

## The Implication of Kyai's Leadership as Regent (Bupati) Toward Regional Development Policy

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**Abstract-** From its beginning, this research is believed to offer contribution to local social and political development in form of a knowledge, as its result shows findings about a leadership shifts from *kyai* into *umara'* in local political dynamics and democracy system. Secondly, these findings about leadership concepts are very valuable for *kyai* who held a structural position. Therefore, this research is conducted in a location where most of the regencies are led by *kyai* as in Sumenep and Pamekasan regency in Madura island. Madura island is known for its paternalistic character where religious leaders play influential position as a role model in society. The result of this research indicates that, first, there's a leadership shift from traditional into rational leadership in bureaucratic environment, whereas the bureaucracy itself were also transformed into a more traditional one as they held the recitation of *kitab kuning* and *istighosah* in town hall funded by Regional Budgets. The leadership of *kyai* as regent is determined by three aspect: its cultural and structural strength and its adaptability into a rational bureaucratic environment. The confirmation to the concept of leadership. Max Weber uses three types of leadership paradigm that includes traditional leadership, charismatic and also rational leadership. So does this leadership shift of *kyai* into politics. *Kyais* enter the political structure, so *kyais* must abide by prevailing values in this type of rational political leadership such as democracy and political technical procedures. Democracy upholds the principle of transparency and direct participation of the community. *Kyais* are facing two choices: to follow the traditional religious values or the values of democracy. What will happen next is not the the *kyai's* choice.

**Key words:** leadership, regent, *kyai*, policy, development.

### Introduction

In the democracy system of local politics, there exists a contact between pesantren's *kyai* and politics which then place *kyai* as an elite figure in its position as regional leader and as government officials, and this is an interesting new topic for a research. The emergence of pesantren's *kyai* as *umara'* or government officials evoked not only critics but also hopes. On one hand, the emergence of pesantren's *kyai* as *umara'* is seen as an obstacle toward democratization and development, due to *ulema's* feudalistic-conservative culture framed in form a religion and also its individual personal quality that hardly understand bureaucratic world and government so a *kyai* is commonly considered incapable of leading governmental organizations. On the other hand as pesantren's *kyai* come forth to become *umara'* hopes and positive outlooks emerge. The mobility and religious knowledge of a *kyai* figure is expected to brought changes to government organizations considered unsuccessful and disappointing.

From literature research conducted in this study, an idea emerges that there are *kyais* who become regent such as Drs. KH. Busro Karim, M.Si in Sumenep regency and Drs. KH. Kholilurrahman, M.Si in Pamekasa regency. Prior to leading Sumenep as a regent, KH. Busro Karim is an educator in Pesantren Al- Karimiyah Beraji in Sumenep. Structural organization experience both in social and political context provides positive values for *kyai's* political career. Busro headed the DPRD (Regional People's Representative Assembly) in Sumenep regency for two years in a row. He also led Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa or PKB (National Awakening Party) and at the same time held office as the head of Tanfidz Nahdhaltul Ulama in Sumenep. These facts indicate that his political experience as a senator and his managerial capability of holding the highest command in DPRD are

the most essential political capital that clear away doubts regarding his adaptability and his leadership pattern.

Similarly, Pamekasan regent Kholilurrahman has many experiences in social organization such as Nahdlatul Ulama and from 2004 – 2009 held the office as a member of East Java Regional Assembly (DPRD) from National Awakening Party.

Problems discussed in this research are (i) how a kyai who lived in a pesantren world with its traditional and salaf culture manages to implement leadership for regional development, a more rational world with strict bureaucratic regulations. What brought these kyais to enter a state world full of formal legality. (ii) How does a kyai decide a regional development policy as a regent? (iii) Which model of regent do they play, and how do they adapt, a kyai who turn into a regent or otherwise?

## **Materials and Method**

This qualitative research is conducted using phenomenology approach model in Sumenep and Pamekasan regency from March until June 2011. The reason why this research study kyai as regent is not to compare but to enrich the data. This phenomenology research tries to explain or reveal the meaning of concept or experience phenomenon based on the awareness of several individuals. This research is conducted in its nature where there's no limitation to interpret or understand those phenomenon. Data taken in this research are personal confession of each kyai as regent regarding their leadership, taken by interview. The result from explanation and confession of each regent about their leadership will then be confirmed with appraisal from subordinates or local government officials and citizens who directly interact and know the regent personally. The confirmation of these data is conducted with several informants in order to assess regent's leadership based on facts and figures as experienced by government officials and citizens.

## **Result**

### **Local Bureaucracy and Kyai Regent**

After winning the direct election as Sumenep regent in 2010, Busro Karim still plays his role to serve as both kyai and also bureaucrats. Sumenep case is specifically interesting and thus will be discussed here. Albeit holding position as a regent of Sumenep, he does not leave his education activity by keep teaching in his pesantren. This type of placement obscures even dissolve religio-cultural nuances into formal-political one. This part will alternately discuss further about how the dynamic of bureaucracy with kyai in it, for specific context in Sumenep and Pamekasan.

Motivation of kyais into entering politics—something considered entirely different from the initial environment where subject exists—is the first thing to question about in order to provide choices for researchers to locate its initial position and create a map of political dynamics between kyai and bureaucracy. Sumenep's regent, Busyro Karim commented on the appraisal and idealization and relation between kyai and political status as a regent, as follows:

“...becoming a regent is not a matter of kyai regent or not, but capable of not. That's it... If a soldier is smart, he/she can become a regent. But if he/she is dumb, should he/she be a regent(?)”<sup>1</sup>

It's now clear how political rationality build by a religious leaders. The statement by Sumenep regent that says that qualifications as a main factor in the matter of political contestation should be underlined. Qualifications as a determinant of ability for a candidate of leader in order to be able to lead a regency is an important input to redefine leadership rationality based on religion. To date, this type of rationality is considered as “different”—to avoid the word “contradict”—than Islamic tradition in pesantren. Political contestation is not only unrecognized but also extremely eluded as it practices competition which means removal of supposedly undebatable kyai's legitimacy.

This rationality seems to drive kyai's understanding to prepare a shift and additional leadership status from pesantren leader, added or shifted into leadership in the context of government administration, something entirely different qualitatively than the first type of leadership.

The data researchers took through interview with Sumenep regent suggests a unique political perception about the role and function or position of a regent by the regent himself. Regent political

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<sup>1</sup> Interview with Busyro Karim, 19 April 2013 in Ponpes Al-Karimiyah Bareji Gapura Sumenep Madura.

perception is viewed solely as a manager, which in this case indicates an exclusion in terms of political dimension of a managerial position itself.

This, it can be said that the problems and challenges faced by regents are of administrative matters, as indicated by the term manager, while leadership matters in terms of managing crossing complexity of interests, is set aside. It can also be said that managerial position means there's no longer exclusivity of regent's position for several groups so anyone, including kyai, actually has the same chance as long as this managerial function run properly.

The perception of regent as its managerial function also suggests similarity between government jobs with pesantren jobs, where both rely on managerial principle and ability to control as a manager. In other words, there's no distinction of manager from one place to another. Time and place (*locus-tempus*) don't count as a serious matter since both has basically the same in managerial context.

The most important point is the confluence of political awareness with political demands. It's obvious now where this political awareness came from and into kyai's mind who are also a regent.

Structural experience Busyro Karim has as Sumenep regent is the head of DPRD for two terms (1999-2004 dan 2004-2009). It is evident that political experience as senator and his managerial ability as the highest commander of representative house are the main political capital so that adaptability and other doubts over his leadership will certainly be eliminated. As researcher asked question to kyai Busro, whether he has prepared himself well before becoming a regent,

"... true indeed, that I study a master of Public Administration because I believe that I will become a regent in the next period, and everything is in line with my plan because I was the head of Tanfidziah for Branch Representative Assembly for National Awakening Party in Sumenep. Thanks to God, two periods of working in DPRD is the most precious experience I had."<sup>2</sup>

It's also evident a full awareness to slowly shift personification of pesantren in kyai's image. This problem is mostly experienced by pesantren type of management as one of social institution that traditionally relies its image mechanism and performance only on one or several figures. Weberian typology of charismatic leadership is comparably match to this case. Cultural implication of this type is the despotism and overwhelming obedience from santri (students studying religion) and people who surrounds the aforementioned kyai. If it's transformed from cultural to political condition, these despotism and political obedience will also be visible during political momentum.

Obedience prevails when mobilization of voice practically feasible through social status and public's religiosity. Charisma glows from a figure of kyai is transformed from cultural-socio-religious charisma in a combination of internal and external internal interaction in pesantren, into political charisme with every political preferences practiced by kyai, bringing domino effect into public to follow preferences or political choices similar to kyai.

Regional, legislative and executive elections indicate notion that kyai is a strong determinant who plays two important figures: as charismatic figure and political machine leader figure altogether. Therefore, there's no need to explore much too far to provide data to that postulates, but to see how these two important phenomenons in Sumenep and Pamekasan where both led by kyai regent.

Thus, it is important to find charismatic modus articulation as social capital in a totally different context from its initial: bureaucracy. Because there's a transformation process not only in its shapes and forms but also a more rational transformation of paradigm than traditional and conservatism that encompasses charismatic leadership. Sumenep regent replies, as follows:

"...pesantren culture can not be brought into bureaucracy, but its spirit should be implemented. In pesantren, rationalty is also a demand. It is now the time. There was the time when in pesantren kyai is the curriculum, now it's not."

Pesantren culture has a paternalistic pattern of tradition where kyai's central role is absolute. Kyai makes the rules should be followed by and practiced wholeheartedly by every students and surrounding community (client-patron relations). Differently when a kyai turn into a bureaucrat, he/she would have to follow regulations agreed by central, provincial or local government.

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<sup>2</sup> Interview with Busyro Karim, tanggal 19 April 2013 in Ponpes Al-Karimiyah Bareji Gapura

In a pesantren, kyai is the most essential element.<sup>3</sup> He is a centralistic figure, authoritative and the centre of every policy. Kyai is the sole absolute leader. Kyai's existence in a pesantren is comparable to a heart for human body, where ustadz and pesantren caretaker can make a decision only if it is accepted by the kyai.

Kyai is considered to own something nobody else around him have. That's why, there's a rumour about his magical power.<sup>4</sup> In reality, it is a common sense that kyai in traditional pesantren are very fond of kyai figure as a central figure for every decision. Nasab factor is also strong so that kyai's son will continue to inherit the leadership of pesantren without any compromise or protests from pesantren community.

"... There was a time when I do unannounced inspection in Regional Hospital. Thanks to God that Sumenep is the only place in Madura to have dialysis equipment. For less fortunate patients unable to afford third class ward in hospital, every expense won't be charged, and it is regulated under regency regulation. I talked to a dialysis patient, and I asked further detail that he/she confessed had come from Sampang, while this free facility is meant for local residents because it's taken from Regional Budgets, I called the hospital director to question this problem, and it turned out that the patient managed to make a residence ID in Sumenep in order to be freed from any charge. I asked again to the director, "is there any other way to help? The doctor answered,..."dialysis is the only way Sir, if he/she doesn't then she/he won't be able to survive. Now my heart is moved as a bureaucrat or as a kyai to protect my people. Then I said..."well, if that's so, just continue."

Implementation of rationality in the management of pesantren avoid anyone from conservative-traditional shadow highly associated with pesantren and its kyai. Adoption of rationality will have to be distinguished from secularity, not only because both has different fundamentals (episteme), but also because most current misunderstanding. A misguided view saying that rationality have no place in pesantren tradition is debatable because ratio, in religious dogmatic perspective, works as a cognitive filter and is required to obtain nobility here and after.

The abovementioned regent's statement indicates integration between rationality and traditionality in pesantren due to recent demands. It means that rationality can no longer be seen under the monopoly of bureaucratic and political terms in general, but also under institution regarded as conservative and traditional like pesantren. Therefore, there should be a reinterpretation that shifting and adaptation process from ulama into umara' is not a movement process from one world to an entirely different world in a mutually exclusive way. Pesantren or religious institution and political world can no longer be seen as two separable or even contradictory entities. Because as suggested by this research, rationality practiced in pesantren management also prevails practically in politics. Both entities thus, politically and religiously, are not separable because there are significant pieces to explain adaptation process itself.

This matter is well understood by Sumenep regent in order to tackle failure in adaptation mostly caused by inability to redefine its traditional status and ability to create combination of traditional leadership model in a new rational bureaucratic environment.

These traditional culture brought into political world can also be seen as one of variables in the dynamic of ulama shifting into umara' political leadership context. Changes and modifications political situation as a result of the entering cultures and traditions is an implication most visible in the eye of researcher. In Sumenep, it's obvious that there's a shift in political bureaucratic culture when religious ritual attributes is included and formalized into governmental environment. The impact of leadership by itself is important because this is the reason why there's a cultural change in bureaucratic environment he/she led/is leading.

Cultural articulation in political is also most visible through the implementation of Islamic values—and/or pesantren—into bureaucratic rational. In the context of Sumenep, in before starting a meeting with government elites, Sumenep regent opens the meeting and leads a prayer, something any bureaucracy would consider as a unique politico-cultural situation—to avoid saying the only one.

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<sup>3</sup> Zamaksari Dhofier, Tradisi pesantren: studi tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai ( Jakarta. LP3ES. Hal 55

<sup>4</sup> Abdurrahman Wahid. Bunga Rampai Pesantren. (CV. Dharma Bakti) Hal. 20

Moreover, the most interesting articulation is the absence of modification in teaching schedule in pesantren.

As commonly known, Busyro as an educator in pesantren still maintains his teaching activity in pesantren within the same schedule as it is prior to his inauguration as a regent. It would be appropriate to modify his schedule here and there due to bureaucratic concern.

Conflicts in the context of regional election. As explained by Pamekasan regent, political tension and political friction among interest groups in Pamekasan regional election successfully pressed by kyai network. It's evident how kyai becomes a very important variable in relation with political conflict resolution.

Similar thing happened to Sumenep regent. Head of general affairs of Sumenep government explained Busyro's historical track record during his term as the head of DPRD. Of all 45 members of the house in assembly building where 90 % or more of them are kyais, Busyro's leadership in pushing down political ego and member's cultural influence amazes and startled everyone.

### **Consolidation dan Power Sharing**

After being elected as a regent for Pamekasan regency, Kholilurrahman builds consolidation to place and provide opportunity for several parties to sit in a political position. This tendency can normally be classified as natural for political leaders in order to accommodate jobs for the sake of political interest and local factions.

A negative response that disclaims these interests is inevitable, especially if it's related to supports and legitimacy required by local leaders to provide stability for government from horizontal and vertical conflicts, and shocks. The size of conflictual nuances contains potential and risk that would shake government's stability, interrupting policies and programs, and its turn will disrupt political performance attempted by leaders for his/her people for the sake of another interest, that is a political image.

It 's a rational political system in power sharing interest that makes and implements obligation for political accommodation. This type of rationality controls actions or political phenomenon in bureaucratic environment to obey the rule of political accommodation. Now the problem is, in both Pamekasan and Sumenep regency, is there any similar phenomenon that requires both or one of them to implement political accommodation strategy? And if yes, is this political action related to its leadership status as a kyai?

Researcher is trying to pay more attention firstly to Pamekasan. Kholilurrahman as Pamekasan regent has a background of political support from more than one political party. This type of political coalition clearly implies that there will be power sharing among coalesced factions in the dynamic of politics. This coalition initially was born from demands for heterogeneity of expectations in public demography. In a society experiencing transition from a traditional into a modern one, there will be clashes from many aspects such as social, cultural, economy, politics and also clashes of interests among different political constituents in the society. It should be noted that the beginning and demands for political coalition comes from transition and transposition of traditional into a modern condition.<sup>5</sup>

These clashes will create bigger impact toward life order in a heterogenous political society compared to a homogenous one. These clashes will trigger a process known as political process where every interest group in a society will make any possible effort to put their influence toward policies taken by the government and try to influence the existing social life order.

A weak political institutionalization occurred in a changing society in order to face possible clashes of interest will trigger a stability crisis toward social order. Therefore, a method or means is required to accelerate a balance of ongoing political process in this changing society. The idea of political party and political coalition mechanism to maintain a balance of political interests and political stability in a heterogenous society is then considered appropriate.

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<sup>5</sup> Ahmad Qisa'i, Koalisi Politik: Refleksi Politik Masyarakat Heterogen, *Makalah yang disampaikan dalam Seminar sehari PPI India di New Delhi Bulan Oktober 2004, tidak diterbitkan.*

## **Mutation sebagai Policy Product**

The implementation of coalition also means that the law of demand and offer and agreed political contract will prevail. Assignment of strategic position to a friend the same coalition ship is usually regarded as a part of paying back their support in consolidating coalition. Clear indication of consolidation and position sharing is well recorded in regional election in several regencies. These regional elections cause changes in the position and scheme of regional government officials. After inauguration, regents make some mutation, whether it is a major or minor one, to provide spaces for his/her coalition partner.

It's in that position that researcher witnesses a vertical conflicts among regional secretary, Dr. Djamaluddin Karim, with elected regent in Pamekasan case prior to Kholilurrahman. Without any rational reason, Dr. Djamaluddin was mutated. Djamaluddin then register this case into lawsuit and sue Kholilurrahman in State Administrative Court under Kholilurrahman's policy to fire him in 2009.<sup>6</sup>

A standard reason for a mutation at the early stage of regent leadership after inauguration, aside from unsatisfactory performance, is also to push their goals closer and to manifest their vision and mission, work program, or promises they made during campaign. Regents believe that one of they key role toward success to realize their programs is through mutation.

In a little normative way, it can be said here that the prioritization of mutation without rational consideration would be very susceptible in a good governance. If political matters is dominating, it can be assured that a government will have to payback for their rational bureaucratic management because such mutations will also ruin the efficiency of accepted political system and procedure.

Political perception and observation of political environment surrounding the power of a regent should also be elaborated further to complete the analysis regarding kyai's adaptation during his terms. One aspect to be analyzed is about perceptions of political observer and politians. These competitors and observers from other parties will provide a set of opinions about how the kyai performs to adapt in a political environment.

A source, who's also an party elite from Development and Unity Part (PPP) Pamekasan criticizes the regents inadaptability. Nawawi, head of PPP in Pamekasan regency, states that the elected regent is lacking an ability to accommodate pesantren's alumni. There's still a gap among alumni. His strength to have a dialogue is still lack of realization.

It means, many alumni of various other pesantren has not yet been embraced and accommodated. An informant explains that this failure has create a gap between several pesantren community and the kyai regent.

The core circle of regent should not merely be seen from his family but also his staff and personal assistant. Knowledge regarding staff and personal assistant is very essential because this is where researcher can see deeper about how the adaptation process happen. Replacement of previous staff to a new one, his/her new authority and dutu, and his/her background and similarities between staff and regent provides a valuable information for researcher about how adaptability toward status shift will have direct correlation with support supplies from parties within the same (socio-cultural) background.

Researcher's observation proves that a tendency of elected kyai to list a religio-cultural prerequisites can be seen as a primordial consideration for his closest staffs. For example, prerequisite to be from Islamic education background in pesantren and from the similar pesantren as regent, is implemented as the most important recruitment system and main consideration before making decision of whoever will be chosen as staffs. As predicted, researcher found that most regent's personal assistant was once a student in Tebuireng pesantren in Jombang.

The identity of Tebuireng pesantren is correlated to Kyai Busyro's wife who was once also a student in the same pesantren. Consolidation by using closest circle taken from sentiment of studying unders the same education instituin is taken into account as a strategy to create a most possible comfortability, aside from creating a track to ease consolidation in a new environment.

Another example is the selection of Bambang Irianto as head of general affairs division in Sumenep Regional Government, who was a former staff in secretariat of DPRD Sumenep ( as head of

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<sup>6</sup> <http://regional.kompas.com/read/2009/11/12/10232896/sekda.nonaktif.ptun-kan.bupati.pamekasan> diakses terakhir pada 18 Juni 2013.

public relations division) for two years during Busyro's term as head of DPRD. Bambang held the position for ten years from 2001 to 2011, along with Busyro's term as the head. Similar thing happened to Kyai Kholil. So, there are two type of consolidations, a primordial consolidation based on the same pesantren and also consolidation of those intensively involved with kyai during the previous positions.

Researches also wish to find out how the government performs and regent's managerial, regardless of educational background, from a relatively criticizing viewpoint. It is also important to note about how the perception of political elites in assessing regent's work performance. Take this statement from Dewi Khalifah (Busyro's competitor during election), for example, as follows:

"... those who lead Sumenep are actually from PDIP. For example, the decision about meeting regarding regional regulation in Jakarta is in Jakarta, not Sumenep. It shows that local leaders can be controlled from the outside by another groups.

Another critic also hit Pamekasan regent, Kyai Kholilurrahman. According to an informant sit in Mustasyar NU in Pamekasan, there's a change during shifting process from kyai into regent in Kholilurrahman's personality. One noticed by this informant is there's no longer compensation or donation for children, social or any other less fortunate institution. For him, this is a very sensitive matter since it shows a relatively drastic change and it implies that there's a changing attitude and habits from what has been considered as natural because of its frequency. Therefore, even the simplest observations can fall into a conclusion that there has been a deviation due to violation of regularity that has never been done before.

This kind of criticism is at first natural since it comes from former political competitor during Sumenep regional election. But then, his analysis regarding regent's inadaptability to control his own regency is worth to note. Weaknesses in the process of bureaucratic political adaptation and weaknesses in political bargaining aspects is regarded as the main cause. This assumption is debatable—and it will be fought back by researcher analysis in another part; but at least from this viewpoint, researcher obtains a description about regent's political weaknesses due to its low ability to consolidate power and create a stronger bargaining position in from of his political partner and oppositions.

### **"Rational" Policy of Kyai Regent**

This part will confirm about political policies made by kyai regent, and its impact and kyai-ness sentiment used in order to implement these policies. Breakthrough policies which has brought public appreciation for both regent during their terms will become materials for researcher's observation. Here's an example of statement from head of general affairs, Sumenep Regional Government, Bambang Irianto about Busyro's achievements:

"...There are also pretty amazing achievement during Kyai Busyro's leadership, a judicial review. At that time, if I'm not mistaken, there's a regulation that shared benefits from gas and petroleum would be bigger for provincial government. That should be here. Then Kyai Busyro filed a judicial review to constitutional court and thank God we win. That's because DPR's initiatives, bureaucratic system at the moment was not supporting. We started from 2007 but then we deal in 2010. If I'm not mistaken, 67 % are from Jawa Timur and 23 % are from Sumenep. Of course it's not balance, now it's the other way around. Because this is purely for people's interest, especially gas and petroleum. So this is an achievement because so far gas and petroleum are always controlled by central (government). And it finally turn gas petroleum income for Sumenep.

Compare this statement to what has also been achieved by Kyai Kholil that it was reported specially by a national electronic mass media about its free health service.

I already met B Commission here, and they will initiate that. We will have to allocate BAK at least 1 billion, but that would be very few. I hope that I can run the election again and win, and in the end of my term, Pamekasan will no longer be left behind started from health service, and then in 2012 we will maximize the distribution of business capital.

However, researcher found originality that came purely from kyai's idea since before his inauguration as a regent and prior to his past political campaign. Those two statements are only samples of policies come from kyai's initiative himself.

Result of the interview shows originality of regent policies's initiative. As it has been discussed previously about the capability of regent from educational viewpoint, now we will see how was kyai's political performance. Researcher analyzes that, as in other regencies, there are indeed a lot of repeated policies from previous development program—as evident in report books from both regencies' Board of Regional Planning and Development.

At a glance, it's difficult not to say that kyai's policies does not represent his kyai-ness. Kyai's status stops working as a symbol. As this symbol remains in people's and pesantren's perception, kyai is developing another non-religious symbols because the main policy and people's expectation in each areas under the legacy of regencies' government are not expectations that can merely be solved from a perspective and through a religious solution—as kyai would traditionally do when someone came to ask for a help. In other words, kyai has been awared of public issues used as materials for his political campaign, the main menu of policies he would “sell” and contested with another offers of policies from his political competitor. Meanwhile, his status as a kyai has a weak position, if only there's no early formulation for real policy offers with voters. Kyai-ness of someone is feared not to bring benefits and interets from people's appreciation as political constituents. It's the kyai's political performance in latter days that will confirm policy offers at an early stage of political campaign.

Points that researcher is trying to achieve here is to prove that kyai has set his “rational policy” as a priority from its beginning, even during campaign period when kyai legal-formally is not yet a regent. This rational policy at its turn strengthen the view in kyai's mind that from the beginning there's a basic thoughts regarding rationality and retional leadership, that enables him to produce creative ideas that sounds really secular, non-traditional, logic and also depict his very well understanding in political context. Public issues is understood and inventarized widely as a part of problems that needs to be solved. Understanding and awareness about public issues will then become the key for regent's first adaptation before legally placed as a regent.

These policies could then be easily classified as rational policies, at its simplest and most flexibile definition, that is policies born from rational awareness as a candidate of political leader and interpreted and practiced when the kyai obtained his political legitimacy as a regent.

## **Conclusion**

In their viewpoint, both Sumenep and Pamekasan regent, political world is unseparable from religion especially pesantren. During their position as kyai especially when they led socio-religious organizations like NU, they got used to politics and moreover when they join National Awakening Party (PKB). It means, integration of politics and pesantren world has occurred for quite a long time. The difference is that before becoming a regent, they can still act and decide freely and independently based on their autonomy in kyai-ness culture. This is why a kyai who becomes a regent sociologically doesn't need much adaptation to do except administrative and protocols adaptation. This also the reason why kyai-ness nuance in pesantren, deliberately or not, are often found and expressed in regional government.

Besides that, colors and nuances of pesantren in the government both in Sumenep and Pamekasan is indeed something inevitable by those two regent because both consider their duty as a regent as temporary; while their task as a kyai in pesantren is for life. That's why aside from fulfilling their duty as regent, both regent still spare sometime to teach and learn in pesantren as scheduled.

Kyai is also used as a guarantee of social status that would reduce the risk of conflict in the context of regional election. As explained by Pamekasan regent, a high political tension and friction among political groups in Pamekasan regional election was successfully pushed by network of kyai. Therefore, it is evident how kyai can become an important variable in the matter of political conflict resolution.

Capitals out of political capacity such as intellegence, is understood very well. This awareness is manifested through levels of education, not only to complete the prerequisite regarding image during election, but also is realized to have a very significant effect to sharpen the analysis and habitus of a riping political knowlegde. This awareness is suitable and completes common weaknesses of them with no experience or at least, very few experience in the past.



Credentials in form of a title is indeed help to make up a status and at its turn helps creating image, but in the context of adaptation, a relatively higher education is certainly required to accelerate the adaptation process.

Both kyai regent in Sumenep and Bangkalan have finished their education to master's degree, and to continue to doctoral degree is a part of adaptation process. Education in higher education institution within a study remotely related to Islamic education, administrative science, should be underlined because that's where researcher wants to compare this science with religious education traditionally known as pesantren. Although now there are pesantrens that also use the word "modern" management and taught less conventional subjects as complements to religious subjects, but it's indeed important to see the motivation under choices made by these two regent to continue their further study.

The awareness to provide himself through education that would solve problems they will face proved that kyai's awareness has grown ver rationally following bureacratic work pattern. It means that the government's responsibility is fully understood won't be solved through current available capitals (pesantren background), but also educational capital based on the responsibilities.

Rationality practiced in pesantren management indeed has helped to rationalize political practices. Therefore, both entities are equal whether in religious or political, and it's not separate from one another but there are significant combined pieces to explain adaptation process in order to overcome adaptation failure due tue inability to redefine traditional status and ability to create combination between traditional leadership in a new rational bureaucratic environment.

Cultures popularly known to exists in pesantren's pattern of paternalistic tradition is kyai's absolute central role. Kyai made the rules obeyed and ran wholeheartedly by every students and surrounding residents (patron client relations). Differently when kyai became a bureaucrat, he will have to obey the rules made by governments from each level (local, provincial and national).

Cultural articulation in politics can clearly be seen in the implementation of Islamic values—and/or pesantren—into rational bureaucracy. In the context of kyai regent in both regencies, kyai will open a meeting and lead a prayer, something another type of bureaucracy will classified as unique politico-cultural situation-to avoid saying the only. Moreover, the most interesting articulation is in the absence of teaching schedule in pesantren.

As educators in pesantren, kyai regent still maintains their teaching activity in pesantren without any modification to its schedule eventhough there's a changes in their status into umara' that supposedly requires modification in their teaching schedule due to bureaucracy matters.

Max Weber postulates leadership concept using three paradigm of leadership type: traditional, charismatic and rational leadership. There are oftentimes appears some argumentation that tends to be dichotomic when reading the phenomenon of kyai shift into politics. This dichotomic argument can be summarized as follows. First, it is assumed that when a kyai enters political structure, a kyai should follow rational values from this type of leadership from democracy to political technical procedures. Democracy upholds transparency and direct participation from people. Secondly, due tue its transparent character, politics inherently contradicts with religious values that tend to be dogmatic and closed. Third, in this context, kyai faces two choices: to follow traditionally religious values or democracy values. What's going happen next is not under kyai's control.

Someone with an Islamic tradition background, such as Nahdlatul Ulama, with its kyai-ness, can not solely become a consideration and basis to judge him/her as a figure representing traditional leadership. Because at the same time, these groups considered as "traditional" have also access to politics, is holding a political position (rational leadership), and/or experiencing political phenomenon: as a member or cadre of a certain party, as a member of legislative assembly, and so on. If a legal-formal position like regent or major is regarded as a part of consideration, it can be assured that there will be a chaos in the use of traditional leadership terminology: because those who sit in regent position were once also and/or experience political phenomenon aside from his current position as a regent.

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