



The Transformation of Kiai Authority in Pesantren Governance: The Shift from Charismatic Leadership toward Collective Leadership

Fathorrahman*, Matlani

Institut Kariman Wirayudha Sumenep, Indonesia

Email : dr.fathorrahmanpro@gmail.com

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ABSTRACT

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*Corresponding Author

This study analyzes the transformation of kiai authority in pesantren governance, particularly the shift from personal-charismatic toward collective-collegial leadership, and its implications for institutional sustainability, scholarly traditions, and student character formation. The study was conducted at Pesantren Annuqayah, Guluk-Guluk, Sumenep, comprising 19 branch areas under one foundation. Using a qualitative descriptive case study design, data were collected through observation, semi-structured interviews with masyayikh and pesantren community members, and document analysis. Data were analyzed using the interactive model of Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña through data condensation, display, and conclusion drawing and verification. The findings show that the transformation did not eliminate charismatic leadership but reconfigured authority within a collective governance structure. Initially, authority centered on the kiai, whose legitimacy was rooted in personal spirituality and charisma. Increasing institutional complexity encouraged the establishment of the Dewan Masyayikh, strengthening collective-collegial leadership. This model synthesizes spiritual charisma and managerial rationality, preserving moral legitimacy and scholarly traditions while strengthening governance, institutional continuity, and students' moral character formation.

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INTRODUCTION

Pesantren are Islamic educational institutions characterized by a distinctive form of leadership, in which the authority of the kiai is grounded not merely in formal position but also in charisma, moral exemplarity, religious scholarship, and the trust of the pesantren community (Bisyri, 2025). As pesantren continue to develop, increasing organizational complexity has generated new demands for governance that is more structured, participatory, and sustainable. The expansion of institutional networks, growth in student

enrollment, diversification of educational programs, and increasing demands for professional management have contributed to changes in the distribution of leadership authority. Recent studies indicate that pesantren have begun to develop collective leadership patterns that facilitate more participatory decision-making without entirely displacing the kiai's moral authority (Kim, 2025). This phenomenon warrants scholarly attention because changes in leadership are not merely administrative matters; rather, they concern how spiritual legitimacy is transmitted, negotiated, and institutionalized within pesantren governance. Accordingly, the transformation of kiai authority has become a crucial issue for the sustainability of contemporary pesantren.

Previous studies have extensively examined kiai leadership from charismatic, transformational, democratic, and collective leadership perspectives. The literature demonstrates that the kiai's charisma remains a primary source of legitimacy in shaping the culture, character, and educational orientation of pesantren, while collective leadership has emerged in response to the need for the distribution of authority and the strengthening of institutional governance. Recent research has also shown that kiai authority can undergo institutionalization through organizational structures, working mechanisms, and institutional cultures without necessarily undermining its moral legitimacy (Lani & Fathorrahman, 2025). However, much of the existing literature continues to examine charismatic and collective leadership as separate models or focuses primarily on the effectiveness of each model. Studies specifically addressing the process through which personal-charismatic authority is transformed into collective-collegial authority, including the mechanisms through which spiritual charisma is negotiated with managerial rationality in pesantren with complex institutional structures, remain relatively limited. This gap constitutes the scholarly space addressed by the present study.

In response to this gap, this study aims to analyze how the transformation of kiai authority takes place within pesantren governance and how this transformation shapes patterns of collective leadership (Ashkenazy, 2026). Specifically, the study addresses three central questions: (1) What are the characteristics of kiai authority during the personal-charismatic leadership phase? (2) How is kiai authority institutionalized through collective-collegial leadership mechanisms? and (3) How do spiritual charisma, managerial rationality, and institutional sustainability interact within pesantren governance? The study focuses on Pesantren Annuqayah in Guluk-Guluk, Sumenep, which comprises 19 branch areas operating under a single foundation, thereby providing a relevant empirical context for examining the complexity of leadership transformation. Rather than positioning charismatic and collective leadership as two mutually exclusive poles, this study conceptualizes them as part of a process of authority reconfiguration in response to institutional development. Through this approach, the study seeks to explain the mechanisms

of leadership transformation in a more contextual and in-depth manner (by Typografia et al., 2026).

This study is grounded in the argument that the transformation of kiai leadership in pesantren does not necessarily signify the weakening of charisma or the disappearance of spiritual authority; rather, it represents a process of institutionalizing and reconfiguring authority through collective leadership mechanisms. The kiai's charisma is expected to remain a source of moral legitimacy, while the distribution of authority through collegial structures functions as an instrument for addressing organizational complexity and ensuring institutional sustainability (Aimah et al., 2026). Recent scholarship supports the possibility that leadership values and authority can be embedded within institutional structures, organizational cultures, and governance systems, thereby reducing the extent to which leadership depends exclusively on an individual figure. Studies on pesantren transformation further indicate that organizational change can occur through structural reconfiguration without sacrificing the pesantren's identity and foundational values. Accordingly, this study proposes that the synthesis of spiritual charisma and managerial rationality can generate a collective leadership model that remains rooted in religious legitimacy while being responsive to the demands of modern governance. Thus, the transformation of authority can be understood as a strategy for pesantren sustainability rather than as a replacement of kiai authority.

The novelty of this study lies in its reconceptualization of pesantren leadership by moving beyond approaches that primarily understand kiai authority through charismatic, transformational, or collective leadership perspectives. Studies of charismatic leadership emphasize that kiai legitimacy is constructed through religious authority, moral exemplarity, scholarly depth, and trust-based relationships with the pesantren community. Meanwhile, research on collective leadership highlights the importance of distributed authority, collaboration, and institutional structures in responding to the complexities of contemporary pesantren governance. Nevertheless, studies that connect these two perspectives as a process of authority transformation remain limited. In contrast to previous studies, this research proposes the perspective of kiai authority reconfiguration, whereby personal-charismatic authority is not eliminated but institutionalized within collective-collegial leadership mechanisms. The novelty of this study lies in identifying the synthesis between spiritual charisma and managerial rationality as a mechanism of transformation in pesantren governance. Empirically, the study also contributes an understanding of how the establishment of the Dewan Masyayikh functions as an institutional space for the institutionalization of authority, distribution of responsibilities, and continuity of leadership in a pesantren characterized by a multi-area organizational structure. Thus, this study does not merely identify a

shift in leadership models but explains how, why, and through what mechanisms kiai authority is transformed from a personal basis toward a collective system without sacrificing spiritual legitimacy and the distinctive identity of the pesantren.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study employed a descriptive qualitative approach with a case study design to analyze the transformation of kiai authority from personal-charismatic leadership toward collective-collegial leadership within pesantren governance (Dewi & SH, 2025). The study was conducted at Pesantren Annuqayah, Guluk-Guluk, Sumenep, which comprises 19 branch areas operating under a single foundation. Informants were selected purposively and consisted of 19 masyayikh/pesantren leaders as the primary informants, along with pesantren administrators, students, alumni, and members of the surrounding community as supporting informants. The identities of the informants were anonymized using the codes M1–M19, P1–P2, S1–S2, A1–A2, and MS1–MS2.

Data were collected through observation, semi-structured interviews, and documentation. Observations focused on leadership practices, decision-making processes, the distribution of authority, and institutional activities (Matthew B. Miles dan A. Michael Huberman, 2014). The interviews explored the sources of kiai authority and legitimacy, changes in leadership patterns, the role of the Dewan Masyayikh, collective-collegial mechanisms, and the relationship between spiritual charisma and managerial rationality. Documentary data were used to complement the empirical findings through institutional archives, the history of the pesantren, kiai biographies, and organizational documents.

The data were analyzed using the interactive model developed by Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña, comprising three stages: data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification (Abdussamad, 2021). The analysis focused on the themes of personal-charismatic authority, spiritual legitimacy, leadership institutionalization, authority distribution, the Dewan Masyayikh, collective-collegial leadership, and managerial rationality. Data trustworthiness was established through source and methodological triangulation to ensure the consistency and credibility of the findings concerning the process of kiai authority transformation.

Tabel 1. List of Research Informants

No	Code	Informant Category	Role/Position	Number
1	M1–M19	Masyayikh/Pesantren Leaders	Caretakers/Islamic scholars representing 19 pesantren branches	19

2	P1–P2	Pesantren Administrators	Institutional administrators involved in pesantren governance	2
3	S1–S2	Students	Active students who experience the leadership and educational practices	2
4	A1–A2	Alumni	Former students familiar with the development of pesantren leadership	2
5	MS1–MS2	Community Members	Local community members interacting with the pesantren	2

The research involved 27 informants selected purposively based on their involvement, experience, and knowledge of pesantren leadership and governance. The primary informants consisted of 19 masyayikh or pesantren caretakers representing the 19 branches of the pesantren. Supporting informants included two pesantren administrators, two students, two alumni, and two community members. To protect participants' identities, pseudonymous codes were assigned: M1–M19 for masyayikh, P1–P2 for administrators, S1–S2 for students, A1–A2 for alumni, and MS1–MS2 for community members. The informants were selected to provide complementary perspectives on the transformation of kiai authority, particularly the shift from personal-charismatic leadership toward collective-collegial leadership, the institutionalization of authority, decision-making processes, and the relationship between spiritual charisma and managerial rationality.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Result

The Transformation of Kiai Authority

The findings indicate that the transformation of kiai authority in the pesantren occurred gradually in response to the growth in student enrollment, increasing institutional complexity, and the expansion of the pesantren network. In the early phase, kiai authority was predominantly personal-charismatic. The kiai served not only as the caretaker and teacher but also as the primary religious reference, spiritual guide, decision-maker, and protector of the pesantren's continuity. Interviews with the masyayikh reinforced this condition. M1 explained that in the early period, "decisions and the direction of the pesantren depended heavily on the kiai, because the kiai was the person consulted regarding almost every issue concerning the pesantren." A similar perspective was expressed by M4 and M7, who emphasized that relationships among the kiai, ustadz, and santri were characterized by direct and personal interactions.

This leadership pattern was established not merely through formal authority but, more importantly, through exemplary conduct. M10 explained that the kiai's influence over the santri was largely cultivated through everyday practices, including religious discipline, simplicity, communication style, and concern for the wider community. M13 similarly emphasized that "santri do not merely listen to what the kiai says, but also observe how the kiai lives." Perspectives from the santri further reinforced this finding. S1 stated that the kiai's authority was experienced through personal conduct and exemplary behavior, whereas S2 viewed the kiai's advice as possessing strong moral force because it was supported by concrete examples in everyday life.

As the pesantren developed, this pattern of authority underwent significant changes. The increasing number of santri, expansion of educational units, and broader institutional network meant that pesantren management could no longer rely entirely on personal relationships between a single kiai and the entire pesantren community. P2 explained that institutional development required a clearer division of responsibilities and more systematic coordination mechanisms. According to P1, this transformation did not diminish the kiai's authority or prestige; rather, it "organized authority more systematically so that decisions could be implemented collectively and would not depend on a single individual."

The transformation became increasingly evident following the establishment of more formal institutional structures through the Yayasan Annuqayah, Dewan Masyayikh, Dewan Pengasuh, and pesantren administrative bodies. M16 explained that the Dewan Masyayikh provided an important forum for collectively deliberating matters concerning the pesantren. M18 added that strategic decisions were no longer regarded solely as individual decisions but were reached through deliberation and consideration among the masyayikh. Thus, a shift occurred from authority previously centered primarily on the kiai figure toward an increasingly institutionalized form of authority distributed through collective-collegial mechanisms.

Importantly, the findings demonstrate that this transformation did not eliminate the charismatic dimension of kiai leadership. M19 emphasized that respect for the kiai remains a fundamental foundation of pesantren life, even though the management structure has become increasingly developed. A1, an alumnus, similarly observed that changes in organizational structure have not diminished the kiai's moral position, as religious legitimacy remains the basis for community acceptance of pesantren leadership. This finding indicates that the transformation of authority does not constitute a straightforward transition from charismatic leadership to bureaucracy. Rather, it represents a process of

integration between the kiai's spiritual legitimacy and the managerial rationality of institutional governance.

Factors Influencing the Transformation of Kiai Authority

The interview findings identified at least four major factors driving the transformation of kiai authority: institutional expansion, formalization of organizational structures, the need to sustain pesantren traditions, and the increasing complexity of pesantren management. First, the expansion of institutional networks and the increasing number of pesantren units constituted a major factor in changing leadership patterns (Fathorrahman. 2024). M3 and M8 explained that the broader pesantren network had resulted in increasingly diverse issues and responsibilities that needed to be addressed. Under such conditions, decision-making centralized in a single leadership figure became less effective. P2 further emphasized that the need for coordination among pesantren leaders and administrators encouraged the development of mechanisms for distributing authority. Thus, institutional expansion generated a need for leadership capable of operating collectively.

Second, the formalization of organizational structures also transformed the way authority was exercised. P1 explained that the presence of the foundation, Dewan Masyayikh, Dewan Pengasuh, and pesantren administrative bodies clarified the distribution of authority according to specific functions and responsibilities. M11 noted that these structures helped ensure that pesantren decisions continued to be grounded in deliberative processes while remaining aligned with the values inherited from the founders. In this sense, institutionalization was not merely a matter of establishing administrative structures; rather, it functioned as an instrument for maintaining the continuity of religious authority.

Third, the sustainability of pesantren traditions constituted a factor that shaped the adaptive nature of leadership transformation. M5 and M12 emphasized that institutional changes must continue to preserve classical Islamic scholarly traditions, **adab**, exemplary conduct, and teacher-student relationships. S1 and S2 likewise indicated that, from the students' perspective, changes in organizational structures were not problematic as long as the pesantren's core values remained intact. This finding demonstrates that leadership transformation takes place within a framework of value continuity rather than through a rupture with established traditions.

Fourth, the increasing complexity of modern managerial demands encouraged pesantren to develop more rational and collaborative leadership mechanisms. P2 explained that the management of education, administration, human resources, institutional relations, and the development of educational

units required cross-functional coordination. M15 added that although the kiai remained the primary source of moral and religious legitimacy, the technical implementation of institutional activities required the involvement of multiple stakeholders. This perspective was reinforced by A2, who observed that a developing pesantren requires leadership capable of combining steadfast commitment to foundational values with the capacity to manage organizational change.

Taken together, the interview findings indicate that the transformation of kiai authority can be understood as an adaptive response to changes in the scale and complexity of pesantren institutions. Authority was not eliminated but rather reorganized and institutionalized. The kiai continued to serve as the primary source of spiritual legitimacy, while operational authority and decision-making responsibilities were increasingly distributed through collective mechanisms. This pattern demonstrates that the transformation of kiai authority represents not a displacement of charismatic leadership, but a reconfiguration of authority that integrates spiritual legitimacy with institutional and managerial rationality.

Collective-Collegial Leadership Strategies

Based on observations, documentary analysis, and interviews with 27 informants, this study identified a leadership model that may be conceptualized as the Charismatic-Institutional-Collegial Leadership Model. This model illustrates the transformation of kiai authority through three principal stages: personal-charismatic leadership, institutionalization of authority, and collective-collegial leadership.

In the first stage, authority was centered on the kiai figure. M1, M6, and M9 described how, during the early period, the kiai served as the central figure in education, spiritual guidance, decision-making, and the direction of the pesantren's social life. This pattern was sustained through intensive interpersonal communication and exemplary conduct. Authority was accepted not primarily because of formal position, but because of religious knowledge, moral character, spiritual experience, and personal relationships with santri and the wider community.

The second stage involved the institutionalization of authority. The development of the pesantren required the values, decisions, and authority of the kiai to be sustained and transmitted through institutional structures. M14 stated that the establishment of structures such as the Dewan Masyayikh was important so that "pesantren matters could be deliberated collectively by individuals with the necessary competence and responsibilities." M17 likewise emphasized that

deliberation among the masyayikh constituted an important mechanism for maintaining the continuity of the pesantren's institutional direction.

The third stage was characterized by the emergence of a collective-collegial leadership pattern. Under this arrangement, authority was no longer concentrated exclusively in a single figure but was distributed through deliberation, coordination, and the allocation of responsibilities. M2 and M16 explained that the Dewan Masyayikh occupied a strategic position in providing considerations and safeguarding the continuity of pesantren values. P1 and P2 indicated that administrators managed operational affairs on the basis of institutional directives and decisions. Thus, a differentiation emerged among spiritual authority, scholarly authority, and managerial authority without severing the relationships among these dimensions.

Perspectives from alumni and members of the wider community further demonstrated that this transformation was accepted because it did not undermine the legitimacy of the kiai. A1 stated that "the kiai's influence remains strong, but the pesantren now has many people who share responsibility." MS1 and MS2 likewise observed that collective leadership enhanced the pesantren's capacity to respond to community needs, while the kiai continued to serve as a moral and religious reference point.

These findings demonstrate that the leadership strategy developed by the pesantren does not involve replacing charismatic leadership with modern bureaucracy. Rather, it involves the Institutionalization of Charisma Within Organizational Mechanisms. In other words, charisma functions as the source of legitimacy, institutionalization serves as the mechanism of organizational structuring, and collective leadership functions as the mechanism for distributing authority. Conceptually, the findings can therefore be formulated through the following sequence; Spiritual Charisma → Institutionalization of Authority → Collective-Collegial Leadership → Distributed Governance → Institutional Sustainability.

This model indicates that the transformation of kiai authority is not a process of diminishing charismatic leadership, but a process of ****reconfiguring and institutionalizing charisma**** so that its moral and religious legitimacy can be maintained while its governance functions become increasingly distributed, collaborative, and sustainable.

The model demonstrates that the sustainability of pesantren is determined not solely by the strength of the kiai as an individual figure, but also by the institution's capacity to transform personal authority into a leadership system that can be transmitted, shared, and held accountable. In this context, the Dewan Masyayikh functions as a strategic mechanism that bridges the continuity of spiritual authority with the requirements of institutional management.

Accordingly, the central proposition of this study is that the greater the complexity of a pesantren, the more important the institutionalization of kiai authority becomes. However, the effectiveness of this transformation depends on the institution's capacity to preserve spiritual legitimacy, scholarly traditions, and moral exemplarity as the foundations of collective leadership.

DISCUSSION

The findings of this study demonstrate that the transformation of kiai authority in pesantren governance is better understood as a process of reconfiguration rather than the replacement of one form of authority by another. In its early development, kiai authority was predominantly personal-charismatic, with legitimacy derived from religious scholarship, spiritual experience, moral exemplarity, and recognition from santri and the wider community. This finding is consistent with Weber's characterization of charismatic authority, in which leadership legitimacy is grounded in followers' recognition of qualities perceived as extraordinary or exceptional (Demirci, 2025). Within the pesantren context, however, the findings reveal a broader manifestation of charisma than that commonly described in Weberian theory. The authority of the kiai is not merely embodied in individual qualities but is also embedded in scholarly traditions, sanad, moral exemplarity, scholarly genealogy, and socio-religious legitimacy (Weber, n.d.). This finding therefore confirms previous theoretical perspectives regarding the personal and charismatic foundations of religious leadership while simultaneously highlighting a contextual difference: charisma in pesantren is socially and culturally embedded within a system of religious knowledge and tradition. Similar to the argument that charismatic authority requires mechanisms for continuity, the present findings show that the increasing institutional complexity of pesantren encourages the transformation of personal authority into more stable organizational arrangements. However, unlike a purely individualistic interpretation of charismatic authority, the pesantren case demonstrates that charisma can extend beyond the leader through the transmission of values, traditions, and institutional practices.

The findings further support and extend the literature on the routinization of charisma by demonstrating that institutionalization in pesantren operates not only through structural formalization but also through cultural and spiritual reproduction. Previous studies have emphasized the importance of institutional structures in maintaining organizational continuity and distributing leadership functions (Guerroudj et al., 2025; Lauren, 2023). Consistent with these perspectives, this study found that the continuity of kiai authority occurs through the transmission of leadership, religious authority, pesantren values, traditions,

and organizational mechanisms. Nevertheless, the findings differ from interpretations that associate routinization primarily with bureaucratization or the depersonalization of authority. In the pesantren context, institutionalization does not eliminate the spiritual character of leadership; instead, organizational structures function as mechanisms for preserving and reproducing the values previously embodied by the kiai. This finding is also supported by the development of collective leadership arrangements in pesantren, particularly through the Dewan Masyayikh, which provides a formal space for deliberation, consultation, and the distribution of leadership responsibilities (Mundiri & Sanafiri, 2022). The Dewan Masyayikh therefore represents more than an administrative structure because it serves as an institutional bridge between personal authority and collective governance, enabling scholarly traditions and spiritual legitimacy to remain influential within organizational decision-making.

A significant difference between the present findings and a strictly linear interpretation of Weberian authority theory concerns the relationship between charismatic authority and legal-rational authority. The findings show that increasing managerial complexity and institutional expansion require greater coordination, delegation, and organizational formalization, as also reflected in studies emphasizing the growing importance of managerial rationality in educational and religious institutions (Wiyono et al., 2025; Kim, 2025). However, the emergence of organizational rationality does not replace the kiai's spiritual legitimacy. Instead, the pesantren demonstrates a hybrid configuration in which spiritual legitimacy and managerial rationality coexist and perform complementary functions. Spiritual legitimacy remains the normative foundation that provides moral direction and institutional identity, whereas organizational structures facilitate coordination, accountability, and the distribution of responsibilities (Rodliyah et al., 2024). This finding differs from the assumption that the routinization of charisma necessarily culminates in the displacement of charismatic legitimacy by impersonal legal-rational authority. Rather, the transformation follows a pathway from Personal-Charismatic Authority to Institutionalization and Collective-Collegial Authority, in which charisma remains substantively preserved while its operational functions are distributed through collective mechanisms. Thus, the pesantren case provides a more context-sensitive interpretation of Weberian rationalization by showing that institutional rationality can strengthen, rather than undermine, spiritual authority.

Based on these findings, the principal theoretical contribution of this study is the concept of Institutionalized Collective Charisma. The concept refers to a

form of authority in which charismatic legitimacy originally embodied in the kiai is institutionalized and collectively distributed through collegial mechanisms while spiritual legitimacy remains the primary foundation of leadership direction, moral authority, and institutional values. This contribution confirms Weber's proposition regarding the need for the routinization of charisma to ensure organizational continuity while extending his framework by demonstrating that routinization does not necessarily produce the disappearance of charisma. Instead, charisma may be culturally reproduced, institutionally embedded, and collectively exercised within organizational structures (Demirci, 2025; Guerroudj et al., 2025; Lauren, 2023). The findings also reinforce the view that collective leadership can function as a mechanism for preserving rather than replacing religious authority (Mundiri & Sanafiri, 2022). The proposed conceptual pathway—Personal Charisma → Institutionalization → Collective-Collegial Authority → Preservation of Spiritual Legitimacy → Institutional Sustainability—therefore explains a transformation mechanism that has received limited attention in previous studies. Rather than positioning charismatic and collective leadership as mutually exclusive models, this study demonstrates how personal charisma can be transformed into collective institutional capacity while retaining its spiritual and moral foundations. In this respect, Institutionalized Collective Charisma contributes a theoretical lens for understanding leadership transformation in religious educational institutions where organizational modernization occurs without severing traditional sources of legitimacy.

Practically, the findings suggest that pesantren sustainability should not be pursued through the replacement of traditional kiai authority with purely bureaucratic management, but through the strategic integration of spiritual legitimacy and collective institutional governance. The kiai can continue to provide moral direction, religious legitimacy, and normative orientation, while the Dewan Masyayikh can function as a collective scholarly forum for deliberation and consultation, and administrators and foundations can manage operational and organizational responsibilities. Such a distribution of authority can strengthen institutional continuity, reduce excessive dependence on a single charismatic leader, and improve the capacity of pesantren to respond to increasing organizational complexity while preserving its scholarly traditions and moral identity (Bisyri, 2025). The practical implication is particularly relevant for pesantren experiencing expansion, generational transition, and increasing administrative demands, as institutional structures can serve to preserve both organizational stability and spiritual continuity. Ultimately, this study contributes to the broader understanding of religious leadership by

demonstrating that institutional sustainability is not achieved by choosing between charisma and rationalization, but by integrating them within a collective-collegial governance configuration. Through Institutionalized Collective Charisma, personal authority is transformed into institutional capacity, collectively reproduced through organizational mechanisms, and sustained as a continuing source of spiritual legitimacy, moral exemplarity, and institutional resilience.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the transformation of kiai authority represents a reconfiguration of authority responding to institutional growth and managerial complexity without eliminating spiritual legitimacy. Initially centered on the kiai's personal charisma, authority has become institutionalized through structures such as the Dewan Masyayikh, Dewan Pengasuh, administrators, and foundation. Collective-collegial leadership therefore integrates spiritual charisma with managerial rationality. While confirming Weber's concept of charisma routinization, the findings extend his framework by showing that charisma is not replaced by legal-rational authority but collectively reconfigured. The study proposes Institutionalized Collective Charisma, whereby personal charisma becomes institutional capacity, sustaining spiritual legitimacy, scholarly traditions, moral values, and organizational continuity.

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