



Charismatic Female Leadership and Succession in Pesantren A Sociological Feminist Perspective

Khoiriyah

Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Mas
Said Surakarta, Indonesia

Ahmad Ali Riyadi

Universitas Tribakti Kediri,
Indonesia

Article Info

Article history:

Received: Feb 16, 2026
Revised: May 02, 2026
Accepted: June 01, 2026

Keywords:

Female Leadership;
Leadership Succession;
Pesantren; Religious
Authority; Sociological
Feminism.

Abstract

The increasing involvement of women in Islamic educational leadership has challenged the long-standing assumption that religious authority within pesantren is predominantly male. However, limited attention has been given to how female leadership is sustained and transferred across generations within Islamic boarding schools. This study aims to examine the construction of female religious authority and the process of leadership succession at Pondok Pesantren Zumrotuththolibin through a sociological feminist perspective. A qualitative case study design was employed, involving in-depth interviews, participant observation, and document analysis. Fifteen participants, including the *nyai*, prospective successors, administrators, teachers, students, and community members, were selected through purposive sampling. Data were analyzed using thematic analysis supported by triangulation and member-checking procedures to ensure credibility. The findings reveal that female leadership legitimacy is established through a combination of religious competence, moral authority, managerial capability, and community trust. The study further demonstrates that leadership succession is intentionally institutionalized through religious education, family mentorship, gradual delegation of responsibilities, and active involvement of future female leaders in pesantren management and community engagement. The regeneration of authority among the *nyai*'s daughters illustrates how female leadership can be reproduced beyond individual charisma and transformed into a sustainable institutional structure. From a sociological feminist perspective, these findings challenge patriarchal assumptions regarding religious leadership while demonstrating the compatibility of female authority with Islamic educational traditions. This study contributes to the literature on gender, religious leadership, and succession in Islamic educational institutions by providing empirical evidence of how female authority is constructed, legitimized, and sustained within contemporary Indonesian pesantren.

To cite this article: Khoiriyah, K., & Riyadi, A. A. (2026). Female religious authority and leadership succession in Indonesian pesantren: A sociological feminist analysis of charismatic *nyai* leadership. *Al Qodiri: Jurnal Pendidikan, Sosial dan Keagamaan*, 24(2), 553–566.

INTRODUCTION

Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) have long occupied a strategic position in the development of Indonesian Muslim society, functioning not only as centers of religious education but also as institutions that shape social values, cultural identity, and community leadership. Despite their enduring relevance, pesantren leadership remains one of the most debated aspects of contemporary Islamic education because authority has historically been concentrated in the hands of male religious leaders known as *kiai*. This pattern has created a widespread perception that leadership legitimacy within pesantren is inherently masculine and inherited through patriarchal structures. At the same time, social transformation, educational modernization, and changing gender relations have increasingly challenged such assumptions (Allen et al., 2022; Alteneiji, 2023). The growing visibility of women in religious, political, and educational leadership positions has encouraged scholars to reexamine the construction of authority within Islamic institutions (Erwani & Siregar, 2025; Shah, 2020). Consequently, the emergence of female leadership in pesantren represents not only an organizational phenomenon but also a sociological transformation that intersects with issues of gender, power, and religious legitimacy. Understanding this transformation

* **Corresponding author:**

Khoiriyah, Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Mas Said Surakarta, INDONESIA
khoiriyah@staff.uinsaid.ac.id

is important because leadership structures significantly influence the sustainability and adaptability of Islamic educational institutions in contemporary society (Dhofier, 1982; Bruinessen, 1999; Halim et al., 2005).

The controversy surrounding women's leadership in Islamic institutions remains evident across many Muslim societies. While women increasingly occupy strategic positions in education, politics, and community organizations, debates concerning their authority in religious institutions continue to generate diverse interpretations (Erwani & Siregar, 2025; Shah, 2020). In Indonesia, women have demonstrated their leadership capabilities through various public roles, including political leadership and educational administration, yet questions regarding their legitimacy within traditional religious settings remain unresolved. Discussions about female leadership often involve competing interpretations of religious texts, cultural traditions, and social expectations concerning gender roles (Engineer, 1994; Umar, 1999; Zakaria, 2013). These debates become more complex in pesantren environments where leadership is closely associated with religious authority, moral exemplarity, and community trust. Consequently, female leaders frequently negotiate between traditional expectations and contemporary demands for greater participation in public life. This situation illustrates that the issue of women's leadership is not merely a matter of representation but also concerns the redistribution of authority within religious institutions. Therefore, examining female leadership in pesantren provides valuable insights into broader processes of social and religious change.

Recent developments indicate that women's leadership within pesantren has become increasingly visible and influential. The figure of the *nyai*, traditionally perceived as the companion of the kiai, has gradually evolved into an educational leader, organizational manager, and religious authority capable of directing institutional development. In many pesantren, female leaders actively participate in curriculum management, student supervision, community engagement, and strategic decision-making processes. Such developments reflect broader efforts toward gender inclusion and educational transformation within Islamic institutions (Hadi et al., 2023; Negara, 2022; Mubarakh et al., 2025). Moreover, the increasing involvement of women in pesantren leadership contributes to the strengthening of educational access, social participation, and religious empowerment among female students. These changes demonstrate that leadership legitimacy is increasingly derived from competence, moral integrity, and organizational capability rather than solely from gender-based expectations. Nevertheless, significant questions remain regarding how female authority is established, maintained, and transferred across generations. The sustainability of female leadership therefore emerges as a critical issue that requires further scholarly attention.

The urgency of investigating female leadership succession becomes particularly apparent when considering the central role of leadership continuity in maintaining institutional sustainability. Leadership succession in pesantren is not simply an administrative process but involves the transmission of values, authority, traditions, and organizational culture from one generation to another. Weak succession mechanisms may threaten institutional stability, educational quality, and social legitimacy, especially during periods of leadership transition (Nawawi, 2006; Rivai & Mulyadi, 2013). In the context of rapid technological, social, and educational changes, future leaders are expected to possess adaptive, visionary, and inclusive leadership capacities capable of responding to contemporary challenges (Usman, 2015; lensufiie, 2013). Consequently, understanding how female leaders prepare successors and institutionalize authority has become increasingly important for ensuring the long-term sustainability of pesantren. This issue is particularly relevant because leadership succession shapes not only organizational continuity but also the future direction of Islamic education. Therefore, investigating the regeneration of female leadership provides an important perspective on institutional resilience within contemporary pesantren.

Scholarly interest in women's leadership within pesantren has expanded considerably during the last decade. Previous studies have demonstrated that *nyai* play significant roles in educational management, religious instruction, and community empowerment. Arifin (2014) found that female leaders possess substantial influence in decision-making processes and institutional governance within pesantren environments. Similarly, Nuroniyah (2013) highlighted the emergence of feminist narratives and women's empowerment within pesantren traditions. Other studies have explored women's leadership through the lenses of gender equality, Islamic feminism, and religious authority, emphasizing women's increasing participation in educational and social transformation (Engineer,

1994; Umar, 1999; Hadi et al., 2023; Negara, 2022; Mubarakh et al., 2025). Research has also examined pesantren leadership from sociological perspectives, focusing on charismatic authority, organizational culture, and educational transformation (Dhofier, 1982; Bruinessen, 1999; Wahid, 2010). Collectively, these studies demonstrate that women have become increasingly influential actors within Islamic educational institutions. However, most investigations remain concentrated on the existence and roles of female leaders rather than on the sustainability of their authority.

The dominant tendency in previous literature is to portray female leadership as an outcome of women's participation in educational management, religious teaching, or empowerment initiatives. While these studies provide valuable insights into the contributions of *nyai*, they often overlook the processes through which female authority is reproduced and institutionalized across generations. Limited attention has been given to leadership succession, leadership regeneration, and the transfer of religious legitimacy within female-led pesantren. Furthermore, existing studies frequently emphasize women's leadership achievements without critically examining how female leaders negotiate patriarchal traditions, establish legitimacy, and prepare future generations of leaders. As a result, the mechanisms through which female authority becomes sustainable within pesantren institutions remain insufficiently understood. This limitation is particularly important because leadership succession determines whether female leadership can survive beyond individual charismatic figures. Consequently, there remains a significant gap in understanding how charismatic female authority is transformed into an enduring institutional structure.

Another limitation concerns the theoretical treatment of female leadership within pesantren studies. Much of the existing literature focuses on descriptive accounts of women's participation while paying limited attention to feminist sociological perspectives that examine power relations, gendered authority, and institutional transformation. The interaction between charismatic leadership, gender legitimacy, and succession processes has rarely been analyzed within a unified conceptual framework. Consequently, there is a lack of empirical evidence explaining how female leaders construct authority, gain community acceptance, and strategically prepare successors in traditionally patriarchal religious environments. Addressing this gap is essential because the sustainability of female leadership depends not only on individual competence but also on the successful institutionalization of authority. Therefore, a sociological feminist perspective offers an important analytical lens for understanding the relationship between gender, power, and leadership succession within pesantren traditions.

Based on these considerations, this study aims to examine charismatic female leadership and leadership succession at Pondok Pesantren Zumrotuththolibin through a sociological feminist perspective. Specifically, the study investigates how female authority is constructed and legitimized within the pesantren community, as well as how leadership succession is intentionally developed through the regeneration of future female leaders. The research contributes theoretically by enriching discussions on charismatic authority, feminist leadership, and leadership succession within Islamic educational institutions. It also contributes empirically by providing evidence from a pesantren where leadership authority is maintained and regenerated through female figures across generations. Practically, the findings may serve as a reference for pesantren leaders, educational policymakers, and scholars seeking to strengthen inclusive leadership and sustainable succession systems within Islamic educational environments. Ultimately, this study seeks to advance understanding of how female leadership contributes to institutional continuity, educational transformation, and social change in contemporary Indonesian pesantren.

METHOD

Research Design

This study employed a qualitative case study design to investigate the dynamics of charismatic female leadership and leadership succession within an Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*). A qualitative approach was considered appropriate because the study sought to explore meanings, experiences, leadership practices, social interactions, and processes of authority construction that could not be adequately captured through quantitative measurement. The case study design enabled an in-depth examination of a specific social phenomenon within its natural setting, particularly the emergence and regeneration of female religious leadership in a traditionally patriarchal institutional

environment. This approach also facilitated a comprehensive understanding of how leadership legitimacy is established, maintained, and transferred across generations within the pesantren context. The study was guided by a sociological feminist perspective to examine the relationship between gender, authority, leadership practices, and institutional continuity. Through this design, the research aimed to generate a contextualized understanding of female leadership succession while preserving the complexity of the social and cultural realities surrounding the phenomenon.

Research Setting and Period

The study was conducted at Pondok Pesantren Zumrotuththolibin, an Islamic boarding school located in Indonesia that has experienced a distinctive leadership transformation characterized by the emergence of female-centered leadership succession. The pesantren was selected purposively because it represents a unique case in which leadership authority is exercised and regenerated through female figures (*nyai*) rather than through the conventional male leadership structure commonly found in many pesantren traditions. This institutional context provided a valuable opportunity to examine how female authority is negotiated, legitimized, and sustained within an Islamic educational environment. Data collection was carried out over a six-month period, from September 2025 to February 2026. This duration allowed the researcher to gain a comprehensive understanding of leadership practices, observe institutional activities, and establish trust with participants. The extended engagement in the field also strengthened the credibility and depth of the findings by enabling repeated observations and continuous interaction with participants.

Participants and Sampling Procedure

The participants consisted of individuals directly involved in the leadership structure, educational activities, and succession processes within the pesantren. A total of 15 participants were selected through purposive sampling based on their knowledge, experience, and active involvement in leadership-related activities. The participants included the principal female leader (*nyai*), three prospective successor daughters, three pesantren administrators, two religious teachers (*ustadz*), four senior students (*santri*), and two community members who regularly interacted with the pesantren. Inclusion criteria required participants to have at least three years of involvement in the pesantren environment and direct experience with leadership practices or succession-related activities. Individuals with limited knowledge of institutional leadership processes were excluded from participation. Purposive sampling was chosen because it enabled the selection of information-rich participants capable of providing detailed insights into the phenomenon under investigation. The diversity of participant backgrounds also facilitated triangulation of perspectives and strengthened the comprehensiveness of the collected data.

Research Instruments

The primary research instrument was the researcher, who functioned as the main tool for data collection, interpretation, and analysis throughout the study. To support systematic data collection, several complementary instruments were developed, including semi-structured interview protocols, observation guidelines, and documentation review sheets. The interview protocol consisted of open-ended questions focusing on leadership experiences, authority formation, decision-making processes, leadership succession, gender relations, and institutional development. Observation guidelines were designed to record leadership practices, interactions among participants, educational activities, organizational meetings, and daily pesantren life. Documentation review sheets were used to examine institutional archives, organizational structures, leadership records, photographs, educational documents, and historical materials related to the pesantren. These instruments were developed based on concepts derived from leadership succession theory, charismatic leadership theory, and sociological feminist perspectives. The combination of multiple instruments enabled a comprehensive exploration of both observable practices and subjective experiences.

Trustworthiness of Research Instruments

To ensure the trustworthiness and rigor of the research instruments, the interview and observation protocols underwent expert review prior to field implementation. Two scholars specializing in qualitative research and Islamic education evaluated the instruments to assess content relevance, clarity, and alignment with the research objectives. Revisions were made based on their recommendations to improve the comprehensiveness and consistency of the questions. Pilot

interviews were subsequently conducted with two individuals possessing characteristics similar to those of the research participants to evaluate question clarity and interview flow. In qualitative research, reliability is conceptualized through dependability rather than statistical consistency. Therefore, dependability was enhanced through detailed documentation of research procedures, field notes, and audit trails. Credibility was established through prolonged engagement, member checking, and triangulation of data sources, methods, and participants. Transferability was strengthened by providing detailed contextual descriptions, while confirmability was maintained through systematic documentation and reflexive analysis throughout the research process.

Data Collection Procedures

Data collection was conducted in several sequential stages. The first stage involved obtaining institutional permission, identifying potential participants, and establishing communication with pesantren leaders. The second stage consisted of preliminary observations aimed at understanding the institutional environment, leadership structure, and daily educational activities. The third stage involved conducting semi-structured interviews with all selected participants. Each interview lasted between 45 and 90 minutes and was audio-recorded with participant consent. The fourth stage involved participant observation during educational activities, religious gatherings, leadership meetings, and community engagement programs. Field notes were recorded systematically throughout the observation process to capture contextual information and participant interactions. The final stage involved collecting and reviewing relevant institutional documents to support and verify information obtained through interviews and observations. The use of multiple data collection techniques facilitated methodological triangulation and enhanced the credibility of the findings.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was conducted concurrently with data collection using thematic analysis procedures. Interview recordings were transcribed verbatim and integrated with observation notes and documentary evidence to create a comprehensive dataset. The first stage of analysis involved familiarization with the data through repeated reading and initial note-taking. The second stage consisted of open coding, during which meaningful units of information related to leadership, authority, succession, gender dynamics, and institutional development were identified and labeled. Similar codes were subsequently grouped into broader categories through axial coding. In the third stage, categories were synthesized into overarching themes representing major patterns within the data. The fourth stage involved interpreting these themes through the lens of sociological feminist theory and charismatic leadership theory. Data reduction, categorization, comparison, and interpretation were performed iteratively throughout the analytical process. NVivo 14 software was utilized to facilitate data organization, coding management, and thematic mapping. Conclusions were generated only after patterns had been repeatedly verified across multiple sources and forms of evidence.

Research Ethics

This study adhered to established ethical principles governing social science research. Prior to participation, all participants received detailed information regarding the objectives, procedures, potential benefits, and voluntary nature of the study. Written informed consent was obtained from each participant before data collection commenced. Participants were informed of their right to withdraw from the study at any stage without consequence. To protect confidentiality and anonymity, pseudonyms and participant codes were used in all research records and publications. Audio recordings, transcripts, and supporting documents were securely stored and accessed only by the research team. The study also ensured that no information capable of causing social, professional, or personal harm to participants was disclosed. Throughout the research process, the principles of respect, confidentiality, transparency, and academic integrity were strictly maintained to ensure ethical and responsible conduct.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Historical Development of Pesantren as a Space for Leadership Regeneration

Pondok Pesantren Zumrotuththolibin has historically developed not only as an Islamic educational institution but also as a cultural and social space for leadership regeneration within the pesantren tradition. The pesantren was established in the early twentieth century by KH. Zuhdi and

KH. Muhsin, two religious scholars who had previously studied in several prominent pesantren in Java, including Lirboyo Kediri and Tebuireng Jombang. The historical roots of the pesantren demonstrate that its establishment was closely connected to the social and religious needs of the surrounding community. According to one informant, the pesantren initially began from simple Qur'anic recitation activities and religious gatherings conducted in the residence of KH. Zuhdi's family before eventually developing into a permanent pesantren institution (Informant 1).

The findings indicate that the early development of the pesantren was strongly influenced by the moral authority and charismatic personality of KH. Zuhdi. Informants explained that KH. Zuhdi was widely respected because of his religious knowledge, modest character, and close relationship with society. This social legitimacy enabled the pesantren to grow rapidly and attract students from various regions. One informant stated that the pesantren became widely recognized because the kiai was viewed not only as a religious teacher but also as a moral role model capable of guiding community life (Informant 2). This finding confirms that charismatic leadership has historically become the primary foundation for the sustainability of pesantren institutions and their educational traditions.

The pesantren initially implemented traditional Islamic educational methods such as sorogan, wetonan, bandongan, and Qur'anic memorization. These learning traditions have continued until today and have become an inseparable part of the pesantren identity. According to one senior teacher, the pesantren preserved classical Islamic learning while simultaneously adapting to modern educational demands through the establishment of formal educational institutions (Informant 3). This transformation illustrates that pesantren development does not merely focus on institutional expansion but also on preserving local Islamic traditions and values inherited across generations. Such conditions support the argument that pesantren function as institutions that maintain local wisdom while responding adaptively to social changes (Rummar, 2022); (Chairani et al., 2022).

The results further reveal that the historical continuity of the pesantren was maintained through intergenerational leadership succession. Leadership regeneration occurred from KH. Zuhdi to subsequent generations of kiai, including KH. Zarkasyi, KH. Thowaf Muslim, and later the descendants of the pesantren family. Informants explained that each generation contributed differently to the development of the pesantren according to the social conditions of their era (Informant 4). During the leadership of KH. Thowaf Muslim, for example, the pesantren experienced significant institutional expansion through the establishment of formal schools, including Madrasah Tsanawiyah, Madrasah Aliyah, and other educational institutions under the pesantren foundation. This demonstrates that leadership regeneration in pesantren is closely related to institutional adaptation and educational transformation.

Another important finding is that the pesantren has consistently maintained strong relationships with the surrounding community. Geographically located within a rural social environment, the pesantren developed through mutual cooperation and collective support from society. One informant explained that the pesantren and the surrounding community have long maintained a symbiotic relationship in which society supports the pesantren socially and economically, while the pesantren contributes to religious education and moral guidance for the community (Informant 5). This condition reflects the important role of local wisdom and social cohesion in strengthening pesantren sustainability. Previous studies have emphasized that local wisdom-based educational institutions possess stronger social legitimacy because they are rooted in cultural values and community participation (Lubis, 2025); (Maisaroh et al., 2022).

The findings also indicate that leadership regeneration within the pesantren was not merely hereditary but involved the transmission of values, religious authority, and educational traditions. Informants explained that future leaders were gradually introduced to pesantren management, community religious activities, and educational responsibilities from an early age (Informant 6). Such a process enabled the pesantren to maintain continuity despite experiencing leadership transitions and social changes. This pattern of regeneration reflects the importance of character-based education and leadership socialization within Islamic educational institutions. Character formation, responsibility, and religious commitment are cultivated continuously through pesantren traditions and daily interactions between leaders, teachers, and students (Aji, 2025); (Makmur et al., 2026).

The historical development of the pesantren also demonstrates the integration between traditional Islamic education and contemporary educational needs. Informants explained that the

pesantren increasingly emphasized formal education while maintaining classical pesantren traditions such as Qur'anic studies, kitab kuning, and religious gatherings (Informant 7). This educational integration became an important strategy for maintaining pesantren relevance amid rapid social transformation. Such findings align with studies emphasizing that Islamic educational institutions need to integrate local wisdom, character education, and adaptive curriculum development to strengthen institutional sustainability and student identity formation (Asbarin et al., 2024; Guspani et al., 2025).

In addition, the pesantren environment has become an important social space for developing collective values, discipline, and community-oriented leadership. Informants stated that students were educated not only to master religious knowledge but also to develop moral responsibility, social sensitivity, and leadership character through everyday pesantren life (Informant 8). This educational model reflects the broader function of pesantren as a center for social and moral transformation within Indonesian Muslim society. Previous research similarly highlights that pesantren-based education contributes significantly to strengthening character formation, social harmony, and cultural identity among students and society (Rahmawati et al., 2023).

The historical development of Pondok Pesantren Zumrotuththolibin demonstrates that pesantren function not only as religious educational institutions but also as dynamic spaces for leadership regeneration, value transmission, and cultural continuity. The pesantren has successfully maintained its sustainability through charismatic leadership, adaptive educational transformation, strong community relations, and intergenerational regeneration rooted in Islamic values and local wisdom traditions.

Charismatic Female Leadership in Pesantren Management

The leadership of Nyai Siti Sutijah at Pesantren Zumrotuththolibin reflects the emergence of charismatic female leadership within the pesantren tradition. The findings revealed that Nyai Siti Sutijah was not merely continuing the legacy of her late husband, KH. Thowaf Muslim, but was also actively transforming the pesantren management system through adaptive, persuasive, and value-based leadership practices. Informants explained that after the death of KH. Thowaf Muslim, the pesantren experienced a temporary leadership vacuum because the dominant perception within pesantren culture positioned male kiai as the central authority. However, Nyai Siti Sutijah gradually gained acceptance from the pesantren community because of her religious competence, emotional closeness with the santri, and her consistency in maintaining pesantren traditions (Informan 1).

The interviews demonstrated that Nyai Siti Sutijah possessed strong spiritual authority derived from her background as a Qur'anic scholar and hafidzah. Informants stated that her capability in teaching the Qur'an, guiding female santri, and managing religious activities increased the community's trust toward her leadership. One informant explained that Nyai Siti Sutijah was viewed not only as the wife of a kiai but also as a religious figure who possessed intellectual and moral legitimacy in leading the pesantren (Informan 2). This finding indicates that charismatic authority in pesantren leadership is closely connected to religious knowledge, moral behavior, and social influence within the community. Such leadership characteristics are consistent with the traditional pesantren leadership model emphasizing exemplary behavior and spiritual authority as the foundation of educational influence (Dhofier, 1982).

The findings also showed that Nyai Siti Sutijah applied a caring and maternal leadership approach in managing the pesantren, especially among female santri. Informants described that she positioned herself as a mother figure who listened to the problems of santri, provided emotional support, and directly supervised their daily activities (Informan 3). This leadership pattern created emotional attachment and obedience among the santri without relying on authoritarian practices. The santri perceived her firmness as a form of affection and educational responsibility. Such conditions reflect that female leadership in pesantren often combines emotional intelligence, nurturing values, and spiritual discipline simultaneously. This leadership approach supports the argument that pesantren education is deeply rooted in moral guidance and character formation through close interpersonal interaction between leaders and students (Muhtarom, 2002).

Furthermore, the study found that Nyai Siti Sutijah implemented democratic leadership practices in pesantren management. Although she possessed strong charisma, important decisions concerning pesantren development were commonly discussed with family members, asatidz, and pesantren administrators (Informan 1). Informants explained that deliberation and collective

consideration became important mechanisms in determining institutional policies, educational programs, and pesantren expansion. This indicates that charismatic leadership in pesantren does not necessarily eliminate participatory management practices. Instead, charisma strengthens institutional trust and facilitates collective decision-making processes. This finding aligns with the perspective that effective leadership integrates authority, communication, and organizational participation to maintain institutional stability and development (Rivai & Mulyadi, 2013).

Another important finding revealed that Nyai Siti Sutijah successfully expanded female Islamic education by establishing Pesantren Darush Sholihat under the Zumrotuththolibin foundation. Informants explained that this initiative emerged from her concern regarding the increasing number of female santri and the need for a more focused educational environment for women (Informan 2). The establishment of a female pesantren demonstrated her strategic vision and commitment to empowering women within Islamic educational institutions. Through this pesantren, female santri received opportunities to study religion intensively while simultaneously developing leadership skills and social responsibility. This finding confirms that female leadership in pesantren contributes significantly to the expansion of women's educational access and social participation within Islamic communities (Roqib, 2003).

The interviews also revealed that Nyai Siti Sutijah maintained active engagement with the surrounding community through religious gatherings, Qur'anic recitations, and social activities. Informants stated that many community members visited her for consultation, religious advice, and spiritual guidance (Informan 3). Her involvement in Muslimat NU activities and public religious education strengthened her public legitimacy beyond the pesantren environment. This indicates that charismatic female leadership in pesantren extends into broader social and religious spheres, enabling women leaders to become influential public figures within rural Muslim communities. Such findings support previous studies emphasizing that women in pesantren can occupy strategic public roles while maintaining Islamic values and pesantren traditions (Arifin, 2014).

In addition, the findings demonstrated that Nyai Siti Sutijah emphasized discipline, moral education, and Qur'anic values as the core foundation of pesantren management. Informants explained that she consistently encouraged santri to develop responsibility, humility, obedience, and social ethics through daily pesantren activities (Informan 1). This educational orientation strengthened the pesantren's role in character formation and moral cultivation among santri. The integration of discipline and religious values reflects the broader pesantren educational tradition focusing on holistic personality development rather than merely academic achievement (Alfath, 2020). Through her leadership, pesantren education functioned as a medium for nurturing Islamic character and strengthening social morality among young Muslims.

The findings further indicate that the acceptance of female leadership within pesantren is influenced by competence, consistency, and moral authority rather than gender alone. Although patriarchal culture remains present in pesantren traditions, the success of Nyai Siti Sutijah demonstrated that women possess equal opportunities to lead Islamic educational institutions when they have religious capability and social legitimacy. This condition supports the argument that Islam provides space for women's leadership within social and educational domains as long as they fulfill ethical and professional responsibilities (Engineer, 1994). Therefore, charismatic female leadership in pesantren can be understood as a transformative force that preserves Islamic traditions while simultaneously responding to contemporary educational and social challenges.

The leadership of Nyai Siti Sutijah illustrates that female leadership in pesantren management is characterized by charisma, spiritual authority, participatory management, maternal guidance, and social engagement. Her leadership not only ensured the continuity of pesantren traditions but also strengthened the institutional development of female Islamic education. Through adaptive leadership practices, she successfully transformed the pesantren into a dynamic educational institution that integrates religious values, community trust, and women's empowerment within the framework of Islamic boarding school culture.

Leadership Succession and the Regeneration of Female Authority

The succession of leadership at Pesantren Zumrotuththolibin demonstrates how female authority can be regenerated and institutionalized within the pesantren tradition. The findings revealed that the leadership transition from KH. Thowaf Muslim to Nyai Siti Sutijah was not merely a spontaneous response to the death of the kiai, but gradually evolved into a structured process of

female leadership regeneration within the pesantren environment. Informants explained that after the death of KH. Thowaf Muslim, concerns emerged among pesantren members regarding the continuity of leadership because all of his children were female. In pesantren culture, leadership was commonly associated with male authority; therefore, the transition toward female leadership initially required social adaptation and collective acceptance (Informan 1).

The interviews indicated that Nyai Siti Sutijah successfully maintained institutional continuity because she possessed religious competence, emotional maturity, and long experience in pesantren management. Informants stated that before the death of KH. Thowaf Muslim, Nyai Siti Sutijah had already been directly involved in supervising female santri, organizing religious activities, and assisting in pesantren administration (Informan 2). This involvement created a foundation for leadership legitimacy after the leadership transition occurred. The findings demonstrate that leadership succession in pesantren is not solely hereditary, but also depends on the accumulation of religious authority, managerial experience, and social trust. This condition reflects the traditional pesantren system in which leadership legitimacy emerges from moral integrity, educational competence, and the ability to preserve pesantren values (Wahid, 2010).

Furthermore, the findings showed that the regeneration of female authority was intentionally prepared through educational and cultural processes within the pesantren family. Informants explained that Nyai Siti Sutijah deliberately educated her three daughters, namely Siti Saroh, Siti Hajar, and Nikmatul Hidayati, to become future female leaders in the pesantren. Since childhood, they had been introduced to pesantren traditions, Qur'anic learning, religious teaching, and organizational responsibilities (Informan 3). All three daughters pursued pesantren-based education and memorized the Qur'an as preparation for future leadership responsibilities. This finding indicates that leadership succession in pesantren is closely related to long-term character formation and religious socialization processes within the family environment. Such conditions support the argument that pesantren education functions not only as a religious institution but also as a medium for leadership reproduction and Islamic character formation (Mas'ud, 2002).

The interviews also revealed that Nyai Siti Sutijah implemented gradual delegation in the regeneration process. Informants stated that each daughter was assigned specific responsibilities according to her abilities and interests. Siti Saroh was entrusted with supervising Qur'anic memorization activities and guiding female santri in religious learning. Siti Hajar assisted in managing the daily needs of santri and pesantren administration, while Nikmatul Hidayati was more involved in community relations and cooperation with external institutions (Informan 1). This distribution of responsibilities allowed the daughters to gain direct leadership experience while maintaining collective coordination under the supervision of Nyai Siti Sutijah. The findings illustrate that leadership regeneration within pesantren emphasizes practical involvement and experiential learning rather than formal leadership training alone. Such a model reflects value-based leadership development rooted in pesantren culture and family mentorship (El Widdah & others, 2012).

Another important finding revealed that the regeneration of female authority was strengthened through religious and social legitimacy within the community. Informants explained that Nyai Siti Sutijah actively introduced her daughters to the pesantren community, santri, asatidz, and surrounding society through religious gatherings, Qur'anic recitations, and public dakwah activities (Informan 2). The daughters were regularly involved in leading religious programs, accompanying their mother in public events, and interacting directly with the community. This process gradually built public trust toward their future leadership roles. The findings suggest that leadership succession in pesantren is deeply influenced by symbolic interaction and social recognition. Public acceptance becomes essential for sustaining the authority of future pesantren leaders, especially within communities that strongly value charisma and religious legitimacy (Ritzer, 1995).

The study further found that the regeneration process reflected broader transformations regarding women's roles within Islamic educational institutions. Informants emphasized that the involvement of Nyai Siti Sutijah and her daughters in pesantren leadership challenged the traditional assumption that pesantren authority should remain exclusively male (Informan 3). Although patriarchal culture still existed, the successful leadership of Nyai Siti Sutijah demonstrated that women possess equal capabilities in preserving pesantren traditions and managing educational institutions. This finding supports the view that gender equality within Islam can be interpreted

through competence, responsibility, and social contribution rather than rigid patriarchal structures (Umar, 1999). The acceptance of female authority at Pesantren Zumrotuththolibin indicates the emergence of more inclusive leadership patterns within contemporary pesantren dynamics.

In addition, the interviews demonstrated that Qur'anic education played a central role in the regeneration of female leadership. Informants explained that memorization of the Qur'an and mastery of Islamic sciences became essential requirements for future pesantren leaders because religious knowledge constituted the foundation of moral authority (Informan 1). The daughters of Nyai Siti Sutijah were specifically encouraged to strengthen their Qur'anic competence and religious discipline as part of their preparation for leadership responsibilities. This finding confirms that pesantren succession emphasizes spiritual legitimacy and religious expertise as the primary sources of authority within Islamic educational institutions (Akbar, 2016). Through Qur'anic education, future female leaders developed intellectual confidence, ethical discipline, and spiritual charisma necessary for pesantren leadership.

The findings also revealed that female leadership succession at Pesantren Zumrotuththolibin contributed to institutional sustainability and educational innovation. Informants stated that the involvement of the younger generation enabled the pesantren to adapt to contemporary challenges while maintaining traditional Islamic values (Informan 2). The younger female leaders became more open to educational development, organizational cooperation, and modernization of pesantren facilities. At the same time, they continued to preserve classical pesantren traditions such as kitab kuning studies, wetonan recitation, and Qur'anic learning. This balance between continuity and adaptation illustrates the dynamic nature of pesantren leadership succession in responding to social transformation (Ma'arif, 2011).

Moreover, the regeneration process strengthened the role of women in shaping pesantren culture and educational values. Informants explained that the daughters of Nyai Siti Sutijah not only learned managerial responsibilities but also internalized values of patience, discipline, humility, and service toward santri and society (Informan 3). These values became essential elements in preparing future female leaders who were capable of combining authority with compassion and religious morality. The findings align with the perspective that leadership in Islamic educational institutions should emphasize moral example, social responsibility, and character development rather than administrative power alone (Usman, 2015).

The succession of leadership at Pesantren Zumrotuththolibin illustrates that the regeneration of female authority can develop successfully through religious education, family mentorship, practical leadership experience, and community legitimacy. Nyai Siti Sutijah not only maintained the continuity of pesantren leadership after the death of her husband, but also created a sustainable model of female leadership regeneration within the pesantren tradition. Through structured involvement, religious training, and gradual delegation of authority, the pesantren succeeded in preparing a new generation of female leaders capable of preserving Islamic values while responding to contemporary educational and social developments.

Discussion

The findings of this study demonstrate that female leadership in pesantren has undergone a significant transformation from a complementary domestic role into a strategic authority capable of shaping educational direction, institutional culture, and leadership regeneration. The presence of female leaders in pesantren management reflects the dynamic adaptation of Islamic educational institutions to social change while maintaining the traditional values embedded within pesantren culture. Historically, pesantren leadership has been strongly associated with the authority of the kiai as the central figure of religious legitimacy and institutional control (Dhofier, 1982). However, the contemporary reality found in this study indicates that women, particularly nyai, increasingly occupy influential positions in decision-making, curriculum development, student discipline, and institutional networking. This transformation confirms that pesantren are not static institutions but adaptive social systems capable of negotiating tradition and modernity simultaneously (Ma'arif, 2011).

The emergence of charismatic female leadership in pesantren also illustrates that authority in Islamic educational institutions is not solely determined by patriarchal structures, but by moral legitimacy, intellectual capability, spiritual influence, and social trust. Female leaders in this study gained authority through consistent interaction with students, mastery of religious knowledge, and

exemplary behavior. Such findings reinforce the argument that leadership in pesantren is culturally constructed through symbolic interaction and social recognition rather than merely formal administrative power (Ritzer, 1995). In this context, charisma becomes a social capital that strengthens institutional cohesion and educational effectiveness. This condition aligns with the concept of value-based leadership emphasizing integrity, morality, and spiritual commitment as the foundation of educational leadership (El Widdah & others, 2012).

Furthermore, the study reveals that female authority in pesantren is strengthened by the integration of maternal values with institutional management. Female leaders tend to emphasize emotional closeness, ethical communication, collective responsibility, and persuasive discipline in guiding students. This leadership style contributes to the creation of a more humanistic educational atmosphere while preserving institutional discipline and religious obedience. Such findings are relevant to the perspective that pesantren education fundamentally prioritizes moral formation and character building as the essence of Islamic learning (Muhtarom, 2002). The leadership practices observed in this research also support the argument that pesantren leadership functions not only as administrative governance but as a moral and spiritual mentoring process shaping students' personality and social ethics (Haryanto, 2012).

The regeneration of female leadership identified in this study further indicates that pesantren have developed sustainable mechanisms for transferring authority across generations. Leadership succession does not occur merely through biological lineage but through a long process of educational preparation, social participation, religious mentoring, and organizational involvement. Younger female cadres are gradually introduced to institutional responsibilities, public communication, and student management before assuming larger leadership roles. This pattern reflects the participatory leadership model practiced within pesantren culture, where institutional continuity depends on collective trust and gradual leadership formation (Syuhud, 2018). Such a regeneration process also demonstrates that pesantren leadership is deeply rooted in experiential learning and cultural internalization rather than purely formal managerial training.

The findings additionally show that female leadership regeneration contributes significantly to the preservation of pesantren identity amid modernization pressures. Contemporary pesantren are increasingly challenged by digital transformation, financial management demands, educational competition, and changing student expectations. Female leaders respond to these challenges by adopting adaptive managerial strategies while maintaining religious traditions and moral values. This reflects the broader transformation of Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia, where pesantren continue evolving without abandoning their foundational cultural identity (Zulfikar, 2022). The incorporation of digital literacy, public communication strategies, and institutional networking conducted by female leaders demonstrates the flexibility of pesantren management in facing contemporary social realities (Martini et al., 2024).

From a gender perspective, this study challenges the assumption that religious leadership in Islamic institutions is exclusively masculine. The successful involvement of women in pesantren leadership confirms that Islamic teachings provide space for women to participate actively in social and educational leadership as long as they possess competence, morality, and public trust. This finding is consistent with the argument that gender equality in Islam should be understood within the framework of justice, capability, and social responsibility rather than biological determinism (Umar, 1999). Likewise, Engineer (1994) emphasizes that women's rights in Islam include participation in public leadership and social transformation (Engineer, 1994). Therefore, the increasing role of female leaders in pesantren represents not a deviation from Islamic values but an actualization of inclusive Islamic principles.

Moreover, the existence of female authority in pesantren contributes to the strengthening of moderate Islamic values and multicultural awareness within educational practices. Female leaders tend to encourage dialogue, tolerance, and collective harmony in managing student relations and institutional interactions. This tendency aligns with the concept of religious moderation promoted in pesantren education as a strategy to preserve social harmony and prevent exclusivism (Muhtarom, 2002). Through inclusive communication and ethical guidance, female leaders become agents of social cohesion capable of bridging traditional religious values with contemporary societal dynamics.

Another important aspect identified in this study is the relationship between female leadership and character education. The leadership approaches applied by female pesantren leaders emphasize

discipline, empathy, honesty, responsibility, and spiritual consistency. Such values are transmitted through daily interaction, religious activities, and institutional culture. This supports the argument that pesantren education remains highly relevant in strengthening character formation amid contemporary moral challenges (Nugraheni & Firmansyah, 2021). The findings also reinforce the perspective that character education in pesantren is most effective when modeled directly through leadership behavior and institutional culture rather than merely taught through formal instruction (Usman, 2015).

In addition, the study demonstrates that female leadership in pesantren contributes to organizational resilience. Female leaders actively participate in financial planning, fundraising activities, and institutional networking to ensure educational sustainability. Their involvement in institutional management indicates that women possess strategic capabilities not only in educational mentoring but also in organizational governance. This finding strengthens previous studies highlighting the importance of managerial adaptation and fundraising strategies in maintaining pesantren development amid increasing educational competition (Juhaidi et al., 2023). Consequently, female leadership should be understood as a multidimensional role encompassing spiritual authority, organizational competence, and social influence simultaneously.

Critically, this study also identifies several challenges faced by female leaders in pesantren. Although women increasingly occupy strategic positions, patriarchal perceptions and cultural stereotypes still influence institutional dynamics. Some female leaders continue to negotiate their authority within traditional social expectations emphasizing domestic roles. Nevertheless, rather than creating conflict, these challenges often encourage female leaders to develop adaptive leadership strategies combining firmness, spirituality, and emotional intelligence. This confirms the sociological perspective that authority is continuously negotiated within cultural structures and social interactions (Syam, 2020). Therefore, female leadership in pesantren should be viewed as an evolving social process shaped by negotiation between religious tradition, institutional needs, and contemporary gender discourse.

The findings of this study indicate that female leadership in pesantren has become an important pillar in sustaining institutional continuity, educational transformation, and character formation. The regeneration of female authority demonstrates that pesantren possess internal mechanisms capable of preserving tradition while responding adaptively to modern challenges. Female leaders are not merely symbolic figures but active agents shaping institutional direction, educational culture, and social transformation. Consequently, the strengthening of female leadership in pesantren contributes not only to institutional development but also to the broader discourse on Islamic education, gender equality, and social change in contemporary Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that charismatic female leadership has become a significant force in sustaining and transforming leadership within pesantren institutions. The findings reveal that female authority is constructed through a combination of religious competence, moral integrity, managerial capability, and social legitimacy, enabling women to occupy strategic leadership positions traditionally associated with male religious leaders. The case of Pondok Pesantren Zumrotuththolibin further shows that leadership succession is not merely hereditary but is intentionally developed through religious education, mentorship, practical leadership experience, and the gradual transfer of responsibilities to future female leaders.

From a sociological feminist perspective, the study highlights how female leadership challenges conventional patriarchal assumptions while remaining rooted in Islamic values and pesantren traditions. The successful regeneration of female authority demonstrates that leadership sustainability depends on the institutionalization of competence, trust, and shared values rather than gender alone. Theoretically, this study enriches discussions on charismatic leadership, gender, and succession in Islamic educational institutions. Practically, it provides insights for pesantren and other faith-based educational organizations seeking to develop inclusive and sustainable leadership models capable of responding to contemporary social and educational challenges.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS STATEMENT

K contributed to the conceptualization of the study, research design, data collection, field investigation, data analysis, interpretation of findings, and preparation of the original manuscript draft. **AAR** contributed to methodological refinement, theoretical framework development, supervision of the research process, critical review and editing of the manuscript, validation of the findings, and overall academic oversight.

REFERENCES

- Aji, Y. A. (2025). Strategies for developing the disciplinary character of santri at Dayah Jamiah Al-Aziziyah Batee Iliek Samalanga. *International Conference on Research and Community Services*, 4(1), 205–219.
- Akbar, A. (2016). Metode tahfidz Al-Qur'an di Pondok Pesantren Kabupaten Kampar. *Jurnal Ushuluddin*, 24(1), 91–101.
- Allen, K., Cuthbert, K., Hall, J. J., Hines, S., & Elley, S. (2022). Trailblazing the gender revolution? Young people's understandings of gender diversity through generation and social change. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 25(5), 650–666. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2021.1923674>
- Alfath, K. (2020). Pendidikan karakter disiplin santri di Pondok Pesantren Al-Fatah Temboro. *Al-Manar*, 9(1), 125–164. <https://doi.org/10.36668/jal.v9i1.136>
- Alteneiji, E. (2023). Value changes in gender roles: Perspectives from three generations of Emirati women. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 9(1), Article 2184899. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2023.2184899>
- Arifin, M. Z. (2014). Peran kepemimpinan nyai di pondok pesantren (Studi multi situs di Pondok Pesantren Al-Lathifiyah II Tambakberas Jombang, Pondok Pesantren Nur Khadijah Den Anyar Jombang dan Pondok Pesantren Al-Hikmah Purwoasri Kediri). *Staintekbu: Jurnal Sains dan Teknologi*, 7(2), 1–15.
- Asbarin, Amalia, N. N., & Jamaa, L. (2024). Integrasi pendidikan karakter dalam kurikulum Madrasah Ibtidaiyah berbasis kearifan lokal: Studi kasus di Indonesia Timur. *Islamic Elementary Education Journal*, 3(1), 35–64.
- Bruinessen, M. van. (1999). *Kitab kuning, pesantren dan tarekat: Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia*. Mizan.
- Chairani, A., Firlyaningsrum, A., Widyatmoko, Rahayuningtyas, T. E., & Umam, C. (2022). Peran kearifan lokal dalam menunjang manajemen kreatif dan inovatif di era globalisasi. *OPTIMAL*, 2(2), 233–240.
- Dhofier, Z. (1982). *Tradisi pesantren: Studi tentang pandangan hidup pesantren*. LP3ES.
- El Widdah, M., & others. (2012). *Kepemimpinan berbasis nilai dan pengembangan mutu madrasah*. Alfabeta.
- Engineer, A. A. (1994). *Hak-hak perempuan dalam Islam*. LSPPA.
- Erwani, I., & Siregar, A. S. (2025). The role of women in Islamic sacred texts: A critical study of women's narratives and authority in Islamic tradition. *Pharos Journal of Theology*, 106(1). <https://doi.org/10.46222/pharosjot.106.6>
- Guspani, R., Satrisno, H., Rizka, Y., Irawan, B., & Merliana, S. R. (2025). Integrasi kearifan lokal dalam pembelajaran pendidikan agama Islam. *Al-Munawwarah: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, 17(2), 138–153. <https://doi.org/10.35964/almunawwarah.v17i2.452>
- Hadi, S., Muid N, A., & Nurbaiti, N. (2023). Konsep kesetaraan gender perspektif M. Quraish Shihab dan Nasaruddin Umar. *COMSERVA: Jurnal Penelitian dan Pengabdian Masyarakat*, 3(7), 2818–2835. <https://doi.org/10.59141/comserva.v3i07.1048>
- Halim, A., et al. (2005). *Manajemen pesantren*. Pustaka Pesantren.
- Haryanto, S. (2012). *Persepsi santri terhadap perilaku kepemimpinan kiai di pesantren*. Kementerian Agama RI.
- Iensufiie, T. (2013). *Leadership untuk profesional dan mahasiswa*. Erlangga.
- Juhaidi, A., Mizani, H., & Bahruddin, M. (2023). Strategi fundraising pada pesantren di Kalimantan Selatan. *Tarbiyah Wa Ta'lim: Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan dan Pembelajaran*, 10(1), 12–22. <https://doi.org/10.21093/twt.v10i1.4987>

- Lubis, A. F. (2025). Peran kearifan lokal dalam memperkuat kohesi sosial di komunitas pedesaan di Indonesia. *Sanskara Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora*, 3(1), 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.58812/sish.v3i01.722>
- Ma'arif, S. (2011). Dinamika pesantren kontemporer. *Millah*, 11(1), 29–49. <https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol11.iss1.art2>
- Maisaroh, I., Ma'zumi, & Hayani, R. A. (2022). Urgensi kearifan lokal dalam penguatan pendidikan karakter. *JAWARA: Jurnal Pendidikan Karakter*, 8(1), 85–102.
- Makmur, Kasse, Y., Aziz, A., Ridwan, Y., Nugroho, A. S., & Aji, Y. A. (2026). Community-based character education program to strengthen students' discipline and responsibility for enhancing learning motivation and academic achievement. *Teumulong: Journal of Community Service*, 4(1), 10–21.
- Martini, M., Windarto, W., & I, Y. E. (2024). Literasi keuangan melalui konten digital di Pondok Pesantren Nurul Hidayah Cijeruk Bogor. *Sebatik*, 28(1), 101–110. <https://doi.org/10.46984/sebatik.v28i1.2442>
- Mas'ud, A. (2002). *Pesantren dan madrasah*. Pustaka Pelajar.
- Muhtarom, H. M. (2002). Urgensi pesantren dalam pembentukan kepribadian Muslim. In *Dinamika pesantren dan madrasah*. Pustaka Pelajar.
- Mubarakh, A., Akhlasa, R., Athallah, W., & Faiz, A. (2025). Islam, gender, dan feminisme dalam Al-Qur'an. *Socius: Jurnal Penelitian Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial*, 2(1), 396–405. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.15592645>
- Nawawi, H. (2006). *Kepemimpinan mengefektifkan organisasi*. Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Negara, M. A. P. (2022). Keadilan gender dan hak-hak perempuan dalam Islam (Studi analisis pemikiran Asghar Ali Engineer). *Az-Zahra: Journal of Gender and Family Studies*, 2(2), 74–88.
- Nugraheni, Y. T., & Firmansyah, A. (2021). Model pengembangan pendidikan karakter di pesantren khalaf (Studi kasus di Pondok Pesantren Modern Muhammadiyah Boarding School Yogyakarta). *Quality*, 9(1), 39. <https://doi.org/10.21043/quality.v9i1.9887>
- Nuroniya, W. (2013). Feminisme dalam pesantren: Narasi pemberdayaan perempuan di Pondok Pesantren Buntet Cirebon. *Jurnal Holistik*, 14(1), 1–15.
- Rahmawati, N., Syukur, F., & Darmu'in, D. (2023). Local wisdom-based character building empowerment at junior high schools in Indonesia. *Al-Ishlah: Jurnal Pendidikan*, 15(3), 3892–3901. <https://doi.org/10.35445/alishlah.v15i3.3207>
- Ritzer, G. (1995). *Sosiologi ilmu pengetahuan berparadigma ganda*. Rajawali Press.
- Rivai, V., & Mulyadi, D. (2013). *Kepemimpinan dan perilaku organisasi*. Rajawali Press.
- Roqib, M. (2003). *Pendidikan perempuan*. Gama Media.
- Rummar, M. (2022). Kearifan lokal dan penerapannya di sekolah. *Syntax Transformation*, 3(12), 1580–1588. <https://doi.org/10.46799/jst.v3i12.655>
- Shah, S. (2020). Gender equality and situated constructions: Perspectives of women educational leaders in a Muslim society. *Educational Studies*, 56(1), 37–53. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131946.2019.1607739>
- Syam, N. (2020). Paradigma dan teori ilmu dakwah: Perspektif sosiologis. *Jurnal Ilmiah Syiar*, 20(1), 1–18.
- Syuhud. (2018). Partisipasi dalam pengambilan keputusan strategis di pondok pesantren. *Al Tanzim: Jurnal Manajemen Pendidikan Islam*.
- Umar, N. (1999). *Argumen kesetaraan gender: Perspektif Al-Qur'an*. Pustaka Pelajar.
- Usman, H. (2015). Kepemimpinan berkarakter sebagai model pendidikan karakter. *Jurnal Pendidikan Karakter*, 4(3), 265–273. <https://doi.org/10.21831/jpk.v0i3.2749>
- Wahid, A. (2010). *Menggerakkan tradisi: Esai-esai pesantren*. LKiS.
- Zakaria, S. (2013). Kepemimpinan perempuan dalam perspektif hukum Islam (Studi komparatif antara pemikiran KH. Husein Muhammad dan Prof. Siti Musdah Mulia). *Jurnal Khazanah*, 6(1), 45–60.
- Zulfikar, A. Y. (2022). *Transformasi sosial dan perubahan dayah di Aceh*. Yayasan Penerbit Muhammad Zaini.