



The Shift in Charisma of Islamic Boarding School Kyai in Tasikmalaya City After Reform Indonesia

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Abstract

This research aims to comprehend the transformation in the charisma of the Kyai Pesantren in Tasikmalaya following the reformation. The study used qualitative research methodologies to collect data through in-depth interviews and participant observation. Informants in this study were students from Tasikmalaya's Islamic Boarding School Kyai during the post-reform period. The findings revealed that the charisma of the Kyai Pesantren in Tasikmalaya shifted post-reform, particularly in terms of impact and attractiveness in society. This shift was triggered by post-reform Indonesia's sociopolitical and cultural shift, as well as the internal dynamics of pesantren. Some of the factors that influence this include the involvement of kiai in politics, the emergence of a new Islamic identity, moral decadence, slow regeneration and the absence of elder kiai. Islamic Boarding School Kyai, who can adjust to these changes, keeps their charisma, while those who cannot adapt lose societal influence and attractiveness. This study provides an overview of the transformation of the Islamic Boarding School Kyai in Tasikmalaya following the reformation. It can be used as a reference for future research on Islamic boarding schools and socio-cultural forces in Indonesia.

Keywords: *Political Involvement; Slow Regeneration; Moral Decadence; New Islam Identity; The Absence of Elder Kiai*

Introduction

Kyai leaders promote charisma in their students (Rahayuningsih et al., 2023) The Islamic boarding school atmosphere, which is generally religious, with religious leaders such as kyai driving leadership, also helps the formation of charismatic leadership (Karim et al., 2020). Kyai or Ajengan charisma refers to the charismatic leadership of the Islamic boarding school elders and administration (Rosita, 2018). They are well-known for their extensive understanding of Islamic studies and their consistent application of religious teachings. Ajengan or Kyai conforms to the main pesantren concepts of idealism and spirituality. Meanwhile, charismatic leadership has two essential components: there are unfulfilled wants, aspirations, and ambitions among followers, and leaders have the vision and ability to explain them (Shiddiq et al., 2022).

The phenomenon of the decline in the charisma of the Kyai Islamic boarding school in the Tasikmalaya community, on the other hand, originated and was influenced by social and political occurrences that transpired following the reform. There are various tendencies in the cause of the Islamic boarding school Kyai (Ajengan) declining charisma, including: First, the Kyai Islamic boarding school rising direct and indirect involvement in actual politics. Since the beginning of political democratization in post-reform Indonesia, the door has been wide open for the kyai to enter the political scene, Kyai and Islamic boarding schools are intensely involved in political contestation at local and national levels (Khoiri, 2018). Even at the local level, Islamic boarding schools are thought to be effective in directing the process of political recruiting, even though they lack explicit objectives within their power (Karim, 2008)

Previous research has demonstrated the importance of positioning scholars (Kyai) in society and interacting with officials and even fellow scholars via the lens of the Koran (Syauqi et al., 2016). This argument is supported by the fact that, over the last two decades, the attitudes and expressions of Tasikmalaya Islamic boarding school clerics have become diverse, owing to the tendency of several factors causing the decline of traditional authority and the charisma of the Kyai, namely the Kyai's inability to manage societal crises. Some kyai tend to pick the formalistic approach rather than the cultural way from the traditional and charismatic authorities they have, such that the kyai charisma is progressively moving, which is where this study finds its urgency.

Aside from this occurrence, it is critical to determine whether there has been a shift in the kyai's traditional authority and the fading of charismatic Islamic leadership, which has been the kyai's source of power. Various patterns of power relations, expressions, and motivations of pesantren (Islamic boarding school clerics) in societal concerns are investigated in depth via continual descriptions to acquire modifications and shifts in the legitimacy of the Islamic boarding school kyai. As a result, this study can be summarized as follows: What is the pattern of shifting influence, traditional authority, and charisma of the kyai in Tasikmalaya after the reformation? What factors have caused the shift in the authority and charisma of the Islamic boarding school kyai in the last two decades?

Literature Review

Religious Leaders (Kyai) In Post-Independence Indonesia

There have been several studies on the role of Kyai in post-independence Indonesia. Some of these studies have focused on the role of Kyai in responding to social economic, and political changes in specific regions of Indonesia (Anwar, 2020). Other studies have explored the role of Kyai in shaping national identity and political Islam in Indonesia (Notosudirdjo, 2003). Kyai is an important figure in Indonesian society, not only as a religious leader but also as a symbol in a political role (Latief, 2022). Kyai has contributed to shaping the life of society and has been influential in government policy from the Dutch colonial era to the present (Hikmawan, 2020).

Kyai has contributed to the development of Indonesian civilization in various ways. As a centre of propaganda, Kyai has made significant contributions to shaping the life of society and has been influential in government policy from the Dutch colonial era to the present. Kyai has also been appointed as a government minister, member of parliament, and ambassador, among other roles (Dhofier, 1980). In addition, Kyai has played a role in responding to social, economic, and political changes in various regions of Indonesia (Pomalingo & Tangahu, 2023). Kyai has also been a religious leader and a charismatic leader in Indonesian society, building his strategic role as a non-formal leader through intensive communication with the people (Siregar, 2013). Overall, Kyai has been an important figure in Indonesian society, contributing to the development of the country's culture, politics, and economy.

Religious Leaders (Kyai) in Post-Reformation Indonesia

As religious leaders in Indonesia, Kyai has been known to have political interactions in the Indonesian national political arena. In Indonesia, the political orientation of the Kyai of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) is geared towards pragmatism and piety idealism in Islamic ethics-based politics (Yani et al., 2022). Kyai is intended to guide the Muslim community down a moral and valuable political route. In the post-Reformation era, Kyais's role in responding to social, economic, and political changes in Indonesia developed. Kyai has been discovered to play a function in determining which external cultures enter traditional Javanese society (Anwar, 2020).

As a religious elite in Indonesia, Kyai's political orientation has been recognize to impact the country's democratic process. Kyai, as a symbol of religious leaders, is supposed to lead the Muslim community on a valuable and morally grounded political route (Yani et al., 2022). Islamic politics has always played an essential role in the construction of Indonesian national identify, and Islam has had a noticeable influence on a significant portion of Indonesian history (Karim et al., 2014). However, in recent years, polarized electoral battles have contributed to a discernible erosion in the quality of Indonesian democracy (Mietzner, 2020; Nasution et al., 2023). Previous research indicates that religious leaders in Indonesia have employed techniques to become religious heads, which can contribute to the politicization of religion in regional head elections (Sudarman & Ubaid, 2020).

Research Method

The descriptive qualitative method was used in this investigation. The research method employed in this study is phenomenology; this paradigm is used to disclose the meaning of events from experiences based on the awareness that occurs in several individuals (Creswell & Poth, 2016). Researchers fence off their understanding to view the understanding of the Islamic boarding school community and those outside the Islamic boarding school about their experiences. The investigation is being conducted in Tasikmalaya Regency and City, with several influential Islamic boarding schools being chosen. This study employs multiple methodologies, including the sociohistorical, interactive, and constructivist approaches. The constructivist perspective builds ideas through data to produce a complete picture of the research focus.

Primary data was gathered through in-depth interview approaches. The interviews were conducted spontaneously, with the help of a structured interview guide, by challenging the informant's answers as long as they were within the scope of the research objectives. To collect primary data, direct observation is used; the researcher does not play a role or is passive (does not engage) in the action being watched; his role is essentially that of an observer. To reinforce the data, the researcher looks for data by firsthand observation and documentation collected from archives, reports, literature books, the internet, and other publications linked to this topic. Data analysis strategies include data reduction, display, and deriving conclusions (Ridder, 2014).

Results and Discussion

Kyai Charisma and Position in Society in The City of Tasikmalaya, Indonesia

Kiai and Islamic Boarding Schools are uniquely important in Tasikmalaya society, particularly in rural areas. Although less potent than in rural areas, pesantren Kyai in Tasikmalaya is still felt, particularly in the suburbs. Several Islamic boarding schools in Tasikmalaya have previously served as models for other Islamic boarding schools in the East Priangan community. Tasikmalaya is known as the "City of Students" because of the abundance of Islamic boarding schools; Islamic boarding schools can be found in every village in multiple sub-districts. This impacts the Tasikmalaya people's daily lives in

social, cultural, economic, and political ways. The existence of Islamic boarding schools can be felt and seen in the community's activities in their everyday lives, as well as the rituals of cultural traditions that they frequently perform in the sociocultural arena. In economics, the rapid development of Islamic boarding school cooperatives and business units is beginning to have an economic influence on society through community-based Islamic boarding school empowerment activities. Pesantren are increasingly being considered in the political arena, particularly in any political contestation at the municipal and national levels. This impact has been expanding, especially since the reform two decades ago.

The development of times, followed by the development of modernist technology, greatly influenced people's lives; the multi-dimensional crisis of the twenty-first century rapidly changed society's culture, including the development of information technology, causing a moral problem. From the philosophy of liberalism to fundamentalism, several new ideologies evolved. For centuries, kiai has maintained and developed pesantren as the primary infrastructure for spreading Islamic teachings by carrying out the values of good deeds and *nahi munkar* with unique and traditional approaches, beginning with the amalgamation approach brought by the *wali songo*, namely marriage with the community. Local, acculturation, and assimilation tactics are tailored to the culture of the local population while adhering to Islamic law, as revealed by Rasulullah SAW.

As a cultural, social, political, and economic leader, Kiai teaches religion. The kiai is an honorific title the community bestows on someone with an Islamic boarding school and Islamic studies skills. According to Zamaksari Dhofier, the title of kiai is given to someone who is an expert in the realm of Islamic religious knowledge, particularly the yellow book, while not having a pesantren. According to Turmudi, all scholars, from the highest to the lowest level, are called kiai. Kiai maintains a hierarchical system and has a significant impact on society as a result of environmental and social systems. The pattern of Kia's relationship with the hierarchy is formed and maintained repeatedly. Kyai is an agent who reproduces acts to express himself as a social and political change agent. Kyai's actions will be interpreted as a command to carry out an action that brings truth and ideal conditions. For example, in Banten, the relationship encompasses numerous social, political, and economic elements.

As previously stated, the pesantren Kyai in Tasikmalaya plays an essential role in the town's social, political, and cultural life. The function and struggle of the Kyai must be connected to the history of Islam's development in Tasikmalaya. Many kyai have become national heroes for their contributions to Tasikmalaya's development, and their names have been immortalized as the names of central streets in urban areas, such as KH H.Z. Mustofa (Sukahideng Islamic boarding school), Sutisna Senjaya (Tasikmalaya Nationalist Kyai Figure), KH Ruchiyat, and many more. Strong charisma is one of the reasons why kyai often wins people's hearts. A kyai's charm is frequently measured by their strong character, firm figure, and persistent ideas. According to Weber, charisma is a supernatural ability that can only be held by people who have received a "gift from the divine".

Webber States Charisma is Mystical and Built on the Leader's Magical Ability

"The term 'charisma' will be applied to a certain quality of an individual personality by which he is considered extraordinary and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and based on them the individual concerned is treated as a 'leader'". (Weber, 1947).

Weber popularized the idea of charisma in social science, and its formulation is still widely used today. According to Weber's magnum opus, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, charisma can be seen in an individual's personality based on what distinguishes him from ordinary humans and is treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically powers or qualities. These powers appeared unavailable to regular people, but they were thought to be of heavenly origin, and the man concerned was treated as a leader.

Webber also stated that a leader's charm dramatically depends on his follower's approval. Recognizing or believing in the demands of magical power is a crucial component of the charisma notion. Furthermore, the relationship between leaders and followers is centered on how leaders can use their charisma to address various societal crises and how leaders carry out a set of ideas to address these crises. According to Weber, charismatic leaders have at least four characteristics: first, leaders are recognized as having unique qualities, sometimes referred to as superhuman qualities; second, followers uncritically accept the leader's opinion as truth; third, followers give absolute obedience to leader; and fourth, followers show emotional commitment to the leader and his mission (Dow Jr, 1969).

Santri's and the Tasikmalaya community's obedience, obedience, and submission to Kyai is increasingly validated when kyai has strong regulatory abilities and powers that change relational interactions into obedience to charismatic leaders so that traditional authority is formed in the practice of relational relations between kyai and society. Some senior Kyai, for example, have charismatic powers, at least in the previous century. The table below shows, among other things:

Table 1. Tasikmalaya Charismatic Scholars of the 20th Century in Tasikmalaya

No	Name of Kyai (Ajengan)	Nickname	Name of Islamic Boarding School	Expertise/Specialization
1	KH. Muhammad Soedjai	Mama Ajengan Kudang	Kudang	Consistency/fiqh
2	KH. Tajuddin Abdul Wafa	Abah Anom	Suryalaya	Sufism
3	KH. Mochammad Syabandi	Mama Ajengan Cilenga	Cilenga	Tool (Nahwu Shorof)
4	KH. Ruchiat KH. Ilyas Ruchyat	Mama Ajengan Cipasung	Cipasung	Fiqh
5	KH. Udin Syamsudi	Mama Ajengan Maniis	Maniis Tanjungjaya	Surfism
6	KH. Khoer Affandi	Mama/Ua Ajengan Khoer Manonjaya	Miftahul Huda Manonjaya	Monotheism
7	KH. Oot Syahroddin	Mama Ajengan Oot	Miftahul Ulum Cikatomas	Interpretation of the Qura'an
8	KH. Muhammad Ruchiyat	Mama Ajengan Bantar Gedang	Bantar Gedang	Tool (Nahwu Shorof)

Kyai Power Struggle: From Charismatic to Legal Formal

Mama Ajengan processes charisma and personal attributes inherent in each label owner and people's memories. Mama is a Sundanese phrase derived from the word Rama, which means father. Mama is an honorific title given to highly learned clerics who become teachers of clerics in the West Java region and diaspora destinations for Sundanese descendants such as Banten, Jakarta, and Lampung. The name Mama is generally pinned on Ajengan or Kyai, who has high wisdom among the people of West Java. Therefore, they are called Mama Ajengan or Mama Kyai.

According to Weber's view, a person's charisma reveals his qualities. The mention of the term Mama Ajengan itself is a term of appreciation from the community for ability, consistency, and the quality of one's personality, given that the term Mama Ajengan itself is the highest level of designation among Sundanese society, including Tasikmalaya. Meanwhile, "Mama Ajengan" refers to people with higher religious excellence and scientific experience than a Kyai. The term mama's categorization is also not decided by age but by regional conversations and where the individual is. The label Mama Ajengan is given to an Ajengan who exhibits consistent and regular behaviour (become his habits) in Surfism or spiritually. For example, being more ascetic, wiser, comprehending other people's emotions, etc.

In Islam, the names Ustadz, Kyai, and Mama are thought to have diverse meanings and scientific levels. The term mama for kyai distinguishes between salafiyah pesantren and khalafiyah, where salafiyah pesantren consider teachers and students part of the family. Hence, the term mama describes the closeness between teachers and students and among fellow teachers. The phrase "mama" refers to a kyai with exceptional personal qualities who is noted for his benevolence and religious knowledge. The term "Mama" alludes to a kyai's affiliation and the organization to which he or she belongs.

The influence of time, modernization, and people's lifestyles have influenced changes in referencing Ustadz and Kyai, as well as their different skills, which are common in the present period, such as the current terminology of ustadz and Kyai being misused by several parties. The youthful ustadz recognized the deterioration in the kyai's charisma due to the academic area being mixed with religion or religious features. They are related to the kyai, who has charisma, charm, and capacity to organize the masses through a subtle sort of mobilization. This has deteriorated with time, prompting the notion that a kyai's charisma and status as a significant character must be restored. The presence of the elderly generation in Kyai's proposal to restore ustadz and kyai figures for the younger generation by providing examples of a better life that each age has a kyai as a uniting character as well as a central figure who is seen as the determinant of problem solutions or the enactment of sharia-related policies in society.

The opening up of ideological freedom and being faced with the challenges of advances in information technology makes Ajengan, kyai, ustadz and ulama how they can be resilient to these changes, including how to maintain their position as moral guardians, guardians of the faith and spirituality of society. The position of kyai is gradually being replaced by cyber religion technology, where the community can easily obtain explanations and understanding of religious issues using technology. As a result, ulama and religious leaders increasingly lose their legitimacy and religious authority. The charisma that has been a source of legitimacy is increasingly fading.

KH Ahmad Zaki Mubarak, one of the young kyai in Tasikmalaya, confirmed this problem. According to him, there is a very sharp/significant change from the role of ulama and ajengan in the past to the present. Quoting Clifford Gertz, he compared the role and authority of ulama before reform as cultural brokers, in the past, according to him, talking about ulama talked about how society found solutions to problems of marriage, health, mystical disorders, even economic problems and all the problems of the ummah throughout consult the kyai. Kyai/Ajengan are highly respected and respected for the breadth of their knowledge and for some kyai for their ability to cure all kinds of illnesses traditionally. Therefore, the important role of kyai in the social life of society is felt. The involvement of kyai in the socio-economic life of society has historically made them the most influential party in the structure of society, especially in rural areas. In the practice of life in rural areas from the past until before the reformation, there were still quite a few kyai caretakers of Islamic boarding schools who had other skills that were quite prominent apart from expertise in the religious field. According to Iskandar, this side ability is not due to coincidence, but rather as a form of grounding the Islamic teachings that they believe in.

The engagement of Kyai and Ulama in politics in Tasikmalaya is not new; from the colonial time to the independence period. Kyai and Ulama played an essential role in leading the fight against the

colonialists, both openly and through diplomacy. KH. H.Z Mustofa, a Tasikmalaya Ulama and Kyai, was named a national hero for his service against the Japanese invaders and KH. Mohammad Soedjai (Mama Kudang) contributed to the fight to promote Islam and the independence movement. In Indonesia, he experienced three social and political change phases: The Dutch colonial period, the Japanese colonial period, and the independence period.

In general, Ulama's involvement in politics in the past was primarily in the corridors of national and social politics; it is scarce for Ulama to deliberately active in power politics, especially involvement in power politics and acquiring power. National politics entails the role of Ulama and kyai in establishing and fighting for the country and state. Following the reform, the kiai pondok's role in practical politics has grown directly and indirectly. Since the beginning of political democratisation in post-reform Indonesia, the door has been wide open for the kyai to enter the political scene. Kyai and Pesantren are intensely involved in political contestation on both the local and national levels. Even locally, pesantren are thought to effectively regulate the political recruiting process, even though they lack explicit objectives within their authority. (Karim, 2008).

Discussion about the function of the pesantren kyai in practical politics always entails the intersection of religious and political discourse, as seen by the roles played by several kyai in practical politics during the last two decades. Among the sociological effects of the kyai's political function is a shift in the community's predisposition to construct informal leadership figures, particularly the kyai (Azizah, 2013). This movement not only shifts from informal to formal leadership but also touches on the underappreciation of qualities of trust, influence, authority, and charisma.

Unlike in other locations where most Kyai are directly involved as elite political actors, Kyai in Tasikmalaya is more likely to be involved behind the scenes of politics, with only a few Kyai listed as members of the people's representative assembly. There are two possible explanations for the kyai's lack of involvement in Tasikmalaya's political elite: (1) using the kyai's authority is insufficient to direct him to direct him into the political elite. The influence of the Kyai's political constellation among the people of Tasikmalaya is not greater than the influence of local strongmen (businessmen), so they frequently take the position of the adviser or giver of fatwa because; for most people, the kyai's political calculations are often considered to be the last political "fatwa" to be followed. (2) Despite Kyai influence in society, Tasikmalaya voters' rational decision element is pragmatic rather than ideological. Nonetheless, the importance of the kyai in political parties running in parliamentary elections at national and regional levels. The candidates approach the kyai, who have much clout in the electorate, in various ways.

Shifting Influence, Traditional Authority and Kyai Charisma In Post-Reformation Tasikmalaya

1. The Emergence of a New Islamic Identity in Tasikmalaya

The freedom euphoria during the 1998 reformation touched not just freedom of politics and speech but also freedom of ideology. Because there are still many forms of a religious movement that require kyai as pioneers as well as executors of these activities, the new ideology that emerged after the reform, one of which carries the ideology as well as the spirit of salafiyah khalafiyah, does not result in a shift or degradation of a kyai's charisma-increasing the life as well as the charisma of the kyai.

In the last few decades, the emergence of a new Islamic identity in the form of various mass organizations and proselytizing movements, such as the 212 Movement, HTI, the Muslim Brotherhood, and the phenomenon of the massive Salafi school of da'wah in Indonesia, was marked by the emergence of ustadz graduates from the Middle East, with understanding, schools of thought, and educational models that differed from the Jenga books, brought a new religious identity to Most of these groups frequently criticize the patronage of the kyai, who are seen to have committed cultural oppression by depriving their followers of their thoughts. The ideological conflict and identity politics between the pesantren kyai and Islamic organizations spawned a variety of expressions from elite circles in numerous pesantren. The

pesantren in this study are not associated with the traditional Nahdatul Ulama Islamic boarding schools, Persis Islamic boarding school, Modern Islamic boarding schools (Islamic boarding schools affiliated with the Prosperous Justice Party), and Salafi Islamic Boarding School.

Degradation of kyai's charisma can be caused by several factors, including its relationship to politics (for example, in Ponorogo district, Kyai Gontor is considered a central figure who is also a problem solver) and policies that often exceed the power of the local, regional upside. Kiai is thought not to support any political party. However, today, the kyai have been bound and limited in their freedom of movement due to the needs of political parties and religious organizations. Hence, those who recognize the charisma and influence of these figures are only followers of that organization.

2. Moral Decadence Due to Modernization

With the entrance and development of modernization in Tasikmalaya City, negative consequences developed, eventually leading to the deterioration of inhabitants' morale and behavior. Drugs, HIV/AIDS. Prostitution, gambling, and rampant usury are all prevalent. Aside from that, the rapid advancement of technology and communication harms people's morality and behavior. The study of Satori and Taufik (2018), Shift in Orientation and Expression of Islamic Boarding School Elite in the City of Tasikmalaya, shows that the strength of this external attack cannot be resisted solely through religious education or cultural efforts, so an alternative solution to block the attack must be sought. In addition to the adverse effects of the rapid flow of modernization and advances in information technology on community morale, the emergence of social media applications via the internet makes it easier to access *da'wah* and religious questions and answers, marginalizing the role of *Ajengan* in this matter. It is thought further to erode the kyai's role as societal guards.

Another phenomenon is the rise of young Kyai, who utilize a formal method to wield societal power. This is said to have happened due to transnational influences or outside groups, as well as the romantic effect of religious organizations. The kyai's current public influence has caused a formal legal approach to be widely used as a form of the kyai's approach to the current generation; things like this are legitimately done with the note that they continue to prioritize universal sharia without belittling these sharia values.

As a result, the development of a formal legal norm impacts the helplessness and loss of charisma of a kyai. Moreover, the effort that can be made to restore kyai charisma is to make the Kyai look great in terms of knowledge as well as his personality and consistency in that regard because the Kyai's label is recognized by society that they can use their knowledge for the good of society, so the kyai's consistency will be good morals and personality that has previously been built up in society can be a solution to the current degradation of the kyai charisma.

3. The Absent of Elder Kiai and the Pattern of Slow Regeneration of Islamic Boarding Schools

Following the reform, and the deaths of several prominent Kyai/*Ajengan*, the charisma of the kyai in Tasikmalaya began to wane, paralleling the death of the charismatic elder kyai (*ajengan*). Charismatic scholars who have been respected in Tasikmalaya include KH. Ahmad Sohibul Wafa' Tajul Arifin or Abah Anom (Suryalaya boarding school); KH. Ilyas Ruhiat or Mama *Ajengan* Ilyas (Cipasung Islamic Boarding School); Kh. Khoer Effendi or Mama (*uwa*) *Ajengan* Khoer (Miftahul Huda Manonjaya Islamic Boarding School); As a result, there are no kyai with powerful charisma who serve as role models for the people of Tasikmalaya are widely accepted in diverse religious organizations with the same and distinct ideologies.

Therefore, it is difficult to find a central kyai figure who unites the people in the passage of time, which changes people's mindsets. However, this does not apply in Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools, which clearly and unequivocally teach about tandem. Alternatively, serving and obeying the instructor,

spiritual deterioration, or lack of consistency of the kyai, in which the consistency of a kyai demonstrates good personality attributes, is also one of the issues that makes finding charismatic kyai difficult in our period. As a result, it impacts the kyai leadership regeneration system in various Islamic boarding schools in Tasikmalaya.

According to Nurcholis Madjid, pesantren and their system face formidable challenges. The schools are increasingly losing its relevance and social roots, which, over time, may jeopardize its continued existence as Islamic religious, educational institutions trusted by the community. Genetic inheritance patterns, common in Islamic boarding schools, are also impeded. Aside from that, Cak Nur described the most severe challenges for Islamic boarding schools, namely chronic problems that arise from within the pesantren itself. Many kyai in big cities have experienced increased status (generally through political networks) and believe in sending their sons and daughters to public schools that teach religious subjects—fertile fields such as economics, medicine, and engineering than in the pesantren itself. According to madjid (1999), the regeneration of the pesantren leadership dynasty occurs when the pesantren is an old kyai without sons. Hence, the baton of pesantren leadership falls on the son-in-law, student, or specially prepared cadres whose values differ from those who continue to experience a decline.

The conservative existence of post-reform ustadz influence the charisma of a kyai and its influence in society in the modern era like today. The influence of science and technology also influences the charisma of a kyai and its influence in society in the modern era like today. The term pesantren has changed from providing 24-hour education beginning with coaching in talaq and fostering knowledge and individual maturity to now providing basic knowledge and grammar, making it challenging to produce an individual who deserves the title of kyai—keeping in mind that in order to be called a kyai, one does not need to be an Islamic Boarding School, but rather someone who can apply their knowledge for the benefit of society.

According to Weber's theory, a kyai's charisma is obtained through personal qualities and specifications rather than academic media. Hence, the term Ajengan or kyai becomes ambiguous in the academic field but not in the public because the term was built because of kyai's connection with his own Mustami. The term kyai varies and becomes ambiguous depending on the locality and the type of admiration the community offers to the kyai, ustadz, or mama Ajengan, which is generally adjusted to his abilities, quality, specifications, and consistency.

Conclusion

In the post-reform era of Indonesia, the role of Kyai in society and politics has increasingly changed. Kyai Islamic boarding schools in Tasikmalaya City, one of West Java's most prominent Islamic boarding schools, experienced a shift in charisma as a leader and community figure. Several factors influenced the shift in charisma of the Kyai in Tasikmalaya City. First, there were social and economic changes that occurred in society. Along with the increasing level of education, the availability of information, and advances in technology, people are becoming more critical and no longer easily influenced by traditional authorities such as kyai. On the other hand, society also increasingly needs kyai as spiritual and moral leaders who can guide them in facing the challenges of modern life.

Second, the role of politics also influences the shift in the charisma of the Kyai in Tasikmalaya City. Prior to the reform, the kyai wielded considerable power in local politics, and they were often appointed as regional leaders. However, after the reform, the political system changed, and the power of kyai diminished. The Kyai must compete with other political figures to gain public support and influence public policy. Third, the role of the mass media also influences the shift in the charisma of the kyai in Tasikmalaya City. In this digital era, anyone can easily access information, including people who previously found it difficult to access information about Kyai and Islamic boarding schools. On the one

hand, the mass media can assist the kyai in promoting themselves and expanding their reach of influence. However, on the other hand, the mass media can also open access for the public to explore different perspective and be critical of Kyai.

In this context, kyai in Tasikmalaya City needs to develop strategies to maintain their charisma and strengthen their societal and political roles. One way is to adopt a more inclusive and responsive approach to societal needs and build strong networks with various political and societal groups. In addition, the kyai also need increase their capacity to use the mass media to promote themselves and strengthen their influence in society. In this regard, the kyai can take the example of several Islamic boarding schools that have successfully utilized social media and digital platforms to expand their reach and influence the community. However, the role of the kyai in society and politics remains relevant and needed. Kyai can be agents of change to strengthen religious and moral awareness, promote social justice values, and help build a society. Future research is vital to see the relationship between the charisma of the Kyai and the local political participation. The research can help understand how kyai influences local politics in Indonesia and how local political participation can affect the charisma of Kyai.

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