

RELIGIOUS LEADER AND CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP IN INDONESIA: THE ROLE OF KYAI IN PESANTREN IN JAVA

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ABSTRAK

Tulisan ini membahas tentang peran kyai di pesantren di Jawa dengan fokus pada peran-peran pemimpin agama (*kyai*) di pesantren serta menggunakan konsep dan teori Max Weber tentang kepemimpinan agama dan karisma. Tulisan ini menggunakan data kualitatif untuk analisis bahan yang dikumpulkan dari pengamatan dan penelitian kepustakaan. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa struktur dan pola kepemimpinan *kyai* dalam pesantren yang masih kuat di mana kyai diposisikan sebagai tokoh utama. Hal ini dapat dilihat pada bagaimana seorang kyai membangun peran strategis sebagai pemimpin non-formal dalam masyarakat melalui komunikasi yang intensif dengan masyarakat. Karisma kyai juga memperoleh dukungan rakyat karena stabilitas moral dan kualitas keimanan. Proses ini pada awalnya dimulai dari kelompok terdekat sekitar pesantren dan kemudian menyebar secara luas.

Kata Kunci: Pemimpin Agama, Kepemimpinan Karismatik, Karisma, Peran kyai, Pesantren.

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses on the role of the *kyai* in pesantren in Java. It addresses on the roles of religious leader in *pesantren*. It applies Max Weber's concept on religious leadership and charisma. It uses qualitative data for analysis of materials collected from observations and library research. This research finds that the structures and patterns of leadership and power of *Kyai* within *pesantren* are strong in which *kyai* is positioned as the main figure. It can be seen on how a *kyai* build his strategic role as the non-formal leader in society through intensive communication with the people. The charisma of a *kyai* also gains people's support, to some extents, caused by his moral stability and faith quality. This process at first starts from the nearest group around the *pesantren* and then spread out to distant places.

Keywords: Religious Leader, Charismatic Leadership, Charisma, Role of Kyai, Pesantren.

INTRODUCTION

In the history of Islam in Indonesia, According to Martin van Bruinessen (Marschall, 1994: 121-145), the *pesantren* is not the only institution of Muslim religious education, and the tradition it embodies is only one out of several tendencies within Indonesian Islam. Modernist, reformist, and fundamentalist currents emerged partly in opposition to it, and to some extent developed into rigid traditions themselves. One of Indonesia's great traditions is embodied in the Javanese *pesantren*. The main goal of these institutions is the transmission of traditional Islam.

The term 'kyai' in Javanese language has more than one meaning. It identifies things as well as men, measured by their special characteristics. For example, it is said that a person (*empu*) is powerful if he can put his power into his own weapon (*keris*). That *keris* is called *kyai* (Ziemek, 1986: 55). This kind of powerful weapon is always adored as the source of spiritual power (heirloom). It is also related to the loss of political power also because the owner has ignored rituals to keep the power embodied (Moebirman, 1979: 34).

Aside from giving predicate to weapons and heirlooms, in the context of Javanese culture, *kyai* title is also given to men who are elderly, wise and respected. Even with the spread of Christianity, the term is still used to refer to some natives (Javanese) Christian missionaries, in order to distinguish it from the Western missionaries (Dirdjosanjoto, 1999: 20).

Some Indonesians refer the *kyai* as *ulama*. This word is actually the plural form of the Arabic word *alim* which means a knowledgeable person. Through common usage in Indonesia, the word *ulama* grew to signify a high-level *kyai*, even though this is a grammatical misuse of the Arabic word (Dhofier, 1994: 63). A *kyai* is not a cleric in the same way as a priest or a monk in Buddhism. There is no governing body that ordains or authorizes a *kyai*. Likewise, no organization can defrock a *kyai* or remove him from his position. The reason is that a *kyai* has his position and authority because people listen to what he says (Lukens-Bull, 2005: 96-97).

In Java, the most essential characteristics for a *pesantren* is the existence of a *kyai*. Basically, a *kyai* is an honorable name for a person who possesses Islamic knowledge. A *kyai* usually is the initiator of the establishment of a *pesantren* in which he must lead the *pesantren* and become the policy and decision maker in it. *Kyai* is the founder of the *pesantren* in common. Martin van Bruinessen wrote:

"Highly motivated students went from *pesantren* to *pesantren*, studying in each the texts in which its *kyai* was specialised. After a few *pesantrens* in Banten, they would go on to *pesantrens* in Bogor, Cianjur, Cirebon, Central or East Java and finally, if their families could afford it, to Mecca, the most prestigious centre of Islamic learning. The *pesantrens* were typically (although not uniquely) located in rural districts, away from the major roads. Their geographical isolation symbolised, as it were, their ideological distance from the state. The *pangulu*, as a state official, and the independent teacher, the *kyai*, were two contrasting types, in Banten as well as elsewhere in Java" (van Bruinessen, 1995: 165-200).

This paper discusses on the roles of the *kyai* of *pesantren* and how the charismatic leadership functions in religious institution like *pesantren*.

DISCUSSION

Religious leader and Charisma

Religiosity or religious level is the level of knowledge, confidence, execution and appreciation of someone's religion to what he or she believes in, or an attitude of submission to a power beyond themselves realized and believed in daily activities and behaviors that covers five aspects, namely the religious beliefs (ideological), religious worship or ritual (ritualistic), religious knowledge (educational), living (experiential), and the consequence of religious practice (consequential) (Abdullah et al, 2008: 87, Anchok and Suroso, 2005).

Religious knowledge is knowledge about religion that covers various dimensions. Religious experience is a feeling experienced

by religious people, such as a sense of calm, peace, happiness, gratitude, obedience, obey, fear, regret, repent, and others. Religious practice is the actualization of religious doctrines experienced by individuals. It forms kind of attitude, speech, and behavior or action. In fact those dimensions are not completely existed in a person, while the attitudes, words and actions are not always at the instigation of religious teachings. Religious belief is a theological perspective of religious doctrines that enter and grows in human being since every religion has to maintain a set of beliefs in which its adherents are expected to obey (Abdullah et al, 2008: 87; Ancok and Suroso, 2005).

Religious leaders within the society are sometimes recognized as charismatic leaders. They are leaders who have the ability to affect people with certain advantages. Someone is said to be the charismatic leader when his leadership came from extraordinary powers which is termed as the charismatic authority. This type of leadership is based on a person's psychological identification with others. The meaning of identification is an individual emotional involvement with another individual that ultimately the fate of their own deals with others. For the followers, the leader is the hope for a better life; he was a savior and a protector (Baharuddin, 2007: 33).

Power is distributed in all social relations and it cannot be reduced to a building and the determination of centralized economic or a legal and judicial character. But the power may form a capillary isolation that exists in the whole network of social order. Furthermore, power has an impact to the formation of forces, making them to grow and organizing them rather than hinder and making them surrender or destroy (Foucault, 1980: 136). Religious leaders build and maintain the existence of their influence in the community as they maintain and build power through social relations.

Charisma and the status of religious leaders grow up along with the increasing number of their *Jama'ah* (followers) or students who started attending the *pengajian* (religious

lecture by *kyai/ustadz*). It is held not only in *pesantren*, but also in other villages once a week or once a month, and sometimes once in three or six months. Additionally, religious leaders also often get invited to give lectures in special events such as *maulid* event, the Islamic new year, *Isra 'Mi'raj* and other religious events and festivals. The same thing also happens in the *pesantren Ihya'ussunnah* and *Mu'allimin* in which *ustadzs* often get invited to give religious lectures in special moments. *Pesantren Krapyak* also holds the *khataman* and *haul of the kyai*. In these events, there are many *santris*, *alumni*, and parents come and gather to celebrate. The *khataman* is the graduation event for students who completing their memorizing of the Quran. The *haul* is the event to remember death anniversary of the *kyai*.

Most of *kyais* have their own *pesantren* that serve as a religious home-base for his religious preaching and teaching activities. Gradually, *pesantren* organizes formal teaching equipped with classrooms, student dormitories, and a curriculum, and other religious instructions. *Pesantren* attracts students from within and outside the village. Some of them live (*mondok*) in the *pesantren* for study. Once they finished their education in *pesantren*, some of them choose to engage in religious activities such religious preaching in their hometown. This phenomenon happens in *pesantren Krapyak*, *Ihya'ussunnah* and *Mu'allimin*. This *pesantrens* also attracts the *santris* from their alumni who already had kind of sense of belonging to these *pesantrens*. They come from Java and other Indonesian islands, even from abroad.

Some of them choose to continue their studies abroad like in Mecca, Medina, and Cairo in the Middle East. They study abroad in order to get kind of religious authority and legality from well-known *ulama* to be the prophets' inheritants (successors-*waratsat al-Anbiya*) when they come back into their origin villages to teach Islam. In this aspect, the *pesantren* alumni have become an important element in delivering religious teachings received from their religious leader to people around their areas.

Religious leaders would have wishes to maintain the existence and influence in society. The networks built by religious leaders become very important for religious leaders to reproduce the power. *First*, they maintain the tradition of learning from the successful *ulama* and authoritative institutions. For them, *ulama* are religious people whose strong religious roots, knowledge, and thoughts. *Second*, they establish good communication and cooperation with Syekhs in Indonesia and Middle East. It is kind symbolic legitimacy given by the *ulamas* in the Middle East and it gives considerable implications for strengthening the influence of the religious leaders within the community. *Third*, they join with other religious leaders who have a great popularity in the community. The ties are often seen in the attitude of those who raise the popularity of mutual friends in the community or in their respective congregations. For example, a *kyai* is often invited by other *kyai* to give lectures at other *pesantren*, and so with the others. They often invite religious leaders from other areas from other areas that are still in an alliance in their network and their organizations. *Fourth*, they provide recommendations for their students to continue their study to the Middle East countries such as Egypt or to other places. Besides to build a network between *pesantrens*, they also maintain caderization in the *pesantren*. Those who have completed study in the *pesantren*, some of them are directed to continue their studies abroad.

There are two reasons of why the Middle East Universities like Al-Azhar in Cairo are being their favorites: *First*, it has a similar understanding to Sunni teachings that become a main role model for most common people in line with lessons in the *pesantren*, *Second*, it is well known in the community as an educational institution who has delivered many scholars in the Islamic world, especially the religious leaders in the community. For some of *pesantrens*, although Islamic University of Medina gives scholarships, the *kyai* usually did not recommend to study there. It is because the religious affiliation

is different from the *pesantren's* vision and mission.

In some cases, if it is not recommended by the *kyai* and *pesantren*, they will not be accepted as a teacher in *pesantren*. Their wishes to be a next religious leader will be rather difficult to achieve. If they become a teacher in *pesantren*, they are referred as a religious teacher and religious leader. If the *santri* does not have a clear religious basis in the future, it will be difficult to be a *kyai* or *ustadz*. In this case, the *pesantren* become the place to legitimize a person as religious leader. For those who have got an opportunity to teach in the *pesantren*, they will also be given the opportunity to deliver religious lectures in the community. Some of *kyais* have already received Master degree; some even have received Ph.D degree.

The influence of *kyai* in *pesantren* is highly strong. They preserve the traditional values and norms continuously. The idea of innovation is recognized in *pesantren* but it is so tiny and slow. In some cases, the formula of faith explained by *kyai* shows some progress. However, the structure of their life has put the idea of innovation aside (Dhofir, 1999: 81). It means that the progress of spiritual development in *pesantren* does not reflect the reality. Spiritual development in *pesantren* is the representation of *kyai* resistency to the idea of modernism and secularism in 20th century of Java. Change, development and progress are grand narrative of modernism that tends to eliminate the micro narrative such as traditional institution represented by *pesantren* in the case of Islamic traditional institution.

However, the duty represented by *pesantren* is a continuous role. Although Snouck Hurgronje (1906 in Azra, 1996: 126) described that the condition of traditional Islam in Indonesia is static but this statement is close to myth rather than reality. Modernity does not come from the vacuum as it is a continuous development traced back to traditionalism. *Pesantren* is based on the idea of continuity of tradition resulting latter the change and innovation. Though, it is worth noting here that the idea of development in

the field of religion is not easily understood.

For *kyai*, religious values, mission and system of social education in *pesantren* are much more important than the idea of modernism. Element of secularism is very much considered as a serious threat for Islamic institution. In Yogyakarta, the idea of continuity and adaptability to modernity has resulted two different tendencies: the moderate *kyai* and the militant one.

Pesantrens have been involved in internal problem pushing to the emergence of the idea of modernization debated among *ulama*. This fact has made them aware that they should be more careful in discussing the idea of modernity. The idea of gradual adaptation and selective choice are more reasonable to be applied by the *kyai and ustadz* as *ulama*. Gradually, change has taken place in *pesantren* influencing its system. Traditional education in *pesantren* that has been 500 years old is the vanguard of traditional Islam. It is a great challenge for the *pesantren* how to adapt to the wind of change. Some *ulamas* have adapted gradually to the wind of change, and some others seem to accept it in a very slow way. *Pesantren* has faced different level of change. In *pesantren* tradition, gaps have occurred between those who stand against secularism and those who adapt it (Dhofir, 1999: 110).

In an effort to establish a more modern Islamic educational institution, *pesantren* has not created yet a huge gap between traditionalism and modernism. To some degree, it is not required for us to redefine the principle of Islam and its doctrine which has been long considered as a big challenge. In the other words, *pesantren* still relies its activities on tradition above the authentic Islamic doctrine. *Pesantren's* influence has been maintained by the traditionalist Muslims upon those professionals such as *kyai*, teacher, and student of *pesantren*. *Kyai's* anxiety on the introduction of secular schools in Yogyakarta is too exaggerated. This anxiety has led directly to the maintaining of traditional Islam.

As a matter of fact, *kyai* anxiety has directly impact on the preservation of traditional

Islam. However, it is too exaggerated to say that the idea of secularism is purely west. According to H.A.R Gibb, in every advanced civilization, including the Islamic medieval civilization, secularism must be viewed in the level of larger scale or smaller, whether it is open or not. Indeed, the Muslim scholars themselves have contributed to the spread of secularism because in the Islamic world is mainly the influence of *sufi* regulations to *sufism* that worldly tendency among the educated people and classes are contracted. To debilitating the effect of it, the Muslim scholars have not succeeded to make up it and replace the influence of other religions in it, except to some extent that they have been working on new religious community (Gibb, 1947: 50-51).

The Teacher, the Owner, and the Founder of *Pesantren*

Generally, *kyais* is owner of the *pesantren*. They possess *pesantren* physically and spiritually in the sense that that ownership is seen as well as felt in the heart. *Kyai* ownership of the *pesantren* has allowed him a great deal of autonomy to run the *pesantren*. Practically, *kyai* is helped by a team consists of teachers (*asatidz*) and staff. But it does not affect his autonomy in managing the *pesantren*.

Pesantrens were usually owned by individuals who had studied for years in some parts of the Arab world especially Mecca and Cairo. Such individual owners of *pesantrens* are described as belonging to families that already enjoyed some religious prestige while others were bright young men who could make the voyage to Mecca due to patronage whereas others again supported themselves by engaging in trade (Bruinessen in Noor, 1998: 117).

Generally speaking a *pesantren* is usually owned by a *kyai* who is assisted in its running by some of his senior students and relations. This dimension of the ownership of the *pesantren* explains why the *pesantren* is an important part of the *kyai's* life. This is so in view of the fact that the *pesantren*, as noted earlier, serves as a medium through which

he spreads his message and influence through his teaching, and *da'wah* activities (Hasyim et.al, 2011: 97).

Pesantren offered religious education to students or *santri* centered on a respected religious teacher or *kyai*. A *kyai* who earned a reputation as a person of great wisdom and high moral standing would attract *santri* from the local area as well as from further afield. Certain *kyai* were also considered to be experts in particular traditional religious texts, and students would often move from *pesantren* to *pesantren* seeking specific knowledge of the texts these *kyai* had mastered. Because of this knowledge and high moral standing, *kyai* were highly respected not only within the *pesantren* but also within the community more broadly: in many rural communities, the local *pesantren* was the centre of religious life and the *kyai* had, significant authority on religious matters.

Kyai is usually perceived as a person who possesses an extraordinary knowledge. Therefore, he could be perceived as an elite class different in many ways from the ordinary people. *Kyai* obtained their knowledge through various ways. Some *kyai* have learned in various *pesantren* and some others learned directly from their father. *Kyai* specialization is the basis on which the coming students based their choice to seek the knowledge, or 'ngelmu'.

One of *kyai* specialization is capability to understand the Qur'an. They have an authority in this field due to their broad knowledge in Arabic. Their broad knowledge of Arabic gives them a credit point on the eyes of their students. By mastering Arabic, *kyai* have an access to the first source of Islam which is written in Arabic, including the Qur'an. It is this Arabic capability that made a *kyai* recognized by their students. Through this language, *kyai* are capable of understanding the content of the Qur'an transmitted from the *salaf*.

Students' recognition on *kyai* legitimacy as the source of knowledge is also supported by *kyai* integrity. Knowledge cannot be separated from personal integrity. Hence,

both knowledge and moral integrity are the very basic capital of *kyai* in order to be recognized by students.

Kyai is regarded as a capable person of teaching the lessons to his students. However, regarding the way *kyai* teaches, the title of 'guru' (teacher) for *kyai* is different from the teacher of Qur'an recitation. The concept of guru to call *kyai* is rather an analogy of guru who teaches at the schools. *Kyai's* first commitment is teaching Islamic doctrines to his students. If non-Islamic things found in *pesantren*, it will be modified in order to be fit with Islamic principle. In doing so, *kyai* employs various ways, such as adapting local tradition in delivering Islamic values and doctrines.

Kyai is regarded as the source of knowledge and integral element of intellectual tradition in *pesantren*. Though intellectual traditions in *pesantren* are varied, the role of *kyai* is significant in synthesizing the Islamic tradition and scientific one. Based on fundamental spirit of Islam, *pesantren* has long been synthesizing religious values and intellectual tradition by deconstructing the rigid boundary of knowledge, reason and faith as it is done by modernist. This synthesis will be an effective source to carry out a socio-cultural function with special preference to the virtue of Islam.

The Keeper of Islamic Tradition and Culture

Pesantren has long been rooted in Indonesian society due to its spiritual function. *Pesantren* is representative of Indonesian culture as well as cultural Islam. Hence, *pesantren* and its students are obliged culturally to protect Indonesian cultures. The issue of 'cultural' preservation is highly relevant for the *pesantren* world. Preservation of local culture is the trade mark of *pesantren*, and *santri* community has long been known as the avant garde in maintaining the culture. This fact could be traced back from the era of Wali Songo. In this regards, the cultural task of *pesantren* could be perceived as the expression of 'civilized Islam'. The idea of

cultural preservation is also reflected from the intellectual tradition in *pesantren*.

In Java, especially Yogyakarta, education held by some *pesantrens* are aiming at the establishment of life orientation as 'Javanese Muslim' whose main task is to reconstruct peaceful social relation and create harmonious relation with God and nature. With regard to culture preservation, the tradition of *pesantren* has adapted Javanese traits. We call it 'modelling'. "The power of 'modelling' relies on its harmony with Javanese values which is characterized by maternalistic and hierarchical relation; those values have a deep root within Javanese society and culture" (Mas'ud, 2004: 10-11; Purwadi and Siregar, 2008).

In *pesantren*, *kyai* has traditionally had a great concern on social aspect. Santri community is representation of that social aspect. Traditionally, *pesantren* management has a preference on social approach and made it as the priority relating to students' problem and needs. This fact reminds us to Durkheim theory on the basic function of religion as a means of social cohesiveness.

Pesantren also plays an important role in maintaining social cohesiveness by allowing students from various social class and ethnic groups. This social function is highly needed for the future of Indonesia. However, this function should be supported by empowering communal life. In the other words, *pesantren* as an educational institution could be functioning to strengthen the brotherhood; *pesantren* emphasizes feeling of togetherness (Turner, 2003: 92).

Social role played by *pesantren* will be in line with the future of Indonesian society due to various reasons, those are: (1) The character of *pesantren* contains of social fragmentation, capitalization and spirituality erosion, (2) Social cohesion is responsibility of religion. Therefore, *kyai* and their *pesantren* could take a role to build it, and (3) *Pesantren* as religious institution provides social service. Therefore, *pesantren* could be a good place for those who have problem socially, psychologically as well as physically. *Pesantren* is an institution

aiming at various goals; in addition to its traditional role as an Islamic social institution, it also provides traditional medicines and offers a consultation for daily life problem.

Social service provided by *pesantren* shows the willing of *kyai* to protect their status, tradition and characteristics. The actors of social programs run by *pesantren* are *kyai* and santri. They do it for the purpose of strengthening Islamic value within society. Social program and activities are varied among *pesantren*. We could observe that their effort depends on the context and capability of *pesantren*. *Pesantren* have done various efforts to solve social problem.

Pesantren in Java, for instance, offered a grant for poor students living around *pesantren*. Other *pesantren* have decided social program as the main topic of their education. A great numbers of alumni have created such kind of community for the *pesantren*. Though religious motives are the main reason to establish *pesantren*, but it is understood in a very broad way. Therefore, cultivating of trees is also perceived as part of religious activities (Wirosardjono, 1987: 112-113).

Tradition and change are two different and sometimes contradictory concepts. It represents two tensions of discourse. Traditional discourse tends to maintain authentic values of Islam; while change assumes that there is always elasticity and adaptability in culture, including religion. Snouck Hurgronje, Dutch Islamologist stated that situation of traditional Islam that seems very static, is in fact changing in a very fundamental way. Though, the change occurs gradually, slightly, and concentrated on mind, far away and non Islamic. Though they happen just in front our eye, but they are invisible for those who do not scrutinize it carefully (Geertz, 1963: 16).

Kyai and Charismatic Leadership

The charismatic leadership is based on an outstanding quality that is possessed by a person as a personal. This term is theological, since to identify personal attraction within a person, we must use the assumption that the

quality that is possessed by a person is given by God. Weber identified that this leadership characteristics are must be had by those who become the religious leader. Someone's appearance is identified as a charisma that can be known from its physical character like shining eyes, strong voice, bold chin, and many other signs.

The charisma term also points to the personal quality, so that it can be differentiated with many people. He is considered, even believed as to have spiritual power. The existence of someone that possess that character can be seen as a leader, that even though he does not gain any support from many people, he can still search and create a good profile to describe himself. Related to this, Max Weber stated:

"The term charisma will be applied to a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities" (Weber, 1966: 358).

There are three perspectives in understanding the leadership phenomena. *Firstly*, leadership does not concentrate on individual power, rather on the position or status he is holding. In Weber's perspective, a leadership concentrating on legal procedure is called *legal authority*. Normative procedure and the rights to lead should abide with legal procedures. In relation to this, Richard N. Osborn (1984: 245) stated that legal base would dominate since it concentrated on scientific rationally and efficiency. In the legal base, the authority figure dominates via legal procedure followers generally consider just. Legal authority is manifested in bureaucratic organization. A leader's responsibility in the organization is not determined by individual performance but by the procedural rules approved by community. Emotional elements are to be replaced by rational elements.

Secondly, traditional type of leadership is based on an established belief upon the

sacred of old tradition. The status of a leader is determined by old customs practiced by society in any traditions.

Thirdly, leadership can be perceived as the ability within an individual. This means that in some aspect from someone has given powerful appeal and may cause other people to accept his will as something that must be followed. He is believed to have Divine guide, profane quality, and can gain mass from the society. In the perspective of Max Weber, the leadership that has the source from an incredible power is called the charismatic authority (Weber, 1966: 358). This type of leadership is based on the psychological identification from someone with other people. Identification here means that the emotional aspect will be also involved among people. To the followers, a leader is like a hope for a better life in the future and he is seen as the protector as well as a savior.

It is often that someone is considered to have charisma because many people believe that he has the power and wonderful ability and he is able to show it in front of the society. Due to that, he may often think about something unreal, do meditation to find inspiration that makes him separated from other people. Even so, a charismatic person does not need the entire characteristic to be with him. For him, the most important are the outstanding capacities that other people think about the attributes.

The followers of charismatic leaders are labile and easy to change mind. For some degree they are so loyal that they disregard their duty and are willing to pay some price to abide with their leaders. Thus, there exists, as in a family, a tight relation between the leader and his followers, and such relation is also found among followers in that particular community. This relation brings out moral obligation for the leader to direct his followers sustainably, either required or voluntarily. The leader comes out in difficult situation. In this context, the leader's advice and motivation are seen as a powerful and extraordinary, where for some degree it is considered divine, thus, the followers'

credence upon it gets stronger and more for the belief of its ability to read everything happens to his followers. Here, that belief is known as *ma'rifat* among the followers of *Tarekat*.

Charismatic leaders usually come out in times of crisis and chaos. Such situation requires an urgent total solution to make the social condition quickly turns normal. Therefore a figure capable of solving the crisis immediately is requisite. For that reason, it is not a surprise, if a charismatic leader is close to an authoritarian leader; ignorant of general consensus, rational and legal formal, despite he might be personally democratic.

This kind of leadership is generally found in traditional society; a society which is highly homogenous; sharing the same values, belief, worldview as well as life style. The homogeneity will, in turn, create collective consciousness, sharing life style, direct relation among members of the group, as well as the inexistence of impersonal work division (Johnson, 1986: 63). This type of society is easily bound by a charismatic influence.

The followers who continuously abide with their charismatic leaders will rely on the advice, guidance and direction of their leaders. The problem is on how they will overcome their life in times when their leader is out of reach, how they preserve the leadership quality, how to inherit the individualistic charisma into the established, stable and sustainable organization. In short, the problem is on how to turn the personal capacity of the leader into mutual (communal) strength. The charismatic inheritance must, however, be institutionalized into a permanent and stable system of rules in the social system of society. The charisma which is initially personal will, in turn in certain condition be depersonalized and institutionalized (Bendix, 1962: 308-311).

This process of inheriting charisma from the main source which is personal into a bigger communal life, by Max Weber, is called 'charisma routinization'. This is meant so a leadership crisis will not last

long. This movement appears to restore the leadership, so a leadership quality can be fully maintained. In a leader election process, the leader candidate should, at least, convince all group members that he already possessed the leadership quality his charismatic predecessor owned. In relation to this distinctive feature of charismatic leader, in Weber's perspective, it is not compatible with the idea of "routinization". It is even seen as a threat to the "routinization" as well as to the established structure, it is also a disruption to a rational leadership for it (rational leadership) relies more on a set of rules which are legally and officially acknowledged.

A leader will always be born, either in a small community or in a big one. This gives sign that there will be no social organization without the existence of a leader, along with the existence of those who are easy to be directed and to be influenced. Usually, the influencing part consists of those who are in minority group but they are dominant, while the influenced group is usually in the subordinate position and great in numbers, so that the concept of leadership can't be separated from the social, cultural, and political aspect (Kartodirjo, 1990: 7-9). To define leadership as an effort to direct people's behavior for reaching their aim has a meaning that a leader play an important role as the initiator in deciding the structure, condition, ideology, and its group activities (Haiman, 1971: 228; Susanto, 2007: 114).

All leaders do their leadership functions appropriate with their field, and this different field also differentiates among the leaders. In the other words, in one organization, a leadership may have the most vital role. The applied leadership model will affect the intensity of the member's involvement within the organizations plans. Even so, the leadership factor is still becoming the decisive factor to the efficient and the affectivity of one organization, and it is right to say that a leadership is about social judgment to the personality of a person related with the social system applied. This means that as

long as the person that is called as a leader is considered by his followers to be able to fulfill the criteria that they need, then at that time he can keep the emotional relationship among his followers, and still also keep his leadership (Abdullah, 1987: 64; Susanto, 2007: 114).

The meaning of *kyai* in the context of modern Indonesia has experienced some transformations in the meaning, which only gives the title to the founder and the leader of *pesantren* that dedicates his life to Allah and spreads out as well as deepens Islamic teachings and perspectives through education. The semantic quality from the term '*kyai*' here has covered absolutely the component of traditional Javanese, including to lead the *pesantren*. The title is in one traditional synthesis and also covers the spiritual dimension within the society that is believed to have a spiritual power, for example, as a mystician or teacher or even the leader in one prestigious region that has a legitimation to his authority based on the people's trust.

Due to that, the *kyai* predicate is always related to a respected title that emphasizes on honor and admittance given voluntarily to the religious leader and local leader as the honorary symbol in the social life, and it is not related at all with any academic title that must be gained through some levels of formal education (Ziemek, 1986: 131; Susanto, 2007: 111). In this context, it is needed to state that *kyai* and Ulama is the title for the Islamic master that in the West literature these two terms are often misunderstood and the use is misplaced, but in fact, both term has different meaning in status and role.

In the perspective of Javanese and Maduranese society, the position of *Kyai* is much higher than *Ulama*. An *Ulama* with all sufficient condition in sometimes may be upgraded into a *Kyai* (Horikoshi, 1987: 1-3). With this term, it will only use the word "*kyai*" as Muslim leader recognized by the society to have charisma. Indeed, not all *Kyai* has a pondok *pesantren*. There are also cases that a *kyai* only teach religion form

village to another village, just to deliver Islamic message to the society. To this type of *Kyai*, he is called *Kyai Teko* or *Kendi*. This *Kyai* preacher is analoged as a full of *water teko*, that also shares it to many people who need to drink the water. While the title given to a *Kyai* who has a *pesantren* is *Kyai Sumur* (Sukanto, 1999: 85-86).

CONCLUSION

The leadership of a *kyai* is often being identical with the attribute of charismatic leader. In this context, Sartono Kartodirjo stated that many *kyai* in *pesantren*, were and are, being the most influential figures that can shape our social, cultural, and religious life for Indonesian Muslim society (Kartodirjo, 1970: 114). The influence of *kyai* to his student is not only limited to when they are still in *pesantren* environment, but also it will long last until the rest of their life when they have already involved in the society.

The process of leadership will create figure of a leader. This name is existed when a person may have an ability to know another's behavior, possess special characteristic, and also special ability that other people may not have. If that character is related with the activity to mobilize the people, then a populist will be born, and if it is related with the government and official organization, then the office leader is emerged. If it is related with the administrative affair, then an administrator is come out. The same thing if it is related with *tarekat* organization, then the name of *murshid* is appeared, and the same happen with the title "*kyai*" if it is related to *pesantren*, even though not all *kyai* lead a *pesantren* (Susanto, 2007: 114; Sukanto, 1999: 19).

The role of *pesantren* and religious leader (*kyai*) is interesting phenomenon to be studied. The life of *kyai* makes *pesantren* have multi-dimensional functions. *Kyai* is not only a leader in the field of religious and ritual affairs, but he is also often asked for to solve religio-social difficulties and problems happening in society. The role of *kyais* is rooted in the community when their presence

is believed to be a blessing. The existence of structures and patterns of *kyai* leadership in the *pesantren* remains sustainable. *Kyai* has socio-religious networks strongly related internally among *pesantrens* and externally to the outside of the *pesantren* as well.

Along with the continuously development of the communities pattern of life around the *pesantren* environment, the structures and patterns of leadership and power of *Kyai* within the surrounding community of *pesantren* is still has special status in which *kyai* is positioned as the focal character. *Kyai* has the role as follow: the religious leader, the owner and the founder of *pesantren*, the preacher, the keeper of Islamic culture, and the main teacher in the *pesantren* and community.

The leadership function that idealized as the embodied role to the status of *kyai* must be considered as a significant role, because leadership is one of important factor that affects the *kyai* to be succeed or failed in leading the society, in more specific context, to the institution he leads in (*pesantren*). Leadership is one of important factor. Without any good leader, then the organization wheel will not run smoothly. There are also other factors that able to support the achievement to the organization's goals such as the sufficient capital, correct organization structure, and the capability of human resources.

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