INTERRELATION KIAI AUTHORITIES, CURRICULUM AND LEARNING CULTURE IN PESANTREN INDONESIA

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Abstract

In the education system of ‘Pesantren salaf (traditional Islamic boarding school), Kiai is the highest authority in determining the direction and policies of a pesantren. The figure of Kiai in Pesantren, has the authority to determine the direction, the purpose of education, curriculum \ learning materials in Pesantren. Kiai has authority in determining the books of certain scholars. Some books are specifically used in Pesantren to guide students in implementing the learning process in Pesantren. Those books are selected by Kiai to guide students in implementing the learning process in this Pesantren. This writing seeks to discuss mutual and interrelated relations among Kiai’s authorities, curriculum and norms of students in learning. This paper will discuss how Kiai with authority to select and specify the books on the provisions of the students in learning. While such rules directly strengthen and perpetuate the leadership of Kiai in Pesantren.

Keywords: Kiai, authority; learning culture; leadership; pesantren

Abstrak


Kata kunci: Kiai, otoritas; budaya belajar; kepemimpinan; pesantren


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Introduction

Pesantren is a traditional educational institution that was built and developed coincidentally with the arrival of Islam to Indonesia. (Luthfi: 2014). Thus, Pesantren is as the oldest educational institution and indigenous in Indonesian community. (Manfred Ziemik, 1986:100). (Kuntowijoyo, 1990: 57) (Hatim Gazali & Abd. Malik2009). As the oldest Islamic educational institution, Pesantren is considered by some experts as a continuation of the educational system during the pre-Islamic Hindu-Buddhist. (Gamal Abdul Nasir Zakariya,2010: 46). There are some similarities between Pesantren with the previous educational system such as the location which is usually located in the countryside, founded and led by Ulama (religious figures), patterns and learning materials that lead to asceticism, simplicity, and self-reliance.

In the education system of traditional (salaf) Pesantren, Kiai is the highest authority in determining the direction and policies of a Pesantren. The figure of Kiai in Pesantren has the authority to determine the direction, the purpose of education, and curriculum/learning materials in Pesantren. Kiai has authorities to decide on using books from certain scholars.

Kiai, as leader of Pesantren, uses books of scholars from Madhab Syafi’iyah, as the books for the material study ranging in the studies of Islamic sciences, 1 (Saidna Zulfikar Bin Tahir2015: 210). M. Harja Efendi, 2017:137) such as Qur’an, Hadith, Aqaid (trust and faith), Fiqh(Islamic jurisprudence), Tasawwuf(Islamic mysticism) and Arabic. The selection and determining of books to study in Pesantren entirely become the Kiai’s authority as supreme leader of Pesantren.

Educational curriculum of Pesantren consists of books that provide in-depth knowledge and understanding in the fields of Aqaid, Fiqh, Tasawwuf, Arabic science, Tajwid (rules governing pronunciation of Quran recitation), Balagha, Tafsir and Hadith Sciences. (Charlene Tan, 2014:14).

Some books are specifically used in Pesantren to guide students in implementing the learning process in Pesantren. The books are written by prominent clerics like Ihya’Ulumuddin written by Abu Hamid Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Ghazali, and Ta’limal-Mutallim written by Burhanuddin al Zarnuji. These two books are widely used in many pesantren, and those are selected by Kiai, as the leader of Pesantren, to guide students in implementing the learning process in Pesantren.

This paper seeks to discuss the relationship of mutual influence between the Kiai’s authorities, curriculum and the norms of students in learning. In this study will be seen how the kiai, with his authority, selects and determines the books which are on the provisions of the students in learning. While such rules directly strengthen and perpetuate the leadership of Kiai in Pesantren.

Islamic Education in Pesantren

Since its inception, Pesantren has been assessed as successful in producing educators, teachers, and disseminators of Islam. That success is inseparable from the educational system which is applied and inherited down from generation to generation. One aspect of the educational system of Pesantren is the goal of education schools that provide directions convening education and learning in Pesantren.

In general, the purpose of education in pesantren can not be found in the written standard formula. Almost all Islamic boarding schools especially the traditional ones - do not formulate their educational goals in writing form. However, it does not mean that Pesantren exists without having educational goals, because
it is impossible that Pesantren can stand and survive for hundred years and succeed in bearing the propagator of Islam, without a goal to which become the direction of their educational process. In line with the above, Mastuhu states that there has never been encountered the formulation the clear and standard educational goals of pesantren, which is applied for all pesantren. As a result, some authors formulate the goals of education for Pesantren merely based on assumptions the result of interviews. (Mastuhu, 1994:59).

Meanwhile, Sukamto explained that the purpose of education of pesantren is religious purposes, according to kiai who is as the founder of the Pesantren. Kiai explained that the purpose of education of pesantren with sentences related to religions, which is to guide and educate a person to have Islamic knowledge of Islam and virtuous character toward Allah, parents, and teachers. (Sukamto 1999: 40) Muhammad Thoriquss’ud, Juli 2012; 228)

The formulation of a more comprehensive goal of Pesantren, explained by M. Dian Nafi ‘et al., consists of three things. (M. Dian, 2007:163), First: forming a personality that has been exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad. And clerics agreed that the nobility of the character has the highest rating above knowledge and expertise, being manifested in piety that is based on a deep knowledge towards the teachings of Islam. The indications of Pesantren graduates are translated into the educational process in Pesantren through the forging the way of life, daily values and principles of life in Pesantren (A. G, Muhamin, 1999: 6)

Second, strengthening thesantren (students’) competence is through the four levels of interest; i.e., the original purpose (wasâ’il), the interrelated goals (ahdâf), the main objectives (maqasid) and the final destination (ghayâh). Wasâ’il is mastery of subjects in pesantren in either cognitive, affective and psychomotor. The subjects in Pesantren cover Quran, Tafsir, Hadith, ‘Aqidah, Fiqh, Akhlaq, Arabic, and Tarikh. Ahdâf is giving subjects at each level of education (Ula, Al Wusta, ‘Ulya) by the purposes and needs of Santri in their daily lives in either as individuals, as members of the community, as well as a leader in the community. Maqasid is the main goal of Pesantren which is to create the Muslims who have deep understanding of religion (tafaqquh fi al-din). (Mulyani Mudis Taruna, 2012:110). While ghayâh is the ultimate goal of achieving Allah’s willingness (ridhâllah).

Third, the spread of knowledge through commanding good and forbidding evil (Amr al-ma’rûf wa al-nahy al-munkar) by creating preachers and participation in community empowerment. Abdurrahman Wahid explained that the traditional education system has weaknesses, namely: first, the education process is not planned in detail and rational. Although there are limited planning it does not show any relationship between the various education systems to be developed. Likewise, traditional education still provides many teachings outside the formal curriculum, supplementary teaching which is always changing every year. Thus, there is no mechanism which is said to remain, but it is introducing a leveling system in the teaching and study. (Abdurrahman Wahid, 2001:73-74)

Second, the absence of having to make the curriculum in the composition that can be ingested and afford controlled by learners. The teaching method, used to read and translate word by word in a sentence, cannot provide the possibility of using other methods required by learners. The issue of whether the learner can understand the discussion being read in a particular book, never become primary concern. The most important one is that the book should be read, translated and reviewed by the ability and willingness of kiai. In other words, the evaluation of learning outcomes does not get a place in his education system.

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Third, the absence of a philosophy of education in the educational process in traditional schools. The guidelines are used as a basis to teach the establishment of Shari'ah law in everyday life, by absolutely ignoring the value of education. Therefore, there has not been found the significant and satisfying changes, due to the absence of a strong foundation in the form of educational philosophy.

However, it does not mean that the traditional education system does not have any strengths. In this regard, traditional education in Pesantren is taken as having been able to form an equal attitude of life. Besides that, traditional education can also maintain its characteristics as a subculture in society. (Andik Wahyuni Muqouyyidin, 2014:121)

Meanwhile, in the process of education, hardly found a traditional pesantren which makes use of learning media, which is known in modern education, (Jeffrey A. Ritchey & Nurhaya Muchtar, 2014:422) Even if it is used, they only use very simple learning media such as stationery used by students to record any information from kiai. While kiai only uses the book to be taught to his students.

The Curriculum of Islamic Education in Pesantren

In the implementation of the curriculum in pesantren salaf, the terms of the curriculum are different from the curriculum used in the normal educational institutions. The curriculum in pesantren is called manhaj which can be interpreted as a direction of specific learning. The manhaj Pesantren salaf is not in the form of elaboration of the syllabus, but in the form of books, funun taught to the students. In the learning process, Pesantren uses manhaj in the form of certain types of books in a particular branch of science. These books should be studied completely before studying higher books and more difficult to understand. Thus, the accomplishment of learning program is not measured in time and not based on the mastery of certain syllabi (topics of discussion), but it is based on the completion of students in studying the book that has been set. The standard competence for graduates of the pesantren is the ability to master (understanding, appreciating, practicing, and teaching) the contents of certain books that have been set. (Departemen Agama RI, 2003: 31).

The standard competence is reflected in the acquisition of books gradually and sequentially from mild to severe, from easy to more difficult books, from thin books to books in volumes. The books used are usually Kitab Kunin (yellow book) for they are printed on yellow paper. (Martin van Bruinissen, 1994:121). (Yanwar Pribadi, 2013: 3). (Herdis Herdiansyah, 2016: 3)

The teaching of these books is in level, and the topics taught are frequently repetitive. The leveling is intended to deepen and widen the understanding of the books so that the students’ mastery of the content / materials are becoming increasingly unwavering. This is one feature of implementing the learning at pesantren.

The main characteristic of the traditional lecture is giving the way of teaching that is emphasized in the understanding every word (harfiyah) on a certain book (text). The teaching is also intended to complete reading and reviewing a book, then continued to study another book. The textbooks have huge numbers. However, the books which are commonly possessed by many kiai and taught in Pesantren in Indonesia are the books of the work of madzhab Shafi’i (Shafi’iyah) scholars (Andi (Zuchairiny, 2013: 277).

At the end of the 20th century, 900 titles of yellow books are available at Pesantren in Java and Madura. The titles are breakdown of 20%
about fiqh, 17% ushul al-din in Arabic (Science of al-Nahw, Sharf, Balaghah), 12% of Hadith 8% of tasawwuf, 7% of Akhlq, 6% of guidance for prayer and wáir, mujahrabat of 5% and the works of praise to the Prophet Muhammad (qisas al-Anbiya', Mawlid, ma-Naqib) 6%. (Martin van Bruijness, 1999:231)

Learning materials provided in Pesantren is how to understand the teachings of Islam contained in the Quran and al-Hadith. From these two sources of Islamic teachings results in various disciplines of naqli sciences, as described above. Those scientific disciplines are explored by scholars of Shafiyah into the books of essays that are commonly used in Pesantren. (Ronald Lukens-Bull, 2010:10).

The study toward Fiqh Science is generally used books such as Bughiyat al-Mustashhidin, Bidâyat al-Mujtahid Safinât al-Najäh, al-Taqrib, Fath al-Qarib, Fath al-Mu'in, Fath al Wahhab, Kifayat al-Akhyar, Minhaj al-Qawim. (Hasan Madmam: 2001). The books in - [the Fiqh science are the commentary (Sharh) from other books or records (hâsiyath) or summary (Mukhtasat) from any other book in the same tradition. The most popular book is al-Taqrib which is better-known asmukhtasaranwritten by Abû Sujâ’ Al Isfahâni and itsyayah namelyFath-al-Qaribwritten by Ibn-Qâsim al-Ghâzali. Almost all pesantren use these books and then followed by Fath al-Mu'in, Minhaj al-Qawim and so forth. (Bruijness, Kitab Kunin, p.229)

Fish science gets the largest portion in Pesantren. The magnitude of the portion of fiqh is because of its expertise in the field of science that deals with the power. The knowledge of Islamic jurisprudence is a ladder up the most directly toward the higher political and social status. Thus, many people have a great interest in exploring the science of fiqh that it becomes the dominance. (Hasyim Muzadi, 1999:7)

In the discipline of Tawheed (‘Aqidah) science - the science that contains the basics of the conviction of a Muslim-known and used books such as asaqidat al-'A-Wam, Sullam al-Tawfîq, Matn al-Sanusi and Tijani. Aqidat al ‘Awam is a short book that is in the form of poetic and catered for beginner students. The author of the book is Ahmad al-Marzuqi al-Maliki al-Makki. Meanwhile, there are still other books related to ‘Aqidâd science that are studied in Pesantren such asfahar al-Tawhidwritten by Ibrahim al-Laqâni and itsyarahTuhfah al-Murid, Fath al-Majid was written by Nawawi al-Banten, Jawahir al-Kamiyah written by Tahîr al-Salîh al-Jazairi.

The attention of Pesantren to the science is smaller than the Fiqh science, although the science is called as usûl (subject/basic knowledge), while Fiqh is the science of furû’ (branches). The less popularity of this study is due to its absence of relation to power (social and political), as owned by the science of Fiqh. Also, this study is also called theology, which opens the door for philosophical thinking which tends to be speculative and diving tendency of less interest among pesantren to do a deep study.

In the field of Tasawwuf science that addresses and studies the mysticism Islamic books areBidayat al-Hidayat, Ihya‘Ulam al-Din, Al Hikam, Minhaj al-‘Abidin and others. The popular Sufism books in pesantren are the work of Al-Ghazali such asBidayah al-Hidayah, Minhaj al-‘Abidin, Arba’in fi Usul-al-Din, Ihya’ Uloom al-Din. Also, there are other books such asCul al-Qulubwritten by Sidi al-Shaykh Abu Talib al-Makki, Risâlat al-Qushairiyahwritten by Shaykh Abû Qasim al Qushairi that is elaborated by Sayaq al Islam Zakariya al-Ansari, Al-Ghunyahwritten by Sayyid al-Shaykh ‘Abdu al Qadir al Jâlani and Al-Futuhat Ilahiyyah written by Sayaq al-Islam Zakariya al-Ansârî.

In the study of Arabic science, there are some books which study Arabic grammar and
morphology (Nahwu, sharf And Balagha) which are known as a tool science (ilmu alat) in Pesantren. (Faiqoh, 2012: 219-227) In the science of Nahwu, the books used for beginner areal-'Awâmi̇khwritten by 'Abd al-Qahir ibn' Abd al-Rahman al-Jurjûnî, al muqadimah al-Jurûmîyihwritten by Abu 'Abdallah ibn Dawud ibn al-Sanhâjî- Aydınur. For Intermediate level, the books used are al-Durât al-Bahiyah, 'Imrîti Syarîwritten by Yahya ibn al-Ansari al-Imrîti, al-Mutammimah written by Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Ru’yânî al-Hattâbî. Furthermore, for high level, the books used are Alfiyâh Ibn Malik with its comment known as Ibn ‘Aqlîwritten by Abdallah ibn ‘Abd al-Rahman al-‘Aqîl. In Sarf science, the books used are al-Bina ‘wa al-Asas, Tashrif ‘al-Izz, Amthilât al-Tarsifai. In the field of Balaghabscience, the books used are al-Jawahir al-Maknûnah fi al-Ma’âni wa al-Bayan wa al-Bâdî written by Abd al-Rahman al-Akhârdâi And the book of al-Murshid’ ala ‘Uqud al-Jumân fi Ilmi al-Ma’âni wa al-Bayanwritten by Jalaluddin al-Suyûtî. (Martin van Buijessen, 1999:228-229)

In the Science of Tajweed, the books used are Hidayat al-MustafidAndTuhfat al-Atfâl. While in Balaghabscience, the book used is al-Balagha Samarqandi and Jau-har al-Maknûn. In the field of hadith science, the books used are Hadith al-Arbain al-Nawwâyi, Sahîh Bukhâri, Sahîh Muslim, Riyad al-Salihin, Tanqîh al-Qaul. While in the the field of Tafsîr science, the books used areal-Jalâlâinî, al Munir, Tafsîr Ibn Kathir, Jami’al Bayan.

For more details, the educational curriculum of Pesantren, According to the version of the Directorate General of Islamic Institutional of Religious Affairs is as follows (Departemen Agama RI, 2003: 32)

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<td>Elemtary / basic</td>
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<td>Akhlâk</td>
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<td>First Intermediate</td>
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<td>Tuhfah al-Athfâl , Hidayah al-</td>
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<td>Taühid</td>
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<td>Fiqîh</td>
<td>Fath al-Qârîb (Taqrib)</td>
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Kiai’s leadership / authorities in Pesantren

In carrying out its duties and functions, the leader is associated with the basic authority or the foundation of legitimacy. According to Max Weber, there are three basic sources of authority of a leader. First, the type of traditional authority. It is the authority of a leader that is based on the principles of very strong tradition and very personal relationships within the community. This system tends to be conservative and avoiding change. Second is the authority of a leader that is based on the belief in the validity of the orders given by the abstract and impersonal rules agreed upon. Third is the authority of a leader that is based on certain quality lying in his own personality, which is placed separately and treated as a person who has the power of supernatural, superhuman, or at least, he has quality of specific natural power. (Bryn S. Turner, 1982:37)

In Islamic terminology, according to A. Ezzati, leadership has characteristics as follows: 1) leaders must be in accordance with the teachings of Tawheed 2) Allah is the leader of the Muslims, 4) Allah’s leadership is bestowed to the Muslims and the Prophet as a trust by adhering to the principle of Amr al-Ma’ruf wa an-nabi ‘an al-munkar; 4) leadership is as a social responsibility and leader iswaliyyat al-ummah. 5) There is no hierarchy and military order in the Islamic leadership. (Ezzati, 1990:34).

The religious leadership above is as the leadership which continues to the present day. The religious scholars (Kiai), with their high science and charisma, hold the legitimate religious leadership in the midst of Islamic society. (Mukhamad Shokheh, 2011:160) Kiai’s leadership is directly accepted and gain legitimacy in society. (Inayah Rohmaniyah & Mark Woodward,” 2012:120)
Public recognition toward their leadership is not only based on their expertise in the sciences of Islam but also their charisma arising from the science, the grandeur of their character and personality and the origin of their generation. Although Kiai is just a non-formal leader, he has certain superiority in moral and Islamic Knowledge. (Yanwar Pribadi, 2013: 5) With that superiority, he is taken into account by the authorities.

Imron Arifin asserts that there are several factors which result in such incredible view of the kiai as a leader. First, the existence of the belief in pantheistic animism in the Java community since the days of Hinduism and Buddhism, which gives high honor even sanctifying Shiva priests, Buddhist monks, masters, teachers and Resi who are considered to have mystical abilities and charismatic. This position was subsequently taken by the wali songo (nine saints) in the 15th century. Thus, the tribute to the ulama (scholars) is a continuation of the Java community’s tribute to Hindu priests.

Second, there is the concept of waliyyat al-Imam, i.e. leadership is to replace the prophetic leadership in maintaining religion and organizing society’s life. This concept is a concrete realization of the leadership style of the Prophet Muhammad which is used as the main criterion by all Islamic leaders.

Third, the influence of Sufi teachings on the pattern of kiai’s leadership. In the Sufi teachings, there is confidence that a leader is believed to have transcendental qualities and to have exemplary to be taken as good example. As a leader, kiai is a spiritual leader who teaches and practices the teachings of Sufism to draw closer to Allah and to obtain the transcendental supernatural powers.

Kiai generally holds that pesantren is likened to a small kingdom which is as the absolute source of power and authority in surrounding the Pesantren. In Pesantren, no one can resist the decision of Kiai. On the other hand, the students believe that the Kiai is a person who believes fully to themselves either in the matters of Islam religion and in the field of power and management of Pesantren. (Kasful Anwar, US, 2010:226) The Kiai, who have great Pesantren, have successfully expanded their influence and as a result they are accepted as the national elite. (Marmiati Mawardi, 2013: 134) Many of them who manage to become ministers, parliamentarians, ambassadors and other government officials. (Jakaria Ma’zumi 2012: 37) Similarly, they have managed to make their students to become kiai in their own regions. They will set up and lead medium and small Pesantren which culturally and intellectually still depend on the Kiai who had become their teacher. (Zamakhshyari Dhofir, 1994, 56)

The above process creates an interdependent relationship between Kiai with big Pesantren and Kiai with medium or small Pesantren; that relationship is that the great Pesantren depends on small and medium Pesantren in the supply of students, while the small and medium Pesantren rely on the big Pesantren in preparing young kiai and religious teachers who later teach in that Pesantren.

The success of a Kiai is generally determined by the charisma of the Kiai themselves. That charisma causes or determines the reciprocation of Pesantren they lead. Kiai’s charisma grows out through their science and personal, it as well as the structure of the traditional teaching. (Suswanta, 2014: 15), based on the transmission of knowledge from one generation to another by using the individual guidance system (ijāzah system). Ijāzah system is a blessing, permission, and trust of kiai given to his students to teach a book on a particular branch of science in the science of religion he has taught to. This system results that the students will be intellectually
dependent to their kiai and they make kiai as their lifelong mentor.

On the other hand, the pattern of such charismatic leadership can become a weak point for Pesantern in preserving its continuity and efforts to avoid the destruction (survival). The loyalty to a kiai is difficult to translate as loyalty to the institution. The death of KIAI as the leader of Pesantern is often becoming the cause of Pesantern pullback as long as that Pesantern is not capable of bringing forth KIAI who has higher ability or at least commensurate with the previous KIAI.

KIAI’s charisma contains dynamic elements that cause relatively easy to make changes, if desired by the leader of that Pesantern. With such quite flexible charisma, Pesantern can defend itself from future possible attacks and threats.

KIAI’s leadership is frequently delegated to a senior teacher. However, in Pesantern that has known the system of organization, the role of the cottage headman is replaced by management structure of Pesantern with job division to take care of daily activities of Pesantern. (Hatim Gazali & Abd., 2009: 300)

Nevertheless, there are some Pesantern that still uses cottage headman as the chief of management board. However, though in Pesantern has the board of management to regulate and manage the activity of Pesantern, the highest power is still in the hand of kiai. In other words, the decisions that are taken from the result of meeting and discussion among management board, must have the approval from kiai. So, kiai acts as the owner and sole ruler in Pesantern. (Bambang Budiwiranto, 2009: 267) This position is equal to the feudal nobility which is commonly called as Kanjeng in Javanese culture.

In implementing his leadership, kiai often uses badal (substitute) to teach students. The badal are usually was taken from relatives. In the early period of his career, a kiai, before his own son can become badal, usually provides education to his younger siblings, nephews or other close relatives with the hope that they can help him to develop Pesantern he builds.

The succession of leadership in Pesantern usually occurs when the Kiai died. His successor is the son of the Kiai who is called Gusin Javanese society. During his life, the Kiai always directs and guides his sons (Gus) and prepare them so that they can continue the leadership of Pesantern in the future. If a kiai does not have any son, then one of his sons-in-law is directed to be his successor. Thus, a kiai provides special education to his sons (gus-gus) to ensure continuity of the leadership in his Pesantern. (Muhammad Latif Fauzi, 2012:135-136)

By strengthening the community assessment (public image) that Gus can inherit the spiritual and intellectual abilities attached to his father, KIAI tends to give legitimacy to his sons as his legitimate successor. This is very important because Pesantern the institution associated with the interests of society, but in tradition and history, Pesantern is established, developed, and nurtured by kiai.

Authorities, Curriculum and Learning Culture in Pesantern

In the leadership of Pesantern, KIAI is believed to be the highest authority and within him is seen as a man of absolute power. (Hanun Asrohah, 2011:72). With that power, kiai can determine the direction, goals, and curriculum of Pesantern. (Ronald Lukens-Bull, 2005:48)

In the traditional education system of Pesantern, Kiai is the central figure who has full authority to determine the policies for the development and survival of a Pesantern. The life of Pesantern also relies much on KIAI’s
expertise and depth of knowledge, charisma, authority and skill concerning to management. (Jajat Burhanudin, 2014:32). That’s why kiai is one important element and most dominant in the life of a Pesantren. Even, at a given moment, he is as the only master of the Pesantren. (Asfa Widiyanto, 2014: 271-307). The figure of KIA in Pesantren is due to his excellence in the field of science and personality. Kiai is also as a source of funding of finance (budgeting) for the management of the Pesantren he leads.

Another factor that supports the status of Kiai is a doctrine that considers Kiai as the chosen figure who inherits the knowledge of the prophets (al-ulama’warathat al-Anbiya’), so it appears assumptions and myths that Kiai is directly able to master certain knowledges of God without going through the learning process.

With such as high power, Kiai has authority in determining the direction and the goal of education in Pesantren as well as curriculum and learning materials in Pesantren. (Thomas, R. Murray. 1988, 89) Kiai has authorities to determine the books and the works of certain scholars. Kiai, as the owner and the leader of Pesantren, uses books of scholars who have ideology of ahlul al-Sunnah wa al-Jamah.

Some of the books in the curriculum of Pesantren contain teachings that require the students to honor and glorify their teachers. Such teachings generate norms to govern students in the implementation of the learning process in Pesantren. Those norms give legitimacy to the Kiai’s leadership authority.

In Ayuha Awlad, al-Ghazali said that the students have to tawadhu nature and to the knowledge and their teacher, as an intermediary for the acceptance of that science. Imam al-Ghazali said that a student should not brag with his knowledge and not oppose his teacher. However, he should give up and entirely surrender himself to his teachers and confidently believe in all their advice, as a sick and stupid man trusts in his skilled and experienced doctor. A student should subject to his teacher, expect Allah’s reward and glory by subjecting to his teacher. (al-Ghazali, tr: 57-58).

Also, in Ihya’ulumuddin al Ghazali stated that students must obey and respect their kiai: “A pious is willing to practice what he has learned, so he is called as a great man in all the dominion of the heavens. Meanwhile, al Zarnuji stated that there are many rules and guidelines for the student; the requirement to respect the teachers in the studying, should not argue against what is described and explained by teachers, pupils must be earnest in their studies, the contentment of teachers in the study is a must if a student wants his gained knowledge to become helpful and useful.

The view of the two ulama above very strongly appears within Pesantren. Kiai as the teachers (scholars) is highly respected and regarded as a very noble profession. The position of teachers gets a place of honor, too popular, and become a role model to the students, and every teacher’s words are heard and obeyed. Obedience to teachers is believed to get the benefit to students, and on the contrary, the wrath of teachers will cause misery for students. These values are becoming the character for the students and form the foundation for students in conducting the learning process in Pesantren, and it is believed to determine the success of students in their learning activities in Pesantren. (Mastuho, Dinamika, 36). The belief is called barakah (the blessings) that is interpreted as the willingness of Kiai as a reason of beachhead for the students in looking for knowledge. (Karel Steenbrink, 2015: 4).

The robust homage of students to kiai is strengthened by the statement of Ali ibn Abi Talib, that is very famous in the world of Pesantren, stating that "I am willing to be a slave for my teachers who taught me even though just
a letter. It is up to him whether I would be sold, freed or remained a slave”. (Burhanuddin Al Zarnuji). This is by the conditioning principles of Ivan Pavlov, who makes repetition and regular exercise as requisite in learning process. (Thomas J. Shuell, 2001:154)

The intended condition is the creation of students’ learning attitudes and behaviors accompanied by respecting to teachers (scholars) that should be highlighted by the students when they study at Pesantren. The attitude of students in paying high homage to the kiai becomes a behavior that is automatically and permanently located in their learning activities.

The learning behavior is showed when students follow the lecture of the yellow books held at Pesantren with Bandongan method, as follows:

The learning process by using wetonan/bandongan can be described as follows: kiai reads, translates and explains are yellow book (Kitab gundul). The pupils, with holding the same Kitab gundul do pendhabithan (putting vowel words and lexical translation) directly under the intended word to get better understanding of the text. The position of the students in learning by using this method is encircling and surrounding the Kiai or ustad (religious teacher) as to form halaqah (circle). In the translation, Kiai or ustad can use various languages that become the primary language of his students, for example: from Arabic language being translated into Javanese, Sundanese, or Indonesian. (Departemen Agama RI, 2004:4).

The conditioning of values and students’ behavior in giving high homage to Kiai is very strongly conducted at Pesantren. The strengthening of the belief and students’ behavior to salute kiai is done by reinforcing the image and perception of santri toward Kiai at pesantren within various forms, as follows: First Kiai is a religious leader who has the lineage to the Prophet Muhammad, through Wali Songo (nine saints). (Ronald Lukens-Bull, 2008:3). By attaching as the descendant of the Prophet puts kiai in a high degree among Muslims. Second, kiai is believed to be as scholars (ulama) and as the inheritors of the prophets, as mentioned in the Qur’an. The explanation is described by Zamakhshyari Dhofier (1994: 520)

“Kiai, as a transmitter of the Islamic teachings, areas the chain of continuity of Islamic teaching on the earth. In this role, Kiai are believed to have religious authority, that with it, they are deemed to have an excess of religious knowledge and are often seen as people who understand the greatness of Allah and the secrets of nature. They are considered to have the ability and in a very high position and are greatly admired by the local community and their students. In some cases, they show the specificity in the form of clothing which become the symbol of their high science, namely white kopryah (cap) and view. (Zamakhshyari Dhofir: 1994: 520)

Third, the depiction that kiai has supernatural/magic abilities that can be an intermediary for the students to receive the luck and the glory of Allah.

In this case, Kia is believed to have such these abilities. The depiction of Kiai, as the one who has those superiorities, gives an overview of how Kiai has incredible greatness among his students, namely on the one hand Kiai is recognized as the man who is pious and has deep Islamic knowledge, and on the other hand, kiai is believed to have a supernatural ability. The actual impact felt by the students through their lives is the belief that the kiai has magical powers that kiai can drive away the evil spirits, expel Jins, treat the sick, and give his magical power to his students. (Sukamto, Kepemimpinan, 1999:27)
The depiction of Kiai as depicted above is a positive reinforcement that is often performed by a kiai or senior students inside and outside the learning process. In the process of learning is conducted as an explanation for the above chapters in the book that discusses the obligations of students to respect and glorify Kiai (Ihya’ ulumuddin dan Ta’lim al Mutaalim). While outside of learning, it is conducted in non-formal moments (hidden curriculum), which is when talking-formally with a group of students. At that moment, it happened “guidance” from the senior students to junior students.

In the context of enforcing the values, believes and students’ behavior to salute Kiai, it is also performed negative enforcement of conviction that when students do not respect and give honor to kiai, those students will not receive useful knowledge and they will not receive barakah (blessings) that according to Abdurrahman Wahid defines that barakah is the willingness of kiai as a reason of beach heading for the students in looking for knowledge.

On the other hand, the leadership of kiai is also reinforced by the conviction that the students’ respect and honor to the kiai must also be followed with respect to his children, wives and even to kiai’s relatives. They occupy a high position (directly below the kiai) in the leadership of the Pesantren.

The values, conviction and students’ behavior in honoring and glorifying kiai at Pesantren become the culture of Pesantren that is defined by Schein as "the collective sum of beliefs, values, meanings, and Assumptions that are shared by social group and that help to shape the ways in which they respond to each other and to Reviews their external environment "

Thus, it can be affirmed that the Pesantren culture that puts kiai as a figure to be respected, honored and obeyed is a unity that cannot be separated between beliefs and values taught in Pesantren with the behavior of students producing several basic assumptions. Such assumptions are communicated and shared by the majority of member of Pesantren in various forms, namely: shared feelings, shared doings, saying shared, and shared things (grasping objects with the same light).

The culture of Pesantren that puts kiai as a figure to be respected, honored and obeyed in totality that directly strengthens and perpetuate the leadership authority of kiai in Pesantren, because Kiai, in students’ is the supreme leader and teacher, who taught science to students

Conclusion

Kiai as the holder of the highest authority has absolute powers which can be as the way to determine the direction, goals, and curriculum of Pesantren. Kiai determines the policies for the continuity of Pesantren. Thus, Kiai is one important element and most dominant for the life of Pesantren.

Kiai, with his power, has the authority to determine the use of the books of certain scholars. Some books in the curriculum of Pesantren contain the teachings that require students to respect and glorify their teachers. Those values animate the students and become their fundamental basis in looking for knowledge at Pesantren and it is believed to determine the students’ success in conducting the learning activities at Pesantren.

The fervent of values and beliefs which are based on the conviction above, generates a learning culture in Pesantren namely students in learning is accompanied by the attitude of respecting and glorifying kiai.

The leadership of Kiai is also reinforced by the conviction that the students’ honor and obedience toward their kiai should be followed
with the respect and honor to his children, wives even to his relatives. They occupy high position (directly under kiai) in the leadership of Pesantren.

The culture of giving high respect and total surrender of students to their kiai is directly empowering Kiai’s leadership authority in Pesantren and that can perpetuate kiai’s power and can legitimate that Kiai is the owner of Pesantren.

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