

From Mullah to Regent: The Study of Leadership Alteration from Islamic Boarding School to the Secular Leadership

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Abstract

In a political democratic system, the fact that there is contiguity between mullahs and politics which places mullahs as the top leaders in region is an interesting new phenomenon to observe. The emergence of Kyai or Mullahs as Umara' or Leaders in the government raises a variety of criticism and hope. On one side, the emergence of Islamic boarding school mullahs as politicians is seen as an interference of democratization and development process. It is because mullahs are still considered holding conservative-feudalistic culture, which is framed in religious theory, and also because they have never had any experience in bureaucracy and administration before. That is why a figure of mullah is considered incapable of leading a governmental organization. On the other hand, hope and positives views toward the emergence of mullah as a regent emerge and rise. With his mobility and religion knowledge, a mullah is expected to be able to give changes in governmental organizations, which thus far are considered fail. From the above brief description, the problems which will be answered in this study are formulated as follows: First, in the local politics dynamics, especially in the Head of Region elections, is there any leadership transformation from traditional to rational leadership when the Regent's background is Ulama or a Mullah? Second, how does the traditional leadership play role in a rational bureaucracy? What conflicts do occur when there is a role transformation from traditional to rational leadership? The purpose of this study is generally to understand how exactly the leadership type transforms; from the ulama's leadership type, which is traditional, into umara' leadership type. From the background of the problems, the study aims as follows: First, to find out the type of mullahs' leadership who become the head of a region in running a rational government wheel, to find out the attitudes and ethics of a mullah who become umara' toward the power as the mandate and the implementation of the authority. Second, to find out what tips or strategies used by the regional heads whose backgrounds as mullahs in playing the role in a rational bureaucracy.

Keywords: Local politics, The Leadership Transformation, Bureaucracy.

Introduction

This research discusses about Mullah who becomes Regent in a certain study about leadership alteration from the Islamic Boarding School to the Secular Leadership. The Mullah's leadership alteration here is meant as the form of a change from the tradition to the ratio and modern. Mullah who lives in the Islamic boarding school with its traditional cultures is interested to be the Regent, a world which is more rational with its tight bureaucracy rules. The background of the Mullah's entering world state is full of formal legality. The majority of the Indonesian society is Moslem. Mullah is elite which has a high respectable position and has the big influence for the society development. Mullah becomes one of the strategic elites in the society because his character as a figure which has broad and depth knowledge about Islam. Moreover, theologically, he is also known as the heir of the prophet (waratsat al-anbiya). It is not surprising if the mullah not only become the legitimated sources from the various religion, but also in every single aspect of his life.

The political change in Indonesia is started by the end of the new era. An era which applied authoritarian political system and centralized system. The Indonesian Politics is changed into decentralized system which is well known as district autonomy. The change of this era is started by the direct leader election by the citizen. Based on this point, the mullah finds his chance and access to be umara' (leader). The application of the direct election is the political process to choose their district leader directly as stated in the act number 32 year 2004 about district government.

When the politics area is opened in the reformation era, there are many young mullah come up in the politics. Direct election gives hope and chance for the district and the citizens to express to their selves. It means that the district is given a chance to have the local leader which includes mullah who has charisma to actively involved in the politics. In the local politics democracy, there is a fact that the relation between mullah and politics places the mullah as the leader in the certain district. Mullah who becomes the official staff in the government is an interesting new phenomenon. On the other hand, the phenomenon of the mullah who become Umara' or the official government creates many criticism and hopes.

In the East Java, there are five district leaders who have background as the mullah, there are Sumenep, Bangkalan, Pamekasan, Gresik, and Probolinggo. Table 1 is the Mullah who become Regent.

Table 1. Regent who have background as Mullah in East Java

District	Name	Educational Institutes	Organizational and Position
Sumenep	1. KH. Ramdhan Siroj, SE.	1. The teachers in the Islamic Boarding School "Nurul Islam" karang Cempaka, Bluto, Sumenep.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The leader of PC. NU Sumenep • The leader of Syuro DPC. PKB Sumenep. • The member of FKB DPRD Sumenep 1999-2004
	2. Drs. KH. Busro Karim, MSi.	2. The Islamic Boarding School " Al Karimiyah Bareji" Gapura.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The leader of Tanfidz NU • The leader of DPRD Sumenep in two periods
Bangkalan	KHR. Fuad Imron Amin.	The Islamic Boarding School "Syaicona Kholil" Bangkalan which is managed by Abdullah Sachall, the grandson of the founder of NU who is also close to KH. Fuad Amin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The leader of the SYuro DPC. PKB Bangkalan. • The leader of The syuro PKB East Java • The member of FPP DPRD Bangkalan 1992-1997 • The member of the FKB DPR/MPRRI period 1999-2004
Pamekasan	Drs. KH. Kholilurrohman, M.Si.	The teacher of the the Islamic Boarding School "Matssaratul Huda", Panempan, Pamekasan, Pamekasan.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The leader of the PC. NU Pamekasan • The member of the FKB DPRD East Java 1999-2004
Gresik	KH. Robach Maksum, MM.	The teacher of the Islamic Boarding School "Ifyaul Ulum", Dukun, Gresik	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The leader of the PC. NU Gresik • The leader of the Syuro PKB Gresik
Probolinggo	Drs. KH. Hasan Aminuddin, Msi.	The teacher of the Islamic Boarding School " Syekh Abdul Qodir Jaelani'., Rangkang, Kraksan, Probolinggo.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The leader of the DPC. PKB Probolinggo • The leader of the DPW. PKB East Java • The member of the FKB DPRD Probolinggo 1999-2004

The problems discussed in this research are (i) how is the mullah who live in the Islamic Boarding school with its traditional cultures interested to be Regent, a rational world with its tight bureaucracy? What is the background of the mullah who enter the state which fully formal legitimacy? (ii) How do the mullah prepare for that? How do they adapt? How do they play their role as the Regent which is absolutely different from Mullah's world? (iii) What type of the Regent they are played: Regent who is Mullah, or Mullah who is Regent?

Local politics dynamic is getting stronger since the end of the Soeharto's position as the President. It is signed by the change of the politics orientation from the centralized authority to the decentralized authority. It has a very high significant effect; those are politic players such as district government, local politics, non government organization, and local elite which often become immune for the interventions from the central. In this context, although decentralization concept is deferent from the democracy, in the local politics in Indonesia, decentralization is a part of the democracy. It supports the player, institutions, and local cultures and start to play the role in the local politics. Democratizations as explained by Hotman Siahaan (2005), is a process to face the democracy. Hotman articulate the democracy in this perspective, it is convinced for the value, not for the definition of the government system. Because in this context, Hotman argues that democracy is an instrument of the idea, principles, and free institution, rather than the definition of the democracy in the definition of a set of the rules and constitutional procedures to decide the function of the government.

Therefore, democracy which is understood as the applied democracy, according to Hotman, has indication and politics risks which must be considered as if that phenomenon has been shown since the democracy process in Indonesia which involves citizen's participation in the General Election and President election twice in 2004. That election was continued by the local election in 2005 which is well known as District Leader Election (Pilkada). Those phenomena at least create three factors which can influence democracy. First, political trust, that is the society trust in the politics system and authority quality, whether it will support the citizens goodness or not. Citizen's distrust towards this political process according Hotman as cited in Sindhunata, because citizen's condition has been dominated by the social lie which is included in the nature of the politics.

It is stated as follows:

....” Untruth and dishonesty become the climate, therefore the people who do not want to lie are forced to lie....., and untruth becomes the media to communicate. Only in the untruth, the communication can be done. The people know each other in the untruth. Therefore the language they use is the untruth language, if they do not live in the untruth, they do not communicate in the untruth, and do not use language of untruth, they will be left and get nothing.”

Second, political efficacy, that is a society trust level whether they can affect the politics system. Third, subjective dissatisfaction, that is the society's feeling which is marginalized, removed and get unfair attitude. The contact between mullah and politics, mullah as elite and his role in the society, especially in the Islamic students community who place the mullah in the very special position. They are respected and their advices are followed. Their economics statuses basically are various but most of them come from the rich groups who have large land. The accumulations of the social status which are supported by their wealthy and Islamic knowledge make the Mullah become a charismatic leader which is respected. Another strength which stick on the mullah's figure is their wit and ability in comprehending the concept which make them are able to play their role which is called as cultural broker by Geertz. That is bridging the cultural value which is developed in the society. From these goodness, Mullah is involved in the society leadership and take a role in the politics.

In the local politics democracy, the relation between mullah and politics which places the mullah as the leader in the certain district who becomes the official in the government is an interesting new phenomenon to be discussed. The existence of the mullah as umara' (leader) or the official in the government creates many kinds of criticism and hopes. In one side, the existence of Mullah as umara' (leader) is seen as the resistor of the democracy process and development. It is based on the mullah who still maintain the feudalistic-conservative cultures which is included in the religion, and the personal quality individual which never stick with bureaucracy and government. Therefore, mullah are seen as the people who are not be able to lead the government organization. On the other hand, that is a hope and positive view for the existence of the mullah who become umara' (leader). By using their goodness in mobility and religious ability, mullah are expected to give a chance for the government organization which is so far are considered as failure and disappointed.

Literary study in this research shows the description that there are mullahs who become the Regent, Drs. KH. Busro Karim, M.Si in Sumenep and Drs. KH. Kholilurrahman, M.Si in Pamekasan. The profile of the KH. Busro Karim before being the Regent in Sumenep is culturally becomes the teacher in the Islamic Boarding School Al Karimiyah Beraji Sumenep.

The experience of structural organization in the society organization and politics organization give the positive effect for the Mullah's politics carrier. Busro, has been the head of the DPRD Sumenep in two periods in sequence. He also has ever been the leader of the Kebangkitan Bangsa Party and in the same time he also became the leader of Tanfidz Nahdhaltul Ulama Sumenep. Based on this point, it is clear that political experience as the member of legislative and managerial skill as the highest leader of the legislative, are the main political modal so that the adaptation and hesitate of his leader must be lose. Similarly, the Regent of the Pamekasan, Kholilurrahman also has taken role in the many kinds of society organization in Nahdlatul Ulama and has ever been the member of DPRD East Java and Fraction of Kebangkitan Bangsa 2004-2009.

Materials and Work Ethic

This research is a qualitative research by using phenomology approach. It is conducted in the Sumenep and Pamekasan since March until June 2011. The reason of the researcher choosing Regent and Mullah in two area is not for the comparison but only for having great data. Fenomology research tries or explores the meaning of the concept of phenomena of the experience which is based on the intention of the individual. This research is conducted in the situation which is observed, therefore there is no limitation in comprehending or understanding the discussed phenomenon. The data collected is the declaration of every Mullah and regent toward their leadership, through interview. The data collected from explanation and declaration of the district area toward their leadership are confirmed to the lower value or district government and the society who are known and interact with that Regent. This confirmation is done with many informant to get the result of the Regent Leadership from the Mullah or kyai in the field. It is in line with the fact whioch happens and felt by the official government and society.

Result

The researcher proves that in the reality, religious-cultural experience as mullah are still brought as one type and strategy in the politics, but this section will be explained further in another section. It is seen that, in the level of intentionality, it is proven that if the mullah is placed their selves as mullah and as Regent. Based on that reason, they also has consideration that the alteration form mullah to Regent is not an alteration which can be explained through analogy from religion/tradition to the bureaucracy/rational. The position as the Regent is not the point of the fundamental change from two things which are stated before. Politics capital has been got first by the Mullah from their politics experience as the head of DPRD and elite of Kebangkitan Bangsa Party.

The Regent of Sumenep pays more attention to the politics experience which differ him from another mullah. Therefore, the Regent of Pamekasan still keep fully the intention that at least the experience in the Islamic Boarding School can be brought in the politics field. It can be seen from the following statement,

..." I think experience and the cultures from Islamic Boarding school completes an affects each other with the cultures in the politics. That is one of the examples, in the Manucipality, I use that value. Once a month, there is istighosah. The government official has istighosah once a month, especially when there is a crucial thing. It is conducted in pavilion. Then, there is "khataman" Al-Qur'an once a month in paviliun. The orphan will come to the office once a month. There will be a "pengajian" once a month. Please come to our mosque to further information. In this time, thanks to God I can accommodate more the opponnet, let's say politics opponnet. Therefore, for the last istighosah, many people from another element join it.

The intention to still keep the value of Islamic Boarding School and automatically the value of "Mullah" still can be seen in the Mullah Kholil. The intention of combining the tradition and bureaucracy by transplanting one to another are thought as the good way, especially in facing the problems in politics. The difference also can be got from the explanation of the Head of General Affairs of Sumenep Government which support the assumption about the intention of paradox which grows well in the Busyro mind.

..."Mr. Busyro has the low profile. Then, when he becomes the leader of DPR, 90% of the member also come from the Mullah in Sumenep because they come from PKB. PKB gets 25 Chairs. Yes, indeed, there are various colors, but he is absolutely clever and flexible. When I see him, it is very easy to communicate. Even if he gets many big problems in DPR, the problem will be very easy to be solved. In DPR Sumenep, there are many kinds of legislative person, but when there is a problem, they give more attention to Mr. Busro politely."

Once more, it can be seen that his carrier in the politics as one of the elite of PKB become the main important thing which support him to be Regent. His success in entering new environment as Regent is supported by the huge of his political experience as the head of DPRD in twice periods in sequence. The complete description can be seen in table 2.

Table 2. The politics Transformation form Mullah to Regent

No.	Focus Discussion	Before (Mullah)	After being Regent
1.	Citizen Organization	Both of them are the same, the head of Nahdhatul Ulama Sumenep and Pamekasan.	Still active in NU as the protector and advisor.
2.	Politics Organization	Being the member of the politics party since PPP, when there was a reformation era, he became the member of PKB and become the leader of PKB in Sumenep.	The Regent of Sumenep Busro Karim is chosen again to be the ehad of DPC PKB in 2012-2017. The Regent of Pamekasan is the member of PPP.
3.	The experience of being Legislative member	The head of PKB Sumenep in two periods in sequence, while Kholil has ever been the member of PKB in DPRD East Java	Become the Regent of Sumenep and Pamekasan.

Source: various sources and managed by the researcher.

Based on the data collected by the researcher through interview with the Regent of Sumenep, it can be got a politics perception which is unique from the role and function or position from the Regent by themselves. The position of the Regent is seen as the function of the manager, in this case there is a sense of exclusive system of politics dimension from the manager position. Based on that reason, it can be stated that the problem and resistor which are faced by the Regent are almost similar with the administrative problem, as explained by managerial terminology. Whereas the leadership problem in the relation of many kinds of interest and its complexity are left behind. It is also can be stated that in the manager position, it can be concluded that there is no exclusivity of Regent position for the certain group, therefore every people includes mullah has the similar chance as long as the managerial function can be run well.

The Regent's perception on managerial function give the similarity between governmental work and Islamic boarding school work, where both of them use the managerial principle and ability to arrange. On the other words, that is purposed to loose the difference between managing something in one place and another place. The place and time problem (locus-tempus) are not counted as the serious problems because both of them have the similar case in the managerial context. The rational implementation in main managerial of Islamic Boarding school which is kept by mullah is very far from the traditional-conservative leadership which are more associated as the Islamic Boarding school and mullah. This rational adoption must be differed from secular. It is not only because both of them have the different episteme, but also because there are many inappropriate thought. Misunderstanding which states that rationality is not allowed in the main tradition in the Islamic Boarding school can be urged because of the ideology of purification. Based on that point, it can be reinterpretation that the alteration and adaptation from the mullah to umara' is not the alteration process from one world to another world in the mutually exclusive relation or totally different. Between Islamic Boarding School or Religious Institution and politics cannot be seen as the two identities which are separated or even contradictive.

Because, as shown by the source of the research, the rationality which has been applied in the management of Islamic Boarding school can help it to get the similar rationale in the politics. Therefore, both of identity, religion or politics, are two separated things because there is soft significant thing to explain the adaptation process. It is understood well by the Regent of Sumenep to solve the bigger adaptation because the disability to redefine the traditional status and ability to create the small thing between traditional leadership program in the new rational bureaucracy environment. There are basically differences between mullah as the teachers in Islamic Boarding school and mullahs as Regent. The difference can be seen in table 3.

Table 3. Dichotomy of Islamic Boarding School and bureaucracy

No.	Discussion	Islamic Boarding	Bureaucracy
1.	Management	Centralistic	Modern Managemnt
2.	Thought	Traditional/magic	Rational
3.	Leadership	Based on Nasab	General Election
4.	Authority	All of sectors	District Government
5.	Decision making	One/veto right	Colective-Colegial
6.	Function and role	Roles maker	Roles runner
7.	Event	Situational/family relation	Protocolers
8.	Decision Source	The result of Istikharah	Meeting, power sharing

Source: Managed from various sources and the result of researcher's observation.

It will be explained specifically about how the family from two Regents chosen with the background as mullah, especially with its relation with how both of this family place their selves, face, adapt and prepare their selves to the new environment. Terminology "new" needs more elaboration. It is very reckless if we assume directly that politics is relatively a new thing. Two mullahs (with its complex environment and involve many close person) never relate themselves with politics before they are inaugurated as Regent which is a politics position which never been placed. Based on the observation, politics is not a new thing for both of them. Mullah Busyro, as explained in the previous explanation, is a mullah and ex leader of DPRD Sumenep in two periods in sequence. Whereas, mullah Kholilurrahman is the active member in PKB. Both of them have great time in their own politics party. Based on that capital politics, everyone will throw him away if he/she said that both of them are relatively new in politics. On the other hand, when the smaller and closer group such family, almost can be guaranteed clearly that they will have a new experience in the politics, except intentionally that member is also a part from the active practical politics actor. In the case which will be explained in this dissertation, the information which is collected states that family group from both mullahs have tends to be hesitate when they face new environment, bureaucracy. Family is close, but it is not involved in the direct configurative politics actor, as practices and legalized through legalization of formal politics position, "Regent" "Walikota", etc.

Family is not only about that, but also about having relation which certainly effects the political performance of Regent. In every event which needs political performance from the family member, such as ceremony, it certainly needs adaptation and politics to make up from the family to show their selves. The performance is realized well as the important variable to make the image and convince public or related official. The image building does not only represent family's harmony with Regent, but also the harmony itself, esthetically their good-bad performance.

Based on the research from the mullah who becomes Regent, the study of leadership alteration from Islamic Boarding School to secular leadership finds some results as follows:

First, it is not easily the mullah who has social cultural modal can be secular rational constitutional leader, without using structural process through entering the leader into elites network such as: in the management of society organization or politics party.

Second, there is an adaptation process and acculturation from the three typology of leadership, traditional, rational, charismatic in the transformation from the leadership of Islamic Boarding School leadership to the secular leadership.

Third, to maintain the relation between mullah and traditional value and still accommodate the secular value in bureaucracy, mullah who is also Regent still maintain the position and authority in the society organization or in the politics party well.

Fourth, the relation between mullah who is also regent and "Oreng celleng", as the success team, in the election is still maintained to keep the stability of the position and Regent's authority. It is done by the Regent by accommodating it to become "independent security group" which is shown in the informal moment.

Fifth, there is disability in the “inner cycle” of the mullah who become Regent to adapt the bureaucracy value which are relatively modern, therefore there is an attitude shock in the situation which is totally formal and has the condition that must be state protocoler.

Sixth, there is exclusion toward the official staffs which are not in line with the policy product of the Regent. It can be in the form of firing the official staff which sometimes is not in the procedures, even it creates the vertical conflict between official government and Regent.

Seventh, the strength of the primordial politics when the mullahs who become Regent give requirements as religion-cultural as the scoring, consideration, and the assignation of the staff in the government environment.

Eight, there is a convergence between traditional value and secular value where istighosah is not only meant as the usual religious ritual individual, but also as the pragmatism image for the Regent who is also a mullah. It is the camouflage religious sequence for the sake of building his image for the black campaign by the mullah who is also Regent.

Ninth, there is an alteration in the politics cultures bureaucracy, where the religion attributes are formulated in the district government environment.

Tenth, there is a change of the mullah’s habits which is in the form of religious culture gets the money *cabis* from the students or the students’ parents. On the other hand, when mullah becomes Regent, there is an attitude change where the Regent gives the money *cabis* to the students as the politics transaction instrument.

Conclusion

As it is stated in the problem statements that this study answer the problems around the mullah’s phenomenon who become Regent: how is the mullah who live in the Islamic Boarding school with its traditional cultures interested to be Regent, a rational world with its tight bureaucracy. What is the background of the mullah entering state which fully formal legitimacy. How do the mullah prepare for that? How do they adapt? How do they play their role as the Regent which is absolutely different from Mullah’s world? What type of the Regent they are played : Regent who is Mullah, or Mullah who is Regent?

Generally, Mullah who become Regent is a social actor, religion leader who has Islamic boarding school, then get the position as mullah from the family charts, actively involved in the society organization, especially as the head of Tanfidziyah Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), become the arranger (even become the head) of politics party in the district and become the member (has ever been the head) of DPRD. Generally, the result of this study finds that the leadership of mullah who is also Regent has done social transformation, cultural transformation, and political transformation. Socially, they are social actor who is traditionally become the social reference because of their experience in the social religious and politics organization, and has been the person who is not only well known in the remote people but also regional people.

By using their well religion knowledge, mullah does not only place themselves as the center of social and religious information by the society in their areas, but also effect more to the society, especially when they has passed the further educational level in the post graduate program. This improvement in the academic sites, culturally, has completed their existence not only in the social religious field, but also the politics actor in the municipality. Politically, both of the mullah has become the member of the politics party and has experienced in the legislative, therefore their empathy is high enough to be Regent. Government status which is legal, formal and bureaucracy has forced everyone who becomes regent to use it as the basic to run the district governmental area. This study finds that mullah who become regent is good enough in adapt the institutional mechanism system, although in some case, their style and colours as the mullah still can be observed.

Such as, there is a regent policy which still represent their status as mullah in the Islamic Boarding school: lead the pray in the beginning and ending of the meeting, istighosah, tahlilan, comprehend kitab kuning, reading sholawat (Diba’an) in paviliun, make an obligation to wear veil for the woman civil servant, pray dzuhur together in the office, etc. The family’s background and cultures affect their leadership as Regent. Leadership style of the Regent of Sumenep can be the example. In some cases, he is affected by the background of the rich people and small kingdom which is very tight with the government. Besides that, a mullah’s wife plays an important role in accompanying her husband’s readiness who becomes regent.

For example, the wife of Sumenep's Regent is relatively ready accompanying her husband after being Regent because she is well experienced as a Islamic Religion Speaker (Mubalighah). On the other hand, the wife of Pamekasan's Regent, she still must follow the privacy school by Jhon Robert Power in Surabaya. Generally, they realize that governmental world is different from mullah's world. Therefore, they need to prepare themselves before being chosen as Regent. Experiencing in managing social-religious organization, being the leader of the politics party, being the leader of DPRD and their relation frequency with previous Regent have helped them to be ready in entering the governmental world. Moreover, they think that being a Regent is not a transition which can be explained analogically from the religion/tradition to bureaucracy/rational. The position as regent is not the fundamental change point.

Mullah who become Regent confess that their readiness and capability as the leader of the governmental operator is the result of their long experience in the politics, not from their "mullah" status as the religious-cultural symbol. It against the assumption from various groups who state that the basic of religious-cultural mullahs as the main politics modal which can be brought to the new area, that is the government. Clearly, Sumenep's Regent states that those qualifications make them to be Regent, not social modal as mullah. Based on that reason, there is a strong reason that mullah who become Regent tends to ignore their way to be the Regent, social-religion (read: mullah of an Islamic Boarding School) as the luck ton be the Regent. On the other words, being a Regent is the result of work hard, private maximal way and long political works (achievement status); that is not luck or the present of his socio-religious-cultral position as mullah.

Sumenep's regent realizes that becoming the Regent is because of his achievement and because of that reason, he less acknowledge socio-religious modal as his position as mullah, the Regent of Pamekasan who is also mullah acknowledge the importance of being mullah in the Islamic Boarding School (however) still can be brought significantly to the politics. The intention to still maintain the value of Islamic Boarding school and automatically his value of being mullah still can be seen from this Regent. The Regent of Pamekasan believes that the combination between the value of Islamic Boarding School and the cultures of bureaucracy is a very good synthesis, especially in running his jobs as Regent which includes many political problems. From this point, we can see the goodness and the unique as mullah who becomes regent: how the value of religion in the Islamic Boarding School can be the political base.

Both regents relatively adaptive toward their new status as Regent because of some factors:

First, they come from the mullah's family which accepts the status of mullah who are respected in the society.

Second, social traditional religious status (as mullah's family) automatically easier them to be an actor, manager, and or the leader of social-religious organizations, Nahdlatul Ulama; because culturally between Islamic Boarding House and NU are similar, for not calling them as identical things.

Third, structural position in the social religious organization (NU) easier them to be politics actor, that is to become the leader of the politics party, PKB. Moreover between Islamic Boarding House, NU, and PKB are similar, for not calling them as identical things.

Fourth, being a leader of politics party give a clear chance for them to be the member of DPRD or even the head of DPRD in two periods in sequence.

Fifth, their potency and experience include being the head of DPRD in two periods strength their empathy to be Regent.

Sixth, politically, they believe that social modal, cultures, political experience and their work will make them be able to be chosen as regent. On the other hand, sociologically, they still feel something left, that is academically capacity. Based on this concept, that is why they feel that they must complete their study by taking master or doctoral degree.

In their point of view, both of regent in Sumenep and Pamekasan, politics cannot be separated from the religion, especially Islamic Boarding school. Because, so far when they become mullah, especially when they also become the administrator and the head of social religious organization such as NU, they usually involves in the politics problem, especially when they become the head of PKB. It means that the relation between politics and mullah has been developing since long time ago.

The difference is, before being regent; they still can make the decision and do anything individually based on the autonomy cultures of the mullah. That is why, a mullah who become Regent sociologically do not need too much adaptation except administrative adaptation and protoculer. Based on this fact, the believes of Islamic Boarding School often be found and expressed in the government intentionally or unintentionally.

Besides that, the colours and situation of Islamic Boarding House in Sumenep and Pamekasan maybe are something that cannot be neglected. It is because both of the regent think that being a Regent is only situational position, while their job as the mullah in the Islamic Boarding School is their long life job. That is the reason of why both of the Regent still spend their time in teaching the students in their Islamic Boarding school as it is scheduled besides doing their job as the Regent. Mullah is also used as the guarantee for the social status which can decrease the risk of the conflict when there is an election. It is as stated by the regent of Pamekasan, the high politics tension and friction between small politics group in the Election of Pamekasan can be decreased by the mullah. Based on this reason, it is shown how mullah becomes the important variable in their relation with the resolution of the politics conflict.

Another modal outside of the politics capacity is intelligent skill which is realized well. This realization is taken through getting the education which is in various levels, not only for filling the requirements of the image which is totally needed in every general election, but also are really realized that it will be needed to sharpen the analysis and habits of great politics knowledge. This intention absolutely matches and completes their general weakness, such as new experience or at least very limited to be done in the past time. Credential in the form of degree help much in making up the status and image building, but in the form of adaptation, the high relatively educational level is needed to easier the adaptation process.

Both of the regents in Sumenep and Pamekasam passed the master degree and continue their study to the doctoral degree as the part of adaptation process trough high institute. Their studies major are far from the Islamic Study Program, that is administrative study program. Something that must be underlined here is the researcher wants to compare it and religious education which is well known as traditional education: Islamic Boarding School. In this Islamic Boarding School uses modern management and teach many conventional lessons to make it balance with religious lesson. On the other hand it is still important to be seen that the motivations from the further study which are taken by both of the regent.

The intention to support them through education which is in line with the problem faced shows that mullah's intention grows rationally and follows the work system of the bureaucracy. It means that government responsibility will not be solved only through owned capital (background of the Islamic Boarding School), but also educational capital which is in line with the responsibility which will be taken. The rationality which is practiced in the management of Islamic Boarding school helps them to have the same rationality in the politics. Therefore, both of the entity, religion and politics, are not two separated things because there is fraction which are significant enough to explain the process of the adaptation to solve the failure of the adaptation because of the disability to redefine the traditional status and the ability to create the fraction between traditional leadership styles in new rational bureaucracy environment.

The cultures which are well known in the Islamic Boarding School which uses paternalistic tradition is the absolute central role which is had by mullah. Mullah makes the rules which must be obeyed by all of the students and the society around it (the relation between client). It is different from the mullah when he becomes bureaucrat, they must run the rules which have been stated by the central, province, or district government. The cultural articulation in the politics which is the clearest to be observed from the implementation of the Islamic values and/or Islamic boarding School in the national bureaucracy. In the context of the regent from both district, in every meeting between official staff, The Regent will start the meeting and lead the pray. It is something that in every bureaucracy is placed as the unique politics-for not to say that it is the only one. Moreover, the most interesting articulation is there is not different of teaching scheduled in the Islamic Boarding School. As the teacher in the Islamic Boarding School, Regent and mullah still maintain their activity in teaching the Islamic Boarding School by using the exactly similar schedule, although their status as umara'needs modified schedules because of their business. For the mullah who play roles in the politics, hopefully they have the appropriate sources which are not only social modal but also politics and government knowledge.

If mullah do not have that modals, that will be better for the mullah not to enter to the politics, because mullah's position is more respected as the religious leader and the teacher for Islamic Boarding School who can maintain all of the citizens level without considering the groups rather than politician.

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