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PAMALI CULTURE AND ISLAMIC EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP IN PESANTREN OF SOUTH KALIMANTAN

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Abstract : *The intersection between local wisdom and Islamic educational leadership provides a significant perspective for understanding leadership practices in pesantren. Pamali culture, as an indigenous cultural value system, offers a unique context for examining how traditional norms influence ethical leadership and educational management. This study examines the role of pamali culture in Islamic educational leadership within pesantren in South Kalimantan. Employing a qualitative ethnographic approach, data were collected through interviews, observations, and documentation involving pesantren leaders, teachers, and students. The findings reveal that pamali culture functions not merely as a cultural heritage of the Banjar community but also as a value system embedded in pesantren life. It contributes to shaping students' discipline and obedience, strengthening the leadership legitimacy of Tuan Guru, and fostering organizational loyalty and social cohesion within the pesantren community. The study further demonstrates that leadership effectiveness in pesantren is supported not only by formal organizational structures and religious authority but also by local cultural values that are continuously maintained and reproduced within the community.*

Keywords : *Pamali Culture; Islamic Educational Leadership; Organizational Culture; Pesantren.*

Abstrak : *Persinggungan antara kearifan lokal dan kepemimpinan pendidikan Islam memberikan perspektif penting dalam memahami praktik kepemimpinan di pesantren. Budaya pamali, sebagai suatu sistem nilai budaya lokal, menawarkan konteks yang unik untuk mengkaji bagaimana norma-norma tradisional memengaruhi kepemimpinan yang beretika dan pengelolaan pendidikan. Penelitian ini mengkaji peran budaya pamali dalam kepemimpinan pendidikan Islam pada pesantren di Kalimantan Selatan. Penelitian menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan desain etnografi. Data diperoleh melalui wawancara, observasi, dan dokumentasi yang melibatkan pimpinan pesantren, ustaz, dan santri. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa budaya pamali tidak hanya berfungsi sebagai warisan budaya masyarakat Banjar, tetapi juga sebagai sistem nilai yang terintegrasi dalam kehidupan pesantren. Budaya pamali berkontribusi dalam membentuk kedisiplinan dan kepatuhan santri, memperkuat legitimasi kepemimpinan Tuan Guru, serta membangun loyalitas dan kohesi sosial warga pesantren. Temuan penelitian memperlihatkan bahwa efektivitas kepemimpinan pendidikan Islam tidak hanya ditentukan oleh struktur organisasi formal dan otoritas keagamaan, tetapi juga oleh nilai-nilai budaya lokal yang hidup dalam komunitas pesantren.*

Kata Kunci : *Budaya Pamali; Kepemimpinan Pendidikan Islam; Budaya Organisasi; Pesantren.*

INTRODUCTION

Local cultural values continue to play an important role in shaping social behavior and community life in Indonesia. Although modernization has transformed many aspects of social interaction, various forms of local wisdom remain influential in guiding attitudes, social relationships, and collective behavior. One example is *pamali*, a cultural tradition that is still widely recognized among the Banjar people of South Kalimantan. In Banjar society, *pamali* refers to a set of prohibitions, advice, and behavioral guidelines that are passed down across generations and function as a mechanism for regulating social conduct. Rather than being understood solely as a traditional belief, *pamali* contains moral messages that encourage respect, responsibility, caution, and self-discipline in everyday life (Daud, 1997; Ideham et al., 2005).

The persistence of *pamali* can also be observed within pesantren communities. As educational institutions that are closely connected to local society, pesantren do not exist in isolation from the cultural environment in which they operate. Values associated with *pamali* continue to influence interactions between students, teachers, and *Tuan Guru*, particularly in matters related to respect, obedience, manners, and the pursuit of knowledge. In many cases, advice and prohibitions delivered by religious leaders are not merely understood as institutional regulations but are also interpreted as moral and spiritual guidance (Jung, Bass & Sosik, 1995). Consequently, local cultural values and Islamic teachings become intertwined and shape everyday educational practices within the pesantren environment.

Previous studies have demonstrated that local wisdom plays an important role in strengthening organizational culture and educational leadership within Islamic educational institutions. Fauzi et al. (2023) found that local wisdom functions as a core value that contributes to organizational identity, ethical behavior, and collective commitment within pesantren. Similarly, Prasetyo (2021) argues that organizational culture serves as a fundamental element in improving institutional effectiveness because it provides shared values that guide members' behavior and decision-making processes. In the context of leadership, Aisyah et al. (2022) and Hasanah (2024) found that the authority of religious leaders in pesantren is reinforced through organizational cultures that promote trust, respect, and obedience. Furthermore, Najiburrahman (2024) highlights that leadership practices grounded in local wisdom tend to strengthen relationships between leaders and members of the educational community.

Recent studies have further emphasized that local wisdom contributes not only to organizational culture but also to leadership effectiveness and institutional sustainability. Building upon earlier findings on organizational culture and leadership in pesantren, Walid (2024) argues that educational leadership becomes more effective when cultural diversity is accommodated within organizational practices. Likewise, Thohir and Baharun (2024)

demonstrate that leadership and local wisdom significantly contribute to strengthening the reputation and sustainability of pesantren.

These studies provide important insights into the relationship between local wisdom, organizational culture, and educational leadership. However, most existing research focuses on leadership styles, managerial effectiveness, organizational culture, or character education within Islamic educational institutions. At the same time, studies on *pamali* have predominantly examined it as a cultural tradition, a form of local wisdom, or a mechanism of social control within Banjar society (Daud, 1997; Ideham et al., 2005; Asdar, 2025). As a result, limited attention has been given to how *pamali*, including the moral and spiritual beliefs attached to it, influences leadership legitimacy, student compliance, organizational loyalty, and social cohesion within pesantren.

This gap is important because leadership in pesantren is not solely shaped by formal authority or religious knowledge. Leadership practices are often embedded within cultural systems that influence how authority is understood, accepted, and exercised. Yet, little is known about how local belief systems such as *pamali* contribute to these processes. Consequently, the relationship between culturally embedded beliefs and Islamic educational leadership remains insufficiently explored in the existing literature.

This study seeks to address this gap by examining *pamali* not merely as a cultural tradition but as a value system that influences leadership practices and organizational life within pesantren. Unlike previous studies that primarily emphasize managerial, organizational, or religious dimensions of leadership, this research explores how culturally embedded beliefs contribute to leadership legitimacy, student discipline, organizational loyalty, and social cohesion (Bagga et al, 2023). By connecting discussions on local wisdom with Islamic educational leadership, this study offers a broader perspective on how indigenous cultural values continue to shape contemporary Islamic educational institutions.

Therefore, this study aims to examine the role of *pamali* culture in Islamic educational leadership within pesantren in South Kalimantan and to explain how the values embedded in *pamali* contribute to leadership legitimacy, organizational culture, and patterns of compliance among members of the pesantren community. The findings are expected to contribute both theoretically and practically to the development of Islamic educational leadership studies by demonstrating how local wisdom functions as a cultural resource that supports leadership effectiveness, organizational cohesion, and institutional sustainability.

METHOD

This study employed a qualitative approach with an ethnographic design to explore the role of *pamali* culture in Islamic educational leadership within pesantren in South

Kalimantan. An ethnographic approach was chosen because the study focused on understanding the values, beliefs, and cultural practices that are embedded in the daily life of the pesantren community. The research was conducted in three pesantren in South Kalimantan that continue to maintain Banjar cultural traditions, particularly *pamali* values, in their educational and social practices. These pesantren were selected purposively because they represent institutions where local cultural values remain actively practiced and influence interactions among community members.

The participants consisted of three *Tuan Guru*, five teachers, eight senior students, and two community leaders. *Tuan Guru* were selected as key informants because of their central role in leadership and value transmission within the pesantren. Teachers, students, and community leaders were involved to provide broader perspectives regarding the implementation and meaning of *pamali* in everyday life. Participants were selected through purposive and snowball sampling techniques.

Data collection was carried out over four months, from January to April 2025, through in-depth interviews, participant observation, and document analysis. During the fieldwork, the researchers observed various activities, including learning sessions, congregational prayers, student activities in the dormitory, and interactions between *Tuan Guru*, teachers, and students. Particular attention was given to practices that reflected pamali values, such as respect for teachers, obedience to unwritten norms, and leadership interactions within the pesantren environment.

To ensure data credibility, source, method, and time triangulation were applied. Data were analyzed using the interactive model of Miles and Huberman (1994), which consists of data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing. The analysis focused on identifying patterns and relationships between *pamali* culture and leadership practices, particularly in relation to leadership legitimacy, student discipline, compliance, and organizational cohesion within the pesantren community.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The findings of this study reveal how *pamali* culture functions as a socio-cultural framework that shapes Islamic educational leadership practices within Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) in South Kalimantan. Based on the analysis of field data, the study identified several key dimensions through which *pamali* values influence leadership behavior, decision-making processes, and the relationship between leaders, teachers, and students. The results further demonstrate that pamali culture is not merely understood as a traditional belief system but has been internalized as a source of ethical guidance, social regulation, and leadership character formation in the pesantren environment.

1. Results

a) Pamali Culture as a Value System in Pesantren Life

The findings indicate that pamali culture remains an influential component of everyday life within the pesantren community in South Kalimantan. The data demonstrate that although some forms of traditional expressions have undergone adaptation due to contemporary changes, the fundamental values embedded in pamali continue to shape students' attitudes, interactions, and behavioral expectations. Rather than being perceived as irrational beliefs, pamali is understood by participants as a moral framework that provides guidance regarding respect, self-control, discipline, and appropriate conduct in the educational environment.

The analysis of interview and observation data regarding the role of pamali as a shared value system is presented below:

Table 1: Interview and Observation Data About Pamali Culture as a Value System in Pesantren Life

Data Source	Evidence from Field Data	Emerging Category
Senior Student (SS-03)	*"Since entering the pesantren, we have been taught that certain behaviors are considered pamali because they reflect a lack of respect toward teachers and knowledge."*	Pamali as moral guidance
Teacher (T-02)	*"Many pamali values contain moral lessons and are used to guide students' attitudes and behavior in everyday life."*	Cultural transmission of ethical values
Teacher (T-06)	*"Students understand these values through daily practice even though they are not always written in formal regulations."*	Informal social learning
Observation of daily interactions	*Students greeted teachers respectfully, avoided interrupting lessons, and followed unwritten norms within the pesantren community.*	Internalization of behavioral norms

Based on the data above, three main patterns can be identified regarding how *pamali* functions as a shared value system in pesantren life. *First, pamali* operates as a moral interpretation framework that shapes students' understanding of appropriate

and inappropriate behavior. The interview findings show that students associate *pamali* with ethical considerations rather than merely traditional restrictions. Certain behaviors are avoided because students believe they may indicate a lack of respect toward teachers, knowledge, or the pesantren environment. This demonstrates that *pamali* provides moral meaning to daily actions and helps students interpret social expectations.

Second, the findings reveal that *pamali* is transmitted through informal cultural learning processes. Unlike institutional regulations that are explicitly written and enforced, many *pamali* values are learned through observation, interaction, and continuous participation in pesantren activities. The observation data indicate that students acquire these values by witnessing the behavior of senior students, teachers, and religious leaders. For example, respectful greetings, appropriate communication patterns, and attentive behavior during lessons were consistently practiced even though they were not formally included in written rules. This pattern shows that *pamali* is maintained through cultural reproduction within the pesantren community.

Third, pamali contributes to the maintenance of social order and collective identity. The data indicate that shared understanding of *pamali* creates behavioral consistency among students and strengthens social cohesion. Students recognize that maintaining proper conduct is not only an individual responsibility but also part of preserving the collective identity of the pesantren. The continuity of these practices demonstrates that *pamali* functions as a social mechanism that regulates relationships between students, teachers, and other members of the community.

The emergence of this pattern can be explained by the nature of pesantren as an educational institution that integrates knowledge transmission with character formation. In this context, *pamali* serves as a cultural bridge that connects local wisdom with Islamic ethical principles. The values contained in *pamali* reinforce concepts such as *adab*, respect (*ta'zim*), responsibility, and self-discipline, which are central elements of Islamic educational leadership. Therefore, *pamali* does not merely represent inherited cultural practices but functions as an indigenous educational resource that supports behavioral regulation, moral development, and institutional continuity within pesantren.

b) Pamali Culture in Shaping Students' Discipline and Compliance

The findings reveal that *pamali* culture plays an important role in shaping student discipline and compliance within pesantren communities in South Kalimantan. The data show that discipline among students is not developed solely through formal institutional regulations or supervisory mechanisms but is also

influenced by cultural values embedded in daily pesantren life. Participants perceived obedience to pesantren rules as part of a broader moral responsibility related to *adab*, respect, and the proper attitude of students in seeking knowledge. In this context, *pamali* functions as an internal cultural framework that guides students' behavior and strengthens self-regulation.

The results of the interview and observation analysis regarding the relationship between *pamali* culture and student discipline are summarized in the following categorization:

Table 2: Interview and Observation Data About Pamali Culture in Shaping Students' Discipline and Compliance

Data Source	Evidence from Field Data	Emerging Category
Teacher (T-04)	*"Students generally follow the rules because they believe discipline is part of good character and proper conduct."*	Discipline as moral character formation
Senior Student (SS-06)	*"When we ignore advice from teachers, we feel that we are neglecting an important responsibility as students."*	Internalized responsibility
Teacher (T-05)	*"Students remind each other because maintaining order is considered a shared obligation."*	Peer-based social control
Observation of daily activities	*Students attended congregational prayers and learning sessions on time, completed assigned duties, and maintained dormitory cleanliness with minimal supervision.*	Self-discipline and autonomous compliance

Based on the data above, three main patterns can be identified regarding the role of *pamali* culture in strengthening student discipline. *First, pamali* contributes to the transformation of discipline from an external obligation into an internal moral commitment. The interview data indicate that students do not perceive pesantren rules merely as institutional requirements but as part of their responsibility as learners. The understanding that certain behaviors are appropriate or inappropriate is developed through continuous cultural transmission, allowing students to regulate their own actions even without direct supervision.

Second, the findings demonstrate that *pamali* strengthens collective responsibility and peer-based discipline mechanisms. The observation data show that students actively remind one another regarding schedules, religious activities, and expected behavior. This indicates that discipline is maintained not only through the authority of teachers but also through interactions among students. The practice of reminding peers reflects the internalization of shared values, where maintaining pesantren order becomes a collective responsibility rather than an individual obligation.

Third, pamali functions as a cultural foundation for developing ethical compliance among students. The data reveal that students associate obedience with respect toward teachers, commitment to learning, and the preservation of pesantren traditions. The willingness of students to follow routines such as congregational prayers, learning sessions, and dormitory responsibilities with minimal supervision indicates that discipline has become part of their daily identity as pesantren members.

The emergence of this pattern can be explained by the nature of pesantren education, which emphasizes not only knowledge acquisition but also character development and moral cultivation. *Pamali* provides a cultural mechanism that connects formal educational expectations with local social values, making disciplinary practices more meaningful for students. Rather than relying primarily on punishment or external control, pesantren utilizes cultural internalization to encourage voluntary compliance. Therefore, *pamali* operates as an indigenous educational leadership instrument that supports the formation of disciplined, responsible, and ethically oriented students.

c) Pamali Culture as a Source of Tuan Guru's Leadership Legitimacy

The findings demonstrate that *pamali* culture contributes to strengthening the leadership legitimacy of the *Tuan Guru* within pesantren communities in South Kalimantan. The data indicate that the authority of *Tuan Guru* is not constructed merely through formal institutional structures but is deeply rooted in cultural values that shape perceptions of respect, obedience, and moral guidance. Participants consistently described *Tuan Guru* as a central figure who represents the integration between Islamic knowledge, ethical behavior, and local cultural values. Therefore, *pamali* functions as a cultural framework that reinforces the relationship between religious leaders and pesantren members.

The categorization of interview and observation data related to the relationship between pamali culture and *Tuan Guru*'s leadership legitimacy is presented below:

Table 3: Interview and Observation Data About Pamali Culture as a Source of Tuan Guru's Leadership Legitimacy

Data Source	Evidence from Field Data	Emerging Category
Pesantren Leader (TG-01)	*"Students respect the Tuan Guru because they see him as someone who embodies the values taught in the pesantren."*	Tuan Guru as a moral representation
Senior Student (SS-02)	*"We follow the advice of the Tuan Guru because we believe his guidance is important not only for education but also for life in general."*	Trust-based leadership relationship
Teacher (T-03)	*"Advice from the Tuan Guru is usually accepted because students understand that it is based on religious and cultural values."*	Cultural-based obedience
Observation during religious gatherings	*Students listened attentively, maintained respectful attitudes, and followed instructions without coercive mechanisms.*	Internalized respect and commitment

Based on the data above, three patterns can be identified regarding how *pamali* culture strengthens *Tuan Guru*'s leadership legitimacy. *First, pamali* reinforces the perception of *Tuan Guru* as a moral authority rather than merely an institutional leader. The interview findings reveal that students respect *Tuan Guru* not only because of his formal position but because he is perceived as a person who embodies the values promoted by the pesantren. This indicates that leadership acceptance is closely related to personal integrity, exemplary behavior, and the ability to represent cultural and religious ideals.

Second, the findings show that *pamali* creates a trust-based relationship between *Tuan Guru* and students. Unlike leadership relationships based solely on administrative control, interactions within the pesantren are characterized by emotional attachment, respect, and moral commitment. Students follow *Tuan Guru*'s advice because they interpret his guidance as a form of educational and spiritual direction. The observation data support this pattern, as students demonstrated attentive behavior during religious gatherings and responded positively to instructions without requiring strict supervision.

Third, pamali functions as a cultural mechanism for maintaining appropriate social relationships between leaders and followers. The data indicate that respect toward *Tuan Guru* is continuously reproduced through daily practices, including communication patterns, learning activities, and communal religious programs. Students' behavior reflects an internalized understanding that maintaining respectful relationships with religious leaders is part of preserving pesantren traditions. Consequently, leadership authority is strengthened through cultural acceptance rather than coercive power.

The emergence of this pattern can be explained by the interaction between Islamic leadership values and local cultural norms embedded in pesantren life. *Pamali* provides a social meaning that translates abstract concepts of adab, respect, and obedience into everyday practices. In the pesantren context, leadership legitimacy is developed through a combination of religious authority and cultural recognition, where *Tuan Guru*'s influence is sustained because community members perceive his leadership as consistent with both Islamic teachings and inherited cultural expectations. Thus, *pamali* operates as an indigenous leadership resource that strengthens relational leadership and supports the continuity of pesantren educational values.

d) Pamali Culture in Strengthening Organizational Loyalty and Social Cohesion

The findings reveal that pamali culture plays a significant role in strengthening social solidarity and collective identity within pesantren communities in South Kalimantan. Based on the analysis of interview and observation data, *pamali* was identified not merely as a set of traditional prohibitions but as a cultural mechanism that regulates social relationships, encourages mutual respect, and strengthens collective responsibility among pesantren members. The data indicate that the internalization of *pamali* values contributes to maintaining harmony between leaders, teachers, and students in daily educational interactions.

The pattern of findings from the interview and observation data is presented in the following categorization:

Table 4: Interview and Observation Data About Pamali Culture in Strengthening Organizational Loyalty and Social Cohesion

Data Source	Evidence from Field Data	Emerging Category
Community Leader (CL-01)	*"Pamali helps maintain harmony because everyone understands the importance of respecting others and*	*Pamali* as a social regulation mechanism

	preserving the traditions of the pesantren."	
Teacher (T-02)	*"Students learn that maintaining attitudes and speech is not only about rules but also about respecting the values inherited by the pesantren community."*	Formation of ethical behavior
Student (S-05)	*"We remind each other when someone acts in a way that does not reflect pesantren values because we feel responsible for maintaining the tradition."*	Collective responsibility
Observation during communal activities	Students actively participated in religious events, worked together, and encouraged peers to follow established norms.	Strengthening social cohesion

Based on the data above, it can be seen that there are three main patterns illustrating the role of *pamali* culture in pesantren social life. *First*, *pamali* functions as a shared social regulation system that guides community members in interacting with one another. The interview data demonstrate that *pamali* is understood as a collective agreement regarding appropriate and inappropriate behavior. Rather than being implemented through formal punishment, *pamali* operates through social awareness and cultural understanding, where individuals voluntarily adjust their behavior according to pesantren values.

Second, the findings show that *pamali* contributes to the formation of ethical leadership and communal behavior. The teachers and students described *pamali* as a value system that shapes attitudes such as respect, humility, discipline, and responsibility. The observation data support this finding by showing that students from different backgrounds were able to participate in collective activities with a strong awareness of institutional norms. This indicates that *pamali* has become embedded in the everyday practices of pesantren life and influences how individuals respond to social expectations.

Third, the data indicate that *pamali* strengthens collective identity and institutional cohesion. The practice of reminding one another to maintain pesantren traditions demonstrates that *pamali* is not only transmitted by leaders but also reproduced through interactions among community members. Students become active agents in preserving cultural values by encouraging their peers to behave according to shared norms. This pattern suggests that leadership influence in

pesantren extends beyond formal authority and is supported by cultural values that are collectively accepted by the community.

The emergence of this pattern can be explained by the close relationship between local wisdom and Islamic educational leadership practices in pesantren. *Pamali* provides a cultural foundation that complements Islamic moral teachings by translating abstract religious values into daily social practices. In the pesantren context, where education emphasizes character formation (*akhlak*) and communal living, *pamali* becomes an informal leadership instrument that helps leaders maintain social harmony, strengthen obedience, and preserve institutional traditions. Therefore, *pamali* functions not only as cultural heritage but also as an indigenous leadership resource that supports sustainable educational management.

2. Discussion

This study examined the role of *pamali* culture in shaping Islamic educational leadership within pesantren in South Kalimantan. The findings indicate that *pamali* functions not only as a cultural tradition inherited from the Banjar community but also as a value system that influences behavior, strengthens student discipline, reinforces the legitimacy of *Tuan Guru* leadership, and fosters organizational loyalty and social cohesion. These findings demonstrate that local cultural values continue to play a meaningful role in Islamic educational institutions despite increasing modernization and the growing influence of formal organizational systems.

One of the central findings of this study is that *pamali* serves as a framework for regulating behavior within the pesantren community. Students, teachers, and leaders consistently associated *pamali* with values such as respect, responsibility, self-control, and proper conduct. This suggests that *pamali* functions not merely as cultural heritage but as a living system of values that shapes everyday interactions and social expectations. Many unwritten norms continue to be followed not because they are formally enforced, but because they are collectively understood as part of the moral order of pesantren life.

This finding is consistent with Schein (2010) view that organizational culture is sustained through shared assumptions, beliefs, and values that guide members' behavior. Within the pesantren context, *pamali* functions as an informal cultural mechanism through which these values are transmitted and maintained across generations. The findings also support Fauzi et al. (2023), who found that local wisdom serves as a core element of organizational culture within Islamic educational institutions by strengthening institutional identity, ethical behavior, and collective commitment. Likewise, Prasetyo (2021) argues that strong organizational cultures contribute to institutional effectiveness because they provide members with shared behavioral standards and organizational goals. The present study extends these findings by

demonstrating that *pamali* remains an active cultural resource that regulates behavior and sustains organizational continuity within pesantren.

These findings are also consistent with Junaris et al. (2022), who found that organizational cultures rooted in local wisdom strengthen institutional commitment, trust, and collective responsibility among organizational members. This suggests that cultural values continue to function as important organizational resources that shape both individual behavior and collective institutional practices. Another important finding concerns the contribution of *pamali* to student discipline and compliance. The data reveal that students generally obey institutional rules not because of fear of punishment but because they perceive discipline as part of the ethics of seeking knowledge. Such a pattern indicates that compliance is supported largely by internalized values rather than external supervision. Consequently, discipline becomes a form of personal responsibility that is rooted in cultural and moral awareness.

This finding supports Prasetyo (2022) argument that organizational culture contributes significantly to institutional effectiveness by encouraging behavioral consistency and collective commitment. Similarly, Fauzi et al. (2023) demonstrate that local wisdom contributes to character formation by fostering responsibility, discipline, and ethical conduct among students. The present study complements these findings by showing that *pamali* functions as a cultural foundation that encourages voluntary compliance and strengthens the moral dimensions of discipline within pesantren communities.

The findings further reveal that *pamali* contributes significantly to the legitimacy of *Tuan Guru* leadership. Participants consistently described *Tuan Guru* as a figure whose authority derives not only from formal position or religious expertise but also from moral example and cultural expectations concerning respect toward religious leaders. Students frequently viewed obedience to *Tuan Guru* as part of their moral and spiritual obligations, indicating that leadership authority is deeply embedded within the cultural life of the pesantren.

This finding aligns with Weber (1968) concept of charismatic authority and House's (1976) theory of charismatic leadership, both of which emphasize the importance of followers' trust and perceptions of credibility in sustaining leadership influence. However, the findings of this study suggest that leadership legitimacy within pesantren cannot be explained solely by charisma or religious authority. Cultural values embedded in *pamali* provide an additional source of legitimacy by shaping how authority is interpreted, accepted, and practiced within the community. This observation supports (Aisyah et al., 2022), who found that the authority of religious leaders is strengthened

through organizational cultures that cultivate trust and respect. Similarly, Najiburrahman (2024) argues that leadership rooted in local wisdom tends to strengthen relationships between leaders and members of educational communities. The present study extends these findings by demonstrating that *pamali* functions as a cultural foundation through which leadership legitimacy is continuously reinforced in everyday social interactions. This finding is also in line with Walid (2024), who argues that educational leadership becomes more effective when cultural values and local traditions are integrated into organizational practices. In this regard, pamali contributes to the formation of leadership legitimacy by providing a shared cultural framework through which authority is understood and accepted.

Another notable finding is the contribution of *pamali* to organizational loyalty and social cohesion. Shared beliefs regarding appropriate behavior encourage cooperation, mutual respect, and collective responsibility among members of the pesantren community. Students demonstrated a strong sense of belonging, actively participated in communal activities, and showed commitment to preserving pesantren traditions. These patterns indicate that *pamali* functions not only as an individual moral guide but also as a social resource that strengthens collective identity and institutional solidarity. Similar findings were reported by Nur (2024), who found that leadership and pesantren culture significantly influence student loyalty and commitment to institutional values (Powley & Cameron, 2020; Nu'man, 2023). The present study strengthens this argument by showing that loyalty is reinforced not only through leadership practices but also through culturally embedded values that are continuously reproduced within everyday interactions.

These findings support Cameron and Quinn (2011) argument that organizational culture plays a critical role in fostering commitment and maintaining organizational effectiveness. They also reinforce the findings of Fauzi et al. (2023) and Prasetyo (2022), who emphasize that local wisdom contributes to institutional identity, social cohesion, and organizational sustainability within Islamic educational institutions (Prasetyo & Fadhilah, 2022; Prasetyo & Anwar, 2021). However, the present study provides a more specific explanation by identifying *pamali* as a cultural mechanism through which organizational loyalty and social cohesion are maintained and reproduced within pesantren communities (Qutni & Fuady, 2024).

This study contributes to the literature on Islamic educational leadership by demonstrating that leadership effectiveness is influenced not only by managerial competence, formal authority, or charismatic leadership but also by local cultural values embedded within the community. The findings suggest that local wisdom should be understood as an important component of organizational culture and leadership

legitimacy. This perspective broadens existing discussions on Islamic educational leadership by highlighting the role of indigenous cultural systems in shaping organizational behavior, educational practices, and institutional effectiveness.

The main contribution of this study lies in its effort to connect two areas that are often examined separately, namely local wisdom and Islamic educational leadership. Previous studies have generally discussed *pamali* as a cultural tradition, while leadership studies have focused on authority, management, and leadership styles. By bringing these perspectives together, this study demonstrates that local cultural values can function as strategic organizational resources that support leadership legitimacy, discipline, organizational commitment, and institutional sustainability. The findings also have broader relevance beyond the pesantren examined in this study. Educational institutions operating within strong cultural traditions may experience similar dynamics in which shared values contribute to leadership legitimacy, behavioral regulation, and organizational cohesion. Therefore, understanding the relationship between local wisdom and educational leadership may provide valuable insights for educational institutions in different cultural and social contexts.

The findings suggest that educational leaders should recognize local wisdom not merely as cultural heritage but as an institutional asset. When integrated into educational practices, local cultural values can strengthen discipline, trust, organizational commitment, and institutional identity. This is particularly relevant for Islamic educational institutions seeking to maintain cultural relevance while responding to contemporary educational challenges. This finding supports Thohir and Baharun (2024), who emphasize that the integration of local wisdom and leadership practices contributes to institutional reputation, community trust, and the long-term sustainability of pesantren. Therefore, preserving local cultural values can become an important strategy for strengthening educational institutions in contemporary contexts.

Recent studies have also suggested that the integration of local wisdom into educational management contributes to institutional adaptability and sustainability in contemporary Islamic educational institutions (Albariki, 2024; Kasman, 2025; Wardi et al., 2023). The present findings provide additional evidence that cultural values can serve as strategic resources for maintaining organizational continuity while responding to social and educational change. This study was conducted in a limited number of pesantren in South Kalimantan, where Banjar cultural traditions remain relatively strong. Consequently, the findings may not fully represent leadership practices in other cultural settings. Future studies could employ comparative approaches across regions and

educational institutions to explore how different forms of local wisdom influence leadership practices and organizational culture within Islamic education.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that *pamali* culture continues to play an important role in shaping leadership practices and organizational life within pesantren in South Kalimantan. Rather than functioning merely as a cultural tradition inherited from the Banjar community, *pamali* operates as a value system that guides behavior, regulates social relationships, and influences educational practices within the pesantren environment. The findings reveal that the values embedded in *pamali* contribute to the development of student discipline and compliance, strengthen the legitimacy of *Tuan Guru* leadership, and foster organizational loyalty and social cohesion among members of the pesantren community.

The study further indicates that leadership effectiveness in pesantren is not determined solely by formal authority, managerial competence, or religious influence. Instead, leadership is reinforced by culturally embedded values and shared beliefs that shape how authority is understood, accepted, and practiced. In this regard, *pamali* functions as an important cultural mechanism that supports organizational stability, strengthens relationships between leaders and followers, and contributes to the continuity of pesantren traditions.

The result of study contributes to the growing literature on Islamic educational leadership by highlighting the role of local wisdom as an integral component of organizational culture and leadership legitimacy. The findings expand existing discussions on Islamic educational leadership by demonstrating that local belief systems and cultural values can serve as important resources for sustaining leadership effectiveness, organizational commitment, and institutional continuity. The study also reinforces contemporary discussions emphasizing the strategic role of local wisdom in strengthening organizational culture within Islamic educational institutions. In this regard, cultural values should not be viewed merely as inherited traditions but as important institutional resources that support educational effectiveness, social cohesion, and long-term sustainability.

The findings also suggest that educational leaders should recognize and utilize local cultural values as strategic assets for strengthening discipline, trust, organizational commitment, and institutional identity. The integration of local wisdom into educational practices may help Islamic educational institutions maintain cultural relevance while responding to contemporary educational challenges. This study is limited to pesantren in South Kalimantan, where Banjar cultural traditions remain relatively strong. Consequently, the findings may not fully represent leadership practices in other cultural contexts. Future research may explore similar cultural mechanisms in different regions or educational

settings and employ comparative approaches to examine how local wisdom influences leadership practices, organizational culture, and institutional sustainability across diverse educational environments.

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