boarding School has been led by Kyai Abdul Halimi, then after his death, the leadership was handed over to his son-in-law Kyai Abdul Qohar and after

he died, the head of the pesantren was held by Kyai Amas Turmudzi who was also Abdul Qohar's son-in-law.

This shows that there are efforts to continue to maintain the kinship leadership system between the pesantren leaders, Santi Asromo. The kinship in question can be seen in the lineage scheme of Abdul Halim's lineage below:

Chart 1 Lineage Scheme of the Leaders of the Santi Asromo Islamic Boarding School



**Ket:**

From the above scheme, it can be seen that in both the lineages of Kyai Abdul Halim and Kyai Abdul Qohar, the leadership of Pesantren Santi Asromo is not continued by his descendants directly, but by his son-in-law. The second-period leader of the pesantren, Kyai Abdul Qohar, is the son-in-law of Kyai Abdul Halim who is married to Fatima Halim. Meanwhile, the head of the boarding school for the third period, Kyai Amas Turmuzi, is the son-in-law of Kyai Abdul Qohar who is married to his daughter Ianah Rachimi. The fact that the children of Kyai Abdul Halim and Kyai Abdul Qohar were not prepared to become leaders of the next pesantren is based on the results of research and interviews based on several reasons: first, Kyai Abdul Halim and Kyai Abdul Qohar seem to be lacking special pesantren education for their sons. Second, Kyai Abdul Halim and Kyai Abdul Qohar are democratic in their sons to choose education and career levels in their lives. So they are free to choose their education and career. For example, A. Aziz Halim chose a career as a member of the DPRD, A. Karim Halim and Toto Taufiq chose a career as a civil servant. Likewise Cholid Fadlullah, the eldest son and only son of Kyai Abdul Qohar who chose a career in politics and government employees.

This leadership not only determines the development of the pesantren but also mobilizes human resources to achieve goals (Umiarso, 2018: 92). Yukl has the view that leadership transforms attracts followers' morale to increase their awareness of morals and mobilize their resources and energy to transform institutions (Indrawati, 2014: 79-90). In the scope of learning, the authority of the kyai is very colorful with the various values that follow it, one of which is the value of absolute obedience and respect for the kyai. These values are the Sufistic values instilled in the pesantren against the students so that the kyai has a tremendous influence on the "personality of the students" (Ma'arif, 2010: 275).

The leadership of the kyai is very important in the pesantren; all forms of power, policy, managerial and operational are under his direction.

Regarding power, kyai have full authority in maintaining the survival of the pesantren. This power is embodied in the vision, mission, and programs that can improve the quality of the pesantren. Apart from that, matters relating to the political, economic, social, cultural fields; the relationship between the pondok and other lodges, the relationship between the lodge with other educational institutions at home and abroad, and the relationship between the pondok with the government, the community and others, are the authority of the kyai (Rijalul Alam, 2018: 11). Thus, the authority of the kyai power applies in various pesantren work units which ultimately applies not only to pesantren residents but also to the surrounding community.

### **A Shift in the Leadership Style of the Santi Asromo**

Social change in society has an impact on changes in social structure and organization (Cohen, 1983: 453). If this process of change occurs in certain groups of people, the social organizational structure concerned will change. The pesantren transformation is where the leader makes major and comprehensive changes to the organization he leads. A leader must also have big ambitions to make changes needed in an organization, to achieve a higher level of organizational productivity. The pesantren leadership always endeavors to create a boarding school that is developing, advanced, large, of quality and contributes to the progress and existence of Islamic education. This role must be carried out actively and efficiently optimally by formulating strategies in developing Islamic boarding schools, in collaboration with the community, government, and related agencies (Mukhtar, Syukri & Yunus, 2019: 331). Changes that occur in pesantren as educational and socio-religious institutions will affect the structure and organization of the pesantren. Changes in the structure and organization of the pesantren have an impact on the style or pattern of the leadership of the kyai as the leader of the pesantren.

The leadership style of one or several kyai is following the development of the social system in which the kyai is located. This change in leadership style resulted in a shift in the leading authority of the kyai in the pesantren. This change depends on the orientation, personality, and activities of the kyai and the social system around him. This means that the social system that exists around the pesantren will influence the style of leadership of the pesantren. In this case, the author divides the two styles of leadership at the Santi Asromo pesantren which are seen as having



differences. During these two periods, there was a shift in the authority of the kyai at the Santi Asromo pesantren. Namely, first, the leadership style of Kyai Abdul Halim and Kyai Abdul Qohar; and second, the leadership style of Kyai Amas Turmudzi.

First, the leadership style of Kyai Abdul Halim and Kyai Abdul Qohar. Their leadership period was approximately 45 years, starting from 1932 to 1977. For most of the people of Majalengka and West Java, both of them were seen as charismatic as kyai figures who were not only desired as theological (spiritual-religious) leaders but also sociological (social-economy-culture-politics). Both have strong pesantren traditions. In leading the Santi Asromo pesantren, both of them have the sole authority as the leader of the pesantren. Most of the people believe that both of them have karamah power, suprarational power that can grasp reality with deep understanding. This power is believed to be only given by Allah SWT to certain people whom he believes.

Both Kyai Abdul Halim and Kyai Abdul Qohar are considered by most pesantren residents to have many advantages. Both of them become charismatic leaders who can touch various groups. This is because both of them have the same background that was born from a family of religious leaders (kyai) and priyayi descendants (menacing Sundanese). This description shows that the position and trust of the santri in their leadership are very high, it can even be said to be extraordinary and cannot be explained rationally. The leadership style in his second period was charismatic (spiritual leader). In addition, the leadership of the Santi Asromo pesantren can touch all work units. In other words, leadership in this period was personal-traditional.

Second, the leadership style of Kyai Amas Turmudzi. In the third episode under the leadership of Kyai Amas Turmudzi, the Santi Asromo pesantren was seen as experiencing a shift in the style of leadership. This shift occurred in the leadership style of Kyai Amas Turmudzi who tended to be rational, participatory, bureaucratic, and impersonal (collective). In the previous period, the leadership style of Kyai Abdul Halim and Kyai Abdul Qohar was considered to be based on charismatic strength. This means that residents of the pesantren and the community consider that both of them have special powers that are not shared by ordinary people. Both are considered to have pesantren integrity that can touch all work units and circles within the pesantren. Meanwhile, during the Kyai Amas Turmudzi period, the source of his strength rests on rational leadership.

Where the authority of the kyai is judged from the depth of knowledge and the breadth of knowledge. This is due to the role of Kyai Amas Turmuzi who is not only the leader of the pesantren but also a government employee in the Ministry of Religion and has quite extensive organizational activities outside the pesantren.

In addition, Kyai Amas Turmuzi's background is not only from the pesantren tradition but also a scholar who is a kyai. The college background he passed caused his leadership style to be different from his two predecessors. Changes in the institutional structure made by Kyai Abdul Qohar, in which he founded the Bani Halim Foundation, were the cause of the shift in the leadership style of the pesantren. This can be seen from the division of roles in the work units of the pesantren. Kyai Amas Turmuzi who has activities outside the pesantren divides the roles of several kyai and asatidz in the pesantren environment. So, it is at this point that the leadership style is carried out in a participatory and collective manner.

The change in the education system organized by the Santi Asromo pesantren is another cause of the shift in the leadership style of the pesantren. As explained, during the leadership of Kyai Abdul Qohar there was a change from the institution to a foundation, and then the Prakarya Junior High School was established. This was continued in the period of Kyai Amas Turmuzi, during which time the pesantren education unit increased again with the establishment of Prakarya High School Kindergarten. That way, the Santi Asromo Islamic boarding school not only provides boarding school education, but also other education in the form of kindergarten, MI, MTs, MA, SMP, and SMA. In this case, the Santi Asromo pesantren was more impressed with a 'college' style than the pesantren style. Another fact is that only 40 percent of pesantren students are boarding or studying at the pesantren, while 60 percent of them return to their respective homes (santri kalong).

The relationship between kyai and santri in the leadership era of Kyai Abdul Halim and Kyai Abdul Qohar tends to be paternalistic. Where this relationship suggests the relationship of a "father" with a "son". The influence of the kyai is very strong on all residents of the pesantren and even the surrounding community. Kyai is not just a spiritual leader but becomes a social leader who becomes a role model and reference by the community in responding to various interests and needs of their life. This paternalistic relationship describes a relationship that is more dominated by family values. The kyai becomes a strong figure who has the right to direct

and must be obeyed by his students. Therefore, the leadership style is single and there is little participation from the surrounding.

Meanwhile, in the era of Kyai Amas Turmudzi, the leadership relationship tended to be more bureaucratic-traditional-decentralized. The collective leadership style is more dominant in several aspects. For example, there is a division of roles in the management of educational institutions organized by the Bani Halim Foundation. Furthermore, there is a freedom that is entrusted to some kyai, asatidz, and even alumni to create and propose new ideas to progress the pesantren. There is openness from the pesantren manager to various conditions and changes that come from outside, thus affecting the style of the pesantren's leadership.

The education system as the main basis for the establishment of pesantren has changed and has an impact on changing the organizational structure of the pesantren. Initially, this structure was only oriented towards managing madrasah education and religious education (traditional), but later developed the management of school institutions (modern). So in a cycle of changes in the external system of the pesantren can cause changes to the internal system of the pesantren. Changes in the organizational structure of the pesantren can cause changes in the authority and position of the kyai as leaders in the structure and organization of the pesantren. This change occurs in the form of a shift in authority from personal to impersonal, from traditional to bureaucratic, from centralistic to decentralized, from paternalistic to collective.

The role of the kyai in pesantren is related to three dimensions of the relationship, namely the kyai relationship with the students, the kyai with the pesantren, and the kyai with the community. The three relationships will be harmonious if the kyai can put their roles and positions appropriately in the middle of the three entities. There is no doubt that the role of the kyai received by the three entities comes from the privileges (charismatic) they have. So it is not surprising that the kyai can change quickly to play their role, namely as a religious teacher and father (caregiver) for their students, a leader and central figure in an Islamic boarding school as well as religious figures (ulama) and social figures in the midst of society (Muttaqin & Pitara, 2019: 26).

Each component of the pesantren can influence shaping the character of students and society. This is related to strengthening the understanding of its philosophical foundation so that students and society will carry out various orders and roles with full awareness. Pesantren

teaches about simplicity, independence, togetherness, love for the environment, and leadership (Islam & Aziz, 2020: 44). Thus, pesantren as an educational institution not only provides Islamic education but also strengthens the mentality of leadership, one of which is through the figure of the kyai figure who is seen as having authority and a comprehensive leadership model. Pesantren with their kyai become a role model for educational development and transformative leadership that is oriented towards spreading the values of goodness within the scope of everyday life.

### **The Authority of Kyai in Islamic Boarding School Organizations**

Changes and the times with various variants have brought implications for pesantren. Social observers identify changes by dividing them into components. First, there is technology. Second, increasingly functional behavior. Third, mastery of information and technology. Fourth, people's lives are increasingly systemic and open (Chotib, 2010: 21-22). The touch of modern culture and pesantren traditions often triggers fierce ideological wars, considering that Islamic boarding schools are traditional educational institutions on earth. It can be understood if the cultural filtering of Islamic boarding schools is applied so strictly, especially in lodges that are still known as salaf Islamic boarding schools (Anwar, 2013).

The impact of modernization has spread to the social, economic, political spheres, and even worse has spread to important elements, the highest figures in religion (Mahfud, 2014). The position and authority of the kyai as the leader in the organizational structure of the pesantren shows that there are important changes and shifts at Santi Asromo. This illustrates the dynamics of the pesantren organization as a result of social changes in society. Some of the reasons for this change in authority include: first, the change in the status of an institution to a foundation has resulted in a change in the organizational structure of the pesantren. Changes in the structure of the pesantren have an impact on changes in authority and position of leadership (kyai) in that structure, from being fully involved in inherent routine activities, to focusing attention on efforts to advance the pesantren in the form of cooperation and partnerships with external parties.

Second, the involvement of intellectual groups from the kyai family is supported by changes in the position of the kyai in the organizational structure of the pesantren. This has an impact on the working mechanism. In the period of Kyai Abdul Halim and Kyai Abdul Qohar, the working

mechanism was carried out individually (personally), in subsequent developments in the era of Kyai Amas Turmudzi, the working mechanism was carried out collectively and participative. This is indicated by the existence of a clear job description between the boarding school leaders, foundation managers, *asatidz*, and other *pesantren* members.

Third, a change in the educational orientation of the *santri*, from an afterlife orientation to a worldly orientation. This results in the development (transformation) of the education system. The original aim of the *pesantren* to educate students from prospective *ulama* has shifted broadly. Educational orientation seeks to produce intellectual and intellectual scholars who are scholars. In addition, this is supported by the fact that not a few *pesantren* alumni continue their education at tertiary institutions, which has an impact on the dynamics of the *pesantren*.

Fourth, there is a demand for legalization and formalization of the role of *kyai* families in *pesantren* organizations. Indications of modernization in work processes and mechanisms lead to a change in the relationship from a paternalistic nature to a more formal one that tends to be bureaucratic-traditional. The modernization of these traditional relationship patterns influences the personal character of the organization concerned. This demand for formalization and legalization is related to the emergence of new institutions and activity units as elements to assist the *kyai*, most of which come from the *kyai* family and foundation administrators. There is a tendency for changes and additional structures in the *pesantren* organization, so Kyai Amas Turmudzi has less authority, now there is a tendency.

With the explanation above, at the Santi Asromo *pesantren*, there tends to be a change in the status quo of the power structure in the *pesantren* organization. This is marked by the legalization of power. The demand for the formalization of the position and power of the *kyai* and *kyai* families about the emergence and functioning of the Santi Asromo foundation as an assistant element for the *kyai* in managing the *pesantren*. There is a change in the structure of the *pesantren* organization, so it affects the authority and authority of the *kyai* as the leader of the *pesantren*.

Changes in the organizational structure as a result of social changes affect the shift in the authority of the *kyai* in the organizational structure of the *pesantren*. This change was evident, especially in the era of Kyai Amas Turmudzi's leadership. In the previous two periods, the single authority possessed by the *kyai* at the Santi Asromo *pesantren* was seen in the process

of mentoring, coaching, and directing pesantren residents and the surrounding community. Kyai becomes the sole leader who has significant influence in the daily activities of the pesantren. This is driven by several factors, including the high interest and belief in the community that the figure of the kyai is a celestial figure who has special abilities and strengths compared to humans in general. In addition, the strong educational background of the pesantren in the two previous figures further emphasizes the identity and influence of the kyai as theological and sociological leaders.

Meanwhile, in the era of Kyai Amas Turmudzi's leadership, this figure was divided into several divisions of roles. The growing complexity of institutional units in pesantren has led to a division of roles in management processes and mechanisms. In addition, Kyai Amas Turmudzi's dual figure is another factor, in which he is not only the leader of the pesantren but also a civil servant in the government. Thus, his focus is divided on the management process of the pesantren. Therefore, a single leadership authority in the previous era did not occur and tended to be shared collectively.

The kyai's charisma is one of the powers that can create influence in society. Two dimensions need to be considered, namely: First, the charisma obtained by a kyai is given, such as large body posture, loud voice, and sharp eyes, and the existence of genealogical ties with previous charismatic kyai, Second, charisma obtained through the ability to master religious knowledge accompanied by morality and pious personality, and loyalty to support the community (Mundiri & Bariroh, 2018).

It is at this point that the shift in the authority of the kyai at the Santi Asromo pesantren is viewed on two sides. On the first side, the weak authority of the kyai is due to a lack of education at the pesantren, college educational background, and activities outside the pesantren. So that the strength of the karamah which supports the authority of the kyai is seen as not appearing in Kyai Amas Turmudzi. At this point, the kyai is no longer a single leader who has special powers, but a rational leader who has a source of strength from science and a higher educational background. This charity can be due to the wisdom and breadth of knowledge possessed, the height of morals, and the elements of advantages that exist in the identity of a kyai (Muzaki, 2013).

However, on the other hand, the collectivity of leadership carried out by Kyai Amas Turmudzi is seen as a logical consequence of changes in

institutional units that are increasingly complex and tend to be modern. Therefore, this leadership collectivity is seen as an alternative in the management process and strategy for maintaining the existence of the institution. The division of roles in the working mechanism of institutions shows the development of paradigms, strategies, and models for institutional management that adapt to the dynamics and challenges of globalization. Thus, the Santi Asromo Islamic boarding school can survive, progress, and develop into an Islamic educational institution that is oriented towards the formation of intellectual ulama cadres needed by the ummah.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the research results, it can be concluded that: First, the message of Santi Asromo was founded in 1932, in a period of approximately 7 decades there have been 3 changes of leadership. The first period was led by Kyai Abdul Halim in 1932-1966 as well as the pioneering and founding period. The second period was led by Kyai Abdul Qohar in 1966-1977. The third period was led by Kyai Amas Turmudzi from 1977 until now. Based on this period, the leadership system at the Santi Asromo pesantren is lifelong and kinship. Where the continuation of leadership at the Santi Asromo Islamic boarding school is the son-in-law of the previous leader. However, each leadership period has a style and style, and this leadership period has a shift in the style of leadership from being personal to impersonal.

Second, the shift in leadership styles at the Santi Asromo Islamic boarding school is seen as the impact of social changes in society. These social dynamics lead to changes in organizational and institutional structures. At least, this shift in leadership was felt in the era of Kyai Abdul Halim and Kyai Abdul Qohar, who were seen as having a personal-charismatic-paternalistic-decentralized leadership style, and Kyai Amas Turmudzi's leadership style, which had a traditional-centralistic-collective impersonal-rational-bureaucratic leadership style. The factors of this shift in leadership style are caused by several conditions both internally and externally that intersect with the process of changing the organizational structure and working mechanisms of institutional management. Thus, there is an adaptation to the new values and culture applied by the pesantren.

Third, the position or authority of the kyai in the pesantren organization has shifted from being a single authority, where the kyai fully



manages the pesantren, to a collective authority, where the kyai manages the pesantren through the division of roles. This shift in authority was also supported because of the active and participatory involvement of the intellectual group in managing the pesantren. In addition, the formalization and legalization of the role of the kyai family led to a change in the institutional paradigm. As well as changes in the education system led to a transformation of educational orientation that not only organizes pesantren education but also adopts and implements a modern education system oriented towards mastering general sciences.

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