

The Relevance of the Concept of Imāmah in Pesantren Governance: A Study of the Leadership of Prof. Dr. K.H. Abdul Ghofur at Pondok Pesantren Sunan Drajat

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ABSTRACT

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This study examines the relevance of the concept of imāmah in pesantren governance through a case study of the leadership of Prof. Dr. K.H. Abdul Ghofur at Pondok Pesantren Sunan Drajat, Lamongan, East Java. Using a qualitative approach with a case study design, data were collected through in-depth interviews, participant observation, and institutional document analysis. Data were analyzed using the interactive model of Miles and Huberman, consisting of data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing. The findings show that leadership practices at Pesantren Sunan Drajat embody the core principles of imāmah, namely trustworthiness (amanah), justice (adālah), competence (kafā'ah), and consultative decision-making (syūrā). These principles are reflected in institutional governance, including strategic decision-making, human resource management, the strengthening of economic independence, and the development of internal and external organizational relations. Leadership is exercised not only through religious authority but also through managerial competence and ethical responsibility. This study concludes that imāmah should be understood not merely as a normative political concept but as an ethical and practical framework for leadership applicable to contemporary pesantren governance. The study contributes to Islamic leadership studies by offering a pesantren leadership model that integrates classical Islamic values with modern governance principles.

ABSTRAK

Kata Kunci:

Imāmah;
Kepemimpinan
Kiai; Tata Kelola
Pesantren;
Kepemimpinan
Islam; Pesantren
Sunan Drajat

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji relevansi konsep imāmah dalam tata kelola pesantren melalui studi kasus kepemimpinan Prof. Dr. K.H. Abdul Ghofur di Pondok Pesantren Sunan Drajat, Lamongan, Jawa Timur. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan desain studi kasus. Pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui wawancara mendalam, observasi partisipatif, dan analisis dokumen kelembagaan. Analisis data menggunakan model interaktif Miles dan Huberman yang meliputi reduksi data, penyajian data, dan penarikan kesimpulan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa praktik kepemimpinan di Pesantren Sunan Drajat mencerminkan prinsip-prinsip utama imāmah, yaitu amanah, keadilan (adālah), kompetensi (kafā'ah), dan pengambilan keputusan secara musyawarah (syūrā). Prinsip-prinsip tersebut tercermin dalam proses pengambilan kebijakan kelembagaan, pengelolaan sumber daya manusia, penguatan kemandirian ekonomi pesantren, serta pengembangan relasi organisasi, baik internal maupun eksternal. Kepemimpinan tidak hanya dijalankan melalui otoritas keagamaan, tetapi juga melalui kapasitas manajerial dan tanggung jawab etis. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa imāmah tidak hanya dipahami sebagai konsep politik normatif, tetapi juga sebagai kerangka kepemimpinan etis dan praktis yang relevan dalam tata kelola pesantren kontemporer. Penelitian ini berkontribusi pada kajian kepemimpinan Islam dengan menawarkan model kepemimpinan pesantren yang mengintegrasikan nilai-nilai Islam klasik dengan prinsip-prinsip tata kelola modern.



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INTRODUCTION

Pesantren is one of the oldest Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia and has made a significant contribution to the formation of scholarly traditions, the transmission of religious values, and the development of the social morality of the Muslim community. Historically, pesantren have functioned not only as centers for the transmission of Islamic knowledge but also as spaces for shaping the religious and social ethos of Muslim society. However, the dynamics of modernization and the forces of globalization have brought about social changes that directly affect the existence and governance of pesantren. These conditions require institutional adaptation, particularly in terms of professional management, administrative transparency, and public accountability. Such changes necessitate a model of pesantren leadership that does not rely solely on religious charisma but is also supported by managerial capacity and strategic vision in managing increasingly complex Islamic educational organizations (Azra, 2012; Bruinessen, 2013).

Along with these developments, pesantren have also experienced an expansion of their functions. Pesantren are no longer understood exclusively as traditional religious educational institutions but have also emerged as social and economic institutions engaged in community empowerment. Many pesantren have developed productive business units, cooperatives, and community-based economic programs as part of their efforts to build institutional self-reliance and strengthen their social contribution (Hefner, 2009). This transformation requires a more planned, measurable, and long-term governance system, making pesantren leadership a key element in integrating religious missions with the demands of modern management.

Within the internal structure of pesantren, the *kiai* occupies a central position as the primary leader who simultaneously holds moral, spiritual, and social authority. The *kiai* serves as the guardian of Islamic normative values, a role model for students, and a strategic actor in determining the direction of pesantren development. This authority, derived from religious charisma, forms the basis of pesantren legitimacy within society. However, in the context of contemporary governance, such authority requires reinterpretation to align with the principles of participation, transparency, and institutional accountability (Dhofier, 2011; Zarkasyi, 2015).

Recent studies have demonstrated that pesantren leadership is increasingly characterized by the integration of charismatic authority and professional management systems. Research on transformational leadership, consultative governance, adaptive leadership, and ethical leadership indicates that Islamic educational institutions require leadership models capable of balancing religious legitimacy with institutional accountability and organizational sustainability (Wahrudin & Maunah, 2023; Inayati et al., 2024; Khurun et al., 2024; Bukhari et al., 2025).

Although studies on *kiai* leadership and pesantren management have developed from various perspectives, most research has focused on sociological, historical, or descriptive institutional approaches. Systematic studies that link classical Islamic leadership concepts—particularly the concept of *imāmah*—with contemporary pesantren governance practices remain relatively limited. In the Islamic intellectual tradition, *imāmah* is not merely understood as a normative political doctrine but also as an ethical framework for leadership that emphasizes trustworthiness (*amanah*), justice (*'adālah*), competence (*kafā'ah*), and consultative decision-making (*syūrā*) as fundamental principles of governance and leadership (Al-Māwardī, 1996; Al-

Ghazālī, 2000). This lack of integration between classical normative discourse and institutional practice indicates a clear academic gap.

In this context, Pondok Pesantren Sunan Drajat presents a compelling case of a pesantren that demonstrates strong institutional adaptability. Under the leadership of Prof. Dr. K.H. Abdul Ghofur, the pesantren has not only maintained its scholarly authority and Islamic traditions but has also developed educational, economic, and social governance systems that are responsive to contemporary challenges. This makes Pondok Pesantren Sunan Drajat a relevant empirical context for examining how classical Islamic leadership values are articulated and operationalized within contemporary pesantren governance practices.

Based on the foregoing discussion, the research gap lies in the limited number of empirical studies that concretely and contextually integrate the classical concept of *imāmah* with pesantren governance practices. The novelty of this study lies in positioning *imāmah* not merely as a normative political concept but as an ethical and practical framework for contemporary pesantren leadership. Through this empirical investigation, the study seeks to demonstrate how the principles of *amanah*, *'adālah*, *kafā'ah*, and *syūrā* are implemented in modern pesantren governance. Thus, this study is expected to contribute theoretically to the advancement of Islamic leadership studies and practically to the strengthening of pesantren governance in Indonesia.

METHOD

This study employs a qualitative approach with a case study design. The qualitative approach was chosen because it enables an in-depth understanding of pesantren leadership and governance practices within a specific socio-religious context. The case study design allows for a comprehensive and contextual examination of leadership phenomena, particularly in analyzing the relationship between the concept of *imāmah* and contemporary pesantren governance practices. The focus of this study is not on statistical generalization but on achieving analytical depth in understanding the dynamics of leadership and institutional management (Creswell, 2014; Yin, 2018).

The research was conducted at Pondok Pesantren Sunan Drajat in Lamongan, East Java, an Islamic boarding school recognized for its dynamic institutional development in both the educational and economic sectors. The study focuses on the leadership practices of Prof. Dr. K.H. Abdul Ghofur as the pesantren leader and the central figure in strategic decision-making. Research participants included the *kiai*, pesantren administrators, educators, and other individuals directly involved in institutional governance and daily activities. Informants were selected purposively based on their relevance to the research objectives and focus.

Data were collected through in-depth interviews, participant observation, and document analysis. In-depth interviews were conducted to explore the perspectives, experiences, and leadership practices of the *kiai* and pesantren management. Participant observation was employed to examine leadership patterns, decision-making processes, and social interactions within the daily life of the pesantren. Document analysis involved examining institutional archives, formal policies, and other documents related to pesantren governance. The use of multiple data collection techniques was intended to enhance the credibility of the findings through source and method triangulation (Creswell, 2014).

Data were analyzed using the interactive model developed by Miles and Huberman, which consists of data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014). The collected data were selected and organized according to the research objectives before being presented in thematic narratives to facilitate interpretation. Conclusions were drawn continuously by examining the consistency of findings across data sources and their relationship with the theoretical framework of *imāmah*. This process enabled the empirical findings to be interpreted systematically and contextually.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Profile and Dynamics of the Leadership of Prof. Dr. K.H. Abdul Ghofur

The leadership of Prof. Dr. K.H. Abdul Ghofur is rooted in an intellectual background that integrates the pesantren tradition with formal higher education. His religious education was developed within the pesantren system, which emphasizes mastery of classical Islamic texts (*kutub al-turāth*), the cultivation of scholarly traditions, and the internalization of Islamic moral and leadership values. This educational foundation has shaped not only his scholarly competence but also the moral authority that underpins his leadership within the pesantren. Consequently, his legitimacy is derived not merely from institutional position but also from the recognition of religious knowledge, ethical integrity, and exemplary conduct that characterize the traditional authority of a *kiai*.

Alongside his pesantren education, Prof. Dr. K.H. Abdul Ghofur pursued formal higher education, which significantly broadened his intellectual perspective and strengthened the analytical and managerial competencies required to lead a modern Islamic educational institution. The integration of pesantren-based learning and formal academic training has produced a typology of the *kiai*-intellectual who possesses not only religious legitimacy but also the capacity to respond to increasingly complex social, educational, and institutional challenges. From the perspective of Islamic educational sociology, this combination enables the *kiai* to perform a dual role as both a religious authority and a strategic actor capable of directing institutional transformation while preserving the fundamental values of Islamic education (Azra, 2012).

In addition to intellectual capital, the leadership of Prof. Dr. K.H. Abdul Ghofur is reinforced by extensive social and institutional networks at the local, regional, and national levels. These networks encompass relationships with religious scholars, academics, government agencies, educational institutions, and various social organizations. Such connections serve as important forms of social capital that strengthen the institutional position of the pesantren, facilitate collaborative partnerships, enhance public trust, and support the implementation of strategic educational and community development programs. Consequently, leadership is exercised not only through personal authority but also through the ability to mobilize institutional resources and establish productive cooperation with external stakeholders (Hefner, 2009).

In practice, the leadership model implemented at Pondok Pesantren Sunan Drajat reflects an integrative approach that combines the charismatic authority traditionally attached to the *kiai* with a structured and professional system of institutional management. While the *kiai* continues to occupy the highest position in determining the strategic direction of the pesantren, decision-

making processes are conducted through consultative mechanisms involving pesantren administrators and institutional units. This governance pattern demonstrates that charismatic leadership is complemented by organizational procedures designed to improve institutional effectiveness without diminishing the symbolic authority of the *kiai*.

The relationship between the *kiai*, administrators, and students is organized within a functional institutional structure. The *kiai* functions as the guardian of Islamic values, the architect of the pesantren's long-term vision, and the primary authority in determining strategic institutional policies. Administrators are responsible for managerial and operational activities, whereas students constitute the central focus of educational, intellectual, and character development. This distribution of roles illustrates a leadership pattern that maintains the moral and symbolic authority of the *kiai* while simultaneously encouraging broader institutional participation in organizational governance (Dhofier, 2011).

The strategic role of the *kiai* is reflected in policies related to educational innovation, economic development, and community engagement. Rather than managing every technical aspect of institutional operations, the *kiai* serves as a moral leader who provides strategic direction, ethical guidance, and normative legitimacy for the development of the pesantren. This leadership orientation is consistent with contemporary developments in pesantren governance, where traditional religious authority is maintained while professional management principles are increasingly adopted to address institutional complexity (Zarkasyi, 2015).

Under the leadership of Prof. Dr. K.H. Abdul Ghofur, Pondok Pesantren Sunan Drajat has experienced substantial institutional transformation across educational, economic, and social dimensions. In the educational sector, the pesantren continues to preserve its traditional learning system through the study of classical Islamic texts while simultaneously expanding integrated formal and non-formal educational programs. These initiatives are intended to strengthen students' academic competence, religious understanding, social awareness, and professional skills, thereby preparing graduates who are capable of responding to contemporary societal needs without losing their Islamic identity.

Institutional transformation is equally evident in efforts to strengthen the economic independence of the pesantren. Various productive business units have been established not only as sustainable sources of institutional revenue but also as practical learning environments for developing students' entrepreneurial competencies. This demonstrates that the pesantren has expanded its function beyond a center of Islamic learning to become an institution that actively contributes to community economic empowerment and local development. Such an orientation reflects the growing role of pesantren as both educational and socio-economic institutions within contemporary Indonesian society (Hefner, 2009).

Furthermore, the contribution of Pondok Pesantren Sunan Drajat extends beyond education through a wide range of community empowerment programs, religious outreach activities, and collaborative partnerships with governmental and non-governmental institutions. These initiatives reinforce the pesantren's position as both a religious reference and a community development agent grounded in Islamic values. The institutional transformation achieved under the leadership of Prof. Dr. K.H. Abdul Ghofur demonstrates that adaptive leadership can successfully respond to the challenges of modernization while preserving the religious identity, educational traditions, and cultural values that have historically characterized the pesantren

institution. This finding supports previous studies emphasizing that contemporary pesantren leadership requires the integration of religious legitimacy, institutional adaptability, and professional governance to ensure organizational sustainability in an increasingly dynamic social environment (Bruinessen, 2013).

The Relevance of the Concept of *Imāmah* in Pesantren Governance

Within the pesantren tradition, the legitimacy of *kiai* leadership is derived primarily from communal recognition of moral integrity, religious authority, and social responsibility rather than from formal organizational structures. Such legitimacy is established through a long process of scholarly formation, exemplary conduct, and continuous interaction with the pesantren community. In this context, the concept of *imāmah* provides an important normative framework by positioning leadership as a trust (*amanah*) that must preserve Islamic values while ensuring the welfare of the community. Accordingly, leadership is understood not merely as the exercise of authority but as an ethical responsibility to guide institutional development in accordance with Islamic principles (Al-Māwardī, 1996).

At Pondok Pesantren Sunan Drajat, the leadership legitimacy of Prof. Dr. K.H. Abdul Ghofur reflects the integration of pesantren scholarly authority, academic competence, and extensive institutional networks. This combination enables the pesantren to maintain its traditional religious legitimacy while simultaneously responding to contemporary organizational demands. Rather than replacing charismatic authority, professional institutional management strengthens the legitimacy of leadership by improving organizational effectiveness, accountability, and public trust. From this perspective, *imāmah* functions not simply as a theological or political doctrine but as an ethical foundation through which leadership is legitimized by moral integrity (*'adālah*), responsibility (*amanah*), and competence (*kafā'ah*) (Al-Ghazālī, 2000).

The empirical findings indicate that the principles of *imāmah* are translated into concrete governance practices within Pondok Pesantren Sunan Drajat. The principle of *amanah* is reflected in institutional transparency and accountability through clearly defined responsibilities, proportional distribution of authority, and responsible management of educational, social, and economic programs. Leadership is exercised as a form of trust that requires accountability not only to institutional stakeholders but also to religious values. This demonstrates that accountability within pesantren governance extends beyond administrative obligations to encompass moral and spiritual responsibility.

The principle of *kafā'ah* is evident in the implementation of professional management structures based on competence, organizational specialization, and standardized administrative procedures. While the *kiai* remains responsible for determining strategic institutional directions, operational management is delegated to administrators according to their respective expertise. Such a governance structure reflects the integration of traditional leadership with modern management principles, enabling the pesantren to maintain organizational effectiveness without diminishing the central role of the *kiai* as the highest moral authority.

Likewise, the principle of *syūrā* is institutionalized through consultative decision-making processes involving pesantren administrators and institutional units in the formulation of strategic policies. Rather than relying exclusively on personal authority, important institutional

decisions are preceded by dialogue, deliberation, and collective consideration. This consultative mechanism not only strengthens organizational participation but also enhances collective responsibility and institutional commitment toward the implementation of agreed policies. Such practices are consistent with contemporary governance principles that emphasize participation, transparency, and collaborative leadership while remaining firmly rooted in Islamic ethical values (Azra, 2012).

The implementation of *'adālah* is reflected in institutional policies that prioritize fairness, proportionality, and the welfare of the pesantren community. Justice is not understood merely as equal treatment but as the capacity to formulate policies according to institutional needs while ensuring balanced opportunities and responsibilities among members of the organization. This principle is manifested in educational services, human resource development, economic empowerment, and community engagement programs that seek to balance institutional interests with broader social welfare (Al-Māwardī, 1996).

The integration of these four principles demonstrates that the concept of *imāmah* provides a comprehensive ethical framework for pesantren governance. Leadership at Pondok Pesantren Sunan Drajat combines the moral authority traditionally attached to the *kiai* with professional managerial practices that enhance organizational accountability and sustainability. Charismatic authority continues to serve as the primary source of religious legitimacy, while institutional management ensures that leadership remains effective, participatory, and responsive to contemporary challenges. This balance prevents both excessive personalism, which may weaken institutional governance, and bureaucratic formalism that risks detaching leadership from its ethical and spiritual foundations (Zarkasyi, 2015).

The findings of this study also demonstrate that *imāmah* possesses broader applicability than its classical association with political leadership. Within the context of pesantren governance, *imāmah* functions as an ethical governance framework capable of guiding leadership practices in non-state religious institutions. By operationalizing the principles of *amanah*, *kafā'ah*, *syūrā*, and *'adālah* into observable governance practices, this study extends Islamic leadership scholarship beyond normative-political discourse toward the empirical analysis of institutional leadership. Consequently, the concept of *imāmah* is shown to remain highly relevant for strengthening governance systems that seek to integrate Islamic ethical values with contemporary organizational management.

Discussion

The concept of *imāmah* has long occupied a central position in classical Islamic political thought as a framework for leadership responsible for preserving religion and administering worldly affairs for the benefit of society. Classical Muslim scholars, particularly Al-Māwardī, conceptualized *imāmah* as a form of public leadership founded upon justice, trustworthiness, competence, and consultation, with the primary objective of ensuring social order and public welfare (Al-Māwardī, 1996). Although originally formulated within the context of political governance, the findings of this study demonstrate that these ethical principles remain highly relevant when interpreted within the governance of contemporary Islamic educational institutions, particularly pesantren.

The empirical evidence from Pondok Pesantren Sunan Drajat indicates that the leadership of Prof. Dr. K.H. Abdul Ghofur substantively reflects the essential principles of *imāmah*, despite being implemented in a non-state institutional setting. The adaptation of *imāmah* within pesantren governance illustrates a significant conceptual transformation from a doctrine of political leadership into an ethical framework for institutional management. Rather than emphasizing political authority, leadership is directed toward educational development, institutional sustainability, community empowerment, and the preservation of Islamic values. This finding suggests that the normative principles of classical Islamic leadership continue to possess practical relevance when interpreted contextually within modern organizational environments.

Furthermore, the findings reveal that pesantren leadership is characterized by the integration of charismatic religious authority and professional managerial governance. The *kiai* continues to function as the central source of moral legitimacy and institutional vision, while managerial responsibilities are distributed through structured organizational mechanisms involving administrators and institutional units. Such a governance model enables the pesantren to preserve its traditional identity without neglecting the demands of transparency, accountability, participation, and organizational effectiveness. This balance confirms that charismatic leadership and modern governance should not be viewed as contradictory approaches but rather as complementary dimensions that strengthen institutional resilience (Zarkasyi, 2015).

The operationalization of *amanah*, *kafā'ah*, *syūrā*, and *'adālah* further demonstrates that Islamic leadership values can be translated into measurable governance practices. *Amanah* is reflected in accountable institutional management and responsible leadership. *Kafā'ah* appears in the professional distribution of managerial responsibilities according to competence. *Syūrā* is institutionalized through participatory decision-making processes that strengthen collective responsibility, while *'adālah* is manifested in policies oriented toward fairness, proportionality, and the welfare of the pesantren community. These findings indicate that Islamic ethical values are not merely normative ideals but constitute operational principles capable of guiding institutional governance within contemporary educational organizations.

From a theoretical perspective, this study contributes to the development of Islamic leadership studies by extending the application of *imāmah* beyond its conventional association with political institutions. The findings support the view that *imāmah* should be understood as an ethical model of leadership that can be contextualized across diverse organizational settings, including religious educational institutions. In doing so, this study complements Al-Ghazālī's understanding of the relationship between religion, leadership, and social welfare by demonstrating that Islamic leadership values remain applicable within contemporary governance structures when interpreted through institutional practice rather than exclusively through normative political discourse (Al-Ghazālī, 2000).

The findings also contribute to the growing discourse on pesantren governance by demonstrating that institutional modernization does not necessarily require the abandonment of traditional religious authority. Instead, modernization becomes more sustainable when professional management systems are integrated with the ethical values embedded in pesantren

traditions. This integrative leadership model enables pesantren to respond effectively to contemporary challenges while maintaining their distinctive identity as Islamic educational institutions rooted in religious scholarship and moral formation.

From a practical perspective, the leadership model identified in this study may serve as a reference for other pesantren seeking to strengthen institutional governance while preserving the central moral authority of the *kiai*. The implementation of *amanah*, *kafā'ah*, *syūrā*, and *'adālah* provides both ethical guidance and operational direction for improving organizational accountability, institutional effectiveness, economic management, and stakeholder engagement. Such an approach is particularly relevant for pesantren undergoing organizational transformation in response to increasing public expectations regarding transparency, institutional performance, and collaborative partnerships (Azra, 2012; Hefner, 2009).

Overall, this study demonstrates that the relevance of *imāmah* extends beyond its historical and political origins. Within the context of contemporary pesantren governance, *imāmah* functions as an ethical and managerial framework capable of integrating religious legitimacy with professional governance principles. The experience of Pondok Pesantren Sunan Drajat under the leadership of Prof. Dr. K.H. Abdul Ghofur illustrates that the integration of classical Islamic leadership values and modern management practices can produce a governance model that is adaptive, accountable, and sustainable while remaining firmly grounded in the moral and spiritual foundations of Islamic education.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that the concept of *imāmah* remains highly relevant to contemporary pesantren governance when understood as an ethical leadership framework rather than merely as a normative political doctrine. The case of Prof. Dr. K.H. Abdul Ghofur's leadership at Pondok Pesantren Sunan Drajat illustrates that the core principles of *imāmah*—*amanah*, *kafā'ah*, *syūrā*, and *'adālah*—are not confined to normative discourse but are operationalized through concrete governance practices. These principles are reflected in strategic decision-making, human resource management, the strengthening of institutional economic self-reliance, and the development of collaborative institutional networks. The findings further demonstrate that the integration of the *kiai*'s charismatic authority with modern management principles has produced a transformational leadership model capable of responding to contemporary institutional challenges while preserving the Islamic identity and traditional values of the pesantren.

From a theoretical perspective, this study contributes to the development of Islamic leadership studies by extending the application of *imāmah* beyond its classical association with political leadership into the governance of religious educational institutions. The findings indicate that *imāmah* can be understood as a contextual ethical governance framework that integrates religious legitimacy, managerial competence, organizational accountability, and institutional sustainability. This conceptualization broadens the understanding of *imāmah* as a practical leadership model that remains applicable to contemporary Islamic educational organizations.

From a practical perspective, this study recommends that pesantren leaders adopt the principles of *imāmah* as both normative and operational foundations for strengthening institutional governance. These principles may be implemented through institutionalized

consultative decision-making, competence-based allocation of managerial responsibilities, transparent and accountable resource management, and policy formulation oriented toward substantive justice while maintaining the *kiai*'s central role as a moral leader and strategic guide. Such an approach is expected to strengthen the institutional capacity of pesantren in addressing the increasing demands for organizational professionalism, public accountability, and sustainable development.

This study is limited to a single case at Pondok Pesantren Sunan Drajat, and therefore its findings cannot be generalized to all pesantren with different historical, cultural, and organizational characteristics. Future research is encouraged to undertake comparative studies across various pesantren or other Islamic educational institutions to examine the broader applicability of the *imāmah*-based leadership model. Further studies may also incorporate perspectives from public policy, pesantren economics, organizational governance, or quantitative and mixed-methods approaches to provide a more comprehensive understanding of leadership dynamics and governance practices within Indonesian pesantren.

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