



THE KYAI'S POSITION IN RURAL LOCAL DEMOCRACY BASED ON PATRONAGE POLITICS AT TAPAL KUDA

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Abstract

Sociologically, the village community in the East Java Tapal Kuda is dominated by the sarong people who have affiliation with certain Pesantren either as alumni or only as sympathizers. This is because the distribution of Islamic boarding schools in this area is relatively high and is socio-cultural educational basis of rural communities in the region. The indication is the domination of society *Nahdliyin* affiliated with *Nahdlatul Ulama* as a social organization social largest in Indonesia. This study aims to describe the role of Kyai in the context of local democracy rural based on patronage politics in the East Java Tapal Kuda. The method used in this research is descriptive qualitative with inductive approach. While the type study is a case study. The data collection instruments used were observation, documentation and in-depth interviews. In collecting data, this research uses Miles and Huberman's interactive model, namely; data reduction, data presentation, drawing conclusions. In testing the validity of the data, researchers use triangulation, namely source triangulation, method triangulation, peer discussion and member check. The results of the study show that rural communities are ordinary people who do not have political awareness in local democracy so they are independent *patron* to Kyai as role models in their lives and the role of the Kyai in the patronage politics of rural communities determines the flow of support for local democratic communities because politics is a subordinate area of the religiosity of rural communities.

Abstrak

Masyarakat desa secara sosiologis di Tapal Kuda Jawa Timur didominasi oleh kaum sarungan yang memiliki afiliasi pada pesantren tertentu baik sebagai alumni maupun hanya sebatas simpatisan. Pasalnya, sebaran pesantren di daerah ini tergolong tinggi dan merupakan basis sosial-budaya pendidikan masyarakat pedesaan di wilayah tersebut. Indikasinya adalah dominasi masyarakat *Nahdliyin* yang berafiliasi pada *Nahdlatul Ulama* sebagai organisasi sosial kemasyarakatan terbesar di Indonesia. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan peran Kyai dalam konteks demokrasi lokal pedesaan yang berbasis pada politik patronase di lingkup Tapal Kuda Jawa Timur. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah

kualitatif deskriptif dengan pendekatan induktif. Sedangkan jenis penelitian adalah studi kasus. Instrumen pengumpulan data yang dipakai adalah observasi, dokumentasi dan wawancara secara mendalam. Dalam pengumpulan data, penelitian ini menggunakan model interaktif Miles dan Huberman, yaitu; reduksi data, penyajian data, penarikan kesimpulan. Dalam uji keabsahaan data, peneliti menggunakan triangulasi, yaitu triangulasi sumber, triangulasi metode, diskusi sejawat dan member check. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa masyarakat pedesaan adalah masyarakat awam yang tidak memiliki kesadaran politis dalam demokrasi lokal sehingga mereka berpatron pada Kyai sebagai panutan dalam kehidupan mereka dan peran Kyai dalam politik patronase masyarakat pedesaan menentukan terhadap arus dukungan masyarakat demokrasi lokal sebab politik merupakan wilayah subordinat dari religiusitas masyarakat desa.

Keywords: the role of kyai; rural local democracy; patronage politics; Tapal Kuda

INTRODUCTION

Islamic boarding schools are the oldest religious education system native to the Indonesian nation, “One of the characteristics of Islamic boarding schools is the existence of dormitories for their students”, while santri means students or people who study at Islamic boarding schools. Pesantren is an institution that is used as a residential place for students who are studying religion. Pesantren is an environment that is very well known as religiousness in which there are several rules that must be obeyed by teachers and students (Akhmad Sofyan et al., 2022).¹ Besides, Sofyan, Yudistira, Muta'allim, Alfani & Ghaffar (2022) argue that Islamic boarding schools are places for students or students who are studying the Qur'an (Akhmad Sofyan et al., 2022).² Meanwhile, Pesantren is an Islamic educational institution that has an educational system and model that is different from the education system in other educational institutions (Zakiyah, 2018)³.

Within the pesantren environment there are several terms called Kiai, Nyai, Gus, Ning, Lora, Bhindere, and Santri. As stated by Zakiyah (2018)⁴ that in pesantren, there are special greetings for pesantren members such as kiai, nyai, gus, ning, kang, and cak. Kiai is the designation for the founder, caretaker, or leader of the pesantren, while Nyai is the designation forraji (wife) Kyai. (Zakiyah, 2018). Meanwhile, the term Gus, Lora, Bindere & Ning is a designation for the sons and daughters or in-laws of Kiai. Then the terms Ustadz and Ustadzah are designations for teachers (the book/Al-Qur'an) at Islamic boarding schools.

In order to gain knowledge from the kyai on a regular basis for a long time, the santri must leave their hometown and settle near the kyai's residence. The interaction intensive between the kyai and the santri raises a certain pattern in interaction them. The relation pattern of kyai and santri can be categorized as a dialectical relationship. That is, the pattern of dialectical relations is interaction reciprocity that is not only dialogic in nature, but goes beyond that. That is, the two parties interacting influence and influence each other. Morefrom that, in the next interaction can produce a synthesis that is continuous and not stagnant at the results of certain interactions. As for the relationship between the kyai and the santri or the relationship between the kyai and his students in the Pesantren, there can be three types of patterns: 1) the relationship between teacher and student, 2) the relationship between parents and children, 3) the relationship patron client.

Changes occur in various lines of life due to the flow of modernization and globalization of information and technology. This cannot be denied because every development necessitates change. One of the changes that is clearly visible in everyday life is the existence of humans who are easier to carry out their daily activities. Technology as well as communication tools has been able to change

¹ Sofyan, A., Yudistira, R., Muta'allim., Alfani, F. R., & Ghaffar, A. A. “The Analysis of Conversational Implicature Between Students and Teachers at Al-Azhar Islamic Boarding School”. *Retorika: Jurnal Ilmu Bahasa*. Vol. 8, No. 1. (April, 01, 2022): 65-72. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.55637/jr.8.1.4344.65-72>.

² Ibid

³ Zakiyah, M. “Makna Sapaan di Pesantren: Kajian Linguistik-Antropologis”. *Leksema: Jurnal Ilmu Bahasa dan Sastra*. Vol. 3, No. 1. (Juni 30, 2018): 11-22. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22515/ljbs.v3i1.1014>.

⁴ Ibid.

people's perceptions of boundaries territorial space that has been considered almost unreachable. On the other hand, modernization opens up space for things that are local in nature, no longer closed, but open to interact with a broader scope both socially, culturally, politically and economically as well another etc. At this point, things that are considered sacred by certain local and closed communities, begin to experience a shift in values and views. Pesantren as the oldest traditional Islamic institution in Indonesia has also undergone a transformation. Changes have touched this institution. Islamic boarding schools, which are basically a subculture in life after society, have shifted their role not only as institutions that produce Ulama or Santri but also Muslim intellectuals who are expected to be able to continue the ideals of Islamic boarding schools. pious salaf consistent with post *li i' la say it* or raise the teachings of Allah SWT.

One of the changes referred to is that we can see from the pattern of the Kyai's relationship or chaplain and the santri that we initially knew tended to be patron-client which presupposed the pattern of teacher-student relationships (Suwardani, 2015).⁵ Kyai's position in Islamic boarding school education is not only known for his scientific and *akhlakul karimah* aspects, but also has a very broad influence in society through the charisma they have (Setiawan, 2012).⁶ He is a figure the people aspire to and always has a noble and high place in the structure of society. On the other hand, santri are people who study and gain knowledge from the kyai and they are submissive and obedient in all matters. As followers, students must always obey, humility and respect for their teachers, but with the development of modernization that is happening, it is not imaginable that some Islamic boarding schools now no longer see the thickness of the *patron's* culture client, but not a few are still cultivate it.

Sociologically, the village community in the Tapal Kuda area of East Java is dominated by the *sarong* people who have affiliations with certain Pesantren either as alumni or just sympathizers. This is because the distribution of Islamic boarding schools in this area is relatively high and is socio cultural basis of education in rural communities in the region. The indication is the domination of society *Nahdliyin* affiliated with *Nahdlatul Ulama* as a social organization social largest in Indonesia. In East Java Tapal Kuda, there are not a few Islamic Boarding Schools which are still active and produce many intellectuals competent Muslims. The birth of young intellectuals from Islamic boarding schools creates a separate narrative on the stage of political drama in Indonesia, moreover the character is a role model for many people or has high charisma, so it is not surprising that many political parties apply for this figure to become part of the party's management. even asked to bless the party in the hope of getting votes from constituents who have an emotional connection with the figure. The concrete form of his character is participating in declaring as well as sitting on the leadership of the party elite (Sari, 2018).⁷ Especially in local political arenas, such as elections general, the role of a person's character is still very strong in influencing his congregation both in his position as a religious elite or a figure public.

One of the tendencies of the post-reform era is the strengthening of forms of community participation in the realm of national life (Paralihan, 2019).⁸ Practically all segments of the nation's life experience what some experts call the Indonesian nation's euphoria. Citizens' desire to form a more democratic government is a fixed price that cannot be negotiated after all this time they have lived under the shadow of an authoritarian government. This desire especially can not be separated from importance the political interests of Muslims Incidentally as majority citizens. By not looking down

⁵ Suwardani, N. P. "Pewarisan Nilai-Nilai Kearifan Lokal untuk Memproteksi Masyarakat Bali dari Dampak Negatif Globalisasi". *Jurnal Kajian Bali*. Vol. 5, No. 2. (November 01, 2015): 247-264.

⁶ Setiawan, E. "Eksistensi Budaya Patron Klien dalam pesantren: Studi Hubungan antara Kyai dan Santri". *ULUL ALBAB Jurnal Studi Islam*. Vol. 13, No 2. (Desember, 2012): 137-152. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18860/ua.v0i0.2372>.

⁷ Sari, N. "Kiyai dan Politik: Analisis Peran kiyai dalam Pilkada OKI 2018 Kecamatan SP Padang". *Ampera: A Research Journal on Politics and Islamic Civilization*. Vol. 1, No. 3. (Agustus 28, 2020): 208-225. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.19109/ampera.v1i3.7428>.

⁸ Paralihan, H. "Hubungan antara Islam dan Demokrasi: Menguatnya Politik Identitas Ancaman Kemanusiaan di Indonesia". *Aqlania: Jurnal Filsafat dan Teologi Islam*. Vol. 10, No. 1. (Juni 22, 2019): 63-83. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.32678/aqlania.v10i01.2109>.

on the existence of other people, Muslims can be said to be one of the many influential variables in determining various policies taken government Indonesia since the Old Order until now (Said, 2018).⁹ That is one of the reasons or attractions why this study was proposed by the author, in addition to explaining the political participation of the NU Jember community, which was formerly known as a patrimonial cultured society that placed the elite public, such as the kyai as the most decisive figure in making decisions. Apart from that, there is another reason which is quite paradoxical with the previous condition of the Jember people, namely situation society which is currently experiencing symptoms of social change caused by the increasingly open flow of information and the process of development covering various fields, such as economics, education, politics, social and culture.

The open access to information and the development process for the people of Jember has brought many consequences, one of which is the creation of a transitional society which Fred W Riggs calls the prismatic model of society (Munandar, 1998).¹⁰ The influence of this development also made the majority of NU members no longer categorized as members of the community traditional interior nor can it be called a modern society. They are somewhere in between, and of course they can't be avoid the effects of social change filled with dilemmas. They were faced with many choices, including making choices in the 2008 East Java Pilkada process. However, of the many members of the NU community who were able to quickly filter various information to make various decisions were educated NU members such as the kyai. As in various reports in the mass media, not a few of them were involved in political participation either directly or indirectly in the 2008 East Java Pilkada process.

In addition, the case of village head elections in Bondowoso in 2015 which was held simultaneously with a total of 171 villages showed that there were several culture broker involved in mobilizing the masses for village head candidates. The culture brokers are divided into two main categories, namely kyai and *bejangan/blater*. Bahar in his research explains the power relations of clerics and *bejangan* influence in electoral politics significant both individually and collaboratively on the election process and results. This is due to the existence of the power that both of them have, especially the kyai in directing the votes of voters towards certain candidates. Of course, Bondowoso as an area with a broad rural base is a condition that allows the patronage of kyai politics in local politics.

So far, researchers have not found research on the role of Kyai in rural local democracy based on Patronage politics in the Tapal Kuda region. However, there are several studies that have similarities with this research, including research conducted by Nuha, U (t.t) aims to found the role of KH. A. Haris Shodaqoh in processing political parties (Nuha, 2012).¹¹ The research conducted by Villanueva & Salazar (2015) aim to found the the form of patronage and the characteristic of the Philippine political landscape (Aian G. Villanueva & Nicole P. Salazar, 2015).¹² While, Ramli (2016) in his research aims to find out how the village head election process in Jojolo Village is to provide a new understanding of the farming community (klein) so that they no longer devote themselves to the political interests of community leaders (patrons) (Ramli, 2016).¹³ Besides, Cahyati & Lopo (2019) aims to explored the strategies used by the incumbent to contest the election and seek re-election (Cahyati & Luter

⁹ Said, H. A. *Jalan panjang legislasi syariat zakat di Indonesia: Studi terhadap Undang-Undang Nomor 23 Tahun 2011 tentang pengelolaan zakat*, (2018).

¹⁰ Munandar, S. M. *Dinamika Masyarakat Transisi: Mencari Alternatif Teori Sosiologi dan Arah Perubahan* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1998).

¹¹ Nuha, U. "Peran Politik Kiai dalam Proses Politik di Partai Politik (Studi Kasus Peran KH. A. Haris Shodaqoh di Partai Persatuan Pembangunan)", (t.t) 1-10.

¹² Villanueva, P. A. G & Salazar, J. N. P. "Patronage Politics and Clientelism in Housing Welfare: The Case of Gawad Kalinga (GK) Villages in Parañaque City, The Philippines". *Journal of Government and Politics*. Vol.6, No. 2. (August, 2015). 170-185. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.18196/jgp.2015.0013>.

¹³ Ramli, M. "Patronase Politik dalam Demokrasi Lokal (Analisis Terhadap Terpilihnya Hj. Marniwati pada Pemilukades di Desa Jojolo Kecamatan Bulukumpa Kabupaten Bulukumba)". Skripsi: Jurusan Ilmu Politik Fakultas Usuluddin Filsafat dan Politik Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin Makassar: 1-76.

Lopo, 2019).¹⁴ Muhammad (2020) aims to describes and analyzes the strategies of politicians to attract voter support in electoral politics by providing patronage goods or club goods (Muhammad, 2021).¹⁵ Asmawati, Tawakkal & Muadi (2021) aim to know how the kiai as religious figures who had the highest social status in Pamekasan Regency carried out their work as vote brokers (Asmawati et al., 2021).¹⁶

Alfisahrin (2021) aims to describe the cultural practices of Kiai patronage politics as one of the challenges in the local democratic structure in West Nusa Tenggara Province and its implications (Alfisahrin, 2021).¹⁷ Mahamid (2022) aims to re-dissect the contents of the JKDN episodes I and II films, then link the history of the development of Islam with the transnational Islamic ideological movement in Indonesia contained in the film's narrative (Mahamid, 2022).¹⁸ Wahyudi & Setijaningrum (2022) aim to analyze and explain how innovations in village head election regulations (*Pilkades*) reduce patronage of village asset utilization, especially bengkok land (Wahyudi & Setijaningrum, 2022).¹⁹ Muta'allim, Munir, Pathollah, Nawiroh, & Muhalli (2022) aim to explore and describe the concept of religious moderation education with a linguistic approach and local wisdom (Muta'allim et al., 2022).²⁰ Yudistira, Muta'allim, Nurcaya, Julhadi & Pattiasina (2022) aim to describe the role of linguistic concepts and local wisdom in knitting inter-religious harmony at Tana Toraja land with a phenomenological approach (Yudistira et al., 2022).²¹ Azharghany (2022) aim to review the politics of Islam Kiai by explaining the historical social arguments and strategies pursued by the religious elite to keep playing a role in the lives of Muslims (Azharghany, 2022).²² Maknun, Nugroho, & Libriyanti (2022) aim to explore the works of Indonesian clerics who have become the cultural heritage of the Indonesian nation in Tremas and Tebu Ireng (Maknun et al., 2022).²³ Azizah (2023) aims to prove that the Pesantren family, including chief officials, utilized country facilities and worried about dynastic politics (Azizah, 2019).²⁴

¹⁴ Cahyati, D. D & Lopo., Y. H. L. "Daily Patronage Politics: A Village Chief's Route to Power". *PCD Journal*. Vol. 7, No. 2 (November 20, 2019). 169-196. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22146/pcd.51737>.

¹⁵ Muhammad, F. A. "Politician's Strategy After The Pandemic: Strengthening of Patronage Goods in The Form of Social Assistance". *IPTEK Journal of Proceedings Series. The 2nd International Conference on Global Development: ICODEV*. No. (7) (Desember 05, 2020). 18-23. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.12962/j23546026.y2020i7.9527>.

¹⁶ Asmawati, Tawakkal., T. I & Muadi, S. "Religion, Political Contestation and Democracy: Kiai's Role as a Vote Broker in Madurese Local Political Battle". *Buletin Al-Turas*. Vol. 27, No. 1, (January, 2021). 37-54. DOI: 10.15408/bat.v27i1.15650.

¹⁷ Alfisahrin. "*Budaya Politik Patronase Kiai dalam Demokrasi Lokal di Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Barat*". Disertasi: Program Studi Doktor Antropologi Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik: Universitas Hasanuddin Makassar. (Februari 03, 2021). 1-253.

¹⁸ Mahamid, M. N. L. "Gerakan Ideologi Islam Transnasional di Indonesia dalam Film JKDN Karya Nicko Pandawa". *Jurnal Muslim Heritage*. Vol. 7 No, 1. (Juni 24, 2022): 83-109. Doi: 10.21154/muslimheritage.v7i1.3546.

¹⁹ Wahyudi, A., & Setijaningrum, E. "Inovasi Kebijakan Pemilihan Kepala Desa dalam MEREduksi Patronase Pemanfaatan Aset Desa di Kabupaten Tuban. Matra Pembaruan". *Jurnal Inovasi Kebijakan*, Vol. 6, No. 2, (November 30, 2022). 133-145. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21787/mp.6.2.2022.133-145>.

²⁰ Muta'allim, Munir, M., Pathollah, A.G., Nawiroh, L., & Muhalli. "Concepts of Religious Moderation Education at Tapal Kuda: Linguistic Analysis and Local Wisdom". In Proceedings AnCoMS IV. Surabaya 26-27 February 2022, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya Jl. A. Yani 117 Surabaya.

²¹ Yudistira., R, Muta'allim, Nurcaya, Julhadi & Pattiasina, P. J. "The Role of Linguistics and Local Wisdom on Knowing Harmony between Religions at Tana Toraja". *Jurnal Muslim Heritage*. Vol. 7, No 2. (Desember 26, 2022): 409-431. DOI: 10.21154/muslimheritage.v7i2.5023.

²² Azharghany, R. "Power Islamization: Unveiling The Islamic Politics of Kiai as Leaders of The Indonesian People". *Al-Insyiroh: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*. Vol. 8, No. 1. (Maret 22, 2022): 1-26. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.35309/alinsyiroh.v8i1.4689>.

²³ Maknun, M. L, Nugroho, M. A & Libriyanti, Y, "Kontribusi Ulama Nusantara terhadap Keilmuan Islam di Indonesia: Studi Kasus Inventarisasi Manuskrip Ponpes Tremas dan Tebuireng". *Jurnal Muslim Heritage*. Vol. 7 No, 1. (Juni 24, 2022): 111-140. Doi : 10.21154/muslimheritage.v7i1.3625.

²⁴ Azizah, N. (2023). "Authoritarianism, Patronage, Family Pesantren and Elections: The Dynamics of Political Democracy in Indonesia". *International Journal of Educational Review, Law And Social Sciences: IJERLAS*. Vol. 3, No. 1 (Januari 06, 2023). 262-271. DOI: <https://radjapublika.com/index.php/IJERLAS>.

Based on several previous studies, this research has several differences which include research objects and subjects. The object of this research is in the Tapal Kuda area, while the object is about the role of Kyai on Patronage politics based on rural local democracy. Based on several studies that have been done before, there is no research that examines it both in terms of object and research subject. Thus, this research is a novelty research and makes a very big contribution to the general public. Therefore, researchers are very interested in studying it and contributing to the challenges or role of Kyai in patronage politics at Tapal Kuda Region. Based on the background above, the researcher formulated the problem, namely how the role of Kyai on patronage politics based on rural local democracy at at Tapal Kuda?

This research is a descriptive qualitative research. The instruments used in this study were observation, interviews and interviews. While the data analysis used in this study is qualitative data analysis with the Miles and Huberman analysis model covers data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion and verification. In this study researchers used triangulation techniques as a technique to test the validity of the data. While the triangulation used in this study is triangulation technique and source triangulation.

KYAI'S FIGURE

Research conducted by Geertz, which was eventually published as a book with an Indonesian translation, *Abangan, Santri and Priyayi* in Javanese Society. In this book, Geertz sees the figure of the Kyai as a cultural leader who has the ability to communicate and behave flexibly in dealing with local traditions. One of the forms of da'wah highlighted by Geertz is the "Islamization" of the salvation tradition. Tradition Congratulations This merger between local traditions and Islamic content. Kyai in Horikoshi's view are regarded as informal leaders who have a more important role than formal leaders in society. Horikoshi too corrected the title of Kyai as cultural brokers, as Geertz argues, because according to Horikoshi, kyai can also act as intermediary forces, as well as an agent capable of selecting and directing cultural values that will empower the community.

According to Dofir, Geertz's opinion which states that the religious life of Islamic boarding schools only revolves around "graves and rewards", the life of "old-fashioned" Pesantren people needs to be corrected. Dhofir also gave notes on the role of the Kyai. The mass base of the kyai and santri communities rests on Pesantren and villages where the kyai occupy a central position in their social life. This position also makes the leadership of the kyai among the santri and society rooted culturally. For Dhofir, kyai are an elite group culturally, socially, politically and economically. Imam Soeprayogo in his dissertation, *Kyai and Politics in Rural Areas (A Study of Variations and Forms of Kyai's Political Involvement)*, explained that the role and responsibility of the Kyai towards religion, the state and society simultaneously, often creates a conflict of interest that puts the Kyai in a difficult position. This difficult position occurs when the relationship between the government and the people is in a face-to-face position. If the Kyai cannot position themselves as part of the community, position themselves as defenders of the community's interests, then it is not impossible that the Kyai will be shunned by the community and their students.

The Role of Kyai in Local Democracy

The description of the data above provides a new understanding of the role of the kyai in contemporary political practice. The political role of the kyai in the process of electing the governor of East Java in 2008 was in the form of: (1) giving birth to the birth of the governor candidate, (2) determining the criteria for the governor candidate, (3) determining the political vehicle, (4) prohibiting abstentions and (5) preventing themoney politic. For example, Dhofier, who said that a kyai is a title given by society to Muslims who own a pesantren and teach classic books to their students (Dhofir, 1994).²⁵

²⁵ Dhofier, Z. *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Pandangan Hidup Kiai* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1994).

The concept of the kyai put forward by Dhofier based on their role in this field has the new addition that the Kyai is not just a person who leads a pesantren and teaches classic books to his students, but is also actively involved in fighting for the interests of the community. The findings from these fields also add to the concept of the function of the kyai put forward by Endang Turmudi: the kyai is a protector, the Kyai is an educator, and the kyai is a motivator (Turmudi, 2004).²⁶ First, In society, the Kyai are the protectors because the Kyai are the most respected people. People will come to the kyai when they want to solve a problem. In this case, the Kyai is an influential figure and becomes a reference for the community insolving various problems (Patoni, 2007).²⁷ Second, in fact, almost all Kyai in Indonesia have Islamic boarding schools.

This view presupposes that the Kyai has a central function as an educator. Endang Turmudi in his writings also said that a Kyai is a person who has extensive knowledge about Islam. This matter cause kyai always had many followers, who always attended his studies and talks (Patoni, 2007).²⁸ Third, it is undeniable that the kyai who live in the midst of society is a figure who is very shrewd in providing motivation for the emergence of various community activities.

Compared to the findings as presented at the beginning of this sub-discussion, it can be added that the kyai is not only a figure who functions as a protector, educator, motivator, but kyai are also social activists who carry out enlightenment in face change. Turmudi classifies kyai into four classifications: pesantren kyai, tarekat kyai, political kyai, and stage Kyai (Turmudi, 2004).²⁹ The pesantren Kyai category, namely Kyai who has activities or focuses attention on teaching activities in Islamic boarding schools in order to improve the quality of human resources (HR) through education; The tarekat Kyai category, namely the Kyai who focuses his attention on efforts to build heart intelligence (inner world); The category of political Kyai, namely Kyai who is concerned with the development of the world of practical politics; The category of stage kyai, namely the kyai who is usually the interpreter of da'wah, is in charge of delivering religious lectures from one place to another every night.

In the turmudi classification, he divides the kyai into the category of political kyai. However, he has not stated in detail what kind of political behaviors underlie the birth of the political Kyai category in his concept. Therefore, this field contributes to the Kyai behavior variable which is classified by Turmudi in the category of political Kyai. Several indicators of the variable "political clerics" that appear in Turmudi's writings become increasingly operational with findings in the field. For example, the behavior of the participating Kyai determines the birth of potential leaders, the behavior of the participating Kyai determines the criteria for future leaders, the behavior of the participating Kyai determines political vehicles, the behavior of the kyai participates in prohibiting abstentions, and the behavior of the kyai prohibits the practice of money politics and prohibits the act of fraudulent acts in politics.

The field results can also be compared with a study conducted by Imam Suprayogo on the involvement of Kyai in political activities. In his work, Imam sees the involvement of the kyai in various community activities in general, one of which is involvement in political aspects in rural Java-Madura Tebon District, Malang. Imam explained that the participation of Kyai in politics is carried out in different ways. Political affiliation, for example, is carried out by Kyai by supporting parties that have the support of the government. This action was taken because of the desire of the Kyai to get government facilities to develop their missionary mission (Suprayogo, 2007).³⁰ Spiritual Kyai, namely Kyai who care for Islamic boarding schools that place more emphasis on efforts to get closer to God through the practice of worship; Kyai advocacy, namely clerics who are other than parenting Islamic boarding schools and actively teach students at Islamic boarding schools, also pay attention to the

²⁶ Turmudi, E. *Perselingkuhan Kiai dan Kekuasaan* (Yogyakarta: LkiS, 2004).

²⁷ Patoni, A. *Peran Kiai Pesantren dalam Partai Politik* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2007).

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Suprayogo, I. *Kiai dan Politik: Membaca Citra Politik Kiai* (Malang: UIN Press, 2007).

problems faced by the community and always try to find solutions; Adaptive political kyai, namely Kyai who apart from caring for Islamic boarding schools are also always concerned about political organization and power; Critical political Kyai, namely kyai who are willing to adapt to the dominant power and take a critical position because of the courage to take a different stance from the dominant power.

The concept of a spiritual Kyai, according to the priest, is a figure of a static, closed and conservative Kyai who is functionally clearly unable to accommodate the characteristics of a kyai who have mobility and broad participation in political activities. Meanwhile, the concept of advocative Kyai with open, dynamic, and innovative characteristics does have affinity with the findings but an invisible political orientation, clearly not something that is typical of characteristics Kyai in this field. This is also the case with the concept of a critical political Kyai, who does have the characteristic of using politics as a tool instrument, close to the people than the government, but on the side others have closed characteristics, static, and conservative. Kyai's involvement in national minded political activities as found in these field data strengthens the thesis that was put forward by Saiful Mujani, specifically about the existence of various elements in Islam and in and political dimensions that are interconnected with one another. According to Mujani, nothing none elements contained in Islam are contrary to any dimension of political participation. Almost all the elements in Islamic teachings have a close relationship with the political dimension. Mujani in his field work specifically mentions that a person's NU identity has a positive and significant correlation with campaign activities and community work (Mujani, 2007).³¹

The facts about the existence of Islam are so influential is not the same absolutely no consequences. One of the consequences is the emergence of fundamental problems about how the relationship between Islam and democracy or about how the participation of Islamic society in democracy. This problem has been widely articulated by the public, especially academics. As it has also been mentioned by Verba, Scholzman, and Brady who said that public participation is the heart of democracy. For these experts, the condition for democracy is the free participation of the people in government (Mujani, 2007).³²

In one of the studies on the relationship between Islam and democracy, it was found that the views of some experts doubted the ability of Muslims to be participate politics in a modern democratic system like in Indonesia today for the reason that the system is not known in the Islamic political tradition. Opinions are between others are presented by Samuel Huntington who stated that the failure of democracy in Muslim countries was partly due to the character of Islamic culture and society that was not friendly towards Western-style concepts of liberalism (Huntington, 1996).³³ Huntington even goes so far as to say that the political participation of Muslims in a modern democratic system is impossible to become a reality because Muslim loyalty is so strong that it maintains the concept *ummah*. It differs by concept nation-state as the main element of modern democracy.

In modern Indonesian political history, Islamic political participation is truly an important factor in the nation's history that cannot be simply dismissed. The phenomenon of the involvement of Muslim communities in the national political arena from the Old Order era to the present is proof that Indonesian Muslims have a large role in political participation and determine the direction of the nation's struggle. A real example is the establishment of Islamic political parties, both those with Nationalist-Religious leanings or Islamist, from the Old Order to the present.

In addition to the involvement of these political parties, the political participation of civilians, such as the Indonesian Muslim community, in the dynamics of the nation-state has a purpose fight for

³¹ Mujani., S. *Muslim Demokrat: Islam, Budaya Demokrasi, dan Partisipasi Politik di Indonesia Paska-Orde Baru* (Jakarta: Gramedia Utama, 2007).

³² Mujani., S. *Muslim Demokrat: Islam, Budaya Demokrasi, dan Partisipasi Politik di Indonesia Paska-Orde Baru*. (Jakarta: Gramedia Utama, 2007).

³³ Huntington., S. P. *The Clash of Civilization. Remaking of The World Order*. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996).

Democratic values are also presented by actors in large Islamic organizations working in the social sector such as NU and Muhammadiyah, two Islamic organizations with very strong mass bases. *Nahdlatul Ulama* as a social organization for example, he has consistently existed to support the creation of civil society for the sake of upholding democracy since the old order to post-reform (Douglas, 1997).³⁴ NU figures such as KH. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) even gave birth to Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB). The election results in 1999 even delivered Gus Dur became the 4th President of the Republic of Indonesia. And now, NU is not involved in practical politics but does not limit its citizens from being actively involved in political activities (Ismail, 1998).³⁵

NU members in this area were mentioned as observers became a barometer to see the extent of their political participation in the process of the 2008 East Java Regional Head Election (Pilkada). The researchers reasoned that NU figures after leaving KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, became a big figure in this area, let's say for example KH. Ahmad Siddiq, KH. Yusuf Muhammad, as well as elders as well as national figures who are still actively fighting in the community, KH. Muchit Muzadi.

Village Communities and Local Democracy

Rural community (rural society), as opposed to urban society (urban society), became one of the important themes in the study of sociology. Soekanto, marked rural communities with several parameters, among them are First, interaction of community members that is strong internally, but weak externally. Second, communalism on a kinship basis. Third, their dependence on the agricultural sector (Soekanto, 2012).³⁶ Various parameters that characterize rural communities (rural society) actually has roots in the views of early sociologist figures. Take for example Sumner, who discovered the ideain group andout group. The two social typologies of Sumner's version are closely related to the first parameter where the pattern of interaction that exists in the internal members of the village community (in group) is so powerful. Conversely, as a consequence, their views on groups that are not identified as part of the members (out group), becomes weak (Graham, 1960).³⁷ It's just what Sumner calledin group andout group, does not refer directly to the meaning of the village in its fullest sense. Because, categorizationSource It places more emphasis on traditional community interaction patternsfounded have a high appreciation of local customs (folkways).

More or less the same, village community identification through characteristics communism above is also influenced by Charles Cooley's idea of primary groups and secondary group. In the context of this division, the primary group is a typology of groups that have thicker interaction bonds, characterized by knowing each other among themselves.respectively members of the group. This indicates that rural communities in generalown a close and strong bond among its members. This close relationship is even stronger when, in reality, the relationship pattern in the village community is supported by a group life system that creates a very strong family principle. Not to mention, the cultural, religious and communication systems tend to be homogeneous, so the bonds between members of the community in the village are very strong (Murdiyato et al., 2008).³⁸

Structurally, the social conditions of rural communities are not as complex as urban communities. This is based on the fact that the population of rural dwellers is not as dense as urban communities. This more limited population causes village communities to become more homogeneous. This condition is then coupled with their tighter level of openness, so that new changes that allow for the emergence of various new patterns are quite difficult to occur. This assumption is certainly not entirely

³⁴ Douglas, E. R. *Demokratisasi, Toleransi Agama dan Pancasila: Pemikiran Politik Abdurrahman Wahid dalam Tradisionalisme Radikal: Persinggungan Nahdlatul Ulama-Negara*. (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1997).

³⁵ NU secara institusi pernah terlibat intens dalam kegiatan politik praktis. Lihat masalah ini dalam karya Greg Fealy, *Ijtihad Politik Ulama: Sejarah NU 1952-1967* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1998). Baca pula Faisal Ismail, *Dilema NU di Tengah Pragmatisme Politik* (Jakarta: Balitbang Agama Depag RI, 2004).

³⁶ Soekanto, S. *Sosiologi: Suatu Pengantar* (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2012).

³⁷ Graham, S. W. *Folkways* (New York: American Library, 1960).

³⁸ Murdiyato, J & Septiningsih., B. D. *Sosiologi Memahami dan Mengkaji Masyarakat* (Bandung: Grafindo Media Pratama, 2008).

correct, especially in the context of today's technological globalization. Social transformation has the potential to occur without forcing the village community to open up a wider space to accept new things. Likewise, the aspect of population density can no longer be fully attached only to characterize village communities. In fact, there are many areas or areas that have a fairly high population density, but cannot be categorized as cities because there are no conditions that allow them to be called cities.

In general, at least, there are two significant elements that influence the formation of social structures within village communities. First, is land (land), and which second belief system or religion. The existence of land has a vital role for society, because it is a means of fulfilling various increasing human needs. Meanwhile, the condition of the existing land is increasingly narrow because it is used for all kinds of needs such as utilization settlement residents, places of business and for agricultural land. Land for village communities is the main requirement for the development of an area in order to keep pace with the existing pace of modernization. Therefore, the role of land as a residential area or place of business is more beneficial if managed optimally in sufficient human welfare. Therefore, ownership of land is a characteristic that is enduring in the history of pre-industrial rural community life, until now. In its continuation, the issue of land or land ownership gave rise to an assumption that the factor of land ownership will determine the role and status played by someone in the village community structure.

Most of the villagers are those who work as farmers. Some are owners of agricultural land or land and some are agricultural laborers, i.e. those who do not own land (landless) to work on yourself. In this situation, landowners certainly have a more decisive role than land laborers. Not infrequently, the interaction between the two is also clientelistic, in which the land owner is positioned as an honorable patron, while the workers are subordinate as clients. That is, the factor of land ownership in the village tends to be one of the determinants of a person's social status. Second, In addition, the social structure of rural communities cannot be separated from the aspect of belief, both in its very primitive and mythical form, to belief in the practice of worshiping God in the religious sense. Compared to urban communities, villagers have more religious nuances, as a consequence of their great belief in a holy power outside of them. The struggle to survive amidst the limitations they have, as well as their very strong dependence on nature, forces the village community to look for a symbol of strength outside of themselves. Religion and/or other belief systems were chosen because they were considered and felt capable of providing valuable inner satisfaction for the village community.

In this context, the strong religiosity of rural communities is considered to reflect their irrationality compared to urban communities. Weber's conception of purposeful rationality, value rationality, affective action and traditional action can be used as a reference for understanding rural communities (Ritzer, 2012).³⁹ At least, with Weber's knife of analysis, the behavior of rural communities in relation to the system of beliefs and beliefs that guide them to act and carry out their activities can be studied through these two main categories, namely value rationality and traditional actions. Rationality of values refers to values, one of which comes from religion, while action traditional related to ways of acting that are commonly practiced by the local community and are continuously reproduced to become a habit. That is, for rural communities, religion is the most important source of life values. They will always maintain the orientation of their life so that they are always focused on the hereafter (religious trend), this is certainly different from urban people who tend to be worldly oriented (secular trend).

This difference is caused by factors, homogeneity or similarities in social and psychological characteristics, language, beliefs, customs, and behavior that appear in rural communities so that when compared to urban communities it displays the opposite. In the city where the population is heterogeneous, consisting of people with a variety of behaviors, as well as languages, the population in the village is more heterogeneous with its life system which emphasizes the importance of a high

³⁹ Ritzer, G. *Teori Sosiologi* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2012).

degree of social differentiation (Payne, 1997).⁴⁰ This strong religious orientation in village communities is one of the reasons why religious leaders have an important role in the social structure of society. Aside from reasons of socio-economic status, namely land ownership that is above the average village population in general, religious leaders also have better religious knowledge than other villagers. The village community always refers to religious-ritual issues or even social-community issues to religious leaders. They believe that religious leaders are figures who have the most legitimate authority over religious-ritual and social community issues.

Several studies have proven this assumption, for example, the Kyai as a religious figure in the Java region, has been considered successful in positioning himself as a reference figure for the village community. The Kyai have not only succeeded in proving that they are people who have in-depth special knowledge about religion, but they can also prove themselves as figures who have a vital role in society. Some of the studies referred to, for example the work of Clifford Geertz. Geertz sees the figure of a Kyai as a cultural leader who has the ability to communicate and behave flexibly in dealing with local traditions. This is the fruit of the kyai's point of view which puts forward social reality as the basis of his *da'wah*. One of the forms of *da'wah* highlighted by Geertz is the "Islamization" of the salvation tradition. Tradition Congratulations it combines local traditions with Islamic content, so that Islam can be accepted in a peaceful way by the Javanese people (Clifford, 1983).⁴¹ Though, opinion Geertz this was corrected by Horikoshi. According to Horikoshi, kyai are not only cultural brokers, but more than that. According to him, the kyai can also act as an intermediary force (intermediary forces), as well as an agent capable of selecting and directing cultural values that will empower the community. Kyai are also considered successful in becoming informal leaders who have a more important role than formal leaders in rural communities in Java (Horikoshi, 1987).⁴²

The position of religious leaders and privileged landlords in the social structure of village communities, especially in Java, shows that the social stratification of society is strongly influenced by socio-economic status and religious knowledge. If backpointing according to Weber, social stratification is always related to three dimensions, namely economics, social status, and political power. These three factors each contribute to the formation of social stratification. Social stratification in the economic field is associated with differences in income and different access to economic resources, including goods and services. In this economic spectrum, the class system was born. Meanwhile, the occurrence of social stratification in the dimension of social status is motivated by the prestige of a certain person. This gave birth to a condition of inferiority that is owned by another group of people who do not have the prestige that makes them worthy of social respect, while political power underlies the birth of social stratification based on the power possessed by someone who is not owned by others (Weber, 1974).⁴³

In an economic context, stratification social status in rural communities is manifested in different forms of land tenure. Landlords, thanks to their ownership of agricultural land, will automatically be placed in a higher hierarchy than those who only act as agricultural laborers. The size of wealth becomes a determining factor in the context of the formation of social stratification in the economic field. Next, the aspect of honor prestige, which is owned by a person or a group in the village community, can deliver it to the top of the social stratification hierarchy. It is not difficult to identify figures who are in this dimension. Religionists and traditional leaders are examples of figures who occupy honorable positions in these rural communities. This respect arises because of their prestigious social status, as a manifestation of the religious representation attached to them, or the cultural authority they carry. This form of honor-based social stratification is very strong in village society which is still traditional. According to Pitirim A. Sorokin said that the layered system of social stratification in society is a

⁴⁰ Payne, M. *Modern Social Work Theory* (Second edition. London: Macmillan Press Ltd. 1997).

⁴¹ Clifford, G. *Abangan, Santri dan Priyayi dalam Masyarakat Jawa* (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1983).

⁴² Horikoshi, H. *Kiai dan Perubahan Sosial* (Jakarta: P3M, 1987).

⁴³ Weber, M. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (New York: Free Press, 1974).

fixed and common feature in every society that lives in an orderly manner (Sanderson, 2000).⁴⁴ In this context, the Kyai is seen in stratification in society as a figure who occupies the highest position in society structure social community, most have religious authority so that they are always the main reference for society in terms of ritual-religious and social community.

In the context of rural Madurese society, most of which dominate the eastern part of the Tapal Kuda, namely Situbondo, Bondowoso and parts of Jember and parts of Probolinggo, the kyai are a special social class because a well-maintained traditional Islamic culture demands to place the kyai as a source of knowledge and blessings. *Barokah* is a concept about building goodness in life out of respect for people who are close to Allah SWT. Historically, the position of the kyai in several aspects plays a role that is relevant to the concept of *barokah*.

Kyai in the position as culture *broker* is a person who is the solution in every problem of social life in society. Even in Bondowoso, there are kyai in every village because Islamic boarding schools are spread evenly in every community group at the village level. The position of the kyai is the axis of community life in all aspects of life, starting from religion, culture, economy, social and even politics. For example in the village Tangsil East of Wonosari Bondowoso, there is kyai Togo Ambarsari who has a son Kyai Salwa Arifin. Kyai Togo is known as the kyai guardian who is the Qibla of the community in various problems such as asking for guidance to find a job, asking for drinking water as blessing intermediary for healing and so on. Therefore, the position of the Togo kyai is so central and becomes the axis of life for the Tangsil Wetan community so that when his son runs as a candidate in the 2018 Bondowoso regional election, the Tangsil community as a whole supports him. Even if there is one of the Tangsil people who does not support it, it is as if he has left the cultural standard of the community because he 'betrayed' the kyai who are the axis of Tangsil people's life.

A culture that places the kyai as the center of life or even an individual cult built by rural communities is a form of community relations with the kyai that is based on knowledge and spiritual practice of traditional Islam. And the culture of the knowledge and spirituality of the kyai that is higher than that of the community is a belief that is stabbed deep into the heart of the rural Islamic community because in the midst of irrationality life, spirituality and Islam shown by the kyai is a solution that is relevant and appropriate and is actually able to solve problem community life.

Patronage Politics

Some of the research that has been done before is research in 2007, regarding the Kyai's political conflict and its implications for social disintegration of society, and research on the perception of the Kyai's son towards the Kyai's choice to engage in political activity in 2010 (Bahar, 2010),⁴⁵ clearly depicting the portrait of the Kyai's face in various forms. The debate about political Kyai (Bahar, 2010),⁴⁶ and Kyai politics (Bahar, 2010),⁴⁷ still leaves a sharp difference. Especially between those who support and reject Kyai's involvement in politics. Those who support it argue that Islam is a perfect teaching, a teaching that does not separate world affairs from religious affairs. Supporters of Kyai's involvement in politics reject the viewpoint of secular ideology which tends to separate religious affairs and matters of power politics. They argue that the Kyai, as the person who understands religious affairs best, should not stay away from political matters. Because basically Islam is a religion that obliges all its adherents to maintain the benefit (public good), one of which is through power politics. Furthermore, because kyai are considered to have proven integrity, have qualified religious knowledge and are believed to be

⁴⁴ Sanderson. *Sosiologi Makro, Sebuah Pendekatan Terhadap Realitas Sosial* (Jakarta: PT RajaGrafindo Persada, 2000).

⁴⁵ Dalam penelitian ini, terungkap fakta bahwa terdapat beragam persepsi putra kiai akan aktivitas kiai dalam politik. Paling tidak, terdapat dua pendapat yang bertolak belakang, yaitu mendukung dan menolak. Kedua pendapat ini memiliki argumentasi yang kuat. Baca penelitian Moh. Syaeful Bahar, *Studi Fenomena Perbedaan Persepsi Putra Kiai (Gus/Lora) Terhadap Peran Sosial Politik Kiai dan Pesantren*, (Surabaya, lemlit IAIN Sunan Ampel, 2010).

⁴⁶ Kata kiai politik seringkali dialamatkan kepada para kiai yang terjun ke dalam politik praktis.

⁴⁷ Kata politik kiai seringkali dilekatkan kepada pola, cara, pendekatan dan perilaku politik kiai.

able to bring goodness in political practice, they support them when kyai enter practical politics. Simply put, the supporters of the Kyai in politics believe that the involvement of the Kyai in politics will have positive implications for the movement and direction of politics.

Kyai is believed to be goal keeper for morality and divine values in political processes and products. Such an assumption is not only based on religious postulates such as the hadith of the prophet, *al ulama' waratsatul anbiyaa'* (scholars are the heirs of the prophets), and the words of Allah swt in the Qur'an surah Fatir 28, *innama yakhsallahu min 'ibadihi al 'ulama* (Surely those who fear Allah among His servants, are only scholars). But also rational postulates that are based on modern logic born from the analysis and study of contemporary political experts. The arguments of political kyai supporters are also based on some of the findings of previous researchers. For example Horikoshi's opinion, which states that the leadership of the kyai is more firmly rooted in society than other elites. In this context, according to Horikoshi, the kyai as an informal figure in the community structure has a stronger influence than a formal structural figure such as the village head (Horikoshi, 1987).⁴⁸ Horikoshi's opinion was used as a basis for argumentation by political kyai supporters. According to them, kyaipolitical is a logical choice where the benefits outweigh the harm. By being involved in politics, the kyai will be more effective in giving political color and all policies that are born from the political process.

Kyai becomes a player, not a spectator; the kyai is the determinant, not determined, is the sentence most often conveyed by political kyai supporters. However, not all parties agree that the kyai should come down from the mountain to engage in practical politics. The reason for this view is the existence of kyai who are vulnerable to being in a position extreme in the pull of different interests in political struggles. Though on point extreme there are also many parties (community) who should also be served by Kyai. Therefore, being political will force the kyai to be in the boxes of interests and that means that the kyai can no longer be servants for people who are not in the same box of interests as the kyai. However, not all parties agree if the Kyai comes down from the mountain to practice politics. The reason behind the disagreement is the conditional demands that make Kyai stand on point extreme namely the point of interest where in politics there will be many interests that are different from other interests in the point extreme other. Though on point extreme there are also many parties (community) who should also be served by Kyai. Therefore, being political will force the kyai to be in the interest boxes and that means the kyai can no longer be servants for people who are not in the same interest box as the Kyai.

As revealed by W. Pye in Azis, that the concept of political culture refers to a set of attitudes, beliefs, and beliefs of community members who have influence in setting political systems and processes. Nonetheless, by no means a trap concept theoretical anthropology is not capable to describe critically about the culture of patronage in power relations politics. This concept actually starts from the theory of social exchange or social exchange proposed by Blau, (1964) which conceptually can be categorized as having similarities with the term (reciprocity) or processes lead returned from Malinowski. In the concept and context of exchange theory which has the basic assumption that an exchange transaction will occur if both parties can obtain benefits from the exchange. Anthropologists like Scott as someone who has expertise and long experience working in indirect patronage studies decide patronage relationship in exchange theory.

According to Gouldner, patronage is a patron client relationship that is a universal relationship and has two basic elements. First, the assisted party and secondly, the assisting party are both bound on interest social and practical. Patrons politically need political support from clients in order to gain power in government while clients help vote as remuneration. Second, it is this basic element that distinguishes the patron client relationship from coercion that occurs because of the existence of formal authority. There are 3 main causal factors in the formation of patronage relationships. First,

⁴⁸ Horikoshi, H. *Kiai dan Perubahan Sosial* (Jakarta : P3M, 1987)

strong market inequality in widely accepted possession of wealth, status and power as something legit. Second, there is no physical guarantee, status and position that is strong and personal in nature. Third, Helplessness family unit as an effective vehicle for security and self-development. Sahlins (1972) identifies three types of models and patterns of reciprocal relationships that apply in society, namely; generalization, balanced and negative. In anthropological terms, reciprocity is a non-market exchange of goods or labor ranging from a direct exchange to a form of gift exchange in which return is ultimately expected.

In contrast the context is when the exchange is direct as in barter, it does not create social relations but when the exchange is delayed this pattern immediately creates both the relationship and the obligation to repay the debt i.e. debt. Therefore, several forms and patterns of reciprocal relationships can form a hierarchy if the debt is not repaid. Failure to perform a return can end the relationship between equals. Reciprocal exchanges can also have political effects through the creation of obligations and the establishment of leadership as in the exchange of gifts (*moca*) among the big men in Melanesia.

Scott completes the previous view by suggesting that the patron-client relationship is an exchange relationship between two people (dyadic) most of which involve instrumental companionship. Where an individual with a higher economic status (a patron) uses his influence and resources to provide protection or benefits to someone with a lower status (klein) who in turn reciprocates the gift with support and assistance including personal services to the patron as employer. According to him, sometimes patron-client practices are in line with and complement each other with official political institutions. In contrast to the view of Ahimsa Putra (1988) which says that the relationship patronage or patron client, especially in the context of modern politics such as in the era of regional autonomy understood as a form of relationship that is achieved or achieved. Generally characterized by four criteria, namely; 1) exchange 2) dissimilarity 3) face to face and 4) expansion of relationships.

Berenschot and Aspinall in his book *Democracy for Sale* admit that practice the practice of patron-client power existed in the pre-colonial period and lasted until now and for quite a long time during the New Order government. Patronage, according to him, is an area of informal political study that is engaged in transactional-based political phenomena starting from issues of money politics of vote buying to buying and selling arrangements public office. Findings from comparative studies comparing practices clientelism in Argentina, India and Indonesia and found different principal variants of political forms clientelism in a highly fluid or barrier free homeland free wheelin) relying more on individual political figures in gaining support than on political parties. Thus, by in fact client highly dependent on patrons who provide free services that can include economic obligations. However, when examined accurately in a patron-client relationship, it is difficult to determine who benefits most from the exchanges that occur between the two parties. The reason is, it could be that the relationship that occurs between the patron and the client takes place in a balanced way and contributes to each other, meaning that the patron provides kindness in the form of work and protection. Instead the client offers respect and political support to the patron in the form of loyalty, dedication and physical sacrifice in the form of labor and material in return for the assistance received from the patron.

As an example, RKH. Kholil As'ad Syamsul Arifin is the son of RKH. As'ad Syamsul Arifin. Historically, kyai As'ad was known as a kyai guardian and 'alim who was the caretaker of the two Salafiyah Islamic Boarding Schools Shafi'iyah Sukorejo Situbondo. His father, Kyai Syamsul Arifin, was the founder of the hut. In the beginning, each pondok was present in every village community as a form of solution to the moral crisis which resulted in a crisis in the quality and standard of living of the community. Rationally, every Islamic boarding school is present as a forum for da'wah in improving society morally and in the end seeps into social, cultural, economic and then political aspects. Likewise with the Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Islamic boarding school which is a forum for preaching and education in improving people's morals. On the other hand, culturally every society that benefits from this moral improvement mission is very much because every kyai does indeed play a role as a leader culture broker

very well. This is especially for people who live in his son in Islamic boarding schools or alumni of the Islamic boarding schools themselves.

When the relationship between the kyai as caretakers of Islamic boarding schools and the community as service users is mainly scientific and spiritual in nature, then there is cultural independence which initially studied in science and then oriented in all things. This has happened in almost all historical forms of the kyai in the midst of social groups. because the mission of the kyai exists and preaches in the midst of society with exemplary methods and *mauidoh hasanah*. Every kyai is the qibla and pivot of community life in all aspects of life including politics, starting with KH. Zaini Mun'im in Paiton Probolinggo, Kyai Togo Ambarsari in Bondowoso, KH. Khatib Umar and KH. Achmad Shiddiq in Jember and others.

Basically, the patronage built by the community in the political field is nothing but a continuation of the exemplary construction that is imitated by the community in the science and morals shown by the Kyai. In this position, the Kyai is figure public that is imitated by society in all aspects of its life in the midst of public ignorance which results in a moral crisis at first, Then socio-cultural and economic crisis as a continuation. As a result, like RKH. Kholil As'ad as the successor of RKH. As'ad Syamsul Arifn became the center of the Situbondo community, especially the people who became students at the Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Islamic Boarding School in all forms of attitude and decision-making including politics.

CONCLUSION

Sociologically, the village community in the Tapal Kuda area of East Java is dominated by the sarong people who have affiliations with certain Pesantren either as alumni or just sympathizers. It is because the distribution of Islamic boarding schools in this area is relatively high and is socio cultural basis of education in rural communities in the region. The indication is the domination of society *Nahdliyin* affiliated with *Nahdlatul Ulama* as a social organization social largest in Indonesia. In the context of rural Madurese society, they totally believe on Kyai's decision, because they think that follow Kyai is the *tawadhu'* or ethics in upholding the glory of Kyai. In addition, they consider that Kyai can give blessings in life and give the best role in making choices. So that, the kyai are a special social class because a well-maintained traditional Islamic culture demands to place the kyai as a source of knowledge and blessings. This study describe the role of Kyai in the context of local democracy rural based on patronage politics in the East Java Tapal Kuda. In this case, Kyai acts as a role model in leading and upholding the religiosity of rural communities (laymen) who do not have political awareness in local democracy so that they patron to Kyai as a role model in their lives. In addition, the role of the kyai in the patronage politics of rural communities determines the flow of support for local democratic communities because politics is a subordinate area of rural community religiosity. This research needs to be carried out further research, which is not only about the role of the Kyai in rural local democracy but rather about the strategy of the Kyai's role in rural local democracy as well political impact these are rural communities and the wider community. This research has enormous implications and contributions in Indonesian society, especially in Tapal Kuda Region, namely in stemming practical politics, money politics and identity politics and so on. This research still has limitations in studying the position of the Kyai in rural local democracy is based on patronage politics in Tapal Kuda, which is related to the role and impact of patronage politics in Tapal Kuda. Thus, it is necessary to carry out further research on patronage politics, which is not only related to the position of the Kyai in Tapal Kuda but also the contribution and implications for the benefit of patronage politics in other areas.

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