

LEADERSHIP SUCCESSION IN PESANTREN

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to explain leadership succession in one of Indonesian Islamic educational institution, specifically in *salafiyah pesantren*. Scope of this paper covered a system of *pesantren* leadership succession. Method of analysis was literature of *pesantren* from Mastuhu. The discussion revealed that a tradition of *pesantren* leadership succession was influenced by heredity, idealism, and respect as well as fanaticism to *kiai*. Traditionally, other people will not be in line with the ideology of *pesantren's* founders. *Pesantren* will being closed down to *kiai*. *Santries* as asuccessors are *kiai's* struggle and will be turn in when a successor act as founder. *Pesantren* will be let it in order to be better than before. For *pesantren*, other people are not successors of *kiai's* struggles. It had a serious impact on sustainability and development of Islamic educational institution in the future as communities. *Pesantren* as communities are factor of determinant to sustain of Indonesian Islamic educational to survive in global society. So, Indonesian government has to supported to develop *pesantren*. Government could establish specific director general of *pesantren* in national education. Comprehensively, Islamic educational institutions something like *pesantrens* should be accommodate and respond to global issues.

Keywords: *Pesantren, Salafiyah, Kiai*

ABSTRAK

Tulisan ini bermaksud menggambarkan kegiatan suksesi pada salah satu lembaga pendidikan Islam khas Indonesia, yakni di pesantren salafiyah. Fokus kajian tentang suksesi kepemimpinan. Metode analisis adalah studi literature tentang pesantren, terutama dari Mastuhu. Hasil pembahasan menyatakan bahwa tradisi suksesi kepemimpinan pesantren dilakukan secara turun temurun, dipengaruhi oleh idealisme dan fanatisme terhadap *kiai*. Secara tradisional, orang lain atau luar diyakini tidak akan bias sejalan dengan perjuangan *kiai*, sebagai pendiri pesantren. Pesantren memang identic dengan *kiai*. Artinya, santri yang meneruskan perjuangan *kiai* akan menghayati pesantren ketika berlaku seperti pendirinya (*kiai*). Sebenarnya, pesantren bisa lebih maju jika meninggalkan kebiasaan ini. Bagi pesantren, orang luar tidak bisa menggantikan perjuangan *kiai*. Ini membawa dampak serius terhadap kelanjutan dan perkembangan lembaga pendidikan Islam Indonesia di masa depan, terutama komunitas pesantren. Bagaimanapun juga komunitas pesantren adalah faktor yang menentukan dalam menopang pendidikan Islam Indonesia agar bertahan dalam masyarakat global. Maka pemerintah Indonesia harus mendukung pesantren. Pemerintah harus membentuk secara khusus suatu direktur jenderal pesantren di Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional, agar pendidikan Islam Indonesia bisa mengakomodasi dan merespon isu-isu global.

Kata Kunci : *Pesantren, Salafiyah, Kiai*

INTRODUCTION

The backgrounds of this paper were some of researcher findings that to show up on leadership in the context of management of education, namely: (1) the gap between society's expectation and the preparedness of educational institution in anticipating the vacuum of a successor for the previous leader; (2) the urgent needs of student development that is expected to be able to accommodate students with a capacity of knowledge in adapting the development of science and technology; (3) the lack of synchronization between the internal parties of institution and the society in preparing leadership cadre; (4) the lack of openness of the internal system of educational institution in accommodating and engaging the communities to actively participate in the decision making; (5) ignorance of the internal parties of the institution caused by the fear of different ideology and vision; and (6) the slow response of internal parties to the future development of the institution.

Given the above description, the problems that emerge and should be addressed seriously in Islamic education context are: (1) a deep understanding of the Islamic educational institution system based on *pesantren* as an open system; (2) a comprehensive understanding of leadership tradition that has long been restrictive and made as guidance, while the tradition is actually incompatible with the development of the science of management oriented at open system management, namely in addition to the single policy maker there is another party in an institution, namely the communities as the stakeholders of decent education that have to be taken seriously to compensate for the lack of concern that it has got.

The main issues above are formulated into the following statements that characteristics of leadership in Islamic educational institution in *pesantren* commonly still traditional and backward. Consequently, *pesantren* and Islamic education also still assumed to non formal religious education, far from being a modern. This paper employed literature analysis approach. So the main of data sources in the field consisted of report of research and books (documents). All of the documents were processed afterwards using a comprehensive thinking system in order to get the problem formulation close to the objectives to be achieved as have been previously explained.

DISCUSSION

Focus of discussion are oriented to *pesantren's* leadership tradition, succession, innovation, and readiness of next generation to make changes.

Leadership Style

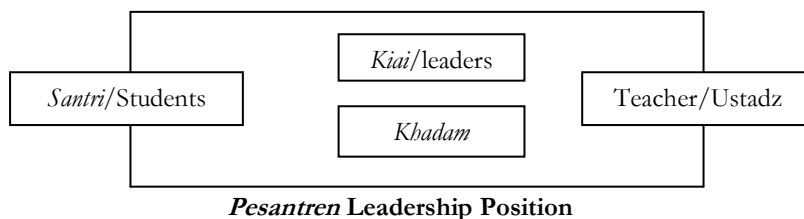
Referring to the issues, charismatic leadership style displayed by *kiais* as one relying on the trust of the *santris* or the general communities of *pesantren's*

congregation members who held the view that *kiais* leaders of *pesantren* assumed to be partly given the authority by Allah (Mastuhu, 1995, p. 106).

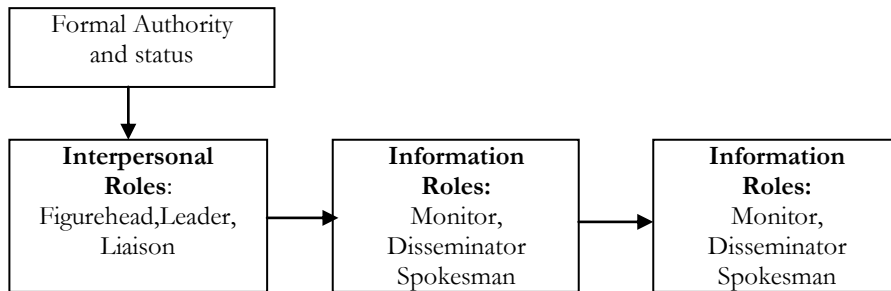
Another leadership style implemented by *kiais* was paternalistic, in which the leadership inclined to fatherly attitude emerging from *kiai's* personality. This style of leadership shows a tendency that a leader thinks of himself as a role model, so that both his words and actions should reflect the role model for his followers. Hence, the most important element is a fatherly trait that continuously nurtures *santris* as his followers. On the one hand, a *kiai* is truly aware that his *santris* and followers need guidance and direction as they are not mature yet in understanding religion, but on the other hand, often times the obedience tends to be seen as loyalty to the leader himself as an individual.

Authoritarian leadership style was actually applied as well by the *kiais*, as proved by the major impact observed among *santris* and congregation members. So that their participation was very minimal, almost none. In this kind of leadership style, the freedom of *santris* and congregation members is restricted by the *kiai*. They accepted more suggestions than giving ones (Mustuhu, 1995, p. 114). Even though other leadership styles were found, such as democratic, *laissez faire*, and other styles that tended to be inherent in the *kiais'* themselves, who were varied and had various ways of accommodating the needs of their *pesantrens'* development, such as by fulfilling formal school, courses, work world and the industries, agriculture, vocation, trades, and other social activities.

There are several side directly involved in the development of Islamic educational institution; for instance, if the educational institution is in the form of *pesantren*, *kiais* hold a full control of the development and advancement of the institution so that leadership succession will be sustained and succeeded by their offspring or even their children in-laws who are usually their own senior *santris* assumed to be capable of developing the *pesantren*. Meanwhile, if the institution is not in the form of *pesantren*, the main policy makers will trust the leadership succession according to their ideology, and it is not uncommon that if a family of a *pesantren* cannot find a successor, the family will let the institution close down by itself, so that the *pesantren* becomes a part of the history. Shortly, *pesantren* has a different leadership style from other forms of education institutions.



The picture explained that one of the function of *kiai's* leadership was the figure of learning centre. He is the maker of a new policy for the social issues also, ultimately those pertaining to religion. On the other hand, viewed from the aspects of authority and status as a leader, Mintzberg (1983, p. 19) revealed three major roles played by a leader.



Leader's authority and status by Mintzberg

The role of interpersonal relationship was triggered by formal authority of a leader, including elements such as figurehead and directing the symbolization to get close to the figure of the *kiai* who thought to be the symbol of a *pesantren* and nobody can taint the reputation of the *pesantren*.

Looking at the phenomena and some literatures, Islamic educational institution's leadership was dominated by *pesantren*. It can be said that Islamic education leadership is identical with *pesantren* and *kiais*; they are both inherent in a peculiar bond. The tendency found from several cases and library studies revealed that *kiai* had a leadership style that put forward status regardless of the origin of the status and who has made it surface and what other characteristics were inherent in the status, such as a figure head with fatherly traits for their *santris* and congregation members.

In some parts of the traditional society, there have actually been possibilities for reformation, but because of limited scope, especially knowledge, and the lack of opportunities, the transformation tend to be slow compared to the transformations taking place in the modern society. The same is true for the communities of traditional *pesantren* who tend to be thought to be slow in making innovations to compensate for their disadvantages that have long restricted them.

Islamic traditional society is thought to be static and strongly restricted by *ulama's* thoughts (Islamic leaders) from the middle age. In reality, the society has actually experienced fundamental changes, but the changes have been very incremental and even tend to be complex and stored in a system that blankets it. They are not visible on the surface, even though they occur

before our eyes. Only those who observe the changes carefully, especially Islamic thinkers, will be able to notice the changes.

Snouck further revealed that the traditional Islam implementing the system of *pesantren* education in the teaching and learning is commonly assumed to make changes. Meanwhile, the main cause of the closed nature of the changed system is fact that *pesantrens* are very careful in making decision; hence, their being selective encourages observers to say that *pesantren* have been very cloistered. *Pesantrens*' carefully action (being selective) actually can be understood because this attitude is based on several main considerations, namely religious consideration and social community. This closed-nature of *pesantrens* is possibly influenced by the prolonged Dutch colonization, so that some *pesantrens* had chosen to cooperate with various parties, specifically the colonizers.

In 1950s there was an exodus of students to public schools. This event was a direct impact of the increasing influence of educational institutions developed by the government that was increasingly perceived by the society. The exodus, of course, indirectly gave a negative impact on *pesantrens* in the following years, although there were many other factors causing the dimness of *pesantrens*, such as many *kiais* took advantage of the politic arena and bureaucracy as channels for social and religious activities, thereby causing a shift in values to be increasingly rampant (Efendi, 1983, p. VXI).

The exodus of students can also be interpreted as a sign of a shift in the society's aspirations and goals as well as demands from pure orientations of science and religiosity to a level of bureaucratic, materialistic, and political life. *Pesantren* in its progress has given Islamic teachings without expecting for payment and returns, such as diplomas and the like that are used as tools to gain employment. On the other hand, public schools give too much expectation of employment certainty that will be enjoyed in the future.

In addition to the above factors, progress in the body of *pesantren* is influenced by ideological factor, the need to improve quality, and strategic considerations. The ideological factor here is defined as the Islamic educational institutions perpetually give guidelines to the society to uphold the Islamic teachings to be made the foundations for their actions. This kind of Islamic teaching clearly tolerates reformation.

Meanwhile, the strategic factor was needed by the institution to increasingly do self-improvement. This factor is closely related to the issues of the journey of Islamic educational institutions. Somebody can see how the level of education and teaching of *santris* has been less optimal, especially when it comes to entering job market. The strategy as a solution to this issue can be by means of establishing both cooperative and non-cooperative

relations with other parties who are potentials to be partners. As for the quality factor, it is demanded that in the future *pesantren* can create graduates who are believed to be increasingly capable to compete in the job market and to live properly in the society.

***Pesantren* Management**

Leadership is part of the science of management. So, in my opinion, *Pesantren* leadership in the level of modern management science is described by (1) the effectiveness of *pesantren* development, (2) the development of *pesantren* organization in improving achievement, and (3) the managerial of *pesantren* leadership itself.

The effectiveness of organizational development is a technique in an attempt of implementing important changes in an organization. Organizational development involves various elements, namely participation in formulating the changes *pesantren* are posed with; it is not rare that large non-profit organizations employ transformation agent (change consultants) in formulating changes a *pesantren* organization is posed with. Unfortunately, *pesantren* tends to see changes as natural laws or *sunatullah* that have to be undergone by anyone anytime; thus, improvement in achievements of a *pesantren* tends to be slow.

The issue of transformation in the ethics of an organization is in reality dependent upon various parties involved in the organization. For *pesantren* itself, the needs for changes actually come from the communities, and this is the factor that will highly determine the direction of the *pesantren* according to communities' expectations, namely by involving agent of change. This process requires the role of agent of change as a facilitator to help the organization reorient its functions, and it involves learning principles. The basic characteristic of organizational development is the re-involvement of education to bring about changes to the point of making education return to applying basic learning principles.

The characteristics of the development of a contemporary organization mentioned above show that the main task of a manager is to conduct the whole programs of organizational development in order to create a basic change in organizational behaviour, while the return to classical teaching and learning is through unfreezing and refreezing, as implemented in the organizational development approach (Lewin, 1958).

Systematically, to analysis the management process through organizational development can be done by following the stages as put forward by Kirkpatrick (1985, p. 101). It is stated that there are various stages a manager can go through to develop an organization, and the specific steps in developing the organization is the main requirement of the manager.

Manager has to consider these various stages that at the same time, whether implicitly or explicitly, developing the organization or no. If the stages are developed effectively, a good climate of leadership in the *pesantren* can be created.

Leadership climate is a characteristic of a working environment resulted from leadership style and administrative practices of the manager. It highly influences the climate of organizational development. An organization that does not receive sufficient managerial support and commitment has a small opportunity to be successful (Tichy, 1989, p. 106). This is understandable because it is desired by an integrated quality management which its stages are undergone by a manager over a certain style, such as using an open, supportive, and group-centred system, even though not everyone can probably adopt such a style (Whitney, 1992, p. 44).

Developing a system and style of leadership, which becomes the focus of this study is inseparable from the society demands for changes, although an organization such as *pesantren* seldom makes significant changes without a strong surprise from the environment (Tichy & Ulrich, 1967, p. 54).

The environment itself is divided into two parts, namely the internal and external environments of *pesantren*. The external environment consists of economy, technology, and social that can trigger changes. Those who study and practice organizational changes agree that these external environmental influences are necessary, although they will not be sufficient to cultivate changes. As a case in *pesantren*, the apathetic attitude of *keiai* himself tends to make him unable to see encouragement for the change. He thinks that changes of such are common. This assumption shows that *pesantren* as an organization different from business-based organization that tends to think of anything outside the organization, which is not in line with the idea of the organization is a competitor (Business Week, 1988, p. 115).

Ideology and Tradition of *Pesantren*

Ideology of *pesantren* was shaped by two variables, namely the extent of its intensity in accessing influences of modern life and the level of socio-cultural poverty of a community (Mastuhu, 1995, p. 128).

The access of *pesantren* in the colonization era was very limited. It was deliberately made by the colonizers also. They thought that *pesantren* had a basic moral strength which be taken into account. So, they created an atmosphere religious and life understanding. It were allowed to prosper not only in the hearts of the communities, but also in their daily lives. On the contrary, their social-politic lives were suppressed in such a way. Freedom to think, desire, and action was very uncommon in the environment of a *pesantren*. This is clarified by Clifford Geertz who argued that religion as a

system of culture was permitted to thrive and even facilitated, while as a social system suppressed and even prevented from developing.

Such a case shows that the society regards today's *pesantren* as being similar as to the old day's *pesantren*. Besides, society desires to change form of *pesantren* into as someone believing that religion made by not only a cultural system but also a social system which requiring intervention from other parties in order to survive and developed according to the needs and demands of the epoch.

In line with the nature of *pesantren* that prioritizes society's religious intensity and to determine the stages a *pesantren* has to go to sustain the religious social life, some approaches of *pesantren* educational development are directed at; (1) servitudinal approach, (2) cultural approach, (3) development approach, (4) servitude and responsibility to God, and (5) value system, thinking pattern, and behavioural pattern approach (Clyde, 1962).

Fajar (2000, p. 124) gives two basics viewed as necessary to be developed in accordance with the development of the vision and missions of Islamic educational institution, namely: *First*, supplementary approach, which tends to view that religion is merely a support for the efforts of development empowerment, because it influences the behavioural pattern of human beings who are actively involved in the development, both humans as individuals and groups. Hence, religion contributes to the legitimisation of the pre-determined development infrastructure. *Secondly*, an approach that desires religion or religious institution in implementing development objectives, method, and infrastructure required to achieve stated objectives. So religion has from very beginning been involved in the development process. It is not merely a support system, but also in fact, included in GBHN (State Policy Guidelines), both in the 1992-1997 GBHN and the 1997-2003. It has shifted to improving human resources based on *īmān* (faith) and *taqwa* (piety) emphasis.

The supporting data borrowed from Fajar's literature consist of society's increasing interest in *pesantren*. *Pesantren* is believed to be a solution to the religious needs of students. In addition, data from the Republic of Indonesia's Department of Religious Affairs prove that out of 8,991 *pesantrens*. So, 1,598 are located in the cities (18%), while the remaining 7,393 are located in the villages (82%). Thus, that shift is observed from year to year. With this shift, it is predicted that in the future, number of *pesantrens* in cities and villages will be equal (Fajar, 2000, p. 125).

Reformation

Reformation perceived often equal to the term of modernization. The word is a translation from a Latin word, *modernus* (modo means recently). It is adopted into Indonesian language, *mutakhir* (Foeler, 1973, p. 778). Meanwhile, in English, the word of “modern” was defined as “present” or “recent time”, in this case, also could be interpreted as a person and people of thinking at modern times about of human beings, objects, including Muslim thoughts (Guralink, 1987, p. 387).

The word of “reformation” itself originates from the Arabic, *tajdid*. Hence, reformation was defined as new thinking about anything, newly founded, and has never been touched by anyone or anything. In other words, *tajdid* was defined as restoring all forms of religious lives to those exemplified by the beginning of Islamic era. This movement is oriented at purification efforts. It can also be defined as an attempt of implementing Islamic teachings in accordance with the challenges of life. So, the movement to fight for these ideas are called reformation (Jaenuri, 1995, p. 41). In Arabic, the actor of *tajdid* is *mujaddid* (Chaerul, 2000, p. 44).

Modernization in Islam, tends to be understood as the effects of advancement in the West. Furthermore, it is potentially to change the fundamental Islamic thoughts. However, It will tend to go towards westernization, affecting life and materialism (Anshari, 1983, p. 196).

Generally, reformation in *pesantren* can be defined as one of transformations and movements of ideas. They are a sequence of actions practiced with awareness in order to formulate or even restore the patterns and the order that have experienced changes, both revolutionary and gradually (Bahasoen, 1984, p. 107).

Departing from above literature, innovation in a *pesantren* can mean restructuring of the educational institution through refinement in various fields. In this paper, focus of analysis tends to restructuring with the science of management. By restructuring of this field, educational policies are expected will be better implemented. So, performance of *pesantren* will be increasingly improved and will no longer be taken for granted. This assumption leads to understanding that with professional leadership management, *pesantren* can be encouraged to perform well. The main of this targeted was *Kiai*, as a figure of leadership in *pesantren*.

As a leader of *pesantren*, figure of *kiai* was only one person of social role model. So, his innovation of *pesantren* was inseparable from other supporting components. Meanwhile, *pesantren*'s innovativeness are a social organization which necessity helped from many side. The theory of organizational innovativeness asserted that the characteristics of an innovative organization, based on the following paradigms, including *pesantren* possibly to measure of

it in various innovations, both in managerial and various forms of policies made by *kiai*. However, an extensive organization was more innovative than individual. Although with higher social status, *kiai* was not veritable to originality on organizational innovativeness, besides without clearly research and distinctly methodology of thought. The innovation in Indonesian Islamic educational, such as *pesantren*, essentially has been prevalent among the management of *pesantren*. In largely meaning, Indonesian Islamic educational institution should be identical with something new or sophisticated way (Poerwadarminta, 1976, p. 630). Indonesian Islamic education reformation should be more familiar among community members. When it takes place, *pesantren* reformation becomes something inherent in *moslem* individual behaviour to desiring of changes. Allah does not change a people's lot unless they change what is in their hearts (Q. S. Ar-Ra'du [13]. 11)

Urdang further explains that reformation in education especially in Islamic education should be has spirit of "reform". So the emerges of *pesantren* should be making someone, an institution, and a procedural system or tradition better by making reformations (Laurence Urdang, 1968, p. 1250). From above literature, Islamic educational reformation refers to to five main ideas: 1) recognizing of change as fundamental even. This reminds to one of Heraclitus' *panta rei* philosophies. According to him, everything observed by five senses experience was changing. Changes themselves are inevitable or unavoidable processes; 2) recognizing transformation and reformation as main ideas. When the time for transformation comes, reformation essentially will be perceived as something not extraordinary. It is imminent; 3) heading to improvement. Changes that do not head towards improvement will create destruction and archaism. Meanwhile, both of conception internally opposites to basic of Islamic religious teachings. They were permissible to make changes as long as destruction in nature, environment and human not occurred. It is excessive attitude. All people knows that violated change will be counterproductive to the essence of reformation; 4) Objects of discussion are clear. Transformation, in all aspect will be well done if existing clearly direction. So, in *pesantren*, especially in *kiai's* action need clarity of the aspects to be transformed. Without sharpness and clarity, reformation will only result in disappointment. Such of that will be difficult to cure; 5) taking place in a certain location. This point becomes a specific target of reformation. The location or area of reformation can be anywhere. It can take place in an Islamic education institution, *pesantren* (Nata, 2001).

Ultimately, goal of reformation in *pesantren* was leadership. *Kiai* as leader in *pesantren* became disputation between various parties, educators, thinkers and researchers. However, *pesantren* as the oldest of Islamic educational institution was Indonesian heritage (Majid, 1997, p. 3).

Willingness and ability of *pesantren* to make various adjustments was a positive step to support the development of *pesantren*. Azra said that it willingness and ability was a proof and strategy of *pesantren* to exist in modern era (Azra, 1997, p. 54).

The first aspect to adjust and readjust, according to Nata was real existence of *pesantren* that not only inscribed a history of Islamic education in Indonesia but also *pesantren's* management. In this case, *kiai* has to determine the goal of *pesantren*, because recently, *pesantren* is on the crossroad. On the one hand, Indonesian society expects that *pesantren* can sustain the traditional values and heritage from the founders of *pesantren*. On the other hand, *pesantren* developed by *santris* and congregation members. The expected do various religious and social activity in order to contribute in developing of Indonesia as nation. Nata said, that paradigms of reformation in *pesantren*, accepted including of management. Hopefully, *pesantren* can accommodative to reformation. Through science of management, *pesantren* do not totally rejects of reformation. Do not worry, as a science, management was very carefully and selective to reform of *pesantren* (2001, p. 154). The above statement have to be the main characteristic of *pesantren's* environment including research climate. At the moment, diversity in accepting reformism was the characteristic of *pesantren* and a homogeneous of Islamic democratic society.

Islamic education reformation mentioned above does not take place simultaneously, it is a gradual process, such as explained by Nata in Zuhairini (1992, p. 149). In this case, the reformation is a pioneering of modernization in organization of *pesantren*. Firstly, early routine stage consists of studies of Al-Qur'an and prayers or other forms of worship as initial activities. It is very simple, and usually children of neighbourhood will join. This stage is followed by acknowledgement by both of society and government. This means that legitimisation is derived not only from the *santris* but also the authorities. It is very important to attempting of pioneering and developing of *pesantren*.

Secondly, it is known as the transition stage. At this stage, *pesantren* commonly shows better performance than before, because in addition to legitimate of it geted, *pesantren* has been increasingly famous. This is the main cause for *pesantren* to be more established, where at this stage *kiai* is generally appointed to be the head of the *pesantren*. *Kiai* will appoint assistants who are capable to manage *pesantren*, both from the aspect of teaching and management of other fields. Ultimately those related to social relations. Hence, *ustadz* or teachers extended of *kiai's* hands, so room arrangement of teaching and learning activities are obligated to the *ustadz*. In this case, *ustadz* are more knowledgeable as well as in managing residences and other spaces.

Third, it is the formalization stage. In this stage, initial checking based on needs of *santris*, to increasing in number for time to time, they have to be catered to carefully. To appointing teacher or *ustadz* assistants, senior *santris* who selective thought in *pesantren*, became capable to manage and teach some of congregation and their juniors. Others management area are handled by *ustadz* and other board of members.

Fourth, it is the consolidation stage. This stage is generally made one of the opportunities for *pesantren* to open other forms of education, for example *majelis ta'lim*. *Pesantrens* who have administered *majlis ta'lim* will be developed into *Taman Pendidikan Al Qur'an* (TPA) and *Raudlatul Athfal* (RA) (*Preschool and Kinder garden of Al Qur'an*). When the newly developed form of education has run effectively, another model of Islamic education was open, such as *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah* (Islamic Primary School). This institution is pioneer of the founding of *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* (MTs) and *Madrasah Aliyah* (MA) (Primary and high of Islamic schools). So, another forms of education are need introduced to, such as courses and skills of vocational education.

Fifth, it is the legitimation stage. This stage tends to orient towards the legal legitimation of *pesantren* itself, whether it is in the form of foundation owned and managed by the communities or a legal body owned by individuals, so that a foundation is an anticipation to avoid any abuse to the authority that can cause misunderstanding about the foundation's assets and properties.

Sixth, it is the diversification stage. At this stage, diversification of activities and service functions are so complex that it requires skilled people to manage each unit of activity, such as in some *pesantrens* under this research.

Seventh, it is decentralization stage. *Pesantren* tends to center various units of activities in *kiai's* single sentral activity. In other words, *pesantren* becomes a bureaucrat which holding a central authority and roles of *kiai*. Besides, in analysing and evaluating performance of *pesantren's* subordinates need an autonomy that increasingly perceived at this stage. To prominent at this stage need decentralize several activities and unit beyond of *kiai's* authority. Furthermore, from many stages, this stage was perceived being cross-road opinions in *pesantren* reformation. Opponent argues to maintenance of the status quo. Proponent accepted modernization. It means, today *pesantren* in a cross road condition.

That shows that reformation in *pesantren* tends to uniformity. When a concept of transformation or reformation be analogous to innovation, so *pesantren*, according to theory, should be open ended to something new (Davenport, 1993. P. 10). Similar to him opinion, Roger who inclined to define innovation as new findings, including of ideas, actions and objects, so *pesantren* should be a social institution to transforming of society. Meanwhile,

Kunt assumes that the main problem of innovation actually found at a subjectivity level, so, an idea of something new for people basically coming from individual ideas (Winardi, 1991. P. 13). Actually, *pesantren* innovation was implementation of a new product, process, service and guidance in order to growing and improving of ideas (De Gruyter, 1988, p. 3). In account of De Gruyter's consideration, *pesantren* innovation should be implemented in social life innovation, evoking reformation, in lifestyle and future of social activities.

Pesantren's Open System

Central figure of *pesantren* was *kiai*. But, *pesantren* need another figure, second and further are categorized as who always expect criticism and inputs from the external parties. Somebody are expected to be meaningful for the development of *pesantren*. However, *pesantren* progresses upward or downward is not only determined by a leader, but also by the deep concern shown by the *pesantren* communities. That is *pesantren* as a system. As a system, *pesantren* succession was part of *pesantren* management. So it should be covers various components, both of main and supporting. As a system, *pesantren* has a community which consisting of inseparable parts in an attempt of achieving certain goals. The main components of *pesantren* system as an educational institution are: 1) power denomination (*kiai*), (2) organizational effectiveness (social-religious education), (3) environmental control (*pesantren* community/*kelana*), (4) perception and evaluation as an important connector that becomes mediator between an environment and organizational actions (*muādalab*).

Another aspect that can be made that standard for succession system of *pesantren* conducted by own performance. This is very rarely done. At least, by understanding to concept of innovation, *pesantren* expected can be a pioneer of Islamic transformation and reformation in education. To fulfil this expectation, *pesantren* has to bridge of information, publication, extension, opinion, to developing, especially in relation to its leadership succession. Actually, it will have a serious impact in image of *pesantren* as an Islamic educational institution. *Pesantren* have to concerning to decentralization, sustainability, and achievements that not lag behind of global civilization as well as nation of Indonesia. *Pesantren* community should be contribute to solve national and international issues, something like violent and terrorism.

CONCLUSION

Leadership succession in *pesantren*, basically too employs of tradition and culture which previously developed by founders, namely *kiai* and his family. So, *pesantren* was perceived as Islamic educational institution that used family

system. Leadership succession in *pesantren* is indicated by two cases, namely: 1) if a *kiai* has offspring, leadership in *pesantren* will be succeeded by *kiai*'s children or grandchildren; it shows that leadership in *pesantren* depending on senior *kiai* as founder and manager. Commonly, succeeded by the oldest son of him. If he has no son, *pesantren* will be succeeded by *kiai*'s daughter, and most of female leaders will hand the leadership to their husbands, or the sons-in-laws of *kiai*. When leadership of *kiai*'s children ends, the grandchildren will succeed the children, and this will continue from one generation to the next; 2) if *kiai* does not have an offspring, leadership will be inherited to close family member of *kiai*. If there is none, go down to his senior *santri*/student, even though the student usually unsurvive for long time. Usually the student will prefer to found his own *pesantren*. If this occurs, so highly possible that *pesantren* will be a history, in other word, finished. *Kiai* and family members of tradisional *pesantren* view *pesantren* as inheritance from the previous founders. So, *pesantren* was taking or ignoring for granted to mandate a huge sin. It will create a great disadvantages. Strongly, a tradition rooted in daily activities of *kiai* and family members of *pesantren*. It inclined to maintain of daily culture inherited in a larger part by colonial belief and culture. So, in their view was referring to system of leadership succession in *pesantren*. Actually, a form of negation of colonial culture and behaviour that are not in line and violate to religious norms and life order as well as social and religious life of *pesantren* communities. Hence, the missions set by *kiai* and family members of *pesantren* are based on a great fear. In hopefully, in the future, *pesantren* will be led by someone who is not in line with *pesantren* founder's beliefs. Another issues needed to give attention and discussion seriously, that is innovation. Innovation in *pesantren* actually tends to orienting in management. As incoming of modernism tool, such as computer and other audio-visual media in *pesantren*, so *pesantren* management is no longer a conservative socio-religious educational institution. Even though there were some *pesantrens* still maintained a tradition and status quo, rejecting modernism. For the *pesantren* itself, modernism can shape a new value and order of social-religious life. In this case be a meaningful challenge for *kiai* and family members of the *pesantren*. Meanwhile, for *santris*/students, computer and other media are important. Recently media have never shifted by *kiai*'s position as a source of religious study for *santris*/students and congregation members. The innovation of *pesantren* developed in leadership succession system of *pesantren* still faces traditional but meaningful obstacles. Because, *kiai*'s belief still dominates of behaviour and culture of *pesantren* communities. Actually, *kiai* himself has not been fully an agent of change for change in pattern of leadership succession. Thus, through such a way of thinking, *kiai* as figure of *pesantren* have to be leadership innovative. Laggard

is attached to *kiai* and leadership style and succession of *pesantren*. Such a phenomenon is actually an upside-down pyramid. In this perspective, *pesantren* was innovative Islamic educational institution that attempting to get succession to be done. In other word, leadership succession innovation will be easily achieved. The younger generation has to prepare a sustainability of leadership. In leadership of *pesantren*, *kiai* has to prepare of younger generation that will succeed him. It obstacles will be created and seriously impacted to future leadership in *pesantren*. In other word, when *kiais* become innovators, succession should be focused on professionalism in order to give impact in sustainability of *pesantren*. The younger generation can do to succeed *kiai's* leadership are based on *al-uswah al-hasanah* (as an ultimately figured model for *santris*/students and the congregation members). Real actions to realizing of readiness in leadership succeeding. With those indicators, leadership of succession system in *pesantren* is no longer frightful for *kiai's* family members. In addition, to save *pesantren* from extinction, stakeholders has to struggle of vision and missions in accordance with *pesantren* function as a social-religious national institution that demanded by modern and global society.

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