# ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP MODEL OF ULAMA (ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS LEADER) IN INDONESIA

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Abstract: The purposed of this study was to look at models of the political leadership of the Ulama in The latest development of Indonesia. the contemporary politics in Indonesia was marked by the successful of Indonesian voters for the first times elect their president and vice president directly (1998). Since then, the government system gave the opportunity to private citizen to nominate themselves and stand as the head of government. However, if citizens planned to become a candidate, he must be registered as member from one political party or represent one of them. For example, there is Ulama who form a party called the " Partai Bintang Reformasi" in the reformation period. In addition, there is the party that contains a lot of Ulama such as "Partai Keadilan Sejahtera" who chose to merge with the winning party and eventually many of those sitting in parliament.

The models of political leadership in Indonesia will be analyzed through four types; Personality Attributes Model, Leader and Constituent Models, Contextual Factor Model, the Integrative Model. Although in an attempt to understand the behavior of the political leadership of the Ulama, the most appropriate model seemed the use of integrative models.

The aim of this research was also to get the broader picture of what model is most widely practiced by the Ulama when they were assigned in government system, members of parliament and political party leaders, then the results will be also compared among the 3 groups of the samples. This study will be recruited some participants to answer the questionnaires and followed by depth interview session.

*Keywords:* Attributes Model, Contextual Factor Model, Integrative Model, Leader and Constituent Models, Models of Political Leadership, Ulama/Islamic Religious Leader

## INTRODUCTION

The issue of leadership will always be alive and traced from one generation to the next in order L to find a suitable formulations that can be applied at any time in every era. These conditions indicate that leadership is a concept that is very dynamic, urgent and complex. In the political world with a complex organization, it is definitely needed leadership with systematic coordination. The success will be seen if the political organization went well and the political goals of the individuals in such organisation were achieved. Therefore, political leaders must understand the role of organization and relations between the member. Leadership in politics is also directed to anticipate and fix the conflicts that occur within the community, by understanding the theory of the social dimension, so could understand the life of society and the informal atmosphere of political organization.

Ulama as one of political component in Indonesia, have a important role to the unity of Indonesia. Ulama is a man of which has broaden knowledge especially in Islamic Religion, and always consistent between on their words and behavior. Traditional Islamic society in Indonesia understand Ulama as a person who has a special position. This appreciation is associated with the authority of Ulama in religion, ethics and their spiritual functions as the guardian of human harmony. Until now, certain communities in rural and urban still believed that Ulama as an individual who is able to provide alternative solutions to complex issues. Religion for the traditional society is what is taught, implemented and exemplified by the Ulama.

Leadership is something important in the management strengths of the nation, which is determined by integrative leadership, as the key to the success of political organization. The essence of leadership is directing the willingness of others to follow the desires of the leader. Leaders must be able to avoid themselves from bad attitudes and actions and otherwise would be able to perform actions towards a willingness to work with enthusiasm and confidence. In addition, they also must be able to persuade subordinates, so that subordinates sure what the leader do is induced. This short article aims to analyze the fundamental things about the meaning of leadership in politics, especially in the political leadership of the clergy, so it can recommend the most appropriate model.

## **Ulama Leadership Role in Politics**

In the literature of political science, public participation, including Ulama is one of important indicator for the existence of a government democratic system. Public participation in politics is not only seen on the community involvement in elections, but also in various other political activities that have implications for society. According to the experts (Wagle 2000:214), democracy will only have meaning, when the public or citizens as stakeholders, are always involved in public policy-making process all generated by the government. This is because every public policy made by the government always has broad implications for society. Therefore, the public's political participation in the policymaking process is the only way to convince the public that public policy making is done democratically.

Ulema have the ability to restructure the actions of others in accordance with Islam's religious beliefs. The power was consolidated with the public belief that the Ulama as someone who has knowledge of Islam, obey all Islamic taught with consistent and getting closer to the almighty Allah SWT. Therefore, people belief that Ulama have the capability to make people close to him. People want to get the blessings of the Ulama for various purposes. Now a days, Ulama's rule against people being changed, indicating the existence of a dynamic effort to control such changes.

One of the political elite called Ulama. They tried to get a double legitimacy in law and religion. The reality in Indonesia occurred in the reform era in 1998, has led to political change. The government provides an opportunity to establish political parties based on religious beliefs as a contestant the 1999 elections and the implementation of regional autonomy. Changes in political format caused distribution in political power and display the new political configuration. Each of political party is trying to make religious beliefs as their basic value to influence the society. These political changes marked by the dominancy of "Politik Aliran", as well as Ulama actively involved in political activity, economic, and social to control such changes. One indicator is the number of political parties which change their principle into Islamic thoughts, the Kaaba as a symbol and the re-emergence of power decentralized, the political elite who was supported by Ulama to become the head of the region, increasing the Budget Allocation and Expenditure for the development of religious infrastructure, and strengthening people's aspirations to determine specific local regulations.

Religion now a days has big influence of the sources of power. It means that no longer centralized power to the ruler, military or powerful economic groups, but has spread widely on the horizontal line, the followers of Islam. Later, Ulama involved in the goverment's structure. Belief of the existence of the Ulama build to a specific political culture. Values and traditions is an important factor in the formation of political culture which then reflects the attitudes and political behavior of people. Specific political culture that makes the Ulama as a dominant force, and obedience is an important element in the relationship. Values and habits of the people are very important in the formation of political culture that reflects people's attitudes and behavior. Political culture based on religious beliefs will determine their political actions. By itself, Ulama rule is not merely political power, but rather the ability to structure the actions of others in certain areas and constantly circulate from one subject to another that creates a field of charisma.

# **Political Leadership Model of Ulama**

The most sophisticated theory tried to understand leadership concept through organizational behavior. The orientation of these behaviors is trying to implement social learning approach in leadership. Yuki (1994, p. 2-3) have tried to gather some expert opinion about the definition of leadership, is "the behavior of an individual when he is directing the activities of a group toward a shared goal". Political leadership using the approach of two categories, the

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"agent-centered" and "environment-centered". The first approach assumes that the political leadership centered, and mostly determined by the capacity, personality traits and behavior of all these actors. Researchs on this assumption that "political leaders" are the ones who have the unique characteristics (traits). Another approach finds that the political leadership more as a function of environmental factors and the influence of certain contextual variables that influence on a political leader. From the perspective of psychological theory, the political leadership will take one, or a combination of Personality Attributes model, leader and follower, context factors, and Integrative (Muluk, 2010, p.63). Accordingly, in this paper will analyze models of political leadership, to get a model that is considered close to the political leadership that were appropriate for Ulama as follows:

#### **Personality Attribute Model**

Personalities issues will always been a complex issues during human civilization. Additionally, some experts try to interpret the critical dimensions of personality in the structure and dynamics of the human psyche and its manifestation in human behavior and society. Personality theory is a science that systematically discusses the human as an individual. The aim of this knowledge was to know the individual behavior in relation with the situation, environment and daily experiences. This is why personality theory focuses on individual traits of the human and connected in concrete situations. In other words "personality is the characteristic of individuals regarding his behavior when related to others" (Lanyon and Goodstein 1977, p.54).

In general, currently, psychologists do not have any agreement about the exact definition of personality. However, personality still can be defined as a pattern of behavior and thinking which were typical and determines a person's adjustment to the environment (Atkinson and Hilgard 1983, p. 417). Typical term implies to a consistency of behavior, that people tend to act or think in certain ways in different situations. As a result, behavior is the result of interactions between personality characteristics and social conditions as well as the physical condition of the environment.

One model of a political leadership is a personality attribute approach that emphasizes the personality characteristics of the actor / political leadership as a key determinant to define the performance of their leadership style. The earlier research findings seem consistent with the thesis of "the great man" which conclude that the political leaders who succeed are the ones with the type of strong personality and have consistent behavior and also has a superior ability than the average person. On the other hand, a more comprehensive study showed that the leadership personality trait is not always consistent from one moment to another, from one situation to another (Muluk, 2010, p.64).

In the end, experts analysis tend to make the simplification of the character typology of leaders into passive and active dimensions. Active-passive dimension refers to how strong the motives, desires and personal energy showed by a person in carrying out the task of political leadership. The more active leaders referred to the type of leader who works all out, very firm, strong energetic, optimistic, very confident. Positive-negative dimension is related to the level of satisfaction in terms of affection of the tasks assigned. A leader with a positive type tends to enjoy the position and satisfied with his duties. Meanwhile, the negative type is likely not satisfied with his duties and quick to feel disappointed.

According to Herman (1986) there are six aspects of the character of political leaders that are relevant : A) the leader's basic political belief b) the leader's political style c) Motives of political leaders in achieving his political position, d) the pattern of leader's reaction in stressful situations, especially when facing political pressure, e) Psychological condition when entered the political system, f) Previous experience and political skills, g) The political situation when the leader enter the politics.

Information about how the pattern of beliefs, styles, motivation, and especially the psychological reactions in the context of political leaders is the most important criterion to determine the personality characteristics of political actors. According to this, that there was no correlation between the leader's trait and their success. Therefore, Robbins tried to formulate four general properties that seem to have an influence on the success of the political leadership in influencing subordinates (Robbins 1996: p. 272): First; Intelligence. The results generally show that the leaders have a higher intelligence level than their followers. Nevertheless, a very interesting part of these studies is that leaders cannot exceed too much of the intelligence of his followers. Second, the level their maturity and flexibility of social of relationships. Leaders tend to be emotionally mature, has a great deal of attention to social activities, and have a desire to appreciate or being appreciated. Third, self-motivation and encouragement to achieve their goals. The leaders have relatively strong motivational force for achievement. Fourth, human relations attitudes. Successful leaders willing to acknowledge dignity and honor of his followers.

In the political leadership model of the ulama concerned with how the leader treats his followers, and how the exchange model between leaders and followers. Desired pattern for example is a strong leader, authoritative, charismatic and capable, so capable of directing the people (followers) in accordance with what he wanted. The relations between Ulama and their followers now a days seemd have specific patterns, which means Ulama have a strong influence what the goals and objectives to be achieved, the people just have to follow what has been determined by them.

## **Contextual Factor Model**

Political leadership with the contextual factor model means the important role of specific situation or context in influencing the leadership. Context is the setting in which a people showed their political leadership style. Situation or context of leadership will be very important since it could functionate as a demands, constraints, or factors that facilitate the emergence of a particular action of a leader. However, despite the evidence that the political leadership behaviors depends at least in certain situations, some researchers have reached the conclusion that the behavior of a leader is more effective than others in various situations. In fact, trait approach can not explain what caused the successful leadership. Therefore, a behavioral approach is no longer trying to find the answer to the traits of the leader, but trying to determine what is done by the leaders, how they delegate tasks, how they communicate and motivate subordinates, how they perform tasks, and so on.

Based on the context model, it used a contingency approach that emphasizes the leader's personal traits and situations, as well as trying to measure and estimate the personal traits, which are based on a combination of personality traits and situational. Contingency theory helps potential leaders to assess various situations and demonstrate appropriate leadership behaviors based on the situation. Contingency approach to leadership was tried : a) to identify which of the factors most important in a particular set of circumstances and, b) to predict the most effective leadership style in the situation. Based on this assumption, it is very difficult for leaders to change the management style which has helped him in building a successful career. For this reason, the effort to change management style to fit the situation is not easy. The style is relatively not flexible, but there is no style that is suitable for all situations. Therefore, effective group performance can be achieved by matching the leader to the situation or change the situation to fit leader.

In the case of the Ulama context, it is quite understandable why the political decisions which come from the Ulama arise and why on another occasion the decision does not appear. The basic assumption of this model is in the Ulama's political leadership, there is a reciprocal response between

certain factors such as the situation, environment and specific context. Therefore, the opinion that a Ulama leadership was not accountable, would be very different if we see in the context of Indonesia. Several backgrounds such as country context, factors of society, political system and the rules which required the mechanism of checks and balances will be very different in Ulama leadership. Certain level of accountability required of leadership behavior was not always fit with the context of the political leadership of the ulama. These contextual factors model also includes factors such as culture where the Ulama lived. Patterns of leadership behavior will be very different in people with different cultural backgrounds such as individualistic society or the community with paternalistic culture. In general it can be said that environmental factors or political context scholars will further determine the pattern of leadership that emerged compared with other factors.

## Integrative Model

From the description of previous models, we could develop an integrated model of political leadership. Political leadership is a function of integration and interaction of three factors: the leader's personality attributes, patterns of relationship between leaders and followers, environmental factors / context. Therefore to understand integrative model of Ulama leadership, could be viewed from several aspects (Muluk 2010, p.68): a) The character or personality attributes of leaders, including the background before he became leader, b) Characteristics of people or groups that become followers, c) How does the interaction between the leader with his followers, d) Context, the environment or setting in which the leader is located, and e) Results or leadership showed by behavior the leader. Integrative functions are a given pattern, in response to an individual or an active force within the individual. There are four main criteria for a well integrated personality of leaders, first; accept yourself, the second; accepted by others, three; efficiency in the work, fourth; free from inner 1958, conflicts (Skinner p. 181). Furthermore, ulama personality will always be associated with their values and what is reflected in the leadership process. This opinion is described as directing, carrying out tasks, monitoring and influencing the pattern of such participation, communication and motivating. From the above description it can be said, the political leadership of Ulama based on religious values, is a dynamic organization of the psychophysic system in determining the uniqueness of individuals who integrate themselves to the environment. It includes: accept yourself, accepted other people, efficient in work, free from inner conflicts within oneself.

## CONCLUSION

From the above analysis, can be concluded, that the leadership is a interaction between leaders and followers, in one group, which aimed to achieve common goals in the group. Political leadership of Ulama will use a variety ways, in order to encourage activities towards achieving the objectives of the group. The effectiveness of Ulama leadership are not only determined by the personality and skills to lead his group, but also determined by the followers. Diversity in knowledge and skills of each follower can facilitate or hinder the process of leadership. In fact, an explanation of the effectiveness of Ulama political leadership reflect the integrative approach which taking into account few factors such as agent and environmental factors as well as leaders and followers

Ulama political leadership will be successfull only if the knowledge, skills and attitude of the Ulama regarding the scope of duties and responsibilities, procedures for problem analysis, problem solving and approprite decision implementation. Therefore, the integrative leadership who has an open attitude, willing to accept differences of opinion, daring to argue which is supported by the facts and theories, and willingness to work independently in carrying out decisions responsibly will achieve the suitable Ulama political leadership.

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