The Mode of Leadership in a
Traditional Islamic Boarding School

Muhaemin
Theology and Philosophy Faculty
State Islamic University, Alauddin Makassar
Email: muhaadel@yahoo.com

Abstract; The intent of this study is to elaborate the mode of leadership in a traditional Islamic Boarding School (*pesantren*) and explore in detail how types of leadership sustain the existence of *pesantren* in light of globalization of education. This study relies on qualitative research through conducting personal communication with the leaders in the *pesantren* as well as examining the literature which support the central theme. The research will focus on *pesantren* Mangkoso Barru, Indonesia. It represents a traditional *pesantren* in the region of South Sulawesi. The data will be collected from the staff from this particular *pesantren*. It will be analyzed systematically. The findings suggest that there are, at least, two leadership styles found in the *pesantren*, charismatic and transformational leadership. The first one basically takes place among the top leaders (senior *kiais*) of the *pesantren* while transformational leadership occurs in the middle leaders (junior *kiais*) of the *pesantren*. Both leadership styles strongly affect the sustainability of *pesantren* in the face of globalization of education. Moreover, the leaders of the *pesantren* are able to transform *pesantren* values into modernity which enables the *pesantren* DDI Mangkoso to sustain itself amid the fast wave of modernization.

Keywords: *pesantren, leadership, traditional, modernization*

Introduction

Islamic Boarding Schools or *pesantren* are the oldest form of Islamic education in Indonesia. Historically, the origin of *pesantren* is regarded as a consequence of an integration of

As'ariyah and Maturidiyah scholastic theology and *tasawuf* teachings (Islamic mysticism) that has long colored the patterns of Islam in the Indonesia archipelago. Some are of the opinion that *pesantren* itself refers to the Arabic word for tradition which links to local religious practice that was inherited by Indonesia's first generation of Muslim. However, some experts argue that the term *pesantren* indicate a dynamic of Islam towards Hindu culture. They stated that the word *pesantren* derived from the text of Hindu teaching. It is true that the word *pesantren* inherently incorporates the values of tolerance, multiculturalism and pluralism (Yunanto and Hidayat, 2005). Apart from these controversies, it is clear that the history of *pesantren* is strongly associated with the history of Islam in Indonesia and therefore *pesantren* is the oldest form of Islamic education in Indonesia.

Pesantren as the object of research is always intriguing. A number of scholars, whether local or western, come to explore and elaborate *pesantren* as a central issue of their research. For example, Geertz (1960) after spending many years in Java came to have a theoretical assumption that in the global era, *Kiai* (the traditional leader of *pesantren* and community) will not be able to survive in the globalization era and will further be crushed by modernity. Geertz (1960) was then pessimistic on the role of *kiai,* questioning whether he possesses the competency to be a cultural broker between tradition and modernity in Indonesia. Similarly, Abdullah (1987) also predicted that *pesantren* will not be able to compete with modern education.

In contrast, some scholars argue that *kiai* has the capability to deal with modernity. For instance, Lukens Bull (2001) advanced the view that *kiai* not only can be a cultural broker between local tradition and modernity, but also translate

"modernity" to Indonesia. *Kiai* are first imagining a modernity that needs to be reworked and then they are (re)inventing an Indonesian Islamic modernity. Lukens Bull examined the *pesantren* al-Hikam in Malang, East Java as the research site. He came to conclude that, in general, *pesantren* in Java have formulated a hybrid system of education mixing religious instruction and scientific and technical training. For this reason, *pesantren* with the leader (*kiai*) is able to encounter and negotiate with modern education.

Apart from the controversy shown above, this study will explore the type of leadership which occurs in an Islamic Boarding School (*pesantren*). It will focus on the relationship between leadership in particular *pesantren* and the existence of *pesantren* in line with globalization on education.

What does a traditional *pesantren* look like?

Characteristics

As mentioned earlier, there are two types of *pesantren*; traditional (*salafi*) and modern (*khalafi*) *pesantren*. Traditional *pesantren*, based on the joint decree of the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA) and Ministry of National Education (MNE), is an institution that does not offer formal secular education (*Pedoman Pelaksanaan Pondok Pesantren Salafiyyah Sebagai Pola Wajib Belajar Pendidikan Dasar,* 2000, cited in Raihani, 2002). From this point of view, it implies that a traditional *pesantren* does not integrate Islamic teaching into secular knowledge. It merely teaches Islamic knowledge through the *sorogan* (direct apprenticeship) as well as *bandongan* (general lecture). Conversely, the modern *pesantren* offers secular curricula other

than Islamic teaching (Yunanto and Badrudin, 2005). However, this definition is subject to debate.

According to Dhofier (1982), the term "traditional *pesantren*" shows how the medieval scholars' understanding dominated Islamic teaching taught in the *pesantren,* especially those who lived between seventh and eleventh century. Nevertheless, Dhofier (1982) goes on to state that the traditional *pesantren* does not exclusively reject modernity but at the same time it may engage and respond to globalization through intellectual power and institutional strength. In this sense, Zubaidi (1995, cited in Muhtarom, 2005) assert that the openness of traditional *pesantren* to modernity will lead to strengthening the *pesantren* itself.

In relation to the characteristics of traditional *pesantren*, as contended by Muhtarom (2005, p.135), there are at least three main characteristics. They are institutional aspect, historic conventional, and cultural adaptive.

Institutional Aspect

Firstly, *pesantren* as an Islamic institution is regarded as the first education institution in the history of Indonesia. As a centre of academic development, particularly in Islamic knowledge, traditional *pesantren* mainly concern themselves with educating as well as transferring Islamic teaching to the *santris.* As viewed by Mujamil (1999), the sustainability of *pesantren* has largely contributed to constructing society in terms of literacy and cultural literacy. In this regard, Muhtarom (2005) noted that there are three important missions of the traditional *pesantren* as an education institution. The first relates to transferring Islamic knowledge through face-to-face instruction by the *kiais* or attending *kiais'* lecture in *surau* or mosque. The second is the

way *pesantren* maintains Islamic tradition in the context of globalization. It can be clearly seen that today there are many *pesantrens* maintaining the traditional celebration of birth and death. This is relevant to van Bruneissens' (2004) notion that traditional *pesantren* is strongly associated with various devotional practices, such as the visiting of graves, and with Islamic healing practices.

The last mission is producing *ulama* (Muslim scholars) who, in turn, can sustain Islamic tradition to the following generation. From these points of view, *kiais* play a leading role in traditional *pesantren* in constructing *santris* to being *ulama* who further maintain the sustainability of Islamic knowledge. In other words, the continuity of the traditional *pesantren* depends on the type of *kiais'* leadership in running the *pesantren*.

Historic Conventional

The second characteristic of a traditional *pesantren* is historic conventional. According to Muhtarom (2005,p.138), it is inevitable that the emergence of *pesantren* in Indonesia history is strongly associated with the role of *walisongo* (nine *Kiais* who first spread Islam in Java). Historically, as contended by Suparjo (2006), *walisongo* successfully built *pesantren* as places for people to learn Islamic doctrines and social sciences. They built mosques as the centre of Islamic education. Despite teaching Islamic classical texts, as Muhtarom (2005) continues, *walisongo* also presented universal values such as Islamic brotherhood, unselfishness, simple living, self-sufficiency, and ascetic life style. This sort of combination leads to maintaining the sustainability of the traditional *pesantren*.

Cultural Adaptation

The last characteristic relates to cultural adaptation. As stated by Suparjo (2006), one of the special characteristics of traditional *pesantren* is their moderate attitude toward local culture. They internalize Islamic doctrines within certain cultures rather than rejecting or destroying them. In other words, they acculturated Islam within local cultures. Similarly, Karel (1994, cited in Yunanto, 2005, p.32) stated that traditional *pesantrens* are those which preserve or tolerate local traditions. On the other hand, modern *pesantrens* always concentrate on delivering formal education. This type of *pesantren* has certain characteristics in common, such as, a collective leadership, with a curriculum based in English and modern Arabic, a class system and the yellow text (observed below) no longer serve as the main teaching material. To put it simply, the following matrix may provide illustration between modern *pesantren* and traditional *pesantren*:

Table 1: The difference between modern and traditional pesantren

	Modern *pesantren*	Traditional *pesantren*
Basic Nature	Open to global changes, accept innovation and capable of adjusting to current context	'Closed' to changes, a tendency to regard innovation as a 'threat'
Role of Kiai/Ustaz	Proportional domination	Absolute domination
Curriculum	Despite providing	Only *pesantren*

	pesantren curriculum, it also adopts government curriculum	standard curriculum
Facilities	Lecture teaching method, supported by facilities such as cooperative, medical unit , library, sport facilities and etc	Minimum supported facilites, some *pesantrens* lack facilities
Financial Support	Tuition / Government / assistance/ donor	Tuition / government assistance
Direction	Adaptive/ not radical	Less adaptive, prone to radicalism

Source: *Yunanto, et al (2005)*

Some Important Elements of Pesantren

     Pesantren as a unique education institution has several important elements which further differentiate it from common education institutions. Dhofier (1985) identifies five important elements associated with any sort of *pesantren: pondok* (dormitory), *mosque, kitab kuning* (classical Arabic text), *santris* (students), and *kiais* (religious leaders).

Pondok

Traditionally speaking, the term *pondok* literally means bamboo hut and perhaps derived from the Arabic term *funduq* meaning hotels or dormitory. Dhofier (1980) argues that a *pondok* is a main characteristic of *pesantren* indicating a dormitory where the *santris* stay. That explains why most names of *pesantrens* are begun by *pondok,* such as *pondok pesantren* DDI Mangkoso, *pondok pesantren* Modern Gontor (situated in Java), *pondok pesantren Tebuireng,* etc. The *pondok* is usually situated in the *pesantren* or the area surrounding it. The size of the *pondok* depends on the number of *santris* who stay. In general, as stated by Raihani (2002), it is about eight square meters where more than eight *santris* live. Dhofier (1985) goes on to state that *santris* who live in a *pondok,* especially in traditional *pesantrens,* usually provide their own meals. In contrast, modern *pesantren* basically provide chefs who are able to serve *santris* daily meals. Thus, *santris* do not have to consider their meals as happened in traditional *pesantren.*

According to Dhofier (1985), there are at least three reasons why the *pesantrens* provide a *pondok* for their *santris.* Firstly, it is based on the principal of equality. *Santris* who live in *pondok* are regarded as having the same social background without allowing privilege to any particular *santri.* All *santris* are under one rule which they must obey. Secondly, it enables *pesantren* to integrate all *santris'* activities, either academic or social (Saifullah, 1995), in order to prepare *santris* with the knowledge and skills which will be beneficial once they return to their own society. Lastly, as Dhofier (1985) suggests, it will build a strong relationship between *kiais* and *santris* that can be framed as a father-child relationship, and more importantly, it can ease the *kiais* watch on the *santris* over twenty four hours.

Additionally, as contended by Suparto (2000), there is a reciprocal relationship between the *kiai* and *santri*. *Santri* regard the *kiai* as the representative of their parents. In turn, the *kiai* consider *santri* as the trusteeship of God that has to be cared for. Thus, as Suparto (2000) goes on, this reciprocal relationship leads *santris* to be loyal. The *santris* devote their service to the *kiais* in the sense of contributing their skills and power to the interest of *pesantrens'* development. Nevertheless, as noted by Geertz (1960, cited in Suparto, 2000) the *pesantren* is different from monasteries. *Santris* are not monks.

The Mosque

Another important feature of a *pesantren* is the mosque. Dhofier (1980) argues that a mosque is an inseparable element of a *pesantren* and is regarded as the most appropriate place for training *santris*. This notion shows how the standing of the mosque is strongly related to the *pesantren*, particularly in the practice of daily prayers, Friday sermons and prayers, as well as in the teaching of the classical Islamic text (*kitab kuning*). Similarly, Woodward (1989, cited in Suparto, 2000) noted the mosque within the *pesantren* is a place where the children are introduced to the ritual component of the *santris* tradition. They are taught how to perform *shalat* (praying), to read Arabic script, and to recite the Koran. Another important activity held in the mosques is conducting a *pengajian* (religious teaching led by a *Kiai*) that is frequently held after *maghrib* (sunset) prayer and *subuh* (dawn prayer). Geertz (1960) stated that the mosque is where the *kiai* chants passages from books of religious commentary and the *santris* echo him, line by line.

Moreover, in every part of the Muslim world, the mosque has continued to be the common place of meeting and

the centre of educational, administrative and other cultural activities in the Muslim community (Dhofier, 1980). Furthermore, according to Suparto (2000), the mosque reflects the togetherness of the community. It can be clearly seen in the performance of daily prayer. People perform prayers together, uniting the community in a ritual of submission to Allah almighty. From this point of view, it can be assumed that the mosque is not only beneficial for *pesantren* but also for Moslems in general.

The Kiai

The *kiai* is the central figure of the *pesantren.* Basically, the popularity of *pesantren* lies in how popular a *kiai* they have. In other words, the *kiai* plays a leading role to sustainability of the *pesantren.* To put it simply, Dhofier (1985) identifies three significant meanings of *kiai.* First of all, *kiai* may be defined as the person who has an association with superstition or magic. Secondly, it refers to elderly people who are respected by the community. Thirdly, *kiai* can be identified as a person who has a wide range of Islamic knowledge.

According to Muthohar (2007), the term *kiai* derives from the Javanese word "*kijaji*" meaning a person who has a qualification in religious teaching. While in Sumatera, people prefer terms such as *tuan guru* or *tuan syaikh* to *kiai.* In West Java, *kiai* may be called *ajengan* and *elang.* Differently, the term *kiai* in Makassar where *Pesantren* DDI Mangkoso situated, are also called *anre gurutta.* Nevertheless, all these terms have similar meanings with the *kiai,* and as far as I am concerned, the term *kiai* is the most used across all of Indonesia. Zuhri (1987) stated that *kiai* always refers to a male Islamic scholar while a female Islamic scholar is called *nyai.*

According to Dhofier (1980), the *kiais* of major *pesantrens* have been able to extend their influence throughout the nation and beyond, and as a result, some of them have been appointed as government ministers, members of parliament, ambassadors, and as other high government officials. To become *kiai* as Dhofier (1980) continues, there are a number of stages. To begin with, he is usually a close relative of a *kiai*. Having completed his studies at various *pesantren*, the older *kiai* trains him to establish his own *pesantren*. Sometimes the older *kiai* leads and finances the new project because the young *kiai* is a good potential '*ulama*'. Afterwards, the old *kiai* will find him a spouse, and encourage him to use the latter part of his stay in the *pesantren* to become a *kiai*.

However, I found in many cases a number of *kiais'* relatives who are not *kiai*. It frequently happens in Makassar, South Sulawesi, that *kiais* come from ordinary family backgrounds. Therefore, I tend to contend that *kiai* is like a "degree" that may be obtained in an informal way. It does not come from a school but from the community. Thus, the popularity of a *kiai* really depends on the eye of the community. In other words, the community becomes the judge of *kiais*.

Santri

Santri is another important element of *pesantren*. The term *pesantren* itself, as contended by Dhofier (1980), derived from the word *santri* with the prefix *pe* and suffix *an*, thus literally meaning "the place of santri". According to John (cited in Dhofier, 1985), the term *santri* comes from the Tamil language in which *santiri* means Islamic teacher or the religion teacher. Similarly, Berg (1932, cited in Sedyawati, 1991) stated that the term *santri* is derived from the word *sastri* which in the

Sanskrit language indicates a person who has a deep knowledge of the holy book of Hindu. The word *sastri* itself is adopted from the word *sastra*, which means the holy books or books of knowledge.

Apart from the controversy as shown above, this study will focus on the core meaning of *santri* as student in an Islamic school (Woodward, 1989). This notion is based on the exploration of Geertz (1960) in Javanese *pesantren*. According to Geertz, the term *santri* has a narrow and a broad meaning. The first indicates a student in a religious school called a *pondok* or *pesantren*. In the broad view, a *santri* is a member of the part of the Javanese population who takes their Islam seriously, go to the mosque on Friday, perform prayers, and so forth. From my point of view, these definitions tend to narrow the term *santri* due to the scholars' focus merely on the Javanese population. In fact, there are many *santris* spread across the country, including Makassar. Another definition that might be considered is that *santri* has a commitment to Islam, regardless of what and who they are (Mulkhan, 1994).

As contended by Dhofier (1985), there are at least two kinds of *santri*; *santri mukim* and *santri kalong*. The first indicates those who come far from the *pesantren*, as a result, they have to stay in *pondok* during their schooling. Despite studying, as Dhofier stated, *santri mukim* are in charge of the *pondok's* daily affairs as well as teaching younger *santri* such as elementary version of the yellow book (*kitab kuning*). *Santri kalong* are those coming from the surrounding areas. They do not stay in the *pondok,* but just come daily to and from the *pesantren* in accordance with their learning timetable.

Hadi (1998, cited in Suparto, 2000) adds another group of *santri* called *santri pasan*. *Santri pasan* or *santri pasaran* are those who come to the *pesantren* at a certain time, such as in the month of *Ramadhan*, the fasting month. They study classical books and basic Islamic knowledge comprising *fiqih* (Islamic law), *ushul fiqhi* (Islamic jurisprudence), Arabic, and perform ritual activities. Afterwards, they return home and back to normal life. Generally speaking, according to Raihani (2002), the population of *santri mukim* in any *pesantren* in Indonesia is much higher than *santri kalong* or *santri pasan*. The age of *santris* in a *pesantren* could range from 10 to 50 years of age.

Kitab kuning

The *kitab kuning* (yellow book) is the classical Islamic text which is written in Arabic. Interestingly, the color of the book is usually yellow. According to van Bruinessen (1991), *kitab kuning* is not the product of Indonesian scholars. His view is that the origin of *kitab kuning* is from Arabia. Thus, all *kitab kuning* are written in Arabic language. This notion was further developed by Azra (2001) when he pointed out that *kitab kuning* is the classical religious text, which is written in Arabic, Malay, Javanese, and other local language, so that the authors are not only from the Middle East *ulama* but also from Indonesia.

However, as acknowledged by Azra (2001), it is difficult to identify the exact time of establishing the tradition of *kitab kuning* in the *pesantren*. In terms of the process of contact, as far as I am concerned, some *kiais*, such as the founding father of *pesantren* DDI Mangkoso, Barru, Andre *Gurutta* Abdurrahman Ambo Dalle, spent several years in Mecca to study Islam. Andre *Gurutta* Faried Wajedy, the present head of the *pesantren*,

followed the same course. Having been awarded as an Islamic scholar, they returned home and brought some *kitab kuning* that enabled them to teach Islam in the *pesantren* as well as the community.

In the *pesantren* tradition, according to Mochtar (1999, cited in Raihani, 2002), *kitab kuning* is regarded as the universal reference in which the community of *pesantren* finds the solution for each socio-religious problem. That is not to say that *kitab kuning* replaced the position of *al-Quran* (holy book of Moslem) and *al-Sunnah* (prophet tradition). It is considered as a commentary for both *al-Quran* and *al-Sunnah*. *Kitab kuning*, as Mochtar continues, covers a wide range of Islamic disciplines such *fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence), *tauhid* (Islamic theology), and *tasawwuf* (mysticism). Dhofier (1985, cited in Lukens Bull, 2000), argues that *kitab kuning* are central to understanding traditional Islam which he defines as:

> still strongly bound up with established Islamic ideas created by scholars, jurists, doctors, and Sufis during the early centuries of Islamic theological and legal development, sectarian conflicts, and the rise of sufi movement (sic) and brotherhoods in the thirteenth century. This is not to say, however, that contemporary traditional Islam in Java remains fixed in the molds created for it by the *ulama* (muslim leaders) of the formative centuries.

Luken Bulls (2000) pointed out that theologies, legal and mystical theories can be found in *kitab kuning*. The *pesantren* community holds them to be of high importance in determining how to live as good Muslims in a globalizing and

modernizing world. However, Raihani (2002) stated that the community of *pesantren* treats *kitab kuning* as the sole truth which results in narrowing curriculum choices or instructional methods within the *pesantren*. For example, *fiqhi* (Islamic jurisprudence) has been prioritized as the main subject within *pesantren*. In contrast, *ushul fiqhi* (the principles of Islamic jurisprudence) tend to be neglected. In other words, *pesantren* are mainly concerned with the content of the subject, at the same time, fewer appreciate the methodology. Consequently, the product of a traditional *pesantren* is likely to lack critical thinking, which leads to extremism, even radicalism. Moreover, as contended by Muhammad (1999, cited in Raihani, n.d), the method of *kiai* in teaching *kitab kuning* rarely provides dialogue for the *santris* to ask a question about the concept or theory in a *kitab*. They both tend to accept what *kitab kuning* say as unquestioned truths.

The Nature of Leadership Styles

Leadership is a term that has been widely discussed by researchers. Leaming (2003) argues that leadership is a complex phenomenon which is somewhat difficult to define. It is a concept that is sometimes difficult to understand since there is so much to learn relating to it. A leader is commonly regarded as coming in different shapes and sizes and leaders' approaches may vary. As contended by Ray (1999, p.1) leadership may be defined as "an interaction between two or more members of a group that often involves a structuring or restructuring of the situation and the perception and expectations of the members." This is supported by Houser (1993), who in comparing managers and leaders, stated that managers are more practical,

reasonable and decisive, whereas leaders are more visionary and more flexible. Leadership comes from within. Hence, leadership cannot be taught. However, leaders can be trained in management skills.

Daft (2005, p.5) defines leadership as "a people activity distinct from administrative paperwork or planning activities". He continues to state that leadership occurs among the people, it is not something done to people.

Having presented a number of definitions, it can be concluded that leadership is someone's ability to lead and to influence followers' behavior to achieve shared goals and visions. This means that leadership is strongly associated with certain behaviors.

The Leadership Theories

Although more than twenty four theories and styles of leadership which are applied in various organizations around the world have been identified, (Covey, cited in DeKrey, Mesick & Anderson, 2007, p.3), I will focus only on two main theories that strongly match the traditional *pesantren*. They are charismatic and transformational leadership.

Charismatic Leadership

In accordance with Weber (1994, p.2), charisma is "a certain quality of an individual personality, by virtue of which he or she is set apart from ordinary people and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities". It indicated that the leaders are not ordinary persons. Leaders are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary. In addition, Conger and Kanungo (cited in

Dubrin, 2003, p.62) argue that charisma is "a special quality of leaders whose purposes, powers, and extraordinary determination differentiate them from the others". As studied by Bass (1985), charismatic leaders engage in impression management to construct an image of competence, increase subordinate competence and subordinate faith in them as leaders. Bass (1985) argues that charismatic leadership is less likely to emerge or flourish in a transactional culture, and is more likely within a transformational culture. House (1977) called charisma "image building". Charisma is dramaturgical, a theatrical role played by a leader that is jointly constructed with followers, as well as by suppliers, competitors, and customers (Gardner & Alvolio, 1998). Gardner and Alvolio pointed out that charismatic leadership is an impression management process enacted theatrically in acts of *framing, scripting, staging* and *performing.*

Tucker and Dow (cited in Richard *et al.,* 2006, p.407) are of the opinion that "charismatic leadership is primarily a function of the leaders' extraordinary qualities, not the situation". In this sense, I personally believe that charismatic leadership is not only determined based on personal qualities but on followers and the situation of the organization as well. In relation to followers, they regard the charismatic leader as an *omnipotent archetype* (leader as parent), whom they believe will nurture and guide them. Some writers state that the followers also view a charismatic leader as *mystical* (in touch with "higher truths"), who knows the way and knows the answers. Another point is that the charismatic leader is seen as a hero who can move mountains (Bast, 1992).

As contended by Yukl (1994, p. 319), most theorists see charisma as "the result of follower perceptions and attribution influenced by actual leader qualities and behavior, by the context of leadership situation, by the individual and collective need of followers". Hence, Fatt (2000) stated that specific factors which make a leader charismatic in one situation but not so in another vary from people to people and circumstance and to circumstance.

Characteristics and Behavior of Charismatic Leadership

There are many characteristics of charismatic leadership. As stated by Lussier and Achua (2004), charismatic leaders are visionary. They want to transform, not merely maintain. They revive failing companies, develop new products and revolutionize processes (Bass, 1981; Bass, 1985; Burns, 1978; Maslow, 1970). They can propose good vision for the future for the benefit of their organization (Dubrin, 2003; Groves, 2005; Javidan & Waldman, 2003). The charismatic leaders envision an uplifting future and appeal to values, interests, hopes and dreams. They never lose an opportunity to repeat and share their vision and bring it to life with metaphors, stories, symbols, slogans and examples.

Another important characteristic is "the capability to inspire trust" (Dubrin & Danglish, 2003, p.68). Charismatic leaders place the responsibility for decisions and management on their followers and teams. They rarely second guess. Charismatic leaders reduce perceived risk by focusing on success rather than failure. Moreover, they provide necessary support and resources. Marjosala and Takala (2000) argue that charismatic leaders may also take a risk and engage self sacrifice to achieve their vision. This notion can develop the good image

of leaders among the followers and be good for developing the organization as well. Furthermore, as noted by Lussier and Achua (2004), charismatic leaders have high energy and action orientation.

Based on the discussion of the characteristics above, it can be concluded that charismatic leaders are visionary, have good communication skills, are capable of inspiring trust, enable others to act, take risks, and adopt a future orientation. Those characteristics are strongly associated with each other. For example, leaders cannot enable others to act without good communication skills. Likewise, leaders cannot take a risk if they do not have future orientation. For this reason, it is relevant when House stated that charismatic leaders are the ones who are able to instill those characteristics in themselves.

Conger and Kanungo (1998) describe five behavioral attributes of charismatic leaders as follows:

1. Vision and articulation;
2. Sensitivity to the environment;
3. Sensitivity to member needs;
4. Personal risk taking;
5. Performing unconventional behavior.

Musser (1987) noted that charismatic leaders seek to instill both commitment to ideological goals and also devotion to themselves. The extent to which either of these two goals is dominant depends on the underlying motivations and needs of the leader. Charismatic leaders are those who can build a group whether it is a political party, a cult or a business team. They often emphasize making the group very clear and distinct. They will then build the image of the group, particularly in the minds of their followers, as being far superior to all others.

Charismatic leaders will typically attach themselves firmly to the identity of the group such that to join the group is to become one with the leader.

Based on these explanations above, I argue that the most common behavior of charismatic leaders is performing unconventional behavior. This leads to achieve and to articulate vision easily and to care about the environment of the organization and member needs.

The Strength and the Weaknesses of Charismatic Leadership

There are many scholars who have undertaken research about the effectiveness of charismatic leadership. For example, as noted by Conger and Kanungo (cited in Conger at al., 2000), charismatic leaders may result in high level sense relationship, strong sense of emotional togetherness to the leader, and high level of followers' performance. Likewise, Javidan and Waldman (2003) argued that most theoretical and empirical research on charismatic leadership indicates positive outcomes, such as delivering high performance, more satisfied and motivated followers, and high effectiveness ratings by followers and superiors. In this sense, it can be inferred that charismatic leaders may derive significant change in their organization since they can improve followers' performance and achieve higher job satisfaction.

However, charismatic leaders may generate a negative impact whether to the members or to the organization. As pointed out by Dubrin and Danglish (2003, p.83), charismatic leadership can be exercised for evil purposes, as the term charisma is value-neutral and it does not distinguish between good or moral and evil or immoral charismatic leadership. For

example, Stalin, Churchill, Roosevelt and Hitler were all charismatic leaders. For this reason, the followers sometimes follow the leader in blind fanaticism. Similarly, some charismatic leaders ignore social interests (Dubrin & Danglish, 2003). That is why Howell and Avolio (1992) divide charismatic leadership into two dimensions. These are unethical and ethical. Unethical charismatic leadership indicates when the leader uses power only for personal gain or impact and promotes his or her own personal vision. They demand that their own decision be accepted without question. Furthermore, the unethical charismatic leader is insensitive to followers. Therefore, in the writer's point of view, since charismatic leaders have good communication skills, they can gain personal vision and hide any illegal behavior within their organization. This, in turn, may harm the followers and organization.

Transformational Leadership

The idea of transformational leadership was coined by James McGregor Burns in 1978 and further developed by Bernard Bass. Both of them based their work on political leaders, military officers, and business executives. The term 'transformational' itself stems from the ability to inspire and develop people as resources and move them to a higher state of existence, transforming them in the process. It is a process that motivates followers by appealing to higher ideals and moral values. The transformational leader motivates followers to act in the interest of the organization rather than themselves (Bromley, Kirscher-Bromley, 2007, p.54).

According to Daft (2005, p.356), transformational leadership may be characterized by the ability to bring about significant change. It implies that transformational leaders have

the ability to play a leading role in changing the organization's vision, strategy, and culture as well as promoting innovation in products and technology. Daft (2005, p.357) goes on to state that transformational leaders encourage their followers to be aware of the importance of change goals and outcomes and, in turn, enable them to transcend their own immediate interests for the sake of the organizational mission. In other words, as contended by Dubrin (2004, p.82), the transformational leaders move their group members beyond their self-interests for the good of the group, organization, or society. Additionally, Kirby, King and Paradise (1992, p.303, cited in Barnett, 2003, p.4) argue that transformational leaders are able to change their environment to meet their desired outcomes.

Lussier and Achua (2007, p.379) argue that transformational leaders, under certain circumstances, are similar to charismatic leaders in that they can articulate a compelling vision of the future, and influence followers by arousing strong emotion in support of the vision. Thus, Dubrin (2004) pointed out that transformational leaders are charismatics. However, as Lussier & Achua (2007, p.359) point out, charismatic leadership typically instills both awe and submission in followers, whereas transformational leadership seeks to increase the engagement of followers.

According to Dubrin (2004, p.82), a number of characteristics of transformational leaders can be drawn as follows:

1. create a vision
2. supportive leadership
3. innovative thinking
4. empowerment

5. lead by example
6. encourage the personal development of their staff

Moreover, Bass and Avolio (cited in Bromley & Kirschner-Bromley, 2007, p.55) stated that transformational leadership covers four important dimensions, referred to as the "Four I":

1. Influence
2. Inspirational motivation
3. Intellectual stimulation
4. Individualized consideration

Furthermore, according to Hackman & Johnson (cited in Bromley and Kirschner-Bromley, 2007, p.55), there are at least six central personality characteristics of transformational leaders. They are creativity, interaction, vision, empowerment, passion, and ethics. They argue that creativity is a key element of the transforming leader. In other words, creativity is "challenging the status quo by seeking out new ideas".

In relation to bringing about significant change through transformational leadership, Aaron (2006) argues that the leader is not the only one who is in charge of change, every member needs to be involved and be provided with broad opportunities with common ground to work collaboratively in the change process in order to attain the objective of the organization. Likewise, Daft (2005, p. 357) argues that transformational leaders provide equal opportunities for their followers to be a leader. Followers are given more freedom to monitor their own behavior. That is not, however, to say that the transformational leader focuses on self-interest rather than collective interests. Transformational leadership shifts individuals, organization and communities. Both individuals and organization, as contended by Bromley and Kirschner-Bromley (2007, p.57), are important

aspects of the job of any leader. By understanding and enacting transformational leadership, the organization can be managed as well as the individuals involved, and, in turn, employees can grow and flourish with the experience. However, as Bromley and Kirschner-Bromley continue, being a transformational leader is not an easy job, some have tried to begin the journey of transformation. Unfortunately, few have completed it.

All in all, research studies show how transformational leadership is positively related to work outcomes, especially to organizational commitment and job satisfaction (Lussier & Achua, 2007, p.378). Similarly, Daft (2008) noted that transformational leadership may beneficially influence the process of performance and staff development. The explanations above clearly demonstrate how charismatic leadership is strongly related to transformational leadership. These two theories of leadership can be used as a technique to identify how leadership occurs in traditional leadership. Additionally, due to the engagement of some *kiais* in political parties and using their power for a particular party, it is important to discuss the concept of power and politic in leadership.

Description of *Pesantren* DDI Mangkoso, Barru

Pesantren DDI Mangkoso is located in the northern part of South Sulawesi. It is about 120 kilometers from the centre of the city of Makassar. Based on the characteristics as earlier discussed, this *pesantren* is classified as a traditional *pesantren*. It has around 3,600 *santri* (both male and female) living in its *pondok* (dormitory). Although it is categorized as a traditional *pesantren, pesantren* DDI Mangkoso runs

both a traditional and modern school system from primary school to university. As contended by Mastuhu (1994,p.55, cited in Suparto, 2000, p.148), the term "traditional" does not mean that this institution always follows the *status quo* and refuses to adapt to the emerging needs of modern life.

Pesantren DDI Mangkoso was established in 1938. This is the formal date acknowledged by the *kiai* who currently leading this *pesantren*. The *pesantren* was established by a charismatic *kiai*, *Gurutta* Abdurrahman Ambo Dalle (1900-1996), who came from Sengkang, one district within South Sulawesi. Sengkang was believed as the center of Islamic expansion at that time and the *pesantren* MAI Sengkang is considered the first *pesantren* established in South Sulawesi. According to Amal (2003, p.204), Ambo Dalle was the most notable student in *pesantren* MAI Sengkang and was popular because of his deep knowledge of Islam. He also spent several years in Mecca to strengthen his knowledge through attending different disciplines of Islamic knowledge with the *syaikh* (the term for *kiai* in Mecca). Having returned from Mecca, he became a qualified teacher within *pesantren* Sengkang due to his wide range of Islamic knowledge.

The idea for the establishment of *pesantren* DDI Mangkoso was first proposed by the local king of Soppeng Riaja, H. Andi Muh. Yusuf Andi Dagong, who paid more than usual attention to Islamic development in his jurisdiction. He was upset at the condition of mosques within his territory, which fewer people were utilizing. For this reason, Andi Dagong sent delegations to *pesantren* Sengkang asking for a qualified teacher, who in turn could educate and guide the community on Islamic knowledge. Andi Dagong, for this purpose, particularly proposed Ambo Dalle to become the teacher in Soppeng Riaja. However, this proposal was initially rejected by the

head of *pesantren* Sengkang due to the standing of Ambo Dalle as the central figure within the *pesantren* and considering that *pesantren* Sengkang had developed through proliferation of its *santri* which resulted in requiring a capable teacher like Ambo Dalle. Nevertheless, due to repeated proposals towards Ambo Dalle and with the notion of strengthening Islam in the community, the head of *pesantren* Sengkang finally approved sending Ambo Dalle to build a *pesantren* in Soppeng Riaja which was eventually called *pesantren* Mangkoso (Amal, 2003, p.203).

Once Ambo Dalle started teaching Islam (*pengajian*) among the community soon after he arrived in Soppeng Riaja, he conducted an initial placement test among the people who intended to be *santri*. This test was undertaken in January, 1938. As a result, there were three different levels within the *pesantren*. They are *tahdhiriyah* (kindergarten), *ibtidaiyah* (primary school), *tsanawiyah* (secondary school). The process of teaching first occurred in the mosque due to lack of facilities. This kind of shortage was solved by the local king through providing sufficient facilities, such as the venue, and the salary for Ambo Dalle. In addition, the salary of the *pesantren* teachers was the responsibility of the community and the *santris* were not expected to pay school fees.

According to Asyari (personal communication, September 12, 2008), in the early period of *pesantren* Mangkoso, the curriculum was merely concerned with strengthening Islamic subjects, such as Quranic exegesis, *hadits* (prophet tradition), *tauhid* (theology), *fiqhi* (Islamic jurisprudence), *tarikh tasri'* (Islamic history). These subjects normally were taught after sunset prayer and dawn prayer. They called it a classical system. Moreover, while teaching moral theories which suit Islam, the management of *pesantren* also encourages the

santris to implement the moral theories into practices as set out in the *pesantren* rules.

In 1941, *aliyah lil baniin* (High School for male *santri*) was built and was complemented by *aliyah lil banaat* (High School for female *santri*) in 1944. It is important to note that *pesantren,* in general, applied sex segregation between male and female in the learning process. That is why, as currently occurs in *pesantren* Mangkoso, there is one camp (*pondok*) for male *santri* as well as another for female *santri.* They were not allowed to live in the same dormitory. Both can see each other only on particular occasions, such as, graduation, language competition, or theater performance (Amal, 2003, p.206).

Asyari (personal communication, September 12, 2008) stated that during the period of Ambo Dalle, *pesantren* Mangkoso was gaining popularity across the country. Their *santris* came from different places not only from across South Sulawesi but also from other provinces, such as Kalimantan and Sumatera. Most of them understood how important Islamic education is to every Moslem. That's why a number of *pesantren* established at the moment around South Sulawesi are led by the graduates of *pesantren* Mangkoso.

The development of *pesantren* Mangkoso through establishing a number of branches across the country led to Ambo Dalle building a new strategy to attain the objective of expanding Islamic education around the country. In this sense, Ambo Dalle initiated the *musyawarah* (conference) which involved most *kiais* around South Sulawesi. In 1947, the conference was held and finally produced an important organization, DDI (Irsyad Da'wah Movement). The mission of this organization is to encourage the community into correct direction and to guide them in doing good deeds under the

banner of Islamic values. Ambo Dalle was believed be the first head of this organization, with Abduh Pabbajah as the secretary.

Asyari (personal communication, September 12, 2008) stated that since DDI was established, all the branches of *pesantren* Mangkoso which spread across the country were integrated into DDI. *Pesantren* Mangkoso was further named as *pesantren* DDI Mangkoso and became the center of DDI (Irsyad Da'wah Movement). Due to this development, *pesantren* DDI Mangkoso was not only considered to focus on expanding Islamic education but also to emphasize community development. From these explanations, it can be assumed that *pesantren* DDI Mangkoso under Ambo Dalle experienced a period of significant development.

In 1950, Ambo Dalle was offered appointment as a judge in Pare-Pare, a district next to Barru. He then moved to this place along with the center of DDI. In other words, Mangkoso was not merely the heart of DDI but the branch of Pare-Pare became its center. This change resulted in decreasing the popularity of Mangkoso. Following Ambo Dalle was *Gurutta* Amberi Said. He was widely known as an expert on Islam. During the leadership of *Gurutta* Amberi Said, *pesantren* DDI Mangkoso did not developed as significantly as in the Ambo Dalle period. He only continued the policy of Ambo Dalle in providing religious teaching to the *santris*.

After Amberi Said died in 1984, the leadership of the *pesantren* passed to his son, Farid Wajedi who spent several years in al-Azhar University, Egypt, studying Islam till awarded MA degree in Islamic Jurisprudence. The impression he gained from the pattern of teaching in the al-Azhar University, an Islamic school in which they took Islamic studies, inspired him to make

a breakthrough in regard to the system of education in his own *pesantren*.

In the early period of Wajedis' leadership, as stated by Firman (personal communication, September 20, 2008), *pesantren* started contact with modernity. In this sense, Wajedi initially reformed the system of education within the *pesantren*. In 1985, he introduced a new stage in the schooling level. It was called *I'dadiya* (class preparation) which takes one year study. This is a compulsory level for all new *santris* who intend to study in this *pesantren*. The materials taught at this level were *tawhid* (theology), *tafsir* (Quranic exegesis), *tajwid* (the method of reading al-Quran), and *Nahwu* (the structure of Arabic Language). Despite attending class in the morning, *santris* were also to join *pengajian* (classical teaching) after sunset prayer which was held in the mosque. As far as I am aware, *pesantren* DDI Mangkoso is the only *pesantren* which implemented *I'dadiyah* (class preparation) as one of the school levels. Wajedi, in this regard, was strongly influenced by the al-Azhar University, where he earned his degree in Islamic studies. The introduction of *I'dadiyah* within the *pesantren* seemed to make *pesantren* DDI Mangkoso more popular across the country. As a result, the proliferation of *santris* was undeniable. They were coming from different parts of the country, such as East Java, Papua, Kalimantan, and Sumatera. This situation continues now.

According to Firman (personal communication, September 20, 2008), as one of the biggest *pesantrens* across the country, *pesantren* DDI Mangkoso was frequently visited by local government, politicians, even national government, particularly in relation to the general elections 1992 and 1998. They came to

give financial aid or present facilities to the *pesantren*, such as computers, televisions, or free books. Regardless of the political interests behind the aid, Wajedi always welcomed the aid as long as it could be beneficial to the future of the *pesantren*.

Due to the increasing number of *santri*, *pesantren* DDI Mangkoso was extended into three campuses. The first is the main campus which is situated in the capital of sub-district Soppeng Riaja and the second (male campus) is located in the village of Kiru-Kiru which is 4 km from the centre of town. The last campus (female campus) is situated in Valley Lampangen which is around 2 km from the centre of town. Additionally, during *Gurutta* Wajedi's period, STAI DDI (Institute for DDI) was opened to look after two faculties, *syariah* (Islamic law), and *tarbiyah* (Islamic Education). Most students in this university are graduates of the *pesantren*. Additionally, despite being students in the university, they also become teachers within the *pesantren*. The *santri* in this *pesantren* go to school or university during the day and attend the *pengajian* (religious teaching) in the evening.

The Mode of Leadership in *Pesantren* DDI Mangkoso

Generally speaking, the concept of leadership within the *pesantren* is such an important aspect that should be of concern to all *santris*. It is based on the Islamic doctrine which says;

> Beware. every one of you is a shepherd and every one is answerable with regard to his flock. The Caliph is a shepherd over the people and shall be questioned about his subjects (as to how he conducted their affairs). A man is a guardian over the members of his family and shall be questioned about them (as to how he looked after their physical

and moral well being). A woman is a guardian over the household of her husband and his children and shall be questioned about them (as to how she managed the household and brought up the children). A slave is a guardian over the property of his master and shall be questioned about it (as to how he safeguarded his trust). Beware, every one of you is a guardian and every one of you shall be …..*(Sahih Muslim, p.1171).*

This principle is clearly demonstrated in the life of the *pesantren* and the Islamic community in general. It is believed that every single person is a leader, at least for him self, and will be questioned with regard to his leadership. Thereby, the concept of leadership itself is considered as a responsibility that should be taken into account. Regardless of the style of leadership applied in the *pesantren*, the main concern of Islamic doctrine is how the leader commits to the interest of members and the organization.

The discourse of leadership styles has been widely discussed among scholars from different perspectives. They have tried to formulate the concept of leadership styles consonant with the nature of the organization. In fact, the implementation of an appropriate style of leadership in any organization is difficult. This is obviously true when we look at the definition of leadership, since "the concept of leadership itself is likewise an ambiguous one" (Prewitt, 2003, p.24). Nevertheless, I contend that charismatic leadership and transformational leadership have been exhibited at the *pesantren* DDI Mangkoso, Barru. I assume that both styles of leadership have significantly changed the structure of the organization.

Hence, the following explanation will explore in detail both charismatic and transformational leadership in the *pesantren*.

Charismatic Leadership in the pesantren

According to Dubrin (2003, p.68), the outstanding characteristic of charismatic leaders is that they are charismatic. Charisma, as contended by Weber (cited in Lussier & Achua, 2004, p.363), is a form of influence based on followers' perceptions that a leader is endowed with the gift of divine inspiration or supernatural qualities. Although this notion has created controversy among recent scholars, it is, under certain circumstances, probably suited to Ambo Dalle as the founding father of *pesantren* DDI Mangkoso. According to Amal (2004, p.218), Ambo Dalle was believed to be a *kiai* who had a charisma or supernatural qualities in running the *pesantren*.

As far as I am concerned, there is a number of charismatic leadership characteristics applied in *pesantren* DDI Mangkoso, Barru. For example, idealized vision, anti *status quo*, risk taking, unconventional strategies in running the organization. Most *kiais* who have led the *pesantren* are considered to have those attributes. They tended to experience risk taking in order to develop the *pesantren*. As acknowledged by Asyari (personal communication, September 12, 2008), the early life of the *pesantren* was extremely close to the colonial era, where not many people could freely access education, especially Islamic education, due to the colonialists' restrictions. It entailed a heavy penalty when someone was found studying Islam at that time. In this sense, Ambo Dalle kept teaching Islam to his *santris* in the mosque even though he was often

under threat if an inspection was held by the colonialists. Similarly, the successor of Ambo Dalle, Farid Wajedi also took a risk when he openly supported a particular candidate in the 2004 general election (Gatra, 2004). This strategy, to some extent, may interrupt the future of the *pesantren* in terms of financial aid if their candidate was beaten by others. Fortunately, Farid Wajedis' political choice was strategically right and has led to maintenance of the sustainability of the *pesantren* DDI Mangkoso. Additionally, as stated by Daft (2008, p.361), by taking risks leaders can enhance their emotional appeal to followers. It did happen to both Ambo Dalle and Wajedi who were passionately accountable for their *santris*. Conversely, their *santris* also adored as well as admired them due to their courage in taking risks.

Another characteristic of charismatic leadership that might be considered is being visionary. As noted by Lussier and Achua (2004, p.370), charismatic leaders are visionary. They concentrate on transforming and developing new products and more importantly they can revolutionize the process. Likewise, Daft (2008, p.361) stated that charismatic leaders always create an atmosphere of change and articulate an idealized vision of a future that is significantly better than before. This notion is strongly relevant to the personality of leaders within the *pesantren*. For instance, both Ambo Dalle and Farid Wajedi had long term visions for the *pesantren*. If Ambo Dalle changed the *pesantren*, as discussed earlier, in terms of the organizational expansion by establishing the new organization,DDI (*Irsyad Da'wah Movement*), which eventually led to the development of the *pesantren* in the national context, Wajedi, in this regard, transformed the internal organization by adding a new level,

I'dadiyah (class preparation), within the *pesantren.* These strategies applied by both leaders are extremely visionary. Consequently, the standing of the *pesantren* DDI Mangkoso could be maintained as a centre of Islamic education across the country.

Unconventional behavior is another important attribute of charismatic leadership. This leads to a distinction between non-charismatic leaders and charismatic leaders. According to Lussier and Achua (2004, p.367), a non-charismatic leader uses strategies to attain goals, while a charismatic leader is more flexible to transcend the existing order. This character is relevant with the strategy of Ambo Dalle in terms of introducing secular knowledge into *pesantren* curriculum. Although it was clear that the mission of *pesantren* DDI Mangkoso was focused on Islamic knowledge, both *Gurutta* Ambo Dalle and *Gurutta* Farid Wajedi in running the *pesantren* performed unconventional behavior in relation to the mission of the organization. To put it simply, both of them further supported the integration of secular knowledge into the *pesantren* curriculum. In other words, as stated by Firman (personal communication, November 20, 2008), the curriculum of *pesantren* DDI Mangkoso not only concerns Islamic studies but also deals with secular knowledge. This change was a highly demanded education development due to globalization and modernity. As a result, there is no doubt that all graduates of the *pesantren* can pursue their studies in any state university across the country, which had never happened before. From these points of view, it indicates that the leaders within the *pesantren* DDI Mangkoso tend to perform unconventional behavior if of benefit to the development of the *pesantren.*

Furthermore, the final characteristic of charismatic leaders is that their source of influence comes from personal characteristics rather than a formal position of authority (Daft, 2008, p.361). In other words, charismatic leaders are the informal leaders. That is not to say that they do not transcend formal organizational position because the leaders' influence is based on their personal qualities rather than the power of authority granted by the organization. Regarding the leaders within the *pesantren*, as far as I am concerned, they were chosen because of their capability and competence. The quality of leaders further determines the concept of leadership within the *pesantren*. Based on the Islamic teaching called *tawadhu*, meaning "the right man in the right place", the selection of all leaders within the *pesantren* was based on professionalism or expertise.

Although *pesantren*, as stated by Dhofier (1985), are regarded as the "small kingdom" which cannot be interfered with by outsiders, it does not indicate that the concept of leadership is merely based on power and authority. In relation to *pesantren* DDI Mangkoso, Barru, since this *pesantren* was established, there have been three leaders (*kiais*), who have led the *pesantren* and all of them were expert in a range of Islamic knowledge. For this reason, the *pesantren* leaders strongly influenced the *pesantren* and the community because of their specialized knowledge, skill, or abilities. In other words, as contended by Halpert (cited in Dubrin, 2004, p.83), the power which they have is expert power. This power contributes to generating group member trust, unquestioning acceptance, and willing obedience. People admire, respect, and identify with them and want to be like them. Additionally, as contended by Conger and Kanungo (2000), charismatic leaders also generate a

high level sense of relationship, strong sense of emotional togetherness to the leader, and high level of followers' performance. This is clearly demonstrated in the strong relationship between *kiai* and *santri*.

Despite generating positive outcomes, charismatic leadership also poses negative effects either to the members or to the organization. Dubrin and Danglish (2003, p.64) point out that charismatic leadership can be exercised for evil purposes, as the term charisma is value neutral and it does not distinguish between good and evil or immoral charismatic leadership. Similarly, as noted by Daft (2008, p.361), charisma can be a curse as well as a blessing. Because the basis of charisma is emotional rather than logical or rational, it is frequently risky and potentially dangerous. In relation to leaders within the *pesantren*, the *santris* sometimes follow the leaders (*kyasi*) in blind fanaticism. They accept and obey whatever the *kiai* says and does. This results in a diminished critical sense among the *santris*. In this regard, Suparto (2000, p.205) demonstrates how life in general *pesantren*, including *pesantren* DDI Mangkoso, is considered as worship and what is taught by *kiai* cannot be argued as it is a part of worship, love of Islamic doctrines, dedication to religious matters and the continuation of the spirit of *santri*. These values place *kiai* and some religious leaders as the highest rank in *pesantren* life. They hold a position of absolute privilege. A *kiai's* words and opinions are generally followed without question. His religious advice is considered final. Consequently, some *santris*, if not all, lack criticism and creativity in relation to the religious understanding. They are strongly determined by the *kiai's* understanding without trying to rethink it.

In summary, where charismatic leadership is based on the interest of members as well as the organization, it will contribute largely to attaining the objective of the organization. Conversely, if it is used for personal gain or to promote his own personal vision, charismatic leadership will be disastrous to the future of organization. Therefore, the good charismatic leader is one who has consistently been successful in improving organizational performance as well as job satisfaction of the members of organization.

Transformational Leadership in the pesantren

As discussed earlier, transformational leaders, to some extent, are similar to charismatic leaders in that they can articulate a vision of the future, and influence followers by arousing strong emotion in support of the vision (Dubrin, 2004; Lussier & Achua, 2007). Hence, some characteristics of charismatic leadership are also the attribute of transformational leadership, such as visionary, influencial, and innovative. However, as contended by Lussier and Achua (2007, p.379), if charismatic leadership typically instills both awe and submission in followers, transformational leadership primarily deals with the increase of engagement of followers. This implies that transformational leadership unites followers and the leader in pursuit of a higher common goal. This notion has frequently occurred among the *kiais* of *pesantren* DDI Mangkoso, who always encourage the *santris* to get involved in attaining the mission of the organization instead of immediate self-interest. *Da'wah* is the ultimate goal of the *pesantren* where all *santris* are responsible for spreading the true message of God, al-Quran and *sunnah*, among the community. For this reason, every *santri* goes out performing *da'wah* especially during *ramadhan* (holy

month) along with their *kiais,* in order to shift people from ignorance to religious commitment. In this sense, as contended by Aaron (2006), the leader is not the only one who is in charge of change, every member is a part of the process of change. In other words, leaders and followers are united as a team. From this point of view, *kiais* always motivate the *santris* to act in the interest of the *pesantren* rather than themselves.

Another important feature of transformational leadership is leading by example. As contended by Dubrin (2004, p.83), effective leaders lead by example. A good example of this, as Dubrin continues, during a period of cost-cutting, a transformational leader might fly business coach and eat in the company café rather than food catered to their office. This is relevant to the concept of Islamic leadership applied in the life of *pesantren*, which states that the leaders are to set an example for the followers. Thereby, all the activities of the leader are considered as a good example which is further followed by the members. In this regard, most leaders within the *pesantren* DDI Mangkoso show how they consistently become the idol of their followers. The leaders, in this context, preserve a number of principles*,* such as being honest, respectful, and pious, in the life of *pesantren*. Put simply, the leaders taught those principles to *santris* through practising in the real life context.

According to Lussier and Achua (2007, p.379), transformational leadership can emerge from different levels in an organization. Therefore, an organization may have many transformational leaders. Conversely, charismatic leaders are few in number. In relation to the *pesantren* DDI Mangkoso, there are transformational leaders who come from different levels in the organization. For instance, *Gurutta* Abdul Wahab

Zakariya, the head of *madrasah lil banin* (male *pesantren*), is categorized as a transformational leader. He brings about significant change through transforming the system of education within the male *pesantren*. He believes that creativity is the key dimension of a successful leader. As a result, Abdul Wahab Zakariyah held a short training for the male *santris* in relation to agriculture. This training was in collaboration with the local department of agriculture. He argues that *santris* should not only deal with Islamic knowledge but also be concerned with practical knowledge.

Transformational leaders also work within the cognitive domain. They present intellectual stimulation by encouraging group members to examine all problems or methods in new ways. In other words, transformational leaders create an atmosphere of creative thinking and intuition. At the same time, they focus on methodical problem solving, rethinking, re-examining the assumptions, and the use of careful reasoning rather than giving unsupported opinions (Dubrin & Dalglish, 2003, p.79). This notion, under certain circumstances, is compatible with the life of *pesantren* DDI Mangkoso. Based on the Islamic doctrine that says "*al din aqlun wa laa diina liman laa 'aqla lah*" meaning "religion is inseparable from reason and no religion for those who do not utilize their reason", some *kiais*, if not all, when teaching their *santris* within the *pesantren* primarily concentrate on the methodology instead of the content of the subject. Yellow books (*kitab kuning*), for example, are not seen as the final thought of Muslim scholars but they are regarded as the process of producing thought. In this regard, *kiais* obviously encourage their *santris* to examine the problems from different

perspectives and look at details prior to coming up with the conclusion.

In summary, transforming people as well as organizations is the important aspect of the job of any leader. In this sense, *kiai* as the agent of change is expected to transform *santris*, *pesantren*, even community. However, it is not an easy job to fulfill. As acknowledged by Dubrin and Dalgish (2003, p.79), it is hard to decide whether the leader should be classified as transformational. Some transformational leaders are rude with people and insensitive to their individual concerns. In other words, it is not always easy to determine whether a given leader can be accurately described as transformational. Similarly, Bromley and Kirschner-Bromley (2007, p.57) stated that transformational leaders are not plentiful. Some have begun the journey of transformation, but few have completed it. Nevertheless, this does not imply that transformational leaders are not present in the *pesantren* life.

Conclusion

it can be summarized that charismatic and transformational leadership have been exhibited at the *pesantren* DDI Mangkoso. This notion is based on several reasons. Firstly, a number of charismatic leadership characteristics have been implemented within the *pesantren*. For example, idealized vision, anti-status quo, risk taking, unconventional strategies in running the organization. These attributes have been clearly addressed by the top leaders within the *pesantren*. Secondly, most *kiais* within the *pesantren* always encourage their followers to engage in pursuit of a higher common goal. *Kiais* and the followers are united as a team in order to attain the mission of the

organization instead of immediate self interest. In other words, *kiai* is not the only one who is in charge of *pesantren* but all the members are expected to accept responsibility for any change. This implies that transformational leadership has been utilized by leaders within the *pesantren*. The last factor relates to the personality of *kiais* in the *pesantren*. All *pesantren* leaders were not only believed to be experts in a range of Islamic knowledge but were also considered to be visionary leaders. To put it simply, they tended to transform the *pesantren* due to the demands of change without ignoring traditional values of the *pesantren*.

Bibliography

Abdullah, T., (1987) "the *Pesantren* in Historical Perspective" in *Islam and Society in South-east Asia*, Taufiq Abdullah and Sharon Shiddique (edit.). Singapore: Institute of South-east Asian Studies.

Amal, T.A. (2003), Gurutta Abdurrahman Ambo Dalle: Ulama Besar dari Tanah Bugis, in Jajat Burhanuddin and Ahmad Baedhowi (Ed.), *Transformasi Otoritas Keagamaan: Pengalaman Islam di Indonesia*. Jakarta : Pustaka Utama

Azra, A., (2001) *Pendidikan Islam: Tradisi dan Modernisasi Menuju Millenium Baru*. Jakarta: Kalimah.

Barry, B.(1976). *Power and Political Theory: Some European Perspectives*. New York: John Wiley & Sons ltd

Bass B.M. (1990). *Stogdill's Handbook of Leadership: A Survey of Theory and Reseach*. New York: The Free Press Macmillan.

Binder, L., (1960), Islamic tradition and politics: The kijaji and the Alim. *Comparative studies in society and history.* 2(2), pp, 250-256

Bruinessen, M.V., (2004), Traditionalist and Islamist *pesantren* in contemporary Indonesia. Paper presented at the ISIM workshop on "the Madrasa in Asia" 23-24 May.

Bruinessen, M.V., (1993), Pesantren dan Kitab Kuning: Pemeliharaan dan Kesinambungan tradisi pesantren. *Jurnal Ulumul Quran.* Pp. 73-85.

Bromley, V.A.K., Howard, R.B., (2007) Are you a transformational leader? *The Physician Executive.* pp. 54-57.

Carter, J.H.(2006) Effective Leaders Check Their Dogs at the Door. *Firehouse.* 31 (1). Retrieved May 14, 2007, from Database Request.

Conger, J.A. Kanungo, R.N.Menon, S.T.(2000) Charismatic Leadership and Follower Effect, *Journal of Organizational Behavior.* 21(7),747.

Conger, J.A.(1989). *The Charismatic Leader: Behind the Mystique of Exceptional Leadership.* San Fransisco: Jossey-Bass Publisher.

Daft, R.L.(2005). *The Leadership Experience.* 3rd Edn. Mason, Ohio: Thomson South Western

Dhofier, Z., (1980) *The Pesantren Tradion: A Study of the Role of the Kiai in the Maintenance of the Traditional Ideology of Islam in Java.* Australian National University: Ph.D. Dissertation.

Dubrin, A.J. & Danglish, C.(2003). *Leadership: An Australian Focus.* Australia: John Wiley & Sons Australia

Dubrin, A.J. (2004). *Leadership: Research Finding, Practice and Skills.* 4th Edn USA: Houghton Millin Company.

Djafar, A., (2004). Demokrasi dan Opsi. *Gatra. Edisi khusus.* 9 November, 2004

Furchan, A., (2002) *Developing Pancasilaist Muslims: Islamic Religious Education in Public School in Indonesia.* Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu.

Geertz, C., (1960), The Javanese Kijaji: The Changing Role of a Cultural Broker *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 2 (2), pp. 228-249

Geertz, C., (1960) *Religion of Java.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Glazer, J.E. (2006). Power and Influence. *Leadership Excellence.* 23(3). Retrieved May 14, 2007, from Database Request.

Hesse-Biber, S.,N.& Leavy, P.(2006) *The Practice of Qualitative Research.* California: Sage Publication, Inc.

Houser, H.F.(1993), Charisma and Leadership in Organization. *Personal Psycology* . 46 (2), 419-423.

Howell, J.M. Avolio, B.J.(1992). The ethics of charismatic leadership. *Academy of Management Executive* 6 (2).

Howard, J. (1998). *Managing More with Less.* Oxford: Batterworth-Heinemann Ltd

Janesick, V.,J. (2004). *Stretching Exercises for Qualitative Research* (2nd. Ed.) California: Sage Publication, Inc.

Javidan, M., Waldman, D.A (2003) Exploring Charismatic Leadership in the Public Sector: Measurement and Consequences. *Public Administration Review.* 63(2) 229-243.

Kanungo, R.N.(1998). Leadership in Organization: Looking Ahead to the 21st Century. *Canadian Psycology.* 39 (1/2).71.

Lambardo, M.M. McCall, M.W (1978). Leadership: Where Else Can We Go?. Durham: Duke University Press.

LeCompte, M.D., et al. (1992) *The Handbook of Qualitative Research in Education.* New York: Academic Press.

Lukens-Bull, R., A. (2001). Two Sides of the Same Coin: Modernity and Tradition in Islamic Education in Indonesia. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly,* 32 (3), 350-372.