



The Role of Leadership of Kyai as the Caretaker of Islamic Boarding Schools in Building Social Piety

(Study at Miftahul Ulum Bettet Islamic Boarding School, Pamekasan, Madura)

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ABSTRACT

This study examines in depth the role of Kiai leadership in shaping the social piety of students at the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Islamic Boarding School in Pamekasan, Madura. The background of this research is based on the importance of the position of Islamic boarding schools as Islamic educational institutions that focus not only on the transmission of religious knowledge but also on character formation and social piety. In the socio-cultural context of Madura, kiai are not only religious educators but also role models and cultural brokers who are able to bridge Islamic values with local traditions. However, modernization and globalization present new challenges, coupled with declining public trust due to cases involving certain clerics. This phenomenon demands further research on how kiai leadership remains relevant and contributes positively to society. This study uses a qualitative approach with a social definition paradigm, through in-depth interviews, observations, and documentation studies. Data analysis was conducted using the interactive model of Miles, Huberman, and Saldana, which includes data condensation, data presentation, and drawing conclusions. The research focused on the kiai leadership model, character education strategies, the kiai's role as a cultural intermediary, and the challenges and dynamics of Islamic boarding schools in responding to modern developments. The results showed that the kiai's leadership at the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Islamic Boarding School is centralistic and participatory. Centralism is evident in the kiai's full authority to maintain traditions, make strategic decisions, and serve as the primary moral reference. Meanwhile, participatory behavior is present through the involvement of students, ustadz, the Islamic boarding school family, and the community in educational and socio-religious activities. The kiai acts as a cultural broker who is able to bridge Islamic teachings with local Madurese culture, thus creating a moderate, tolerant, and inclusive social piety among the students. This social piety is reflected in the students' ability to live in harmony, respect each other, and contribute positively to society. However, the research also identified several obstacles faced by the Islamic boarding school. Excessive dependence on the kiai figure has the potential to create a leadership bottleneck that slows leadership regeneration. The hierarchical culture and seniority sometimes result in excessive disciplinary practices and even the potential for violence. Furthermore, the dominant learning methods of lectures and memorization limit the opportunities for students to actualize social values in real life. Other challenges include limited management and human resources within Islamic boarding schools, as well as the increasingly complex demands of modernization and globalization.

Keywords: Character Education, Cultural Broker, Islamic Boarding School, Leadership, Participation Center and Modern Islamic Boarding School, Social Piety.

1. INTRODUCTION

Religious affiliation on Madura Island is primarily expressed through the establishment of numerous Islamic boarding schools (pesantren), mosques/mushallas (prayer rooms), and the enhancement of religious ceremonies, resulting in the Madurese being recognized as a religious community and known as Islamic Nationalists (A'La et al., 2018). As a religious community, the presence of ulama is crucial; they are leaders of religious ceremonies, and also serve as local social, religious, and cultural leaders. The ulama's authority stems from their affiliation with the santri community, fostering social obedience through proportional worship and healthy social relationships (Remiswal et al., 2020), leading to social obedience within the Islamic boarding school environment. In the Islamic boarding school environment, the client's patronage is represented by the role of the ulama as a community figure and religious leader

who is rightfully a Patron (Setiawan, 2012). Social construction is the authority of the ulama as "heir to the Prophet's mission" (Al Ulama' Warstul Ambiya). Furthermore, the influence of the Kyai is spread across religious studies in various regions, especially in regions where alumni have authority over their students and have settled down and are bound by alumni organizations, where active activities are related to religion in their respective regions of origin when they return to their place of origin. The ulama, both kiai and nyai, are fully trusted by the community to direct the development and education of their children.

The position of ulama is inseparable from their ownership status of Islamic boarding schools which are considered as religious institutions that function to inherit religious traditions through the transmission of knowledge from their predecessors. Islamic boarding schools are Islamic da'wah institutions that have a pluralistic perception (Adolph, 2016). The status of Islamic boarding schools as pluralistic Islamic education prioritizes tolerance, strengthens Islam rahmatan lil 'alamin, with the ideology of tawazun, tawasuth, tasamuh, and i'tidal. Islamic boarding schools are ready to provide solutions to society and are ready to pioneer cultural Islamic movements and the strength of civil society by combining traditional religious knowledge with modern science. Education in Islamic boarding schools is provided by a representative ulama or kiai who becomes a mentor and role model for students in life.

Islamic boarding school education is conducted in an orderly manner and requires a long period of time so that students can gain a deep understanding of the essence of all things, thus facilitating the distinction between right and wrong. Since their inception, Islamic boarding schools have been closely connected to the community, as these institutions were founded on a societal approach. Their presence serves as a vehicle for safeguarding the unity of the Republic of Indonesia, a nation steeped in diverse races, ethnicities, religions, and cultures.

Islamic boarding school education can be seen as a ceremonial institution, a moral development institution, a da'wah institution, and most importantly as an Islamic educational institution that experiences challenges and threats of crisis as a romance of life in facing internal and external challenges amidst globalization (Rosidi, 2018). Therefore, to be able to carry out its educational function in providing quality human resources, Islamic boarding schools must be able to improve the quality, management and model of their education (Rosidi, 2018).

The role of Kyai in religious education and guidance in collaboration with the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) in fostering religious education has had a significant impact on transforming various components of the era to benefit Indonesia's human capital. For example, the MUI supports the equalization of Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) and Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) which are synonymous with popular training institutions, supports the life of religious training institutions through legislation, and encourages the development and strengthening of the main character education of tutorial institutions. From the various capabilities of the MUI in educational disciplines, it is clear that the greater the MUI's involvement in these disciplines, the more effective the human capital of the Indonesian people will be (Mukhyar, Maskur Rosyid, 2020) (Ahmad Suja'i, Muhammad Amir Baihaqi, 2022).

However, in reality, in recent years, there have been many criminal cases involving clerics, children of clerics, and also ustadz who are involved and act as perpetrators of criminal acts, both corruption and immoral crimes. According to (Rustam Ependi, Hadi Sahputra Penggabean, 2020) this change also flows directly from the attitudes and personalities of Ulama, which can be seen from the position and social implementation of Ulama in society. Examples of corruption cases by the former regent of Bangkalan Fuad Amin and by the current regent Latif Amin, where Fuad Amin and Latif Amin are kyai or clerics who are quite respected by the Madurese community. There are incidents of immoral pornography and molestation cases against students or female students by the son of a kyai at an Islamic boarding school in Jombang, immoral cases of ustadz or lewd Koran teachers, and others. Examining the case of Fuad Amin, he was convicted as a suspect in corruption involving the Regional Budget (APBD) amounting to 414 billion rupiah, despite his profession. During his tenure as Regent, Fuad Amin also committed fraud by purchasing and promoting positions for civil servants in the legal profession, ranging from 15 million to 50 million rupiah. Furthermore, Fuad Amin also demanded bribes from oil and gas marketers in Bangkalan, amounting to 200 million to one billion rupiah per month (Saputra, Andi: 2018).

Bangkalan Regent R. Abdul Latif Amin Imron has been officially named a suspect in the bribery case surrounding the task auction. He was detained by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) early Thursday, December 8, 2022, at 12:05 a.m. WIB. (Yuantisyta Mutia and Rosana Francisca Christy: 2022). Police also arrested Moch Subchi Al Tsani (MSAT), also known as Mas Bechi (forty-two), a suspect in the alleged molestation of a female student at the Shiddiqiyah Islamic Boarding School in Jombang, East Java. Police confiscated several pieces of

evidence in the alleged molestation of the son of a Jombang cleric (Putra, Nanda Perdana: 2022). Abdul Hafifi (30), the Head of the Bina Qurani Islamic Boarding School, who is a suspect in the case of immoral acts against his students, underwent extensive research at the Kuningan Police Headquarters (Ripai Ahmad and Herdiana deddy: 2021). From these examples, it can be categorized that clerics no longer possess traits and behaviors that reflect moral and social piety, thus increasing the network's hesitation to send their children to Islamic boarding schools and increasing public distrust of clerics.

The scholars referred to in this dissertation are people who possess and are professionals in spiritual sciences and other well-known sciences related to human welfare. According to Regional Regulation Number 18 of 2019, it is stated that Kyai, Trran Guru, Anre Gurutta, Inyiak, Syekh, Ajengan, Buya, Nyai, or other titles hereinafter referred to as Kiai are educators who have competence in Islamic religious knowledge who act as figures, role models, and/or caretakers of Islamic boarding schools. The consequences of this incident have led to a decline in the interest of networking in sending young children to Islamic boarding schools, particularly the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Pamekasan Madura Islamic Boarding School. According to information received from the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Pamekasan Madura Islamic Boarding School, the number of students admitted has decreased year after year, as shown in the following data:

The alleged corruption case involving a cleric (kyai) in Pamekasan has sparked a wave of public distrust in Islamic boarding schools (pesantren), particularly those led by this religious figure. The cleric, long known as a moral figure and guardian of religious values, suddenly found himself in the public spotlight due to his involvement in the misuse of government grants and aid. Public disappointment is understandable, as there is a clash between the idealistic expectations of the cleric, who should be a role model, and the harsh reality that he is suspected of violating the law. This situation is exacerbated by the lack of transparency in the management of Islamic boarding school finances, which have traditionally been conducted behind closed doors and away from public scrutiny. The public has begun to question the integrity of Islamic boarding schools in managing the funds entrusted to them by the state and the community.

In the digital era, massive news coverage on social media has also worsened the image of Islamic boarding schools, especially when cases like this go viral, as shown by data processed from the intensity of news coverage about the bad things about Islamic boarding schools, as presented in the table below:

Table 1. Media Reporting on Violence in Islamic Boarding Schools

Year	Number of News Reports	Primary Source
2018	Data not available	-
2019	Data not available	-
2020	768 articles (Jan 2020–Jun 2022)	Research by the Press Council & Tidar University
2021	3,713 articles (August 29 – September 27, 2021)	Netray Monitoring

Source: News Intensity processed using AI

Based on news reports, it's not uncommon for circulating information to contain negative generalizations, thus tarnishing the reputation of other unrelated Islamic boarding schools. Furthermore, the involvement of some kyai (Islamic scholars) in practical politics has also contributed to the perception that Islamic boarding schools have lost their neutrality and are even infiltrated by powerful interests. All of these factors have eroded public trust in religious institutions that have long been held in high regard, and demand serious improvements in Islamic boarding school governance and public communication.

Regarding character education, the government issued Presidential Regulation Number 87 of 2017 concerning Strengthening Character Education. In this Presidential Regulation, strengthening character education is a movement under the responsibility of educational units, through the participation and cooperation of educational units, families and communities, to strengthen the character of students through coordination of the heart, emotional training, mental training and physical training. Part of the National Spiritual Revolutionary Movement. According to (Siti Julaeha, 2019) character education is used as a tool for educational reform. Fulfilling the expectations of character education requires strong initial collaboration with the government as the policy holder.

The era of the 4.0 economic revolution is quite worrying for all of us, as future citizens no longer view character education as a primary concern. However, the technology of the 4.0 revolution repeatedly brings rapid changes that

are often difficult for most people to keep up with. Therefore, Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) must be able to define themselves as Islamic missionary institutions while still prioritizing the embodiment of the essence of Islamic missionary work, particularly morals (Ricky Satria Wiranata, 2019).

One of the important problems of the implementation of Character education is the ethical difficulties of ethnic technology whose situation is developing. From a religious attitude, from an ideological attitude, the development of transnational movements is getting closer, especially some Muslims generally tend to visit the proper, distorting and questioning the state ideology of Pancasila against the religion that is upheld in the form of the creation of the state (the issue of the Islamic Caliphate). Even though the issue has been dissolved with the help of the government through the Ministry of Law and Human Rights and through AHU-30.AH.01.08 2017. However, this problem has stuck in the minds of the people and resulted in public concern about the implementation of social piety development, especially at the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Pamekasan Madura Islamic boarding school.

It can be seen that the implementation of character education does not only teach about right and wrong, but more importantly, character education requires conscious and planned efforts to instill the influence of diverse Islamic boarding school culture into the behavior of students (Fahrudin, 2025) so that character education in Islamic boarding schools needs to combine a combination of traditional and modern models (Rosyidah, 2025).

The future challenges for Islamic boarding schools are also real, regarding the existence of moral decay which is driving the high rate of violence in Islamic boarding schools, as released by the KPAI data presented below:

Table 2. KPAI Data “Violence in Islamic Boarding Schools

Year	Number of Cases	Types of Violence	Location	Perpetrator	Notes
2021	12 of the 18 cases of sexual violence in educational units occurred in boarding schools.	Sexual Violence	Boarding Schools (including Islamic boarding schools)	The majority of teachers and leaders of Islamic boarding schools	Total victims: 207 children (126 girls, 71 boys)
2022	5 of the 12 cases of sexual violence in educational units occurred in Islamic boarding schools.	Sexual Violence	Islamic Boarding School	Teachers and Caregivers	Victims' age range 5-17 years
2024 (Jan-Sept)	7 cases	Physical Violence and Bullying	East Java, South Sulawesi, Central Java	Senior students	One of the cases resulted in the victim's death.

Data Source: Social Media Information Processed by Research

Seeing the above phenomenon is the cause of people thinking long and hard about sending their sons and daughters to Islamic boarding schools (Ramadhani & Azizah, 2025). This also has an impact on the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Pamekasan Madura Islamic boarding school, as shown in graph 1.1 regarding the decline in student admissions at the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Pamekasan Islamic Boarding School.

Regarding the phenomenon of education in Islamic boarding schools as a moral workshop, this is both a process and a system that manifests and culminates in the achievement of ideal human qualities amidst the rapid development of science and technology. Therefore, the educational model in Islamic boarding schools applies a traditional educational system that aims to develop intelligent and morally upright students and become a reference for the general public in education (Rosyidah, 2025).

Moral awareness is very important in the educational process in Islamic boarding schools as a predominantly Muslim country in Indonesia, this has a strategic role in shaping the character of students through a holistic approach that includes religious, moral, and social education. However, in practice, there are challenges faced in internalizing character values effectively, just as intelligence (IQ) also requires the ability to regulate emotions (EQ), because character education is closely related to three human intelligences, namely; spiritual, intellectual, and emotional intelligence (Acetylena & Sirojuddin, 2025). The development of this character as the responsibility for organizing

character education does not only lie with the government and educational institutions, in the smallest scope the family environment is the most vital part in shaping a person's personality, society must also be the forerunner of character education for the better.

Islamic boarding schools not only provide spiritual training but also modern education in their curriculum. This Islamic boarding school has been able to maintain its Salafiyah tradition to this day. It is a boarding school that upholds the principle of "tafaqquh fi al-din." On the one hand, the Miftahlm Ulum Bettet Islamic Boarding School in Pamekasan Regency is able to maintain the effective values that characterize its boarding school, while at the same time, the boarding school is also willing to accept new things that might be desired by today's society.

Miftahul Ulum Bettet Islamic Boarding School continues to demonstrate its superiority and public interest, despite having undergone a change in management. It has proven itself capable of effectively managing the educational institution. Founded 33 years ago by KH Sirojuddin in 1912, it is now the face of modern Islamic education in Pamekasan. In addition to offering non-formal education, namely Madrasah Diniyah, it also facilitates formal education up to the university level. The university of Miftahul Ulum Bettet Islamic Boarding School is the Islamic University of Madura (UIM).

Remarkably, in 1982, a branch was opened in Banjarmasin under the same name. Formal education at PP. Mitahul Ulum Banjarmasin currently only extends to high school. There is no higher education institution like PP. Miftahul Ulum Bettet in Pamekasan.

This rapid development is also evident in the mastery of formal education within Islamic boarding schools. From elementary, junior high, and senior high schools to higher levels, these schools have shown significant progress and achieved numerous achievements comparable to those of other formal schools and Islamic boarding schools.

Achieving institutional management is inseparable from the synergy of institutional management and appropriate control strategies. This means that leadership within an institution determines its fulfillment in fulfilling the institution's objectives. As stated by Miftah Thoha (Suryani et al., 2025), effective leadership depends not only on technical competence but also on emotional intelligence, effective communication, and the ability to think strategically and innovatively. Furthermore, developing leaders' professional, personal, and social skills is a key factor in improving the quality of education. The implementation of leadership styles, such as transformational and democratic leadership, has been proven to create a conducive work environment, increase motivation, and empower educators and students.

Supporting this opinion, it can be concluded that management means a leader can influence other people (subordinates) so that they will carry out orders and commands with the aim of achieving their desires. Therefore, in Islam, a leader must be trustworthy and pious to be a good role model for those they lead.

In facing the demands of the times, PP Miftahul Ulum Betet has a democratic and open institutional management process but there are provisions by the caretaker (Kyai) as the starting point for decisions in managing the institution. Seeing the system and management of educational institutions that prioritize the client-patron culture, there is a social institutional problem at the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Pamekasan Madura Islamic boarding school, namely the founder (Kyai) who as a Ulama places himself at the highest level and the community places the ulama at the highest social level strata that the ulama intentionally or not places himself at the highest level. However, the kyai only places the level of social stratification in my environment, this has an impact on the process of organizing social piety education having a gap that results in unclear portions in each social element. In addition, the kyai in this case the caretaker of the Miftahul Ulum Islamic Boarding School has a high social stratification that dominates every institutional decision such as; The election of the Principals of SDI, MTS, MI, and the Chancellors of PTS in maintaining the continuity and conduciveness of the institution of election of Principals and Chancellors of PTS adheres to a democratic system, however the final decision is held by the Guardian (Kyai) who has a social stratification as a cleric or religious figure as well as a reference for society, a role model for society.

Based on the background and several problems of Islamic boarding schools, both from external and internal issues, both in terms of the implementation aspects of character education, aspects of absolute power, aspects of implementation, aspects of radicalism that have been described, the researcher focuses on describing the role of Kyai as Ulama in facing external and internal problems in maintaining social piety in organizing education.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Leadership

Leadership comes from the word "to lead," which means guidance, direction, or role model. It can also mean explaining the correct or proper method, or suggesting how to carry out a task or activity. Management is called leadership in English, and in Arabic it is known as zi'amah or imamah. In the terminology developed with the help of Marifield and Hamzah, management is concerned with stimulating, mobilizing, directing, and coordinating the motives and loyalty of people involved in a collective effort.

Leadership is closely related to the periodization of leadership management time (Soeharjono, 2011). Etymologically, leadership comes from the word "to steer" (English) which means to guide. Then the word "leader" appears because this leader is the one who ultimately gave birth to the management time period which is translated into leadership (Khuailid, 2019). explained again in leadership (Wahjosumidjo, 2001 and Sale, 2025) which in practice regarding organizations, the word "lead" contains the connotation of moving, directing, guiding, protecting, fostering, giving examples, giving encouragement, giving assistance, and so on. Anoraga in (Halawa & Karneli, 2025) defines "management as a relationship in which a man or woman, namely the leader, influences different parties to work together voluntarily with the aim of carrying out obligations related to the completion of that management". Leadership is a hobby of influencing other humans so that humans need to work collectively to achieve predetermined desires.

Etymologically, leadership is defined as the Caliphate, Imamate, and Imarah, which mean movement in leadership power or high leadership quality. Meanwhile, terminologically, leadership is the ability to persuade diverse individuals (Fazillah & Widyanto, 2019) to achieve predetermined positive desires (Wargadinata, 2017). In other words, leadership is the effort to transform all hidden abilities into reality. However, the terms commonly used in Islamic literature are ulil amri, imam, and malik.

2.2. Islamic Boarding School Education in Social Piety

Islamic boarding school and Kiai are like two sides of the same coin, inseparable. They are mutually dependent (a symbiotic relationship). In this sense, Islamic boarding school need Kiai as a symbol of their leadership identity, while Kiai need Islamic boarding school as a place to affirm their identity as leaders of the community and as an Islamic educational institution.

Regarding the location of Islamic boarding schools in the modern era, many believe they will struggle to develop. Others believe that Islamic boarding schools have undergone changes that have lost their distinctive characteristics. As can be seen, the problem faced by Islamic boarding schools is the continuous development of the times. However, this can be overcome if the boarding school adapts to these changes, and the primary actor is the Kiai, the leader of the boarding school.

As institutions engaged in education and socio-religious affairs, the development of Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) must be continuously encouraged. This is because their development is inextricably linked to the challenges they face. Currently, the rapid and comprehensive development of technology and information has impacted public interest in Islamic boarding schools, leading to a growing number of people considering enrolling their children in them. Some of the challenges faced by Islamic boarding schools in their development include:

- a) The image of Islamic boarding schools as traditional and shabby is considered by some people to be incapable of answering global challenges that must compete with technology.
- b) Limited infrastructure and conventional learning methods and there are still some Islamic boarding schools that remain as traditional Islamic boarding schools
- c) The lack of human resources within the Islamic boarding school system and the lack of openness to human resources from outside the Islamic boarding school, Islamic boarding schools that are still considered not bona fide and the Islamic boarding school network that is not very open.
- d) Management is the most important element in developing an Islamic boarding school. The persistence of Islamic boarding schools using traditional management methods has resulted in delays in systematic institutional management.
- e) Weaknesses in administration are still experienced by some Islamic boarding schools. For example, alumni data from the early years of their founding is sometimes overlooked by Islamic boarding schools.

- f) Financial needs are a constant obstacle to Islamic boarding school activities, from kitchen needs to development needs.
- g) Islamic boarding schools are still concentrating on developing the students' religious knowledge, so the life skills curriculum has not been touched by Islamic boarding school management.

2.3. The Role of Ulama in the Field of Character Education

The book "Implementation of Character Education" by Sofyan Mustoip, Muhammad Japar and Zulela Ms (Sofyan Mustoip, Muhammad Japar, Zulela Ms., 2018) explains the Role of Educational Personnel in Implementing Character Education including the Role of the Principal, the Role of Teachers and the Role of School Guards. This book still does not explain the role of religious scholars in character education, so this study continues the implementation of character education by using the role of religious scholars in character education. Some studies related to the role of religious scholars in the field of character education are as follows:

According to (Imroatul Fatihah, 2018), this scientific article emphasizes the role of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in building and maintaining the nation's character based on good morals. Although the issue of character education has recently become a hot topic, NU's role in implementing character education has been established since its founding. NU's concept of character education differs from Western concepts. For NU, character education not only focuses on the bonds between humans but also encompasses both human and divine dimensions. Therefore, NU's character education can be concluded as a form of moral education, as long practiced by the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him).

According to (Ali Miftakhu Rosyad, 2019) the goal of personality learning is to instill values in students and to renew the order of communal life that values people's freedom more. The long-term goal is none other than to base oneself on people's active contextual assumptions on the natural social impulses they receive, which in turn continues to sharpen the vision of life that is to be achieved through a continuous process of self-formation (ongoing formation).

2.4. Social Piety Education

According to (Siswoyo Aris Munandar, Sigit Susanto, Wahyu Nugroho., 2020) this research is entitled "Tarekat Qadiriyyah wa Naqsabandiyah towards the Social Piety of the Residents of Gemutri Hamlet, Sukoharjo, Sleman". The background of this research problem is the challenges of the era that have begun to erode the spiritual and social aspects of a Sufi community through the tarekat offering an increase in morality/ethics. Tarekat is believed to be one of the media for social change in boosting the increase in morality/ethics.

Understanding the tarekat as a medium of social change is that the tarekat directs the increase and improvement of people's morals. Viewed from the formulation of the problem, two issues can be drawn, namely: 1) how is the role of the Qadiriyyah wa Naqsabandiyah tarekat towards the spiritual life of the community. 2) how is the position of the Qadiriyyah wa-Naqsabandiyah tarekat in protecting the social piety of the community. Efforts to respond to the case in this research to use field research methodology, namely by digging up field data and observing directly. The purpose of this research is to describe the position of the Qadiriyyah wa-Naqsabandiyah Tarekat towards social piety which shows the position of the tarekat is the increase in spirituality, and the teaching of noble morals.

2.5. Functional Structure Theory

Structural functionalism theory is the most influential body of thought in the social sciences in the present century. The first figures to propose the principle of purpose were August Comte, Émile Durkheim, and Herbert Spencer. Structural-practical thinking is heavily inspired by biological inquiry, viewing society as an organic organism composed of interdependent organs. This dependence is a consequence or result of the analogy of organic organisms that survive. Like other approaches, this structural-purposeful method also aims to achieve social order. This structural-practical idea originally departed from the thoughts of Emile Durkheim who was inspired by Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer. Comte with his thoughts on the analogy of organisms was similarly developed by Herbert Spencer through comparing and seeking similarities between society and organisms, until it later developed into what is called necessary functionalism, which has become a guideline for Spencer's important analysis and use. evaluation. driven by using these people, Durkheim's research is firmly rooted in the terminology of organisms. Durkheim stated that society is a unity in which there are different elements.

2.6. Structural Theory of Conflict

The idea of structural struggle emerged in American sociology in the 1960s, a revival of ideas previously expressed by Karl Marx and Max Weber. Both figures were struggle theorists, though they differed from each other. Both struggle theorists, Marx and Weber, firmly rejected the concept that society tends towards a consensus or simple harmony, where the structure of society works for the good of all. Both theorists viewed conflict and the clash of interests and concerns of various individuals and groups at war with each other as the primary determinants of social existence (Nasrullah, 2003).

2.7. Leadership Typology Theory

Leadership is the capacity of a person to influence and motivate others to do something in accordance with a common goal. Management includes a system of influencing in determining the desires of the organization, motivating the behavior of fans to achieve desires, influencing to improve the group and its culture. Meanwhile, power is the ability to persuade other people to want to do whatever the needs of different birthday celebrations (Field Guidelines 20).

Leaders have a profound influence on relationships, which occur between people who desire significant change, and these changes reflect the shared dreams of both leaders and followers (subordinates). This impact, in this case, approaches the relationship between leader and followers so that it is not passive, but reciprocal and non-coercive. Therefore, the leader himself is a technique for influencing each other.

2.8. The Theory of Social Piety

Piety is a motivator for developing a praiseworthy personality in real life. This is because piety increases insight and understanding that Islamic teachings most effectively guide one toward what is right and praiseworthy. This knowledge, in turn, compels its possessor to invite others to emerge as pious individuals. Consequently, pious individuals possess a keen awareness of their surroundings (Helmi, 2014).

As a religious attitude, Islamic theory is better able to explain social piety as part of human movement. which is based on a number of thoughts, namely the beginning of many human actions primarily based on their will and cannot be based entirely on determinants as in psychoanalysis, or as a self. which does not have knowledge like cotton blown by the wind as in behaviorism, or imitation as known in the idea of modeling. 2d, one of the human traits is the knowledge to always be self-aware, dialogue with oneself, and always in touch with the world of the human framework. From an early age, it has been defined that humans are the simplest creatures in terms of their emergence may have a divine spirit. Social piety is part of a person's interaction with their spiritual experience. 1/3, as conscious beings, human behavior is based on rational choices and decisions. So that human behavior must be indifferent to the influence of the surrounding environment. A person who is pious will always be pious even though the surrounding area is full of crime, corruption and other crimes. Social piety is a non-secular orientation of a person that is not only related to God but also a person's religious orientation in dealing with others. Moltafet, Mazidi, & Sadati, (2010) in their research said that there is a very big relationship between spiritual orientation and the size of a man or woman.

3. RESEARCH METHODS

3.1. Research Approach and Research Paradigm

In accordance with the problems studied in this study, this study uses a qualitative method in the form of a multi-website. In line with (Bogdan and Taylor in Moleong, 2012), stating that the motive of qualitative research is a research method that produces descriptive statistics in the form of written or spoken words from humans and observable behavior. In line with (Moleong, Lexi J., 2011) Qualitative research can be used to find and understand what is hidden behind phenomena that are sometimes difficult to realize and understand. Qualitative research is also predicted in an effort to offer an in-depth explanation of phenomena that are difficult to do with quantitative methods. The paradigm used in this study is the social definition paradigm. In line with (Ritzer, George; 1975) there are 3 theories included in this paradigm, namely the theory of movement, symbolic interaction, and phenomenology, (Ritzer, George; 1981) these three theories have similarities in the big concept, namely that humans are creative actors of social truth. Social facts are not a tool for forcing static social facts. Human actions are not entirely determined by

norms, behaviors, values, and so on, all of which are encompassed by social facts. Humans have sufficient freedom to act beyond the limits of social reality's control. Based on this paradigm, researchers assume that research subjects are experts in the problem being studied, so that the statistics obtained are expected to align with the desired approach, process, and effects.

3.2. Research Focus

This research focuses on the role of Kiai leadership in shaping the social piety of students at Islamic Boarding Schools, with attention to:

- 1) Kiai Leadership Model
 - a. Charismatic, paternalistic, instructional, transformational, and collective.
 - b. How these models influence the Islamic boarding school education system and the character formation of students.
- 2) Character Education and Social Piety
 - a. Kiai's strategy in instilling the values of religiosity and social piety.
 - b. The process of internalizing values through role models, habituation, the social climate of Islamic boarding schools, and the teaching of classical texts.
- 3) The Role of Kiai as a Cultural Broker
 - a. Kiai as a cultural broker between Islamic boarding school traditions, Islamic values, and modern social demands.
 - b. The function of the Kiai is as a mediator of socio-cultural conflicts and guardian of the values of religious moderation.
- 4) Kiai in the Socio-Political Dimension
 - a. Kiai as public figures, social activists, and political actors play a role in shaping public opinion.
 - b. The implications of Kiai's involvement in politics on the image of Islamic boarding schools and their moral authority.
- 5) Challenges and Dynamics of Islamic Boarding Schools
 - a. Islamic boarding school responses to developments in the era, modernization, and globalization.
 - b. Internal constraints of Islamic boarding schools such as management, leadership development, and limited human resources.

The focus of the research can be formulated as examining how the leadership role of the Kiai, both in the instructional, spiritual, social and political dimensions, shapes the social piety of students in Islamic Boarding Schools, as well as how Islamic boarding schools face the challenges of modernization without losing their traditional identity.

3.3. Data Analysis Techniques

After obtaining the data obtained in this study, the next step is to process the collected data by analyzing the data, describing the data, and drawing conclusions from the arrangement of words and sentences. In this study, data analysis was carried out using qualitative data analysis techniques, because the data obtained are explanations. Data analysis in qualitative research is carried out during data collection. As stated by Miles, Huberman, and Saldana (2014:31-33), qualitative data analysis involves three simultaneous activity flows. The activities in data analysis are: Data Condensation, Data Display, and Conclusion Drawing/Verifications.

4. DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

4.1. Miftahul Ulum Islamic Boarding School as a Fortress of Cultural Acculturation and Spirituality in Madura

Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) in Indonesia play a significant role in the development of religion, education, and culture. One such Islamic boarding school with long historical roots and important socio-cultural functions is the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Islamic Boarding School in Pamekasan. Since its founding in 1912 by KH. Moh. Siraj bin Nasruddin, this Islamic boarding school has served not only as a center for religious education but also as a stronghold of local Madurese culture. This Islamic boarding school successfully integrates Islamic values with local traditions, creating harmony between culture and spirituality.

The history of the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Islamic Boarding School began with the idea of KH. Moh. Siraj bin Nasruddin, who envisioned spreading Islam in Madura and resisting colonialism. From the beginning, this Islamic

boarding school was founded with a strong spirit of nationalism and religiosity. Over time, it became a center of Islamic education using the Salafi method, teaching Islamic texts, Islamic jurisprudence, Islamic faith, and Sufism. It also served as a platform for socio-political resistance through the strengthening of religious identity.

Miftahul Ulum Bettet Pamekasan Islamic Boarding School serves not only as a religious educational institution but also as a historical figure in the resistance movement. In 1928, the territory that is now Indonesia was still under Dutch colonial rule. This period was marked by the important event of the Youth Pledge on October 28, 1928, which became a milestone in the unity of Indonesian youth in the struggle for independence against the Dutch colonialists.

KH Sirodjuddin befriended KH Wahab Chasbulloh while studying in Mecca. This is where many of the two figures' ideas for developing the organization as a tool for educating the common people emerged. KH Sirodjuddin's thoughts focused on spreading Islam and also on a mission to fight against the Dutch colonialists. This bold thinking demonstrates the depth of KH Sirodjuddin's knowledge and piety, as he pursued a mission of religious education and resistance during the Dutch colonial era.

At that time, KH Sirojuddin, also known as Kiai Sirodj, was renowned as the founder of the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Pamekasan Islamic Boarding School, and he initiated the establishment of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) PCNU in Pamekasan. The initiative to establish the NU institution by the community was positively received as a fatwa from a Kiai or community leader amidst the patron-client culture and the turmoil of Dutch colonialism.

At that time, KH Sirijuddin, in the testimony of KH Afifudin Thoha (Rois PCNU Pamekasan), for his initiative and expertise as a Kiai who was able to bring civilization and change to Pamekasan, which at that time was the Madura Residency area which was combined with the Surabaya Residency, then separated again in 1857. In 1928-1931, the East Madura Residency was formed covering Pamekasan and Sumenep, with the capital in Pamekasan.

In 1831, the Dutch formed the Madurese Barisan Corps as part of the Royal Dutch East Indies Army (KNIL), recruited from among the native population. The Madurese Barisan Corps was tasked with maintaining security and was also deployed to quell resistance to the Dutch in areas across the archipelago. The Madurese Barisan Corps was subordinate to each Madurese king, stationed in Bangkalan, Pamekasan, and Sumenep.

In 1835, Dutch entrepreneurs began cultivating sugarcane on the lands of the Pamekasan Kingdom. Sugarcane plantations expanded throughout Madura under a forced cultivation system, leading to the construction of a sugar factory in Pamekasan. The golden age of sugarcane ended after it caused a drought due to its excessive water consumption. Sugarcane was then replaced by tobacco, which began to be cultivated under a contract labor system in 1861 in Proppo Village.

At that time, Pamekasan also had economic value as one of Madura's salt centers, and a major supplier of salt to Dutch-controlled areas throughout the archipelago. The Dutch directly controlled production and monopolized the salt trade, which often sparked conflicts with salt farmers. To transport the salt, the Dutch built a railway between Kalianget and Kamal from 1898 to 1901, which passed through Pamekasan.

From the historical context at that time in 1898-1901 there was a native resistance initiated by Kiai figures, especially Hadirtusyekh Hayim As'ari. The resistance at that time was initially by Hadritusyek Hasyim As'ari and Mbah Wahab Chasbulloh and also became the spirit of Kiai Haji Sirojuddin as explained by Rois PCNU Pamekasan KH. Afifuddin said that in 1928 KH, Sirojuddin, the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Islamic boarding school invited Kiai in Pamekasan such as KH. Badruddin Panyepen, KH. Zayyadi Padukoan, KH. Mudhar Sumber Nangka, as carried out at the request of Hadratus Syaikh KH. Wahab Chasbullah Tambak Beras, Jombang to initiate the initial establishment of NU.

At that time, the community knew it by the term Nahdlah. Whenever there was a religious study activity in the community, it was always called a Nahdlah study group. When NU was founded in Pamekasan, it was already two years old, having been founded by Hadratus Syaikh KH. Hasyim Asy'ari. Thus, the term Nahdlah stuck in the community.

The establishment of NU, or Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), in Pamekasan was highly urgent at the time, as Pamekasan was a cultural center and a significant socio-political force. The role of kiai (Islamic boarding school) leaders was strategic and respected. They served not only as teachers but also as primary community reference points, both in religious and social matters. Islamic boarding school were also known as bastions of the struggle against colonialism, with kiai and santri often leading movements in Madura, a region characterized by a Muslim majority.

In educating his students and the community, KH. Sirojuddin emphasized exemplary parenting. He lived a

simple, disciplined, and modest life, becoming a role model. The 24-hour care at the Islamic boarding school enabled students to learn not only from the teachings of the scriptures but also from the daily life of the kiai. He taught the values of consistency, sincerity, exemplary behavior, patience, and superiority, which were the hallmarks of KH. Sirojuddin's charisma.

In the Islamic boarding school tradition, this role model is crucial because the Kiai is not merely a formal educator but also a "life model/role model" for the students. In the context of cultural brokerage, KH. Sirojuddin's attitude demonstrates that Islamic spiritual values can be internalized through concrete examples closely aligned with Madurese culture, which respects the patron-client figure.

In his figure, KH. Sirojuddin made Islamic boarding schools not only educational institutions, but also socio-cultural centers to build the nation's civilization, and this became a guide for the next generation in carrying out responsibilities. Because the basic purpose of establishing Islamic boarding schools is to create and develop Muslim personalities, namely personalities who believe and are pious to Allah SWT, have noble morals and are useful for the surrounding community, it is natural that someone who studies at an Islamic boarding school is called a santri (Ma'arif, 2010) santri has a term consisting of the word 'sant' (good human) connected with a word 'tri' (likes to help). So Islamic boarding schools mean a place for educating good people.

Actually, there is no explicit Islamic boarding school educational objective stated in the basic statutes as is the case with formal education. This is due to the simplicity of the Islamic boarding school in accordance with its founding principles, which are solely for worship and never aimed at a specific purpose in the field of livelihood, this is evident in the figure of the Kiai of the Islamic Boarding School, especially KH Sirojuddin, the Founder of the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Islamic Boarding School, whose objective is not merely to enrich the minds of students with explanations, but to improve morals, train and heighten enthusiasm, appreciate spiritual and humanitarian values, teach honest and moral attitudes and behavior and prepare students to live simply and cleanly (Dhofier, 1982).

From generation to generation, the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Islamic Boarding School has opened up space for the surrounding community to participate in religious activities such as religious study groups, haul (haul), and tahlilan (religious gatherings), which simultaneously foster social solidarity. Miftahul Ulum Bettet Islamic Boarding School preserves its culture by not rejecting local traditions such as Madurese art, but rather refining them to align with Islamic values. For example, traditional rituals are combined with prayer and dhikr (remembrance of God), so that the community maintains tradition without losing its religious spirit. This is a concrete form of cultural and Islamic acculturation that makes the Islamic boarding school a cultural bastion as well as a spiritual center.

In Madurese society, the kiai holds a revered patron position. The patron-client relationship (Ma'arif, 2010) is clearly evident: students and the community demonstrate obedience, while the kiai provides guidance, blessings, and protection. KH. Sirojuddin utilized this patronage not for personal gain, but rather to strengthen Islamic values and maintain social harmony, a principle that became the spirit of his life.

Like Syaikhona Kholil, who is called a "proto-nationalist" (Suyono Suyatno, 2021), before Bung Karno discovered the value of nationalism, there were sources of basic national values. In this context, KH. Sirojuddin also became a central figure in his region. He was able to align religious values with Madurese identity, enabling the Mitahul Ulum Bettet Pamekasan Islamic Boarding School to become a moral, spiritual, and cultural center for the community.

Thus, the character of KH. Sirojuddin demonstrates how a kiai can be both a supporter of tradition and an agent of social transformation. KH. Sirojuddin's role at the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Islamic Boarding School emphasizes the kiai's role as a cultural broker. He not only disseminated religious knowledge but also instilled Islamic values in Madurese culture, creating harmony between spirituality and local traditions.

Through his parenting style, exemplary behavior, and social role, KH. Sirojuddin established the Bettet Islamic boarding school as a bastion of cultural and spiritual acculturation. His figure demonstrates that kiai in Madura are patronizing figures who are not only religious leaders but also guardians of cultural identity and agents of societal transformation, bridging the gap between Islamic teachings and local culture, ensuring that the two do not clash but instead reinforce each other. This creates a profound harmony between Islamic teachings and local traditions, with the Islamic boarding school serving as the primary medium for maintaining and disseminating this fusion.

One of the unique features of the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Pameksan Islamic boarding school is its ability to integrate Islamic teachings with local Madurese culture. The history of Islamization in Madura is inseparable from the

role of the Wali Songo (Nahdlatul Ulama), particularly Sunan Giri and Sunan Ampel, who spread Islam through cultural approaches. Local traditions such as toron (going home for Eid), the use of refined Madurese language in religious studies, and the preservation of folk arts such as bull racing serve as effective channels for propagation. Thus, the Islamic boarding school serves not only as an institution of religious education but also as a guardian of the Madurese cultural identity.

Miftahul Ulum Bettet Islamic Boarding School develops a holistic education system, combining traditional religious education with formal education. In addition to Islamic schools (madrasah diniyah) that teach Islamic texts (kitab kuning), the boarding school also has formal institutions such as MI (Islamic Junior High School), MTs (Islamic Junior High School), MA (Islamic Senior High School), and Madura Islamic University. This collaboration between traditional and formal education ensures that students acquire religious and general knowledge, as well as practical skills applicable in society. Thus, the boarding school serves as an integrative educational center that is relevant to current developments.

Care at the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Islamic Boarding School emphasizes a 24/7 approach based on role models. Students are guided not only cognitively but also in affective and spiritual aspects. Daily life at the boarding school is filled with congregational worship, study of yellow scriptures, dhikr (recitation of the Koran), and Sufism practices. This parenting style fosters students with discipline, noble morals, and a spiritual closeness to Allah SWT.

The kiai at the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Islamic Boarding School plays a central role in decision-making. The kiai's leadership is centralized yet participatory. This means that while the kiai makes the final decision, the aspirations of the teachers, administrators, and students are still taken into account. This leadership model effectively maintains discipline and tradition, while also allowing for adaptation and innovation. The kiai's charisma as a spiritual and cultural figure earns him respect not only within the Islamic boarding school but also within Madurese society.

In addition to its function as an educational institution, the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Islamic Boarding School also plays a significant social role. It serves as a center for community activities, from religious studies and Islamic holiday celebrations to the preservation of local traditions. Its alumni are spread across various fields, including education, politics, and entrepreneurship. They bring the school's values to the community, making it an agent of social and cultural transformation.

The analysis of the data from this research findings on santri, abangan, and priyayi supports the role of Islamic boarding schools as agents of Islamization rooted in local culture. Over time, the social function of Islamic boarding schools as centers of da'wah and community empowerment has been emphasized, both during the Dutch colonial era and during the defense and fulfillment of independence. Sociologist Koentjaraningrat, through the concept of cultural acculturation (Latri Khasanah, 2022), emphasizes the success of Islamization due to an adaptive approach to local culture. This attitude has led the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Islamic Boarding School to develop in terms of religious education and formal education up to university level.

On the other hand, the theory of educational modernization (Syahminan, 2014) and the secularization of education and religion (Santi & Aini, 2022) often doubt the relevance of Islamic boarding schools in the modern era. However, this study shows that the Miftahul Ulum Islamic Boarding School remains adaptive and is even more relevant, which from generation to generation of caretakers (Kiai) develops according to the demands of the times, with each generation of Caretakers of the Miftahul Ulum Islamic Boarding School experiencing development, especially during the time of the late R. KH. Hifni Siraj (son of the fourth founder), he once served as Ro'is Syuriah NU Pamekasan branch.

Under the tutelage of R. KH Hifni Siraj, significant changes were made to the Salifyah educational system, transforming it into a modern one. Miftahul Ulum Bettet Islamic Boarding School has become a role model in its management, transforming it into a religious educational institution, serving not only as a religious educational institution but also as a stronghold of cultural acculturation in Madura. This dual role makes the Islamic boarding school a center for spiritual strengthening and a guardian of local traditions. Thus, the Islamic boarding school not only produces knowledgeable and moral students but also produces cadres capable of preserving cultural identity and contributing to the wider community.

4.2. The Kiai's Centralistic-Participatory Leadership in Instilling Social Piety Values

Based on the data presented, the leadership of the Kiai and the Caretaker at the Miftahul Ulum Bettet

Pamekasan Islamic Boarding School is centralistic-participatory in nature, which is based on Islamic teachings about Moderation as an effort to instill the Aswaja NU values such as tawasuth, tawazun, i'tidal, tasamuh and amar ma'ruf nahi munkar which is proven in the attitude of religious moderation.

The attitude of religious moderation displayed by the students of Miftahul Ulum Bettet Islamic Boarding School is, having an attitude of tolerance between students, respecting each other when having different opinions with students, including one proof of tolerance as an application of Aswaja values is the existence of routine Batshul Masai'l activities, Jamiyah Showalat with the Community, Istighosah and community economic activities in the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Foundation environment and in collaboration with residents with the canteen of Miftahul Ulum Bettet Islamic Boarding School Pamekasan.

The closeness of the Kiai or Caretaker with the community is part of the consequence of the closeness between the Kiai as Patron and the students or community as his clients. The pattern of the relationship between the patron client is dialectical both between the Kiai and the students and the Kiai with the community. This is due to the assumption of the Kiai, that the students who live or the community are both studying to seek knowledge, both students who live and students who do not live in the boarding school, are considered by the Kiai as students. The perception and position of students by the Kiai or caretaker of the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Pamekasan Islamic Boarding School is considered more effective the closeness of the Kiai (Islamic boarding school) to the community, and this becomes the legitimacy of the community's closeness to the KH Sirojuddin family.

Understanding the Legitimacy of Kiai at the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Pamekasan Islamic Boarding School is a complex phenomenon, not solely derived from a noble spiritual lineage (nasab). However, it shows that this legitimacy is rooted in two main pillars that reinforce each other: historical links and socio-political wisdom (T. Setiawan, 2025) which means that history records the services of KH. Sirojuddin in winning independence and the exemplary nature of KH Sirojuddin in social and political life. Being able to become the basis of Kiai legitimacy is not only traditional (based on heritage and tradition) but also charismatic (based on the quality of leadership, struggle, and personal charisma). The combination of traditional legitimacy (as a descendant of ulama) and charismatic (as a leader of the struggle) is what makes the kiai have an irreplaceable position in the eyes of society.

This ability is the basis and effort for the values of a modern, innovative, constructive, scientific leadership as a form of leadership transformation.

From a historical perspective, the founder of the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Islamic Boarding School, R. KH. Sirojuddin, was a descendant of the Bani Istbat, who are genealogically related to the Wali Songo through Sunan Ampel and Sunan Giri. Although, according to some accounts, this Bani Istbat connection has influenced their thinking and behavior.

This connection provides undeniable spiritual legitimacy, placing the Kiai and the Caretaker of the Miftahul Ulum Islamic Boarding School in the position of inheritor of the proven tradition of knowledge and da'wah, which often holds public religious studies, sholawat burdah and also istighosah. These activities are a requirement in building and maintaining public trust in the existence of individuals (Kiai) who will seek legitimacy.

This is evident in the fact that there are Kiai and Caretakers from the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Islamic Boarding School, who still maintain and preserve NU values, so as not to reduce old traditional beliefs amidst the flow of modernization. These traditional values have become a tradition of the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Pamekasan Islamic Boarding School, where compliance and legitimacy of influence on community views are reviewed in reference to both internal and sectarian social conflicts (Mutakin, 2019) so that the values of Islamic boarding school culture as NU principles prioritize tabayun, istighosah activities, haul, mujahadah, akhir sanah, while for the stages of conflict resolution in Islamic boarding schools, namely: Silaturrahmi as a process of conflict prevention, Bahtsul Masa'il as a process of conflict suppression and conflict divider, tabayun as conflict regulation and management, and Islah as the Final Process of Conflict Resolution.

From a historical perspective, KH Sirojuddin's active participation in the struggle for independence demonstrates that Islamic boarding schools not only focus on the spiritual dimension, but also have a strong commitment to public welfare and national sovereignty. This distinguishes their legitimacy from mere religious authority, making it a fully integrated authority within the social structure of Madurese society. Therefore, in viewing the existence of Kiai as a public figure, it is apparent that there is legitimacy (Khaerul, 2017) for Kiai Sirojuddin as the founder of the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Islamic Boarding School and also a pioneer in the establishment of the NU

organization in Pamekasan Regency.

The above phenomenon can be used to analyze the direction of KH Sirojuddin and the dzuriyah movement in the structural and cultural lines. Or the role of Kiai In the socio-religious context in Indonesia, particularly in the Islamic boarding school environment and the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) community, the role of Kiai can be divided into two dimensions, namely structural kiai and cultural kiai (Hannan & Syarif, 2020). However, both have an important position and complement each other in guiding society towards social piety and maintaining harmony between religion, culture, and the state.

It's important to remember that the political involvement of Islamic boarding schools is limited to strategic politics, namely, maintaining education as the initial foundation for building the nation's civilization and homeland. Therefore, the Kiai and/or caretakers of the Mifathul Ulum Bettet Pamekas Islamic Boarding School, passed down through generations, are restricted from entering the political realm and focus on developing human resources as a service to the Indonesian nation.

First, structural kiai are kiai whose roles are directly linked to formal, institutional, or structural positions within religious organizations (NU, MUI, FKUB), government bureaucracies, and formal educational institutions. In this case, Kiai Sirojuddin's structured thinking led to the establishment of the NU organization in Pamekasan, thus providing legal and formal authority recognized institutionally by the NU organization.

Their role is closely tied to the administrative system and binding decision-making. Through formal legitimacy, structural kiai can influence the direction of public policy, for example in the development of regional regulations, Islamic boarding school education regulations, or zakat policies. Furthermore, structural kiai are also tasked with managing religious organizations and Islamic boarding school-based educational institutions, enabling them to integrate religious values into modern institutional governance.

The main strength of the kiai from the lineage of KH Sirojuddin, along with the strong duriyah of structural kiai, is the era of KH. Sirojuddin, the Founder and Nurturer, and R. KH. Hifni Siraj (son of the fourth founder), who once served as Ro'is Syuriah NU Pamekasan branch. Both figures are clearly in the role of Kiai Structuralism.

Structural authority rests on institutionally recognized legal-formal authority. However, this role is not without challenges, such as being tied to bureaucratic procedures, the tug-of-war of political interests, and the risk of diminishing charismatic authority if overly identified with formal interests.

However, the existence of structural kiai remains strategic in bringing the aspirations of the people to be accommodated in state policy.

Second, the Cultural Kiai emphasize charismatic authority, exemplary behavior, and socio-cultural influence. Cultural Kiai exist not because of formal positions, but because of their knowledge, personality, and closeness to the community. They manage traditional Islamic boarding schools (pesantren), teach religious knowledge, instill the values of Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah (Aswaja), and maintain local religious traditions such as tahlilan (religious gatherings), manaqiban (religious gatherings), and haul (haul). Furthermore, cultural Kiai also serve as social mobilizers, promoters of mutual cooperation, mediators of conflict, and guides the community's morality.

The power of cultural kiai lies in their charismatic legitimacy. Their advice, prayers, and fatwas are voluntarily obeyed without formal procedures. However, this position also has limitations, such as the lack of legal authority to establish public policy. Their authority relies on public trust, and if leadership regeneration is not maintained, this charisma can diminish.

A patron-client relationship is a unique form of exchange interaction between two individuals who need each other's allies. This relationship involves a party with higher status, wealth, and power (the patron) and a party with lower status and wealth (the client), creating a superior-subordinate dynamic. Once established, this relationship tends to persist over a long period of time. This relationship is personal, begins with economic foundations, and forms a mixed or dual bond. If the patron has political interests, the client is responsible for mobilizing support in the form of votes or even sacrificing themselves for the patron's interests.

The relationship between structural and cultural kiai is not a conflict, but rather a complementary one. Structural kiai articulate the interests of the community in the formal policy realm, while cultural kiai maintain the foundation of community trust and loyalty.

From the perspective of structuralism theory (Max Weber), this distinction is seen as a representation of two types of authority: legal-rational in structural kiai and charismatic-traditional in cultural kiai. The latter reinforce each

other through individual actions as collective actions for the client and the patron. The basis of community and student actions is understood as understanding individual or group behavior; we must view it from the perspective of the perpetrator's motives and goals. He then divided social action into four types:

- 1) When students and the community act traditionally (Traditional Action): Actions carried out solely out of long-standing custom, without conscious consideration or planning. Examples include istighosat, mahagiban, and tahlilan.
- 2) When students and the community act affectively (Affectual Action): Behavior driven by spontaneous emotions or feelings, without any rational consideration. Examples include unplanned expressions of anger or joy.
- 3) When students and the community act in an instrumentally rational manner (Rational Instrumental Action): Actions carried out with careful calculation. The perpetrator considers the desired goal and the most efficient means or method to achieve that goal.
- 4) When students and the community act based on rational values (Rational Value Action): Actions based on certain beliefs or values that are considered important, regardless of the end result. The goal is absolute, and the tools used are merely supporting tools.

Overall, social action occurs when an individual assigns subjective meaning to their behavior. This action can also occur in groups and influence the surrounding environment. According to Weber, social action is any action taken by an individual that can impact others. Understanding these different types of action allows us to appreciate the reasons behind all human behavior.

4.3. Research Result Proposition

4.3.1. Miftahul Ulum Islamic Boarding School as a Bastion of Cultural and Spiritual Acculturation in Madura

Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) are centers of education steeped in history and cultural aspects, infused with Islamic values and local traditions, with nuances of intercultural harmony and spirituality. Early in their existence, Islamic boarding schools served as centers for the development and spread of Islam, and as symbols of resistance against Dutch colonial rule.

The existence of Islamic boarding schools also embodies the spirit of struggle and the development of the Indonesian people as a whole. The struggle against the Dutch and the education of the Indonesian people through religious education. The struggle and development in Pamekasan in 1928 were initiated by Kiai Sirojuddin bin Isbat, who was descended from Sunan Ampel or Sayyid Suarif Ali Ahmad Rahmtulloh (the new version) or Sunan Giri (the old version).

The figure of Kiai Sirojuddin brought change to Pamekasan, who was able to carry out resistance against the Dutch, spread and teach religious education by establishing the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Islamic Boarding School, initiated the establishment of PCNU in Pamekasan Regency and also as a supporting system for kiai figures in Pamekasan in pioneering the establishment of religious education institutions or Islamic boarding schools.

The Kiai family and Islamic boarding schools are characteristic of a patron-client social system, between the Kiai (dzuriyah) and the students or community. The patron-client relationship within the Islamic boarding school environment forms a social contract amidst a feudal culture that places the nobility or priyayi as a stratification of the upper class.

The courage to initiate change by the kiai was not due to individual factors, but rather to external factors, namely genealogical heredity and environmental factors, namely the colonial period and the network with Mbah Wahab Casbulloh. The kiai's courage had logical consequences for social sustainability and became the basis for proto-nationalism values, aligning Madurese culture with Islamic religious values.

The intelligence of the Kiai, is not only limited to intellectuality but also the ability to manage emotions so that it is seen as flexibility towards social, social sensitivity. From the greatness of the Kiai, the origin of the Kiai in Java is as a social predicate or social symbol of the highest social stratification for the depth of knowledge, wise behavior, wisdom and reference or barometer for social change. In this way, the Kiai is placed as a Culture Broker or Cultural intermediary by the community because of the patron-client system or collective movement towards the patron (Kiai) from the Client (santri / community) as a bridge between two different cultural systems, be it local culture, dominant culture, or between traditional values and modernity.

As a cultural broker, the Kiai serves as a medium, an agent of adaptation, a source of legitimacy, and a source of transformation. This fourth function requires the Kiai to become organic intellectuals, and they must increasingly

bridge the interests of the lower and upper classes through broader discourses (religion, politics, and modernity) so that change can be accepted by society.

One of the challenges of the Kiai figures and their successors at the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Pamekasan Islamic boarding school is the establishment of the PCNU Pamekasan institution by KH Sirojuddin, and the development of the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Islamic Boarding School institution into the Miftahul Ulum Foundation which is equipped with formal institutions ranging from Mts, MA and universities, furthermore for the development of non-formal education, the Jamiyah Istighostah institution was established, a book study for the community.

From the development of Islamic boarding schools in the current era, it is apparent that Islamic boarding schools develop community competencies in the fields of formal and non-formal education, not only producing knowledgeable and moral students, but also producing cadres who are able to maintain cultural identity and contribute to the wider community.

From the results of this research, there are several interesting findings to be studied and explored in depth, including:

- Finding 1;** Islamic boarding schools are not simply religious educational institutions, but have been the driving force of Islamic propagation since their inception. Students are trained to master religious knowledge and serve as agents of Islam's spread within the community.
- Finding 2;** History demonstrates that Islamic boarding schools played a role in the physical struggle against Dutch colonialism. Kiai and santri became part of a religious nationalist movement combined with a spirit of independence.
- Finding 3;** Kiai together with Islamic Boarding School institutions are able to harmonize Culture and Spiritualism.
- Finding 4;** Kiai Sirojuddin bin Isbat in Pamekasan not only founded a pondok (Islamic boarding school) but also initiated the founding of the Pamekasan Regency Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). This demonstrates Kiai as a transformational figure who mobilized resistance, education, and socio-religious organizations.
- Finding 5;** Islamic boarding schools are able to integrate Islamic values with local Madurese culture. This creates an educational model that is not merely normative and religious, but also contextualized within the community's social life.
- Finding 6;** Islamic boarding schools in Madura are closely linked to Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), a socio-religious organization. NU and Islamic boarding school have a symbiotic relationship, making them pillars of strengthening the values of Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah.
- Finding 7;** The kiai, as patron, and the santri/community as clients form a unique social contract. This system transcends traditional Javanese feudalism because it is based on the kiai's knowledge, religiosity, and charisma, not simply on noble descent.
- Finding 8;** Kiai have a strategic function as bridges between local and global cultures, traditional and modern, spiritual and rational. This role makes Islamic boarding schools laboratories for sustainable social transformation.
- Finding 9;** Kiai are able to present big ideas (religion, politics, modernity) in down-to-earth language, so that they can be accepted by people from various social strata.
- Finding 10;** Islamic boarding schools have developed from traditional institutions into modern foundations that manage formal education (MTs, MA, universities).High) and non-formal (istighotsah congregation, book study, community assembly).
- Finding 11;** Islamic boarding schools not only produce students who are knowledgeable and have good morals, but also produce cadres of community leaders who maintain cultural identity while contributing to social development.

So, from these findings, the minor proposition of this research is:

- Proposition 1;** Islamic boarding schools function as an effective medium for preaching in expanding Islamic teachings, but also as a transmission of knowledge and spiritual values and Aswaja values.
- Proposition 2;** The existence of Islamic boarding schools is not only a place of education, but also a basis for resistance against Dutch colonialism through the role of Kiai figures.
- Proposition 3;** Islamic boarding schools are able to bridge local traditions with Islamic values, thereby creating social-religious harmony that strengthens community identity.

- Proposition 4;** In the patron-client system, the Kiai occupies the position of a patron figure, whose role is to support social networks and drive change through education and religious organizations.
- Proposition 5;** The role of the Kiai is not limited to being a teacher, but rather as a bridge between local culture, dominant culture, tradition, and modernity, so that a process of adaptation and social transformation is created that is accepted by society.
- Proposition 6;** In their role, kiai are required to present the broad discourse of religion, politics, and modernity in a contextual manner so that it can be accepted by both lower and elite levels of society.
- Proposition 7;** Through KH. Sirojuddin's initiative, the next generation developed foundations, formal and non-formal education, and even higher education.
- Proposition 8;** Islamic boarding schools not only produce knowledgeable students, but also produce cadres who contribute to maintaining the cultural, religious, and social values of Madurese society.

4.3.2. The Kiai's Centralistic-Participatory Leadership in Instilling Social Piety Values.

The Kiai and Caretaker at the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Pamekasan Islamic Boarding School from generation to generation have a centralistic-participatory leadership pattern or model, even though the Islamic Boarding School in Madura is thick with a patron-client social system based on a primordial culture, the centralistic principle is reflected in decision-making which is centralized and refers to the Kiai and/or Caretaker.

Participatory leadership is based on the understanding that every individual has the same human rights, as participatory leadership is based on the instillation of NU's Aswaja values such as tawasuth, tawazun, i'tidal, tasamuh and amar ma'ruf nahi munkar which are demonstrated in an attitude of religious moderation. It does not differentiate between one and another and places humans as equal in the eyes of God and is differentiated only by piety.

The implementation of both centralistic and participatory leadership traits in Islamic boarding school education includes activities that involve many members of the community and students, especially in Istighosah activities, public religious studies, traveling religious studies on Thursday Pon, Batshul Masail activities, and Showalat Budarah. These two traits are inseparable from the preservation of the culture of nobility or dzuriyah which places the figure of the Kiai to maintain the community's trust in the Kiai or the Caretaker of the Islamic Boarding School, and this attitude is part of the sustainability of the existence of Islamic boarding schools.

The closeness of Kiai and Islamic Boarding School with the community as a form of legitimacy based on historical and local-political wisdom Kiai's behavior that shows charisma, Kiai which is a social title is evidence of the existence of personal legitimacy that has advantages in the field of religious knowledge, local wisdom, wisdom in behavior and action. From generation to generation Kiai or Successor as Caretaker of Islamic Boarding School in utilizing legitimacy by using activities that involve the community by applying local community values and traditions, maintaining community relations with Islamic boarding schools without discrimination against the social status of the community which is all considered equal.

The trust that the Kiai and/or the caretakers of the Islamic boarding school have gained from the community cannot be separated from being a reference for social conflict issues, and not infrequently when conflicts are faced (election conflict cases, conflicts between communities, the Kiai and/or the Caretakers of the Islamic boarding school convey their attitudes and solutions in joint activities with the community in Istighosat Activities, General Study Groups and even attitudes towards corruption laws through matshul masa'il. This is the way the Kiai and the Caretakers of the Islamic boarding school maintain the trust they have gained and maintain trust amidst globalization.

Maintaining trust from generation to generation of the dzuriyah KH Sirojuddin is certainly a separate issue and certainly not easy, the successor figure as Kiai and Caretaker of the Islamic Boarding School must have experience gained and maturity in attitude and action that cannot be separated from the conditions and situations of the era or era of the next generation. Moreover, the political stance for Islamic boarding schools approaching the Election where the greater challenge is not about the personality of the Kiai or Caretaker but rather the sustainability of the Islamic Boarding School. So from the perspective of primordial culture to maintain the dzuriyah Kiai as caretaker, but on the other hand must maintain the legitimacy of the community. Therefore, in the change of caretakers of the transitional Islamic boarding school still involves close relatives of the dalem family as advisors or administrators of the Foundation.

Kiai and/or guardians of each generation adhere to the principles and prohibitions for the family or dziryah of

Kiai Sidrojuddin bin Isbat, the provisions in running the management of the Islamic Boarding School are the principle of having to uphold the Aswaja Values and prohibiting the dzuriyah of KH. Sirojuddin from bringing the Miftahul Ulum Bettet institution into practical politics. Except for serving NU (Nahdlatul Ulama') in the leadership structure of PCNU Pamekasan.

The role of Kiai and the caretakers of Islamic boarding schools in Madura, which is known to have a primordial culture and patron-client social structure, applies the role of Kiai as Cultural, namely preserving Charismatic leadership and also Kiai as Structural, who actively participates in the structure of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Organization. The relationship between structural kiai and cultural kiai is not a form of conflict, but rather a complementary one that functions to articulate the interests of the people into the realm of formal policy, while cultural maintains the basis of trust and loyalty of the community as a social reference.

Kiai and/or caregivers in the primordial culture structure are used as references in social problems both institutionally and individually, so Kiai and/or caregivers play a role as a cultural bridge, a culture broker, both the values of religious teachings (sharia) and local culture. The role as a culture broker of the kiai without realizing it becomes important in instilling social values. In carrying out this social role, Kiai and Caregivers adhere to every decision based on Aswaja values, especially on social piety. During the 4 decades of KH Sirojuddin's generation, there were 6 generations, having differences in carrying out social roles as patrons who function as culture brokers and are used as references for social conflict issues both individual and group Kiai play a role as an organic intellectual to direct students and society based on Aswaja values.

In this role, Kiai or Caretakers from generation to generation of the dzuriyah KH Sirojuddin are understood to have a leadership model that tends to be famous or well-known, which is characterized by involvement in NU organizations, the development of formal institutions and structural communication approaches, while the Masthur or unknown model Kiai are not involved in the NU organizational structure, do not prioritize formal education and also have a non-structural communication approach or often use natural language.

From the results of this research, there are several interesting findings to be studied and explored in depth, including:

- Finding 11;** The Kiai at the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Pamekasan Islamic Boarding School practices a leadership pattern that combines centralization (decisions still refer to the Kiai) with participation (involvement of students, the community, and families in activities).
- Finding 12;** The participatory principle is inseparable from the Aswaja values of NU: tawassuth, tawazun, i'tidal, tasamuh, and amar ma'ruf nahi munkar. These values serve as guidelines for religious moderation and egalitarian treatment.
- Finding 13;** Religious activities such as istighotsah (Islamic prayer gatherings), public religious studies, mobile religious studies, bathshul masail (Islamic prayer gatherings), and sholawat burdah (recitation of the Qur'an) demonstrate the connection between the Islamic boarding school leadership and the community. This strengthens the legitimacy of the kiai and the Islamic boarding school.
- Finding 14;** Kiai are seen as charismatic figures who possess not only religious scholarly authority but also local wisdom. This legitimacy strengthened by community involvement without discrimination of social status.
- Finding 15;** In situations of social conflict, including elections or socio-religious issues, kiai act as mediators. This role is carried out through religious forums that strengthen the position of Islamic boarding schools as moral and social references.
- Finding 16** The regeneration of Islamic boarding school leadership took place within a primordial context. Dzuriyah KH. Sirojuddin remained the caretaker, but the transition was facilitated by involving the royal family as advisors or administrators of the foundation to maintain legitimacy.
- Finding 17;** The Islamic boarding school leadership consistently forbids dzuriyah involvement in practical politics. Affiliation is limited to NU structures, thus maintaining the Islamic boarding school's independence from political tugs.
- Finding 18;** Kiai act as both cultural figures (preserving charisma and maintaining public trust) and structural figures (active within Nahdlatul Ulama). These two roles complement each other, articulating the interests of the community in formal policies while maintaining a foundation of social trust.
- Finding 19;** Kiai acts as an intermediary between Islamic law and local culture (culture broker) and as an organic

intellectual who guides society through Aswaja values in facing social problems and modernity.

Finding 20; In the history of six generations, the leadership of the kiai is divided into the Masyhur model and the Masthur model.

So, from these findings, the minor proposition of this research is:

Proposition 9; If the leadership of the Islamic boarding school is centralistic-participatory, then the Islamic boarding school is able to maintain the authority of the kiai while strengthening community involvement in socio-religious activities.

Proposition 10; NU's Aswaja values are the foundation of participatory leadership in Islamic boarding schools, thus creating egalitarian and inclusive religious moderation.

Proposition 11; The social legitimacy of a kiai is determined by a combination of scholarly charisma, cultural connectedness with society, and consistency in maintaining the traditional values of the Islamic boarding school.

Proposition 12; Islamic boarding schools function as a mediation space for social conflicts, where the kiai acts as a mediator who provides solutions based on sharia and local wisdom.

Proposition 13; The regeneration of Islamic boarding school leadership based on dzuriyah is a mechanism for maintaining the continuity of tradition and legitimacy, despite facing the challenges of globalization and practical politics.

Proposition 14; The ban on practical politics for dzuriyah is a strategy to maintain the independence of Islamic boarding schools, while strengthening organic relations with NU as the parent organization.

Proposition 15; Kiai as cultural brokers and organic intellectuals ensure that Islamic boarding schools remain relevant in the face of social, cultural, and political changes.

Proposition 16; The leadership typology of *Masyhur* and *Masthur* shows the dynamics of kiai's adaptation to the socio-political context, but both remain rooted in the Aswaja values of NU.

4.3.3. Aswaja Values in the Practice of Social Piety in Islamic Boarding Schools

Miftahul Ulum Bettet Pamekasan Islamic Boarding School adopts Ahlussunnah Wal-Jama'ah (Aswaja) as its primary ideological foundation. The core values of Aswaja—*tawassuth* (moderation), *tasamuh* (tolerance), *tawazun* (balance), and *i'tidal* (justice)—are internalized not as rigid dogma, but through educational practices, cultural preaching, and ritual traditions.

Aswaja serves as a counter-narrative to extremist ideology, establishing Islamic boarding schools as centers of moderate Islamic education that produce scholars and agents of peace. The centralized leadership of the kiai (Islamic scholars) ensures the purity of Aswaja's teachings, while the participatory dimension provides a space for dialogue between students, teachers, and the community to ensure Aswaja's values remain relevant to the challenges of the times.

The centralistic-participatory leadership model developed by the kiai is transformational and dimensional, namely not only maintaining the traditions of knowledge, *sanad*, and *amaliah*, but also fostering social awareness and loyalty to the nation.

Thus, Aswaja is positioned as a moral guideline in facing globalization, radicalism, and national challenges. The Aswaja values at the Bettet Islamic boarding school are transformed into a vision for social change, realized through the exemplary behavior of the kiai (Islamic scholars), classroom education, strengthening ritual traditions, and student involvement in social activities. This produces students who are knowledgeable, morally upright, and possess a sense of social piety relevant to national values.

From the results of this research, there are several interesting findings to be studied and explored in depth, including:

Finding 21 : The centralistic-participatory leadership model of the kiai is able to instill Aswaja values effectively in the midst of the patron-client system of Islamic boarding schools.

Finding 22 : Aswaja values can be transformed into a vision of social change that is relevant to the challenges of globalization, radicalism, and nationalism.

Finding 23 : The mechanism of internalizing Aswaja values through formal education, ritual traditions, and social activities can foster social piety among students.

Finding 24 : The challenge for Islamic boarding schools in maintaining the purity of Aswaja values while adapting them to the needs of the times and a pluralistic society.

So, from these findings, the minor proposition of this research is:

Proposition 17 : Aswaja values are taught contextually through education, tradition, and social activities, so that students not only acquire religious knowledge, but also become agents of social piety and peace.

Proposition 18 : The centralistic-participatory leadership of the kiai is an effective model for maintaining the purity of teachings while adapting them to the dynamics of modern society.

Proposition 19 : Aswaja can be a counter-narrative to extremism, radicalism and child abuse if it is transformed into an inclusive, moderate and nationally-based vision of social change.

Proposition 20 : Internalization of Aswaja in the Islamic boarding school education system is able to build discipline, loyalty, and public ethics that are in line with the principles of social justice of Pancasila and maintain the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia.

4.3.4. Mechanism for Cultivating Social Piety

Miftahul Ulum Bettet Pamekasan Islamic Boarding School emphasizes education that goes beyond the transfer of knowledge and the internalization of values. This is realized through the instillation of social piety through three main mechanisms:

a. Ta'lim (Education)

Study of yellow books, fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), tafsir (interpretation of the Islamic texts), and morals are used to foster both ritual and social piety. However, learning methods are still dominated by lectures and memorization, necessitating pedagogical innovations such as Problem-Based Learning (PBL) to develop critical thinking, empathy, and communication skills.

b. Tarbiyah (Character Development)

Students are nurtured through exemplary behavior, discipline, simple living, and social conditioning. This approach aligns with the theories of character education and tazkiyatun nafs (self-control), although it remains paternalistic, sometimes hindering students' independence.

c. Scientific Journey

Students are involved in outreach, community service, and field studies. This aligns with experiential learning theory, but remains sporadic and not yet structured into a fixed curriculum.

Through the integration of these three mechanisms, Miftahul Ulum Islamic Boarding School not only forms ritual piety (hablum minallah), but also social piety (hablum minannas) so that students are ready to become agents of change and real contributors in society.

From the results of this research, there are several interesting findings to be studied and explored in depth, including:

Finding 25; The dominance of lecture and memorization methods in learning causes limitations in the actualization of students' social values in everyday life.

Finding 26; The paternalistic pattern of guidance makes students very obedient to the kiai, but has the potential to hinder their independence and social leadership.

Finding 27; The balance between hablum minallah and hablum minannas still needs strengthening so that the Aswaja NU values are not only ritualistic, but also applicable in the national context.

So, from these findings, the minor proposition of this research is:

Proposition 21; PBL-based learning innovations can overcome the limitations of lecture methods, so that students not only understand the text, but are also able to actualize social values.

Proposition 22; Strengthening participatory tarbiyah patterns which balances obedience and independence can produce students who are disciplined and independent as future social leaders.

Proposition 23; Systematic integration of ta'lim and tarbiyah can produce graduates who are not only ritually pious, but also have social piety that is relevant to the challenges of globalization, radicalism, and nationality.

4.3.5. Supporters and Obstacles of Kiai in Teaching Social Piety at Miftahul Ulum Bettet Islamic Boarding School

Miftahul Ulum Bettet Pamekasan Islamic Boarding School is an Islamic educational institution founded in 1912 and now over a century old. The school has grown rapidly by combining traditional (yellow books) and formal curricula, eventually establishing the Madura Islamic University (UIM).

The leadership of the kiai is central to education, where charisma, exemplary behavior, idealistic influence, and individual consideration make the kiai a transformational figure. Students not only learn religion but also develop moral, social, and intellectual skills through Bahtsul Masail, discussion, and experiential learning methods.

Islamic boarding schools have succeeded in fostering social piety based on the values of sincerity, independence, brotherhood, and simplicity. However, serious obstacles remain: a culture of seniority that sometimes leads to violence, a paternalistic dependence on the kiai (Islamic cleric) that risks creating a regeneration bottleneck, and challenges in systematizing activities and oversight.

With all its dynamics, Islamic boarding schools are not only educational institutions, but also centers of civilization rooted in Madurese culture, producing thousands of alumni with extensive social networks, and still facing challenges to strengthen the system, protect students, and balance the charisma of kiai with modern institutional mechanisms.

From the results of this research, there are several interesting findings to be studied and explored in depth, including:

Finding 28; The hierarchical tradition that should be a means of moral guidance has shifted into a violent practice that is contrary to the goals of character education.

Finding 29; A leadership model that is too centered on the kiai creates the risk of bottlenecks, slows down decision-making, and hinders leadership regeneration.

Finding 30; Extracurricular activities and experiential learning are ongoing, but supervision is not yet optimal, so the potential for behavioral deviations still occurs.

So, from these findings, the minor proposition of this research is:

Proposition 24; The stronger the charisma and exemplary behavior of the kiai in transformational leadership, the more effective the internalization of social piety values in the students.

Proposition 25; A culture of seniority without regulations and mechanisms for protecting students tends to give rise to violent practices that undermine the holistic educational goals of Islamic boarding schools.

Proposition 26; Excessive dependence on the figure of the kiai will create the risk of stagnation and obstacles to regeneration, so a delegation mechanism and capacity building are needed for administrators/ustadz.

Proposition 27; The integration of traditional and modern curricula, if accompanied by systemic and participatory program management, will produce graduates who are not only ritually pious but also possess social piety.

Based on the propositions (15 minor propositions) built from the results of this study, the major propositions that are composed are: Kiai leadership in Islamic boarding schools is a determinant factor in the formation of social piety and Kiai functions as a cultural broker. Therefore, integration between transformational leadership and institutional resilience is needed, so that Islamic boarding schools do not only survive on individual charisma, over-dependence on charismatic leadership, dominance of hierarchical culture, weak managerial systems, and limited mechanisms for the cadre formation of generations of Kiai and Caretakers who enter the realm of leadership bottlenecks and can hinder leadership regeneration in instilling social piety based on Aswaja values.

4.4. Inhibiting and Supporting Factors in the Formation of Social Piety Character

4.4.1. Supporting Factors in the Formation of Social Piety Character

1) Kiai leadership: legitimacy, exemplary behavior, multidimensional role

The role of the Kiai as a Caretaker can emphasize that the existence of a Kiai holds a central position, and is a spiritual, social, and managerial leader; the Kiai's exemplary behavior (zuhud, istiqamah, personal guidance) becomes a source of legitimacy and motivation for students.

The authority of a Kiai and Penguash produces moral suasion (B & Pedro Dal Bó, 2014) where students imitate behavior and place social values in daily practice.

This kind of leadership allows for the integration of ritual and social values because the kiai's life model (uswah) becomes a practical reference. Moral persuasion (imbahan moral or moral persuasion) is the act of persuading a person or group to act in a certain way through rhetorical appeals, persuasion, or implied threats, rather than through direct coercion or physical force.

In the context of education in Islamic boarding schools, moral persuasion is one of the instruments used by Kiai to influence the behavior of students and the community to support the goal of social piety education.

The ability of Kiai in influencing Santri and the community is influenced by charismatic authority built by a patron-client social system based on primordial culture (Hilmy, 2014). The role of Kiai as a transformation of leadership is based on the idealism of influence (ANWAR, nd; Istianah & Castrawijaya, 2025) where leadership is not only about the personal abilities of leaders in technical or managerial matters, but is a practice of leadership abilities rooted in deep philosophical values, but also in individual consideration abilities (Alannah E. Rafferty, 2010) or a Kiai as a leader is able to consider individually to think wisely

Kiai leadership behavior has an influence of idealism and individual consideration. Both of these ideal behavioral influences are closely related to the transformational leadership of a Kiai who often shows strong transformational leadership behavior, especially in two important aspects: idealized influence and individual consideration. These two behaviors not only define transformational leadership but also become the core of how a Kiai moves and influences his followers. Idealized Influence, or often called charisma, is the ability of a leader to be a respected and trusted role model. In the context of Kiai leadership, this is manifested in several ways:

- a) Integrity and Morality: Kiai are considered figures of high moral integrity. Their words and actions are in harmony, making them living role models for their students and the community. They view them not only as teachers but also as exemplary spiritual leaders.
- b) An Inspiring Vision: A kiai typically has a clear and noble vision, such as spreading Islamic teachings, developing the character of his students, or improving the welfare of the community. This vision is conveyed in a way that inspires enthusiasm and commitment, imbuing followers with a sense of pride and connection to a shared goal.
- c) Charisma and Attraction: A kiai's charisma often stems from his sincerity, religious devotion, and wisdom. These attitudes create a powerful attraction, making people willing to follow his guidance without coercion.

Meanwhile, the influence of Individualized Consideration is that Individualized consideration is a leader's ability to pay attention to and acknowledge the unique needs of each follower. Kiai are highly skilled at implementing this behavior, which is evident in their daily interactions:

- a) Personal Guidance: Kiai do not treat their students or congregation as a homogeneous group. They often take time to interact personally, listening to problems, offering advice, and guiding each individual according to their potential and the challenges they face.
- b) Potential Development: Kiai act as mentors and coaches, helping each individual develop spiritually, intellectually, and morally. They encourage students to discover and develop their talents, provide necessary support, and ensure everyone feels valued.
- c) Empathy and Caring: The kiai's empathy is clearly evident in their genuine concern for the well-being of their followers. They care not only about their students' academic progress but also about their health, happiness, and personal problems. This creates a deep emotional bond and a sense of security.
- d) By combining idealistic influence and individual consideration, kiai leadership is highly transformational. They not only change the perspectives of their followers but also help them reach their highest potential, both for themselves and for the common good.

In the context of philosophy, its core concepts include ethics, epistemology, and axiology, providing a solid foundation for character development, moral integrity, and visionary and humanistic leadership. It also provides individualized consideration that facilitates the internalization of values. Strengthening the role of the kiai (Islamic scholars) while establishing a delegation mechanism (capacity building for ustadz/administrators) ensures that value transformation is not entirely confined to a single figure.

2) Integrated Curriculum (Salaf-Modern) and Systematic Program Management

An integrated curriculum that combines traditional (yellow book-based) and modern (formal institution-based) education aims to produce students with a deep understanding of religious knowledge, while also possessing academic competencies and skills relevant to the demands of the times. An analysis of this curriculum demonstrates integration encompassing three main aspects:

- a) Institutional Integration: Yellow book education is synergized with formal education levels, from Islamic elementary schools (MI), Islamic junior high schools (MTs), Islamic senior high schools (MA), to universities. Students not only study at Islamic boarding schools but are also enrolled in formal schools, enabling them to obtain official diplomas without sacrificing religious education.
- b) Content Integration: The syllabus for Islamic jurisprudence and morals is aligned with the module on social and economic interactions (muamalah). For example, material on zakat is not only taught as a ritual but also linked to modern economic practices, such as financial management and social entrepreneurship. This fosters an understanding that religious teachings are relevant and applicable to public life.
- c) Activity Integration: Ritual learning (ta'lim) is combined with social and cognitive skills. Support programs, such as IT clubs, English, and tahfidz (memorization of the Quran), serve not only as extracurricular activities but also as platforms for practicing social values. For example, counseling services foster empathy and communication, while community service activities teach the values of devotion and mutual cooperation.

The document notes that the integration of yellow book education with formal institutions (MI/MTs/MA to universities), as well as supporting programs (IT clubs, English, tahfidz, book bazaars, counseling services) is carried out systematically, procedurally and structured.

An integrative curriculum connects ritual learning (ta'lim) with social and cognitive skills; supporting programs provide opportunities for practicing social values (e.g., community service, counseling services, community service activities).

Holistic education is a combination of cognitive, affective, and psychomotor aspects (Azhari et al., 2025), developed to support the development of social piety in the curriculum. Improve syllabus alignment between fiqh/morals material and muamalah (public practice) modules, and include a social competency rubric in assessments.

Systematic program management in holistic education ensures effective and efficient curriculum integration. The primary focus is on alignment and coordination between all educational elements, including: First, Systematization of Supporting Programs: Various supporting programs, such as IT clubs, book bazaars, and counseling services, are organized in a structured manner. Each program has a clear objective and supports the core curriculum. For example, the IT club not only teaches coding but is also used to create a database system for the Islamic boarding school library or media for Islamic outreach publications.

Second, Social Competence Rubric: Assessment is not only based on cognitive aspects (understanding of the material), but also includes social competencies. A social competency rubric was added to the assessment system, measuring students' participation in community service, their collaboration skills, and their contributions to counseling services. This provides formal recognition for behaviors that support social piety.

Holistic & Character Education in the implementation of the curriculum and program management is in line with the concept of holistic education (Musfah, 2012) and character education (Rofi'ie, 2017), as explained by Holistic Education: This curriculum covers the cognitive, affective, and psychomotor aspects of students. They not only learn intellectually (cognitive) through yellow books, but also develop attitudes and values (affective) through community service, as well as practical skills (psychomotor) through IT clubs and entrepreneurship programs. Meanwhile, Character Education: Through this integration, Islamic boarding schools actively shape the character of students who are pious individually (ritual piety) and socially (social piety). Values such as empathy, cooperation, and responsibility become an inseparable part of the educational process. The output is graduates who are not only intelligent in religious knowledge, but also empowered in society.

3) Mechanism Participatory-Based Learning at Islamic Boarding Schools: Bahtsul Masail, Discussion, Experiential Learning

Participatory learning is an educational approach that emphasizes active student involvement in the learning process (Setyo Rini et al., 2024). Participatory education goes beyond passively receiving information from teachers. An in-depth analysis of the educational process in Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) reveals participatory processes

such as bahtsul masail (learning discussions), discussions, and experiential learning, demonstrating their effectiveness in fostering critical thinking and in-depth understanding.

Participatory learning by both students and Islamic boarding school students is evident in Bahtsul Masail, a religious discussion forum common in Islamic boarding schools. Participants (students) discuss and resolve complex issues of fiqh (Islamic law), often using the method of comparing opinions from various classical texts (kutub al-turats).

Critical and Theoretical Analysis: Theoretically, Bahtsul Masail aligns with Vygotsky's Social Constructivism Theory (Payong, 2020). This theory emphasizes that knowledge is constructed through social interaction. In Bahtsul Masail, students not only memorize laws but also construct their understanding through dialogue, argument, and collaboration with peers. This process trains analytical and argumentative thinking skills and develops awareness of the plurality of opinions within the Islamic scientific tradition.

Meanwhile, learning at Islamic Boarding Schools is systematic:

- a) Problem Identification Stage: Students are faced with real or hypothetical cases that require legal solutions.
- b) Source Excavation Stage: They independently or in groups seek evidence from various scriptures. This trains research and literacy skills.
- c) Discussion and Debate Stage: Through deliberation, each student presents their arguments. This fosters communication and negotiation skills.
- d) Decision Making Stage: The group or moderator formulates the final result or agreement (qarinah) which becomes the joint conclusion.

Participatory learning, both for students and students, is evident in Bahtsul. Discussion is a common learning method in which a group of people exchange thoughts, ideas, and perspectives to reach a shared understanding or solve a problem. This learning model applies Collaborative Learning Theory (Ida Ansori, 2023) (Payong, 2020).

Collaborative learning argues that working together in groups can improve students' understanding of social problems, improving comprehension, retention, and social skills. Through discussion, participants learn to appreciate different perspectives, develop ideas collectively, and correct misconceptions together. It also fosters metacognition—the ability to think about one's own thought processes—as they must reflect on and articulate their own arguments.

The learning mechanism of Collaborative Learning Theory (Issalillah et al., 2024) includes; Group Division, namely the class is divided into small groups to allow for more intense participation. Moderator Facilitation, namely: A facilitator or teacher guides the discussion, ensuring all members have the opportunity to speak and maintain focus on the topic Concept Map Preparation, namely: The results of the discussion can be realized in a concept map or written conclusions, helping visualize and structure ideas.

The Experiential Learning model in Batshul Masa'il, or experience-based learning, is a process in which knowledge and skills are acquired through reflection on direct experience. This concept is based on the Experiential Learning Theory (David Kolb in Fahmi, 2018). Kolb proposed a four-stage cycle: concrete experience (doing something), reflective observation (thinking about that experience), abstract conceptualization (drawing general conclusions), and active experimentation (applying conclusions in new situations).

In an educational context, this is implemented through community service, internships, or simulations. For example, students not only learn zakat theory but also directly participate in distributing zakat to the poor. The systematic mechanisms are as follows:

- a. Action Phase: Participants engage in real activities (e.g., social programs).
- b. Reflection Stage: After the activity, they are asked to reflect on their experiences, challenges, and feelings.
- c. Conceptualization Stage: The experience is connected to the theory that has been learned, forming a deeper understanding.
- d. Application Stage: This new knowledge is then used to plan subsequent activities or projects, creating a continuous and practical learning cycle.

Overall, these four mechanisms not only teach the material, but also shape 21st-century skills such as collaboration, communication, critical thinking, and problem-solving.

4.4.2. Inhibiting Factors in the Formation of Socially Pietiful Character

1) Culture of Seniority / Internal Violence Practices

Social media-based research has identified the problem of violence in Islamic boarding schools (Islamic boarding schools) and the contributing factors: a culture of seniority, a closed environment, and gaps in oversight. These issues are identified as issues requiring evaluation. The culture of seniority, understood as a "tradition of discipline," can shift into violence, undermining the goal of Islamic education—cultivating morally upright students—which is ultimately thwarted by violent practices. This creates trauma, fractures trust, and reduces the effectiveness of internalizing social values.

Socio-cultural theory (Bourdieu: habitus in Tekin, 2025) inherited practices can reproduce problematic behavior if not corrected; also organizational theory (lack of checks and balances) indicates the need for internal regulation, although there is much discourse on the implementation of child protection policies and anti-violence SOPs (safe reporting channels, whistleblower protection). Therefore, it is necessary to form a character of social piety in the Islamic boarding school environment, which emphasizes empathy, cooperation, and care, often facing internal challenges.

One of the most crucial inhibiting factors is the culture of seniority (Wardani & Ediyono Suryo, 2022) and the occasional practice of internal violence (Lohy & Pribadi, 2021). This analysis will critically, scientifically, and systematically examine both factors, drawing on the data you provided.

The culture of seniority in the culture of role models toward potential obstacles to the educational process in Islamic boarding schools is fundamentally rooted in the tradition of reverence (takzim) for elders, kiai (Islamic scholars), and teachers. Ideally, seniors act as mentors (Uswah Hasanah) who guide juniors in learning, worship, and discipline. This relationship, termed "patron-client," is based on role models, trust, and positive interdependence.

However, academically, the culture of seniority has the potential to become an obstacle when these norms shift from moral-educational role models to authoritarian social control due to the dominance of seniors (Ranti & Hanjani, 2023).

Dysfunctional Patron-Client Relationships: The patron-client concept, which should be based on reciprocity and spiritual support, can shift into an asymmetrical and unequal relationship. Excessive obedience and a lack of room for criticism (primordialism) can hinder the development of critical thinking and student independence. This contradicts the goal of holistic education, which encourages students to think rationally and resist the establishment.

Abuse of Authority: The authority granted to seniors to maintain order can be abused as a tool of oppression. This phenomenon creates an unhealthy power hierarchy, where social values such as justice, empathy, and mutual cooperation are eroded by intimidation and violence perpetrated by a group of senior students.

The practice of internal violence is in stark contradiction to social piety. Cases of violence in Islamic boarding schools, which frequently receive media attention, demonstrate a stark contradiction between the ideals of character education and the reality on the ground. Data shows that East Java, as one of the largest bases for Islamic boarding school education, has a high tendency for internal violence. In fact, these cases often result in the death of students due to abuse by their seniors.

Scientifically, this practice of violence can be analyzed from several points of view:

- a) **Social Anomaly:** This phenomenon can be seen as a social anomaly, where values that should be internalized, such as noble morals and compassion, fail to be implemented. An environment that should ideally be a "moral workshop" instead becomes a place where moral violations occur.
- b) **Challenges of Supervision and Discipline:** The document also mentions the dilemma of enforcing discipline. Administrators and kiai face the challenge of being firm without violating modern law, while also fearing a loss of authority if they are too lenient. This demonstrates the clash between traditional approaches, which sometimes rely on physical sanctions, and modern, anti-violence legal frameworks.
- c) **Barriers to Empathy:** Violent practices, both overt and covert, fundamentally hinder the development of empathy and solidarity among students. Students who are victims will struggle to develop a sense of security and trust, while perpetrators of violence fail to develop values of caring and respect for others.

The culture of seniority and the practice of internal violence are serious obstacles to the development of socially pious character. Although Islamic boarding schools (kiai) and administrators attempt to address this issue with a humanistic approach and clear regulations, the challenges remain significant. To develop individuals who are not only

ritually pious but also socially pious, Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) must systematically deconstruct the abused culture of seniority and firmly eliminate all forms of violence, ensuring that every student feels safe and valued within the educational environment.

2) Dependence on the Kiai Figure (Paternalistic) - Risk of Bottleneck and Regeneration

In the context of Islamic boarding schools, the leadership of the kiai often adopts a paternalistic model (E. Setiawan, 2012) in which the kiai functions as a central figure, father, and protector for all students and the community. This role, which is theoretically ideal as a "cultural broker," is vital in maintaining values and guiding the community amidst modernization, as expressed in the uploaded document. However, excessive dependence on this one central figure also carries significant risks that need to be analyzed critically and scientifically: the risk of bottlenecks (D. Chorafas, 2004; Hafizhoh, 2025) amidst the regeneration of both the Caretakers and the Organizational Management in Islamic boarding schools, this is a challenge in every Islamic boarding school.

A patron-client culture characterizes Islamic boarding schools. The document displays a highly kiai-centric decision-making structure; strategic decisions are made by the kiai, although there are elements of participation. However, all final decisions are made or considered by the kiai or caretaker.

The ideal influence of the Kiai in decision-making is due to charisma, namely the ability of a leader to be a respected and trusted role model. In the context of the leadership of the kiai, this is manifested in the behavior of the Kiai's Integrity and Morality, the Inspiring Vision of the Kiai: A kiai usually has a clear and noble vision, and Charisma and Attraction: The charisma of the kiai often arises from sincerity, religious obedience, and wisdom.

By combining idealistic influence and individual consideration, kiai leadership is highly transformational. They not only change the perspectives of their followers but also help them reach their highest potential, both for themselves and for the common good. This creates a dependent relationship between client and patron (Anita Firdausul Husen, 2024).

This excessive dependence can create a bottleneck when decision-making is slow when the kiai is busy/sick (Akif Argun Akdoğan, 2018; Yilma, 2003). This is the cause and risk of losing continuity if regeneration is not managed well and build regeneration. This weakness must be anticipated by the Caretaker to build successful leadership and be able to be wiser in building and directing Islamic Boarding Schools in the midst of globalization. The aim is to anticipate

Reliance on charismatic and authoritative kiai figures poses a major challenge to the process of leadership regeneration. A kiai's charisma and legitimacy are often the result of spiritual experience, profound knowledge, and a lifetime of dedication, which cannot be automatically inherited.

Leadership Legitimacy: When a kiai dies or is no longer active, an Islamic boarding school faces a legitimacy crisis. The successor, even if a descendant or senior student, often lacks the same charisma or social acceptance as the predecessor. This can trigger divisions within the community and undermine the institution's stability.

Loss of Vision and Direction: Without a strong, institutionalized management system beyond the kiai, the institution risks losing its direction. The vision and mission held dear by the kiai may become unclear or ineffective without his direct guidance. This threatens the long-term sustainability of the Islamic boarding school, especially amidst competition with other educational institutions.

Scientifically, this risk underscores the importance of transitioning from personalistic to institutional leadership. The sustainability of Islamic boarding schools depends not only on the personal qualities of the kiai, but also on the institution's ability to build a robust system of governance, regeneration, and human resource development, ensuring its continued existence even after the leadership changes.

5. CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

5.1. Conclusion

This study aims to answer two main problem formulations, namely how the leadership role of the Kiai in charge of shaping the social piety of students at the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Pamekasan Islamic Boarding School, and what obstacles are faced in this process.

1) The research results show that the Kiai's leadership at the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Islamic Boarding School is centralistic-participatory. Centralism is evident in the Kiai's full authority in maintaining traditions, making

strategic decisions, and serving as the primary moral reference. Meanwhile, participatory characteristics are present in the involvement of students, ustadz, the Islamic boarding school family, and the community in various educational, social, and religious activities. With this leadership style, the Kiai acts as a cultural broker, able to bridge Islamic teachings with local Madurese culture and adapt it to modern social demands.

Through the process of *ta'lim* (teaching the scriptures), *tarbiyah* (habituation and role model), and *rihlah ilmiyah* (social service), Kiai internalize the values of *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah* (constituency, tolerance, tolerance, *i'tidal*, and *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*). This process shapes students who are not only ritually pious, but also possess social piety, namely the ability to live moderately, inclusively, and contribute positively in society. Thus, Islamic boarding schools function not only as religious educational institutions, but also as laboratories for social transformation that maintain cultural harmony and build civilization.

2) The research also found several obstacles to the leadership role of the Kiai. Excessive reliance on the Kiai often creates a leadership bottleneck, slowing leadership regeneration. A hierarchical and senior-based culture sometimes results in excessive disciplinary practices and the potential for violence, which contradicts the goals of Islamic character education. Furthermore, learning methods still dominated by lectures and memorization limit the opportunity for students to actualize social values in real life. Limited management and human resources in Islamic boarding schools also result in suboptimal program oversight. The challenges of modernization and globalization require Islamic boarding schools to continuously adapt so that the *Aswaja* values of NU are not limited to ritual aspects but can also be transformed into a contextual vision for social change.

5.2. Suggestion

Based on the research findings, several operational recommendations can be provided.

- 1) Islamic boarding schools need to strengthen their collective leadership management system and cadre development mechanisms so that leadership does not depend entirely on the charismatic figure of the Kiai.
- 2) Innovation in learning methods is needed by combining classical traditions such as *sorogan* and *bandongan* with modern approaches such as Problem Based Learning and experiential learning.
- 3) Islamic boarding schools need to formulate regulations to protect students to prevent seniority-based violence and foster a culture of mutual respect.
- 4) The development of Islamic boarding school students needs to be directed at balancing obedience and independence, so that students are not only ritually obedient but also independent as future social leaders. Fifth, Islamic boarding schools need to develop digital transformation in management, preaching, and learning to remain relevant in facing global challenges.

5.3. Research Contribution

1) Theoretical Implications

The results of this study contribute to the development of Islamic boarding school leadership studies within the social sciences, particularly in the study of charismatic and transformational leadership. This study identified a new typology, namely centralistic-participatory leadership, which synthesizes the traditional charismatic-paternalistic model (Pranoto, 2020) with transformational and participatory approaches (Imaduddin et al., 2025). This broadens the concept of leadership in the Nusantara Islamic tradition, which was previously understood more conceptually.

Furthermore, this study reinforces the relevance of the cultural broker theory (Gantner & Rychterová, 2024; Gutman et al., 2023) in the context of Islamic boarding school education. Kiai act not only as religious teachers but also as cultural brokers, bridging Islamic values, local Madurese traditions, and modern social demands. Within Gramsci's framework (1971 in Getman et al., 2021), kiai can also be positioned as organic intellectuals, namely leaders who articulate religious and social values in discourse that is acceptable to the wider community.

Another theoretical implication is the strengthening of the concept of social piety as a form of actualization of the values of *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah* (*Aswaja* NU). Social piety has been proven to emerge from a combination of religious education (*ta'lim*), habituation (*tarbiyah*), and social service, which simultaneously builds the social capital of Islamic boarding schools (Putnam, 2016). Thus, this study adds a new perspective that social piety is not only the result of religious doctrine, but also a product of leadership, habituation, and social relations in Islamic boarding schools.

2) Practical Implications

Practically, this research has several implications for the development of Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) and Islamic educational institutions. First, Islamic boarding school can strengthen collective management and cadre development mechanisms to prevent excessive reliance on the figure of the kiai (Islamic teacher). Second, the results of this study encourage innovation in participatory learning methods, such as Problem-Based Learning, which can integrate Salafiyah traditions with the needs of modern education (Azhari et al., 2025; Masnun, 2020; Syahminan, 2014). Third, the findings regarding the culture of seniority encourage Islamic boarding school to develop regulations for the protection of students (santri), thus creating a more humane and safe educational environment.

Furthermore, this research emphasizes the importance of leveraging digital transformation in preaching, institutional management, and curriculum. In this way, Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) not only maintain tradition but also respond to the challenges of globalization, radicalism, and technological disruption. These practical implications are expected to strengthen the position of Islamic boarding schools as educational institutions and centers for the formation of social piety relevant to modern society.

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