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Pesantren and Theory of Social Change in Southeast Asia

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Abstract: *Pesantrens or islamic boarding schools have become a common model of religious education in some countries in Southeast Asia, especially in Indonesia, Malaysia, Southern Thailand, and Southern Philippines. Muslim scholars (Ulemas) from Southeast Asian countries learned and shared each other on Islamic studies. Up to 1980s, students from Malaysia, Southern Thailand and Singapore studied Islamic studies at Indonesian Pesantrens. This model of pesantren teaching affected to the regional perspectives of practicing Islam accomodating local tranditions. Some Patani Ulema of Southern Thailand delivered the tradition of recitation of Islamic studies books with Javanese (pegon) letters in pesantren and madrasah. Furthermore, the scholars constructed Southeast Asian Muslims developing moderate and peaceful Islam, and created Muslim leaders in the region. They become cultural brokers or mediators in social, political and economic development. This article is based on fieldworks in some pesantrens in Indonesia and Southeast Asia.*

Keywords: pesantren, Islam, social change, Southeast Asia

Introduction

Zamakhsyari Dhofier argues that 1910 and 1920 are the historical years for the world of *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools). In 1910, *pesantren* (such as Pesantren Denanyar in Jombang) started to open *pondok* (cottage) for female *santri* (students). Then in 1920, some *pesantren* (including Pesantren Tebuireng in Jombang and Pesantren Singosari in Malang) also began teaching general subjects, such as Indonesian, Dutch, Numeracy, Earth Sciences, and Histor(Dhofier, 2011, pp. 37–38).[1]

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[1] Pesantren Tebuireng established *"Madrasah Salafiyah"* which adopted public education system and incorporated general subjects, such as Numeracy, Malay, earth science, and writing Latin in the curriculum. In 1926, Pondok Modern Gontor was established, which not only taught religious subjects and general subjects but also emphasized on the aspects of mastering Arabic and English, in addition to extracurriculer activities such as sports, arts, etc. Then in 1927 Pesantren Rejoso in Jombang also established *madrasah* which taught religious and general subjects. And in 1932, Haji Abdul Halim, the founder of Persarekatan Ulama in West Java, set up a kind of *madrasah* called *"Santi Asrama"*, which not only taught religious and general subjects but also emphasized on vocational materials for its students(Azra, 2002, pp. 106–111).

It was then followed by the development of the number of *santri* (students). For example, the development of the number of *santri* happening in Pesantren Tebuireng in Jombang: from 28 *santri* in 1899 it increased to more than 200 *santri* by the end of the 1910s, and nearly reached 2,000 *santri* in the next 10 years(Dhofier, 2011, pp. 106–111; Wahid, 1988, p. 271).

After Indonesia had achieved independence in 1945, changes in education began when Mr. R. Suwandi became the minister of Education and Culture (October 2, 1946-27, June 1947). He appointed Ki Hajar Dewantoro as the chairman of Teaching Investigator Committee of the Republic of Indonesia. From the results of the investigation, it was reported (June 2, 1946), "that the teaching in *pesantren* and *madrasah* needs to be enhanced and modernized and provided with cost assistance and others(Minhaji & Mudzhar, 1998, p. 47)." This report was reinforced by the issuance of Regulation of the Minister of Religious Affairs—K.H.A. Wahid Hasyim—No. 3 of 1950, which instructed to provide general subjects in *madrasah* and religious subjects in public schools and private schools. Consequently, *pesantren* education does not only adopt the *madrasah* system, even more than it, *pesantren* compete to establish public schools. For example, Pesantren Tebuireng in Jombang is the first *pesantren* that established junior and senior high schools(Madjid, 1997a, p. 130). This regulation has strongly influenced the shift in orientation of *pesantren* from the traditional to the modern ones.

The pattern of *pesantren* education has been adopted in several countries in Southeast Asia, especially in Malaysia, Southern Thailand and Southern Philippines. Some *ulama* (muslim scholar) in Southeast Asia learned a lot in *pesantren* in Indonesia, and built similar patterns after graduating from Indonesia. *Pesantren* in Southern Thailand to this date are still maintaining the tradition of recitation with the *pegon* letters or javanese letters in *pondok* (*pesantren*) and *madrasah*. They created Muslim leaders in South Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines and other Muslim societies in Southeast Asia.

Definition of Social Change

Social change, which is from English words, is etymologically composed of two words, change and social. Change in general meaning is the process of shifting, subtraction, addition, or development, while social is a matter relating to its object, namely society(Soekanto, 2003a, p. 14); and society is an integrated system of social structure and function(Ritzer & Goodman, 2007, p. 4). Thus, social change means the occurrence of such

process in matters pertaining to society.

In terminology, the definition of social change is often overlaid with the definition of cultural change. The reason is that almost all forms of changes include social and cultural aspects.

According to Selo Soemardjan, social change is any change in social institutions in a society, which affects social systems, including social values, attitudes, and behavior patterns among groups in a society(Soemardjan, 1981, p. 303). Meanwhile, cultural change is defined by Koentjaraningrat and friends as the process of shifting, subtraction, addition, and development of the elements in a culture that occurs through interaction with people supporting other cultures with the creation of new cultural elements and through the effort of adaptation among the cultural elements(Koentjaraningrat et.al, 1984, p. 147).

According to Horton and Hunt, social change is a change in terms of structure and social relations, while cultural change includes the changes in the cultural aspects of society. Social change includes: the changes in terms of the distribution of age groups, education levels on average, the total fertility rate, changes in the number of teenagers who enter college, changes in the rate of population mortality or life expectancy of the population, changes in the role of the wives in the modern family, the declining level of kinship and informality among the neighbors due to the movement of people from rural to urban areas, and the changing role of husbands as superiors who later become partners of wives in democratic families today. Meanwhile, the cultural change includes: the invention of television, the emergence of new terms, forms of art, invention and spread of the car, adding new words to our language, and changes on the concept of ethics and morality.

It is very clear that the examples explained above are overlapping. In fact, almost all the changes include social and cultural aspects. Therefore, to cover the two types of changes, the term socio-cultural changes is used. In line with this idea, Soemardjan explained that it is difficult to imagine social change without preceded by cultural change. For example, social institutions like a family and marriage will not change if there is no cultural change fundamentally that is related to the issue. Strictly speaking, the difference between social change and cultural change does exist, but in practice it is very difficult to distinguish(Horton & Hunt, 1984, pp. 208–209; Soekanto, 2003b, p. 308; Wahyu, 2005a, p. 3).

Apart from the difficulty of distinguishing clearly between social

change and cultural change, social change has a very broad and complex scope, encompassing the changing processes and elements, including objects*,* ideas*,* values*,* beliefs*,* norms*,* and models of interaction(Burke, 2001, p. 196; Clark, 1988, p. 533).

From the definition and its scope above, it can be seen that social change includes the value-oriented changes, or in other words, the value-oriented changes are included in the scope area of social change. Value-oriented is meant a complex idea or theme of thought that becomes goals and the ideals of cultural values of most citizens in a society(Koentjaraningrat et.al, 1984, p. 125). Orientation or direction of changes here includes, among others: (1) changes oriented to an effort to leave the factors or elements of social life that must be abandoned or modified; (2) changes oriented to a new form or element; and (3) changes oriented to forms, elements, or values that had existed in the past. Not infrequently a society or a nation is trying to hold the process of modernization in various fields of life, either in the aspect of economic, bureaucracy, defense and security, or in the field of science and technology. However, the community or nation concerned also made efforts to find, explore, investigate, and discover elements or values of the personality or identity as a dignified nation.

Factors of Social Change

In general, there are two factors which can lead to social change, which is a factor from the inside (endogenous) and factor from the outside (exogenous). The endogenous factor attempts to explain changes in a society by seeking sources of change within the society itself. The evolutionary and structural-functionally groups are those that use this factor. By contrast, the exogenous factors attempt to explain the origins of social change happening in the society by seeking external factors. In this paper, the sources of change will be tracked by considering not only the factors from within, but also the factors from the outside. These two factors actually have never been neglected by sociologists and anthropologists remembering the importance of historical approach and cultural contacts as a source of social change.

The factors of change that come from within (endogenous) among others: (1) increasing and decreasing population, (2) new discovery or innovation*,* (3) conflicts, and (4) revolution; meanwhile, factors originating from the outside (exogenous) among others: (1) changes in the physical nature in the surrounding areas, (2) the occurrence of war, and (3) the

influence of other cultures, either in the form of advances in science, technology, and modernization. The factors from the inside and from the outside are often complementary and supporting each other(Burke, 2001, p. 242).

Not all of the above factors work in a social change. In the context of changes in the *pesantren*, for example, there are only a few factors that work, that is the increasing and decreasing population, innovation, conflicts, and the influence of other cultures.

The increasing and decreasing population, in the case of *pesantren*, can be likened to the increasing number of the families of *Kyai* (cleric/leader) in *pesantren*. This factor has allowed the arrangement of inheritance institutionally, such as the existence of a foundation in *pesantren* to distinguish possessions owned by the *pesantren* and the those owned by the family or individual.

Innovation means introducing new ideas and technologies. Innovation can be ideas, processes or products in various fields. In the world of *pesantren*, innovation can be ideas or ideas of individuals and groups within the *pesantren* that are obtained from the outside along with the progress of science and technology; it can also be from the inside because of the elements of need for the progress of the *pesantren*; besides—perhaps— because of the factor of conflicts happening. The impetus for the search for new innovation is due to an awareness of the individual of the shortage in the culture, the quality of the individual in the culture, and a stimulating system for the creation of activities in the society. The reason is that in the society there are certainly individuals who are aware of their deficiencies and let them go, but there are also individuals or groups who cannot wait to see the deficiencies and want to change them in order to cover the deficiencies that exist(Koentjaraningrat, 1964, p. 137, 1990, p. 90; Soekanto, 2003b, pp. 299–308). In addition, conflicts in a society could also lead to the process of social and cultural change in a society.

The influence from the outside can be formed due to the influence of other cultures, either because of the influence of science, technology, or modernization.

Modernization refers to a process of a series of efforts to create values, either physical, material, or social ones, and it has been qualified universally, rationally, as well as functionally. It is generally opposed to the values that have become a tradition in a society. Tradition, according to Sztompka, is a hereditary policy, which takes its place in consciousness,

beliefs, norms, and values embraced today, as well as in the objects that were created in the past. Tradition provides fragments of historical inheritance which is viewed helpful(Sztompka, 2005, pp. 74–75).

Furthermore, spesification of norms and traditions when viewed from the perspective of the modernization process is as follows. *Firstly,* there are norms that come from the tradition, perhaps as a barrier of the progress or modernization process. *Secondly,* there are a number of norms or traditions that have the potential to be developed, accomplished, enlighted, or modified so that it is conducive for the process of modernization. *Third,* some truly have the consistency and relevance with the new values.

In connection with the modernization of society and the values of tradition, it is then displayed specification or qualification of modern society, in which society or people belonging to the modern is those who are freed from believing in superstitious things. The concept of modernization is used to name a series of changes that occur in all aspects of traditional society life as an effort to realize the society concerned into an industrial society. Modernization shows a development of the structure of the social system, a form of sustainable change on the aspects of economic life, politics, education, traditions, and beliefs in a society, or a particular social unit.

In line with the above ideas, Karel Steenbrink argued that the change happening in *pesantren* is caused by the impetus of reform and modernization of Islamic education. In addition, Steenbrink adds several factors, namely the desire to return to the Quran and Hadith, the spirit of nationalism against the Dutch colonialism, and the strong efforts of the Muslims to strengthen their organizations in the social, economic, cultural and political fields(Steenbrink, 1986, pp. 26–29).

Changes such as in *pesantren* were also experienced by Islamic educational institutions in Turkey and Egypt since the last quarter of the 19th century. Modernization of Islamic education started in Turkey by the mid-19th century before eventually spread almost throughout the regions under the authority of Ottoman Turkey in the Middle East. The program of education reform in Turkey originally did not make *Medresse* (*madrasah*)—a traditional Islamic education institution—as a target of reform. What happened was the establishment of new schools in line with the European education system devoted to the interests of Ottoman Turkish military and bureaucratic reforms. In this context, there was a phenomenon of the emergence of *Mektebi Ilmi Harbiye* (military school) in 1834

based on the French model(Madjid, 1997b, p. 188; Peretz, 1986, p. x). In 1938, Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839) launched a reform of Islamic education by introducing *Rusydiyah* school that fully adopted the European education system. *Rusydiyah* School System is independent or even opposed to *Medresse*. Subsequently, in 1846, Sultan 'Abd al-Majid issued a regulation that separated the Islamic education from general education; *Medresse* was under the jurisdiction of Shaykh al-Islam, whereas public schools—with various levels—were placed under the direct responsibility of the government. Public school which is expected to become the backbone of the modernization was in fact growing slowly. It encouraged the government of Ottoman Turkey issue a decree "*Ma'arif Umumiye Nizamnamesi*" (1869) in order to expand and accelerate the development of the European model of public education system by victimizing *Medresse*. The final hit towards *Medresse* occurred in 1924, when Kemal Ataturk removed *Medresse* system by turning them into public schools(Azra, 2002, p. 96; Nasution, 1975, pp. 145–155; Suparta, 1996, pp. 14–15).

Modernization of education systems and institutions also took place in Egypt in the era of Muhammad Ali Pasha. In 1833 he issued a decree on the establishment of a public elementary school, which in its early development coexisted with *madrasah* and *Kuttâb*. Public elementary school which soon developed in all regions of Egypt had originally been intended to prepare student candidates of military school which was also founded by Muhammad Ali. At first, most of the contents of its education were Islamic subjects plus some general subjects. However, in further development, it emphasized more on general subjects. At the same time, Muhammad Ali Pasha also established higher level of public schools known as *Tajhiziyah* school. This school mainly taught general sciences, such as numeracy, geometry, algebra, and drawing, in addition to providing some religious subjects.

Meanwhile, *madrasah* and *kuttâb* did not experience significant development. *Kuttâb* was only a complement to public schools to get additional religious lessons. Even in 1868, Khedive Ismail issued a decree to integrate *madrasah* and *kuttâb* into general education system. This attempt did not work, because the *madrasah* and *kuttâb* education system survived in the British colonial period. However, after independence, with the reason of integration or nationalization of the national education system in Egypt, Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1961 erased the *madrasah* and *kuttâb* system(Azra, 2002, pp. 96–97; Nasution, 1975, pp. 29–33).

Turkish and Egyptian experience is sufficient to describe the pro-

cess of fading and disappearance of Islamic traditional education system in the wave of modernization applied by the authorities in each country. Sociological and political situation surrounding the *medresse* in Turkey or *madrasah* and *kuttâb* in Egypt in certain aspects seems different from that of surrounding *pesantren* in Indonesia. These differences, in turn, make *pesantren* able to survive.

Pattern of Social Change

Etzioni and Etzioni-Halevy argued that based on the thought of the figure of classical sociology, social change can be classified into three patterns: a linear pattern, a cycle pattern, and a combination of the two patterns(Halevy & Etzioni, 1979, pp. 3–8; Sunarto, 2004, pp. 213–214).

First, a linear pattern. According to this thought, community development follows a definite pattern. The pattern was pioneered by Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer.

Comte (1798-1857) argued that social change leads to the same sequence and steps, starting from the early developmental stage to that end. When the final stage is reached, then the change is over. The sequence of steps as stated by the figure of evolution theory is: (1) the theological stage which is directed by the values of the supernatural; (2) the metaphysical stage, that is the stage of transition where the belief in the supernatural element is shifted by the abstract principles which have roles as the basis of cultural development; and (3) the positive stage or scientific stage, where societies are driven by the fact that is supported by the principles of science. At this stage, logic and observation become a major tool of thinking(Halevy & Etzioni, 1979, pp. 14–19; Horton & Hunt, 1984, pp. 208–209).

In line with Comte, Spencer (1820-1903) saw the similarities between organic evolution and social evolution—transition of the society through a series of stages beginning from the stage of homogeneous and simple tribal group to the stage of complex modern society. In the process of this change, people who are competent and energetic will win the struggle of life, while those who are lazy and weak will be eliminated. This view comes to be known as *'Social Darwinism'* and widely embraced by the rich(Horton & Hunt, 1984, p. 209).

All evolutionary theories have certain weaknesses: (1) data that support the determination of stages of society in a sequence of stages are often inaccurate. Thus, the stages of society are determined in accordance

with the stages which are considered most suitable to the theory. (2) The order of the stages is not entirely unequivocal, because some societies are able to step over several stages in between and directly to the stage of the industry, while some others are even retreated to the previous stage. (3) The view stating that major social change would end when society has reached the final stage seems to be a naive view, because the development of civilization is experiencing ups and downs. Nevertheless, the theory of evolution still contains many careful descriptions. There are still many people who are experiencing a change from a simple society to complex society.

Second, a cycle pattern. This pattern sees that society develops like a wheel: sometimes up and sometimes down. That is, the process of human development does not end at the "last" stage as proposed by the evolutionary theory, but turning back to an earlier stage for the next transition.

The figure of the cycle theory, Oswald Spengler (1880-1936), argued that every major civilization experienced the process of birth, growth, and fall. The rotation process took about one thousand years, as experienced by the Greek, Roman, and Egyptian culture. European culture is also expected to experience the same thing as the three cultures(Halevy & Etzioni, 1979, pp. 20–25).

As Spengler, Toynbee (1889-1975) saw that civilization can be born from the primitive society oriented to the past, and then can move dynamically according to the path of change and growth. In addition, he also saw civilization could arise because of the challenges of the surrounding environment, either natural, social, and cultural ones. Toynbee gave an example of the Egyptian civilization emerged as a result of an adequate response to the challenges that come from the swamps and jungles of the Nile valley, while another civilization emerged from inter-group conflict challenges.

On the basis of this theory, it can be concluded temporarily that the development of the civilization is related to the challenges or conflicts within a group. However, such conflicts exist within the controlled boundaries or can be managed well. If the challenges or conflicts are too hard, the civilization will not develop, but the civilization may even be destroyed. Therefore, Toynbee proposed two criteria in order that the responses or conflicts are adequate, namely: the hard and soft of the challenges and the presence of the elite who would lead in responding to the challenges. Thus, the growth of civilization depends on the behavior of a creative minority (elite). In addition, creative minority' task not only creates new so-

cial forms or processes, but also, together with them (the society), achieves progress. With the elite leader, civilization growing through the process of change successfully faces the challenges to the better direction. Instead, civilization will suffer destruction when the creative elite no longer functions adequately, when the majority no longer provides loyalty and imitates the elites, and when social unity disintegrates(Toynbee, 1957).

Third, pattern of a combination of the two patterns. This pattern is seen in the conflict theory of Karl Marx. Marx viewed that human history is a history of constant struggle between classes in society which actually has the seed of the thought of cycle pattern, because, according to him, after a class successfully mastered other classes, a similar cycle will be repeated again. However, Marx's thought also contains a linear pattern thought. According to him, the rapid development of capitalism would lead to conflicts between the workers and the bourgeois that will be won by the workers who would then form a communist society. Marx's view of linear development is also reflected in his view that the Western colonies will experience the process experienced by the Western society(Sunarto, 1999, p. 215).

Marx is seen as the main character who describes the sources of conflicts and its influence on the revolusionary increase of social change. Marx's theory is, among other things, the recognition of a class structure in society. In short, conflict is an important driver of change. Changes are the result of conflicts because conflicts take place continuously, and so do the changes.

Marx, as quoted by Turner(Turner, 1984, p. 129), proposed some proposition about conflicts: 1) The more uneven the distribution of income, the greater the conflict of interest between the upper and lower group. 2) The more the lower group is aware towards their interests together, the more they question the validity of existing revenue-sharing system. 3) The greater they are aware of the interest of their group and the harder they question the validity of the revenue-sharing system, the more they tend to work together to create conflicts facing the group which controls the existing system. 4) The stronger the unity of ideology of the members of the lower group and the stronger the structure of their political leadership, the greater the tendency of the polarization of the existing system. 5) The stronger the polarization, the harder the conflict that happened. 6) The harder the conflict, the greater the structural changes that occur in the system and the wider the process of equitable distribution of economic resources.

Process of Social Change

The process of social change can be categorized into 3 (three): innovation or a new discovery, diffusion, and consequences. Innovation is a process by which new ideas are created or developed, diffusion is a process in which new ideas are disseminated in the social system, and the consequences are the result of adopting new ideas in the social system or rejection of the new idea(Wahyu, 2005b, pp. 2–3).

Innovation is a social and cultural process that includes a new discovery, the way the elements of a new culture spreads to the community, and how the new cultural element is received, studied, and finally practiced in society life. Innovation can be distinguished from discovery and invention. Discovery is the finding of new cultural elements, both in the form of tools and ideas that are created by individuals or groups. Discovery becomes invention when people already accept and implement the new discovery(Koentjaraningrat, 1964, p. 136).

Diffusion is the spread of cultural elements from individual to another and from one group to another. Diffusion takes place, both within communities and between communities. Diffusion can be said to be successful if new discovery that has been accepted by the society can be forwarded and distributed to the society widely until they can enjoy its benefits. The process is a driving force for the growth of a culture and enriching the cultures of society at large(Linton, 1936, p. 324).

The process of diffusion sometimes takes place before innovation and sometimes at the same time. In innovation, the innovator communicates the new discovery to the citizens. Furthermore, the innovator can integrate innovation with the elements or other parts of the culture. At this stage, there will be pros and cons of the change process due to the integration of the new discovery and old culture. Pros and cons can be overcome through the correction by modifying traditional pattern or pattern that has been recently received, or modify both of them. Reintegration of a culture can be achieved through the stages of re-interpretation, selection, and elaboration of the elements of the culture.

After the completion of the integration stage, the next is the terminal stage or stage of temporary stop from the overall final result of the changes that have taken place. This can be realized as equilibrium, thorough stability and consistency in the culture. In addition, there is also a sense of being prosperous, secure and terrifying, a sense of having high position or personality, and a great sense of self-esteem or self-confidence to the

people concerned. In a disorganized state, the scope is usually very small, or it could be huge and embodied as a whole disintegration in the culture. The serious disorganized state in society can occur because of a conflict, war, or conquest; it can also be due to relationship contact between two different cultures.

Social change that occurs in one element of culture will cause changes in other elements. It means, there is a revision in accordance with the changes that occur over a set of models of existing knowledge. Humans tend to dislike living in chaos or always change his guidelines of life, because between the change and the realization of the established guidance of life there is uncertain time of transition. This transition period is marked by unstable and uncertain guidelines of life which is applicable in the order of life.

In life there are value systems. The values are mutually complementary, so as to avoid extremism of life due highlighting one value over the other values. There are two possibilities that will occur in the change. *First,* people find a value system and a new philosophy of life. *Second,* people will be downing in the problems they face and unable to take an attitude or decision on the new reality. The first possibility will occur for people who have cultural preparation in facing the changes that can be done in various ways, such as through inheritance or socialization of cultural values that are done systematically, formal education, self-development, and so forth. With the cultural preparation that focuses more on individual cultural readiness, the community can involve themselves without losing their identity as a person who has existence. Conversely, due to the absence of a cultural readiness, a second possibility will happen; then one of the social consequences happening is alienation.

The consequences are the results of social change. Almost all the changes have risks. Changes often not only lead to positive effects, but also, not little, shake the prevailing culture and undermine respected values and habits. Poor people are usually very reluctant to deal with changes, because among other things they are not able to bear any risk. The positive side of changes can at least improve human quality. In a theory, humans have needs, for instance the moral and economic need, achievement, gaining recognition, and so on. All needs will only be achieved through and determined by a more advanced or good social environment. For example, industry in rural areas has brought modern technology to the rural areas; thus, it changes the faces of the rural areas. Therefore, with the entry of the industry to rural areas, it allows for various changes required by humans. For example, their previous sole job was in agriculture. After industry exists, people in rural areas can work outside the agricultural sector, such as be-

ing a worker, a trader, a seller of service, or others. Another example is the development of transportation facilities such as paved roads. Paved roads in rural areas have made possible changes to traditional means of transportation that use animals, such as *dokar* (cart), *bendi* (gig), *gerobak* (caravan), and others. Thus, the transformation of technology in rural areas not only has changed the traditional system of transportation to modern tools, either directly or indirectly, but also has changed the human quality. Rural society who originally thought mistically, intuitively, or habitually seems to be able to change the direction of thinking to be analytical, rational, technology-based, and efficient. The change in the way of thinking of the rural society is partly as a result of the change.

The negative aspects of social change are not only able to cause social tensions but also able to create social problems. Some examples of the negative effects of the development projects, among others are unemployment, protests, crime, imitation of lifestyle, and others. Another example is that with the development projects in rural areas some farmers might even lose their farm because the money from the sale of the land, due to being affected by the construction project, was not used to buy the land again, but to buy the need that were not productive. It eventually led to conditions that were not fun for them, for instance being unemployed or out of work. They could not work in a factory or other projects because they did not have skills required by the industry or the project.

According to Cohen, when social change occurs very quickly, the negative effects will also be very huge. The negative effects of changes is, among others, that individuals become alienated, lonely, and desperate, especially if the changes occur suddenly. It could destroy and weaken individual feelings. If the effect causes cultural gaps, it is likely to occur the general disorganization in the society as a whole, because social change is often accompanied by a variety of social problems(Cohen, 1983).

Technical difficulties in inserting a change to a culture often bring major consequences in terms of economic and personal inconveniences. People who have a personal interest are usually resistant to change, but they are sometimes aware that the proposed changes actually benefit them. Cleverness and social position influence their success in introducing changes. Without knowing the culture of the people well, the agents of change will fail because they are generally going to make a mistake in calculating the consequences and implementation techniques that support the achievement of the target of the change.

The consequences of the change will never end. The discovery and invention and also cultural elements incorporated into a society often cause

a chain reaction that damages many aspects of culture. Although different, related each other and interdependent, cultural aspects have not changed in the same levels. The gap may occur during the process of acceptance of a cultural element until the moment of the adjustment process has been completed. Nonetheless, people who are undergoing changes, they will, quickly or not, face a cultural gap. In a society where its people are chaotic, and have problems in finding a suitable system of behavior, it will eventually make the person become fragile. When they are desperate to find a way of living well and have stopped trying, they are said to have lost the spirit of life (*demoralized*). Changes sometimes bring bitterness. However, resistance to change could result in more severe bitterness, because changes cannot be separated from profits and losses.

Social Change Case in *Pesantren*

In the case of changes in *pesantren*, both changes due to the element of the inside and from the outside, the role of *kyai* as an actor of change occupies a very central position. Anthropologist from Japan, Horikoshi introduced the concept of a mediator or intermediary and cultural broker. The concept of the mediator appears among the students of a complex society as a useful approach for analyzing changes in a society and national integration ranks. Mediator can be defined as individuals or groups who occupy the position of a liaison and intermediary between the society and urban national systems. Depending on the structural position in a complex society network, the mediator can be played by traditional leaders who fortify vulnerable spots in the bond that connects the local system with the whole of the wider system. A mediators also often acts as a buffer or intrmediary between the groups that are opposed each other, and maintains the preservation of the impetus of society dynamics necessary for their activities(Horikoshi, 1987, p. 237).

The position of *kyai* in the society is still highly regarded for its knowledge and charisma. For example, the condition of *kyai* in West Java. According to Horikoshi, due to its position in a society that is so strong, *kyai* occupies the position of a mediator, but he is no longer the only group that has access or connection with an external system. Despite this fact, *kyai* not only withstands the tide of change, but actively encourages a fundamental change, and creates opportunities of education and economy in a society. Even when there is a conflict in a society, *kyai* often serves as *Hakam* (mediator) and the *fatwa* (unbinding legal opinion) giver(Farehan & Syarifuddin, 2005, pp. 152–158).

Of course, the easiest way not to overlook all these cases is by stating that the careful society has not yet fully reached the point of take-off from the traditional society of the past. However, such statement would only obscure the problem of structural position of the mediator, as socio-cultural changes is a long process, and –as suggested by some anthropologists– the difference between traditional and modern is the concept of *heuristic* (discovery by research itself) that is unilaterally imposed by Western scholars and not always related to the universal empirical criteria.

One of the facts that is overlooked with regard to individual or people who are in a position of connector (mediator or cultural broker) is the benefit they derive from that position when faced with the national and local systems. As explained by Bailey, the broker is a person who knows exactly the principles of the work in the relationship between groups. If they want to maintain liaison position, they have to control the spread of information from one sector to the other sectors carefully. Likewise, the traditional leaders who have kept the liaison position through inheritance definitely inherit knowledge of the relationship between the society and the national system. Knowledge of the mechanism of work in a complex society is a key to the survival of their existence, allowing them to manipulate the two groups for their own benefit.

In this definition, traditional leaders as experts in Islamic religion are good anthropologists, and may be better than the anthropologists themselves. In the liaison position, competent leaders are capable of entering the power play that is so complicated with outside systems that are dominant, while at the same time use symbols to indicate relationship with the followers with the intention of securing the loyalty of the people.

Because of the position of *Kyai* as a cultural broker, his leadership is also supported by what is called by Max Weber as charisma (*charismatic authority*), that is the leadership that is sourced from extraordinary powers. This leadership is based on the psychological identification of a person with another person. The meaning of identification is an individual's emotional involvement with another individual that at the end the fate of the man himself is related to the fate of others. For the followers, a leader is a hope for a well-established and better life. A leader is positioned as the savior and protector or guardian(Weber, 1966, p. 356).

Charismatic leadership is based on exceptional quality possessed by a person as an individual. This definition is very theological, because to identify personal appeals attached to a person it must use an assumption that the stability and quality of personality possessed is a gift from God.

Max Weber often refers to this leadership quality as being possessed by those who become religious leaders. The appearance of someone considered charismatic can be known from its physical characteristics, e.g. his glowing eyes, her strong voice, and protruding chin. These characteristics indicate that a person has a soul as a charismatic leader, as the leadership of the prophet and his companions.

The term charismatic refers to the quality of someone. Because of such position, then it can be distinguished from the common people. Also due to the excellence of personality, he is considered and (even) believed in having supernatural power, being a super special human, or at least being a privileged human in the view of a specific society. The power and privilege are the gift from God given to the servants to represent Him in the world. The presence of a person who possesses such types is seen as a leader. Without the help of others, he is able to find and create the image that illustrates the power of himself. As for the term charisma, Weber argued:

> The term charisma will be applied to a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, super human, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities(Weber, 1966, p. 358).

Often a person is considered a charismatic because there are people who believe that he has strength as well as exceptional and impressing efficacy in front of so many people. Therefore, he often thinks about supernatural things, do meditation to find inspiration, thereby making him separate from the habits made by others. Someone charismatic does not require that all the specific characteristics above are always attached to him. For him the important thing is exceptional characteristics that are considered by others as an attribute of the person.

The followers of charismatic leaders often unstable in their act. That is, they have been influenced by the role of the charismatic leaders who tend to be individualistic, and depend on the inspiration of the leader. The followers often have high loyalty to their leader, even almost ignoring the obligation, work, and his family, and sell something to follow the advice of his leader. Leaders and followers usually create close relationship like a family. Likewise, this relationship applies to fellow followers in the community.

On the other hand, there is a moral obligation for a leader to always guide his followers, whether requested or not. The leader sometimes visits

the followers when they face serious difficulties. Motivation and advice from a leader given to his followers is accepted as something that reflects the quality of an exceptional personality, which is believed to come from the hands of God's power. Thus, the trust of the followers toward him becomes more sticky, because the leader is considered to have the ability of knowing something happening to his followers. Among the members of the Sufi Order (*tarekat*), the term is often called *ma'rifat* (knowing).

Because the charismatic leadership rests on the ability of a person's figure and on the typical impression of the individual, his behaviors and attitudes are ultimately difficult to predict and capricious. The leader of this type, according to Max Weber, does not fit the notion of routine or everyday life. Instead, because the ability is centered on the individual, the charismatic leader is a threat to the routine and the established order; likewise, it is a nuisance to the form of rational leadership, because the type of this leadership is based itself on a set of rules that have been promulgated officially and its enactment is legally recognized.

In a society that adopts traditional organization system, an important position in it is often occupied by family members of the ruling party. Those who will occupy a certain position is based more on the level of personality. When determined that he is elected, he immediately gains trust from the followers electing him, so in the next period the descendant ruling has a great opportunity to continue his predecessor.

The form of traditional authority in the implementation of bureaucratic organizations does not recognize the authority that is clearly formulated according to impersonal provisions; rational orders in relation to the above (the ruling) and the bottom (ruled); regular systems of appointment and promotion based on free agreement; regular and continuous trainings in the fields of expertise required; and salaries of every decent functionary(Abdurrahman, 1999, p. 39).

Furthermore, Max Weber distinguished again between *gerontocracy, patriarchalism* and *patrimonialism*, as follows:

> Gerontocracy and primary patriarchalism are the most elementary types of traditional domination where the master has no personal administrative staff. The term gerontocracy is applied to a situation where so far as, rule over the group is organized at all it is in the hand of elders which originally was understood literally as the eldest in actual years, who are the most familiar which secret tradition .... Patriarchaism is the situation where, within group (house hold) which

is usually organized in both economic and kinship bases, a particular individual governs who is designated by definited rule of inheritence (Weber, 1966, p. 341).

The elements of patrimonial power (Max Weber's theory) are admittedly still existing between the life of two organizations in *pesantren*, often supported by attitudes and cultures of emotional-primordial family. A small example is a transition process of leadership at two *pesantren*. In this case, one who is usually elected or appointed is the descendant of the deceased *Kyai*. Traditional society structures such as *pesantren* finally have a description of leadership with paternalistic style, both in the function of leadership and in the style of the society. The society who has such styles is caused by factors such as the strength of primordial ties, communal society life, the strong roles of customs in everyday life, and strong intimate personal relationship between members of the community with other communities, as well as the extended family system. Meanwhile, the view of paternalistic leader about his role in the life of the organization becomes a hope for his followers.

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