

The Shift of Power Structure in Rural Banten: A Case of Local Leadership Typology of *Ulama* and *Jawara* in Pandeglang

Asep Muslim

Lala M. Kolopaking

Arya H. Dharmawan

Endriatmo Soetarto

Study Program of Rural Sociology,
Department of Communication and Community Development,
Faculty of Human Ecology, Bogor Agricultural University
Indonesia

Abstract

This research is mainly inspired by Kartodirjo (1984), Tihami (1992) and Hamid (2010) that describe how ulama (religious elite) and jawara (cultural elite) as the informal leaders play their social power in Banten local politics. With other perspectives, the study of this research is focused on the shift of power structure in Bantenese rural society as influenced by ulama and jawara. By the critic approach, researcher tries to explain why the informal leader is able to influence the local political decisions. The result of this research finds a specific character of Bantenese power structure and the factors that contribute to construct it.

Key Words: informal leader, power structure, *ulama*, *jawara*.

1. Introduction

Local autonomy that implemented in local government system as ruled by Law Number 32 Year 2004 about Local Government has consequence to the democratization process in the local politic dynamic. It opens all of the local social culture elements to participate in local political arena. In the democratization perspective, it is an improvement, but in term of bureaucratic system and political ethic, it is an accident. In fact, this condition creates a new local strongman, bossism or even shadowy warlords in Indonesian local politics. This condition could be traced from the political dynasty construction in many local government system especially Banten. According to Hidayat's research (2007), local autonomy era has brought a shadow state in Banten local politics; a government was ruled by the specific informal groups. Is there any mistake in Indonesian democratization process?

There is nothing wrong with the democratization process, it is about political system. Naturally, the political system has a responsibility to accommodate the local characteristic that varied in diversity of Indonesia. Meanwhile, most of society has a very unique characteristic of their power relation and structure, and the most important thing is they have their democratic notions themselves. In this context, the term of local democratic concept is introduced. It could be concluded that because of political system accommodate the cultural environment, then it constructs a local democracy. There are many variables that have influence on the constructing it, one of them is the informal leader.

In case of Banten local politics, there are two kinds of informal leaders that have a huge influence, they are *ulama* and *jawara*. In the local term, *ulama* refer to a person who has the great Islamic religious knowledge and *jawara* is the local term that refers to a person who has the martial art ability. Their social and political roles could be traced from some research. Tihami (1992) analyse relation between magic and religion that strengthen the role of *ulama* and *jawara* in Bantenese society. Meanwhile their role of Bantenese local politic has been analysed by Kartodirdjo (1984) in the context of peasant revolt that describes their significant role in the nation struggle for freedom of Dutch imperialism. Then Hamid (2010) gives an explanation how *ulama* and *jawara* is "used" as a political asset by the new order regime.

The most important thing of Hamid's explanation is his description of the recent Bantenese local politic that dominated by *jawara*. This domination of *jawara* in many ways creates a political condition as Bantenese political dynasty. It is indicated by the leadership of *jawara* in almost a whole Bantenese local government system. At present, the domination of *jawara* in Banten political constellation is undefeated. *Jawara* exist in every level social system, from the superstructure till the lowest structure. The political domination of *jawara* is supported by their ability to make a good relation to another elites especially *kyai*, bureaucracy, political parties and military (Abrori, 2003; Alkhudri, 2013). On the other hand, the political role of *ulama* is getting lower. In the rural society shows a rather different condition. *Ulama* as a religious leader still play their roles especially in social aspects. The religious dependency of rural society to *ulama* make *ulama* is able to control their political orientation by smoothly, something that could not be done by *jawara*. Because of that reason, *jawara* is depends on *ulama*'s power. On the other side, the types of *ulama* and *jawara* such as *kyai kitab*, *kyai politik*, *kyai hikmah*, *ulama jawara*, *jawara leuweung* and *jawara putih* have the special influence on their relation.

The organization culture of bureaucracy, social-cultural values, and local political ethics are also the influential factors. This condition makes a power structure that emerged in local level does not indicates the truly local politic in a whole. In case of Kawoyang Village, the role of *ulama* and *jawara* as the informal leader give a huge contribution in rural governance system. Although in politic local aspect *jawara* has a very big influence, but in social power *ulama* is still in super ordinate position. In fact, both of them basically are the main elites in Bantenese rural society. The main point of the research background above is that there was a shift of power structure from the rational-legal authority of local bureaucracy to the informal leader of *ulama* and *jawara*. The research aim is also to describe a dynamic of social-political role of the local leader that influence to the power structure construction. Based on the research background in the introduction, research problem can be formulated as how does *ulama* and *jawara* affect power structure in Bantenese rural society. The main aim of this study is to analyse the effect of informal leader (*ulama* and *jawara*) on the shift of power structure.

2.0 Conceptual Framework

The power structure is understood by how big the elements of elite affect their society. To know that, could be explored by their relation among others. So, understanding power structure is how to understand their power relation. Therefore, theories of power relation will use as a tool of analysis. This power relation is based on patron-client relation from Scott (Scott, 1972a, 1972b, 1992, 1994) that look there is a harmony relation between patron and client based on the principle of protection and assistance as a kind of social insurance. Analysing the power structure in Banten could not be separated from *pesantren* life in term of power relation between *kyai* and *santri*. The relation between *kyai* and *santri* that based on the patron-client relation infects the real life relation in Bantenese society including the relation *ulama* and *jawara* as the main informal leader, and so in the bureaucratic life (especially the relation between *bupati* (regent) and *kepala desa* (*kepala desa* is head of village in the national term as ruled by Law Number 6 Year 2014)). In the new order era, the power relation between the government and *ulama*, also *jawara* could be looked as a hegemony, so that in this research also uses the hegemony theory of Gramsci that look the process of transaction, negotiation and compromise that takes place between the ruling and subordinate groups; something different with domination and corporation (Bates, 1975; Hoare, 1999; Jones, 2006). Besides that, the relation between some informal leaders also indicates an increasing of their power that changed their relation. To observe the changing in this power relation, researcher will use the power-dependence theory of Emerson that looks the structure potential was used to guarantee the power (Emerson, 1962; Ritzer, 2011).

3.0 Research Methods

Kawoyang village in this research was purposively selected as research case. It is located at Sub District of Carita, Pandeglang Regency, Banten Province, Indonesia. The village selection was based on consideration as the village that represent the specific character of Pandeglang rural society. Unit of analysis of this research is the social and political role of *ulama* and *jawara* and their power relation with other elites such as head of village (hereafter *kepala desa*) and regent (hereafter *bupati*). Informant was selected by key person technique with consideration to use snowball technique in order to deepen the research information. The informant in this research is *ulama*, *jawara*, *kepala desa*, *bupati*, *camat* (head of sub district), village officials, village institutions, village elites, and the rural common people. Data were collected by using in-depth interview and participatory observation technique, and analysed qualitatively using paradigm of critic approach.

4.0 Results and Discussion

There are three main social constructions that have big contribution to construct the power structure in Banten. Those are the belief system and tradition, the concept of *ulama* and *jawara* and the relation between *kyai* and *santri*. All those elements give a specific character of Bantenese power structure. Besides those influences, the dynamic of social-political role of *ulama* and *jawara* and the special types of rural Bantenese power relation also affect the power structure construction.

4.1 Bantenese Belief System and Tradition

In this research, Banten is not only looked as one of the province of Indonesia, but also as one of sub culture of Indonesia. In order to understand Pandeglang social and cultural system, it could not be separated from the whole Bantenese society. In the Banten Sultanate era, Banten government policy made almost of the whole Banten region to be the similar character as a religious and traditional society. Recently, after Pandeglang became a part of Banten Province (as one of the regency), those characters remain in Pandeglang society. In many literatures, Banten is known as a religious society (Kartodirdjo, 1984; Bruinessen, 1995). The consequences of this Bantenese religious life positioned *ulama* as the significant informal leader. In fact, *ulama* have played their significant role that began at Banten Sultanate era. In this era, there was a unity between *ulama* (religious leader) and *umaro* (government leader). So, in this case, *ulama* is *umaro*, and otherwise. The concept is just like in Javanese concept of government leader as "*panotogomo*". In this concept, government act not only as a manager of government system, but also as the director of religious life. So, at that time, to be a sultan must have also a huge of Islamic knowledge, or a sultan must be an *ulama* too.

In Indonesian independence movement era, assisted by *jawara*, they fight together to freed Indonesia from the Dutch colonialism (Kartodirdjo, 1984; Lubis, 2003). In the beginning of the Indonesian independence, *ulama* continue their role by posting K.H.Achmad Hatib as the resident of Banten Residency. The appointment of K.H. Achmad Hatib as resident is the evidence of people trust to *ulama*, not only as a religious leader but also as a government leader. It indicates too that there is a strong relation between the characteristic of Bantenese society especially in their belief system and tradition with the construction of local governance system. On the other perspective, there is a significant role of *ulama* and *jawara* that represent religious and traditional leader to the Bantenese society. In order to get the information belief system and tradition in Bantenese rural society, researcher observed Kawoyang Village. Kawoyang Village was selected based on consideration as a mountain range village that still maintain the traditional life in almost of their daily activities. In this village too, researcher could find how *ulama* and *jawara* played their role to control the village decisions. It is located at Sub District of Carita, about 50 kilometres from the capital city of Pandeglang.

There are four informal leaders who have a significant role in controlling the village. Firstly is *kyai* (*kyai* is a kind of *ulama*, a person who has Islamic knowledge, this term will explore in the next sub title further). *Kepala desa* could not make a decision without the consideration from *kyai*. They made a regular *pengajian* (reading and learning the holy Qur'an) in every Tuesday morning from kampong to kampong. The village is divided to some kampongs, or in this case *kampong* (kampong) is substructure of the village. *Kepala desa* must follow this *pengajian* because only in this forum the village issues would be solved. So, the village decision is located on *kyai*'s forum.

The significant role of *kyai* indicates that Kawoyang Village society rely on Islamic principle in their daily life. It could be traced by their religious ceremonial activities such as *ngupat*, *ngaleupeut*, *ngabubur suro* or *muludan*. In every ceremonial activity, they will do anything royally. Only by following this activity, they believe that God will bless them. It could be understood that they are very religious. Secondly is *jawara*. *Jawara* is a person who has martial art abilities. Actually, it is very difficult to know someone is a *jawara* or not, because in this village a *jawara* are not marked out their style of *jawara* as usual. *Jawara* usually wear the fully black clothes with black *peci* (traditional hat) and *golok* (traditional machete) in their waist. In behavioural aspect, they have rowdiness temperament. But in Kawoyang Village, those characters of *jawara* do not appear. They tend to hide their *kajawaraan* (everything about *jawara* like the knowledge, style or behaviour). Masrudi as *kepala desa* of Kawoyang Village confirmed that actually it is the truly *jawara*. The truly *jawara* never show their ability, they only use it when it was required. So there is no *jawara* like gangster, broker or freeman in this village. But their significant role emerged when people need it, for example when there were some restless in their society. For the

third is *kuncen*. The main job of *kuncen* is in maintaining the forbidden forest. The forbidden forest is a sacred forest.

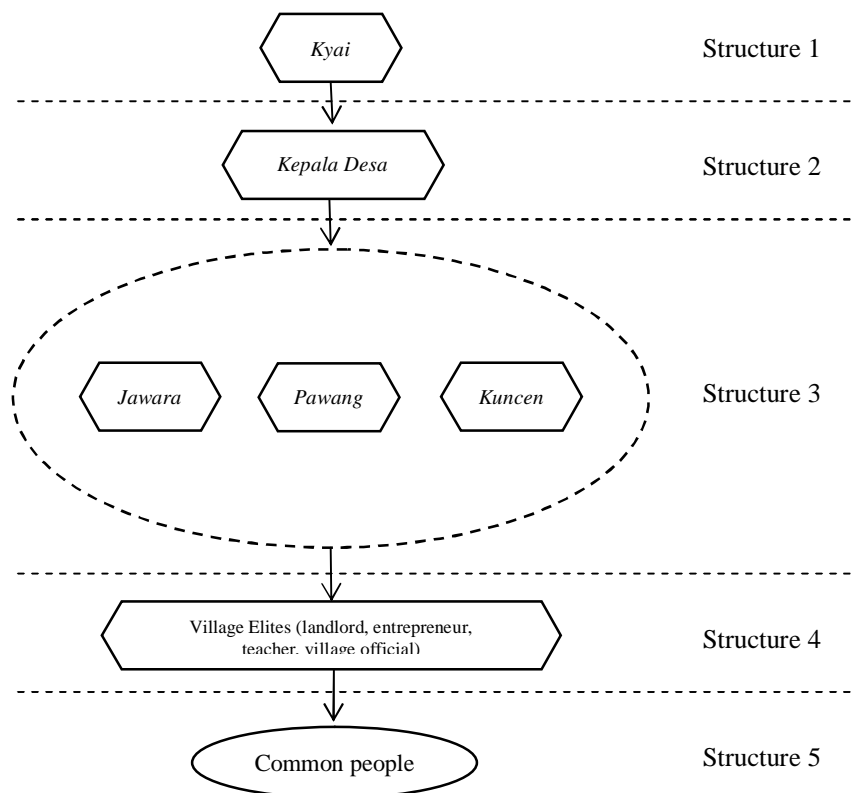
The people believe that it control their life. There are two main forbidden forests in Kawoyang Village; *Leuweung Gunung Cupu* and *Leuweung Pasar Maung*. *Kuncen* is a trusted person who could connect people with the owner of the forbidden forest.

Because of this ability, *kuncen* was reputed as a person who knows what would be happen in the next future especially if the people did not appreciate to the owner of the forbidden forest. *Kuncen* is a leader of traditional ceremonial activities mainly in offerings to the owner of the forbidden forest. For the last but not the least is *pawang*. *Pawang* is a person who has ability in animal taming (animal tamer). Their ability was very required by the people particularly when someone was animal poisoned like by snake or wild spider. The people believe that a *pawang* has a great magical ability too, so a *pawang* is required not only in curing someone but anything about magical requirement. Because of this condition, a *pawang* has an important role in Kawoyang Village society.

Although *kyai* is the top informal leader that indicated by the village decision which depend on them. In other hand, *jawara*, *kuncen* and *pawang* play their role in traditional life.

So there is a different type of their activity, that is why the people need all of them. Because of those informal leaders role, it affect the religious and also traditional life of Kawoyang Village, or otherwise. That's why a syncretism colour their life. So, it is really difficult to make a differentiation between religious and traditional activities. In a religious ceremonial activity such as *muludan*, they usually give an offering to the owner of forbidden forest too, something that could be a *syirik* action in religious approach – *syirik* is belief in more than one God, thus basically, is banned in Islamic religious approach. In fact, it is maintained in Kawoyang Village as an Islamic village. It is a truly syncretism. So beside its religious of Kawoyang Village, it is a syncretism too. The profile of mixing religious and traditional life of Kawoyang Village gives an understanding of how a syncretism dominates their life. On the other hand, this condition positioned the informal leader at the top position in the power structure. In term of this power structure, *kyai* and also his network like *ustadz* is positioned in the highest top position (see Figure 1). Meanwhile, *kepala desa* is depends on the decision of *kyai*. So, the rural governance system is depends on *kyai's* role.

Figure 1: Pandeglange Rural Power Structure



Source: research observation

Based on Figure 1, *kepala desa* is positioned above *jawara*, *kuncen* and *pawang*. Beside as the government leader, *kepala desa* is also a person who trusted by the people has *kajawaraan*, so basically *kepala desa* is a *jawara* too. This superiority of *kepala desa* make his position in the power structure is higher than *jawara*, *kuncen* and *pawang* as the tradition leader. Meanwhile, other elites such as a landlord or a teacher were also has good position, but their influence is under the tradition leader.

4.2 Ulama and Jawara in the Concept of Pandeglang Rural Society

In Indonesian Islamic concept, *ulama* can be formulated as a person who has Islamic religious knowledge. They learn and teach the people as a way of Islamic knowledge dissemination. Because of the cultural approach, this term of *ulama* is changed mainly in their terminology and hierarchy. The hierarchy of *ulama* is based on the mastery of their religious knowledge. In this case, there are four type *ulama* in Pandeglang society; *wali*, *abuya* or *buya*, *kyai*, and *ustadz*. *Wali* is the highest level of *ulama*, after that *abuya*, *kyai* and *ustadz*. In term of master-servant relation or the degree of religious mastery, it could be understood that the teacher of *ustadz* is *kyai*, the teacher of *kyai* is *abuya* and the teacher of *abuya* is *wali*. That rule is not restricted, because sometime an *abuya* is a teacher of *ustadz* too, not only *kyai*.

In fact, among those types of *ulama*, *kyai* play the most important part. Actually *ustadz* has the most closed relation to people than *kyai*, but because *ustadz* is just a learning Qur'an teacher that usually his pupils comes from the only one *kampung* or village, so their influence is very restricted only for one village. Meanwhile, the students (*santri*) of *kyai* come from many regions, even sometime from outside of Banten. So the influence of *kyai* is much stronger than *ustadz*. Because of this condition, the people give more respect to *kyai* than *ustadz*. How about *abuya*? *Abuya's* level is too high for the people, so not all the people could make a close relation to *abuya*, even a highest official state, a minister or a president of Indonesia. Only a selected person who could connects them. Meanwhile a *wali* in principle is a debatable term. For some people, *wali* does not exist again. But for some people particularly for most of the *pesantren salafiyah* (traditional Islamic Boarding School) group, they believe that *wali* still exist. They believe that *wali* has a special ability that tends to be abnormal cases for common people. In case of *Ki Harun*, a person who trusted as a *wali* in Pandeglang, he can do something that does not makes sense for most of the people like repairing a car only by touching it.

In local (Bantenese) social-political constellation, there are three types of *kyai*. Firstly, *kyai politik* (political *kyai*), this type of *kyai* is a *kyai* who enter the political arena. Secondly is *kyai hikmah*, *kyai hikmah* is a *kyai* who serve the people for secular life. This kind of *kyai* is something like a religious knowledge sellers, sometime a *kyai hikmah* is a *kyai politik* too. And for the third is *kyai bale rombeng*, *kyai bale rombeng* is an idealist *kyai*. The activity of *kyai bale rombeng* is only to serve the people for the religious life. They only learn and teach their follower in a bad condition *pesantren (bale rombeng)* with some little windows. They usually positioned as an anti-government, so in many cases they always reject some subsidiary fund from the government. For many of *kyai bale rombeng* look the government as a bad thing, so for them; it is a must to avoid the government interference in order to neutralize *pesantren* life.

Comparing these types of *kyai*, in social power aspect *kyai bale rombeng* is the most influential *kyai* than others. This conclusion is based on the closeness relation between *kyai* and the people. The main factor of this condition is the people distrust to *kyai politik* and *kyai hikmah*. In many cases, *kyai politik* and also *kyai hikmah* usually is left by their *santri* (follower). For the belief of some *pesantren salafiyah* person, this condition is caused by the God Allah who has taken his *barokah* (blessing) from them. Based on the observation, this condition is caused by the decreasing of concentration to teach *santri*. The concentration of *kyai politik* and *kyai hikmah* is not focused only to serve their *santri*, but also to secular life. By gradually, their duty to teach *santri* is neglected. In this case, the respect to *kyai (kyai politik and kyai hikmah)* is decreased too.

Because of the religious characteristic of Pandeglang rural society, the role of *ulama* is very important. They got a very high homage from the people. It could be indicated by their respect in every ceremonial activity, in religious or tradition ceremony, it is always give *ulama* in the biggest gift. Usually an activity would not begin before they came or without their permission or attendance. So it is very important to ask their permission before doing something in a ceremonial party. Most of the rural people believe that *ulama* have a great supernatural knowledge including self-defence ability, not only about religious knowledge. That's why there are many people who learn *kajawaraan* from *ulama* actually *kyai* in this case. So, there were many *jawara* too who got their ability from a *kyai*. In term of the relation between *ulama* and *jawara*, *ulama* are the teacher and *jawara* are their student (Tihami, 1992).

There are two differences between the concepts of *jawara* from Tihami (1992) with the concept that evolved in Pandeglang rural society, *firstly*: from the emergence of *jawara* where in Tihami's concept *jawara* is constructed by *kyai* to fight colonialism. Meanwhile in Pandeglange concept, *jawara* is constructed by *kyai* to fight against *elmu hideung* or *elmu ruyuk* (supernatural abilities that have gotten by traditional manner, *elmu hideung* is also assumed as black magic for local term) of Baduyese – Baduy is a clan who still keep their animism and dynamism belief that assumed as *syirik* in Islamic belief. *Secondly*, in Tihami's concept, there is no role of Bantenese Sultanate in *jawara's* formulation because it is formulated in colonialism period. But in Pandeglange concept, *jawara* is developed in sultanate era because of anxieties of Pucuk Umun's resistance and his followers (Baduyese). Pucuk Umun itself is the leader of Baduyese clan at that time who subjected by Sultan Hasanudin (Bantenese sultan) in Pulosari Battle (a place in Karang Mountain Pandeglang).

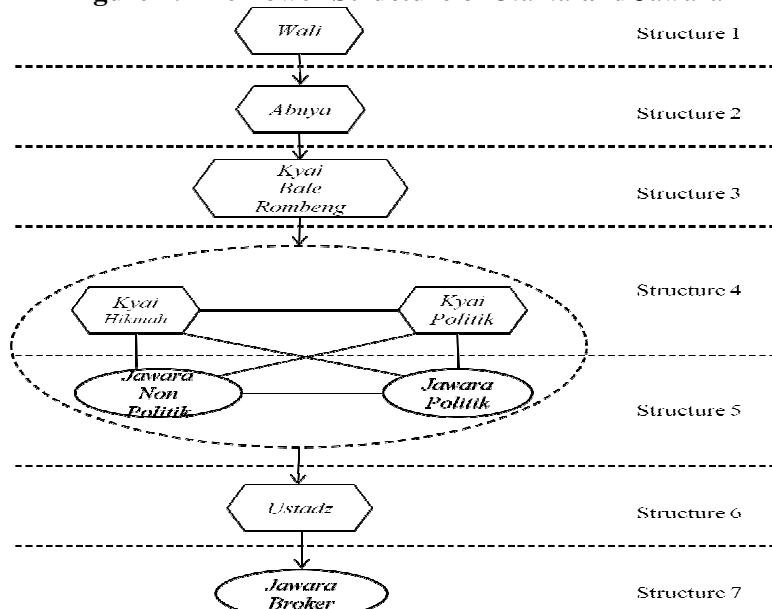
As opposite of *elmu hideung* (black magic), there is *elmu putih* (white magic) that evolved by *ulama*. The supernatural ability of *elmu putih* is derived from Islamic manner like *wiridan*. *Wiridan* is a way to get supra natural ability usually by uttering the specific Arabic sentence repeatedly. *Elmu putih* looks *elmu hideung* as the satanic follower, because they do the ways that out of Islamic manner (*syirik*), meanwhile *elmu hideung* assume it as traditional ways. Because of the difference of that approaches, *elmu putih* and *elmu hideung* is always be in contradiction.

Historically, although *jawara* is a student of *kyai*, but because there are many difficulties to get supernatural ability in *elmu putih* manner, so they choose *elmu hideung* to get their supernatural abilities. Because of that condition, *jawara* is divided to be two classification; *jawara putih* (white *jawara*) and *jawara hideung* (black *jawara*).

The specific character of those terminologies, in principle is related to the role they play that has consequence to the level of the power structure (see Figure 2). *Ustadz* and *jawara broker* is posted on the lowest structure (structure 6 and 7) because their influence is so restricted to specific entities. *Ustadz* can only play their social role only in one kampong (sub area of the village), so their influential area is very small. It is different with *jawara politik* or non *politik* that because of their relation to the network of *ulama* and *jawara* make their influential area is not limited by the specific region. Meanwhile *jawara broker* is placed on the lowest structure because they make their symbols of *jawara* as their occupation; as an economic broker or political broker; something like a gangster or bodyguard.

The constructing of structure level of *ulama* is mainly influenced by the relation between teacher and student and the mastery of Islamic knowledge. *Abuya* is the teacher of *kyai* and *kyai* is the teacher of *ustadz*. The position of teacher is always higher than student. Because of those reasons, *wali* is indicated as a person who has the highest Islamic knowledge and the highest master for all the level of *ulama*.

Figure 2: The Power Structure of Ulama and Jawara



Source: research observation

4.3 The Relation between *Kyai* and *Santri*

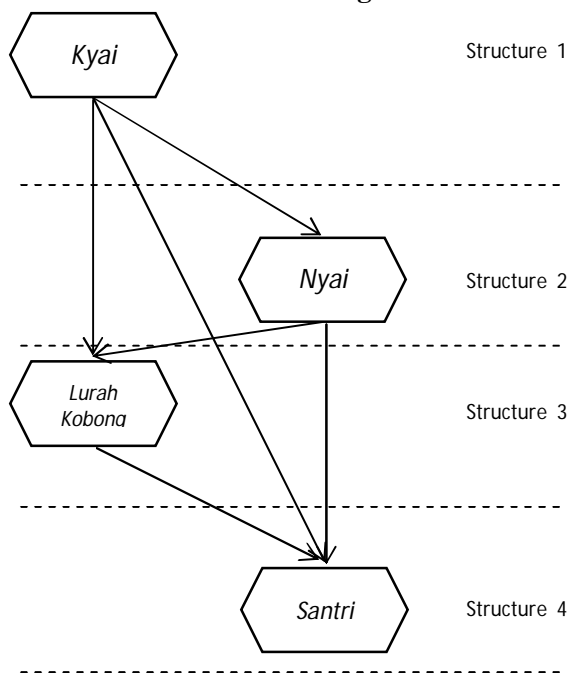
The patronage systems exist in most of social system in Indonesian rural society, so does in the Banteneese *pesantren* life. The relation between *kyai* and *santri* actually not only run as a patron and client but it tend to be something like master and servant. There are a trust that “*ciduhna kyai nyaeta barokah keur santri* (spittle of *kyai* is blessing for *santri*)”. For this trust, it could be concluded that there is a very deep devotion from *santri* to *kyai*; like slavery. But in this relation, *santri* will do anything that *kyai* commanded by sincerity, no compulsion. Something that expected by *santri* is only for a blessing. The blessing from *kyai* could be a pray, a spell or just a permission to be good *ustadz* in the next future.

In *pesantren* daily activities, all *santri* compete one another to get a blessing from *kyai*. They are actually dominated by *kyai*, but they do not feel that domination. Otherwise they feel happy. They will sacrifice their life for *kyai*. So, the power relation between *kyai* and *santri* is not like teacher and student in formal school, but something like the relation between a master and her or his servant. It is not slavery, but the *santri* do the best thing they can, only for *kyai*'s blessing. Usually a chosen *santri* is the most diligent *santri* in servicing all *kyai*'s requirement. But in one condition, cleverness is one of consideration. From daily relation, for *santri*, *kyai* is positioned as a holy man. Anything that decided by *kyai* was a holy truth. In this condition, respect to *kyai* was very high. It is indicated by the pattern of their handshake. *Santri* will kiss *kyai*'s hand, even repeatedly. Not only *santri*, most of all the element of society, even a high level state official usually do the same thing as his/her respect and as an expectation for *kyai*'s blessing. It could be understood too that the *pesantren* life affects the real life of Pandeglang rural Society.

In general, every *pesantren* in rural Pandeglang has a similar pattern of their power structure (Figure 3). They have a *lurah kobong* – a kind of middle manager under *kyai* – who has a huge role in directing all *santri*. *Lurah kobong* was selected from one of the senior *santri*. *Lurah kobong* was pointed out by *kyai*. Beside from the seniority, the criteria of *lurah kobong* were based on the mastery of their religious knowledge. As a delegator of *kyai*, *lurah kobong* can control all the *santri*. Teaching or directing them in *pesantren* activities is one of a *lurah kobong* authority as a delegator of *kyai*.

Besides *lurah*, *nyai* or *nyi* as wife of *kyai* has also a power to control *pesantren* especially in this case is to control *santri*. Like *kyai*, all *santri* give their respect to *nyai*, and because of that condition *nyai* has authority to command all *santri*, moreover the female *santri* who is usually asked her to assist in housekeeping tasks.

Figure 3



Source: Research Observation

Based on Figure 3, illustrated by the straight line, *kyai* as the top leader controls all the elements (*nyai*, *lurah kobong* and *santri*). *Nyai* control *lurah kobong* and *santri*, and *lurah kobong* has power to control *santri*.

4.4 The Dynamics of the Social and Political Role of *Ulama* and *Jawara*

According to the research of Sunatra (1997), Suhaedi (2003), Alamsyah (2009), Hamid (2010), Bandiyah (2010), Pribadi (2011) and Alkhudri (2013) were indicated that *jawara* was more dominated than *ulama*. The most trending topic from the reinforcing of *jawara*'s political role especially after the birth of reform era has been the most central theme in the research of Alamsyah (2009), Hamid (2010), Bandiyah (2011), Pribadi (2011) and Alkhudri (2013). Those studies were undergone after Banten was separated from West Java Province to be the autonomous province. It's mean that Banten as the autonomous province has the direct impact to the reinforcement of the local political position of *jawara*, though the strategic role of *jawara* did not appear in the beginning of the formulation Banten as the autonomous province (Aziz, 2002).

The periods of government regime gives very huge contribution to the dynamic of the role of *ulama* and *jawara* (Muslim et. al., 2016). As explained in Table 1, for the first is in Bantenese sultanate era, *ulama* have a big contribution in local politics because they dominated the government structure. Meanwhile *jawara* accompanied *ulama* as government leader. In the Dutch Colonialism era, the government functions of *ulama* were taken over by the Dutch Colonial. So *ulama* choose to be the main actor of resistance movement that accompanied by *jawara* as their guardian. In the beginning of independence era, *ulama* held the government structure again because public required a leader figure and then they trusted *ulama*. Meanwhile, *jawara* still maintain their relation to *ulama* as the guardian, but in this case they changed to be the soldier of independence protection.

Table 1: The Dynamics of Social-Political Role of *Ulama* and *Jawara*

Number	Government Periods	Social-Political Role	
		<i>Ulama</i>	<i>Jawara</i>
1.	Bantenese Sultanate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Government high rank official - Religious advisor (<i>kadi</i>) - Actor of <i>syiar/dakwah</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Guardian of <i>ulama</i>
2.	Dutch Colonialism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Main actor of resistance movement - Successor of the rural elite leadership - Actor of <i>syiar/dakwah</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Guardian of resistance movement - Rural government high rank official (as <i>jaro</i>) - Social bandit
3.	Beginning of Independence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Government high rank official - High rank military - Unifier element of nation state - Head of the independence protector soldier - Actor of <i>syiar/dakwah</i> - Supernatural teacher 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reading/learning Quran teacher - Martial art teacher - Expert of traditional medicine - Soldier of the independence protection
4.	New Order	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Vote getter of government politic - Actor of <i>syiar/dakwah</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reading/learning Quran teacher - Martial art teacher - Expert of traditional medicine - Vote getter of government politic
5.	Local Autonomy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Vote getter of political party - Actor of <i>syiar/dakwah</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Martial art teacher - Expert of traditional medicine - Vote getter of political party - Political broker - Economic broker - High rank politician

Source: Muslim, et al. (2016).

In the new order era, the domination of *jawara* was widely opened because new order regime accommodated them in political system as the subordinate element of the ruling party (government party). *Jawara* was also given some government projects in several economic and development processes.

In this era, *jawara* was transformed to be the entrepreneur. *Jawara* dominated the economic life because they are supported not only by the people as the tradition leader, but also by the government as the main vote getter. Meanwhile, though *ulama* were also accommodated by the government as the vote getter, but they did not participate in the government project.

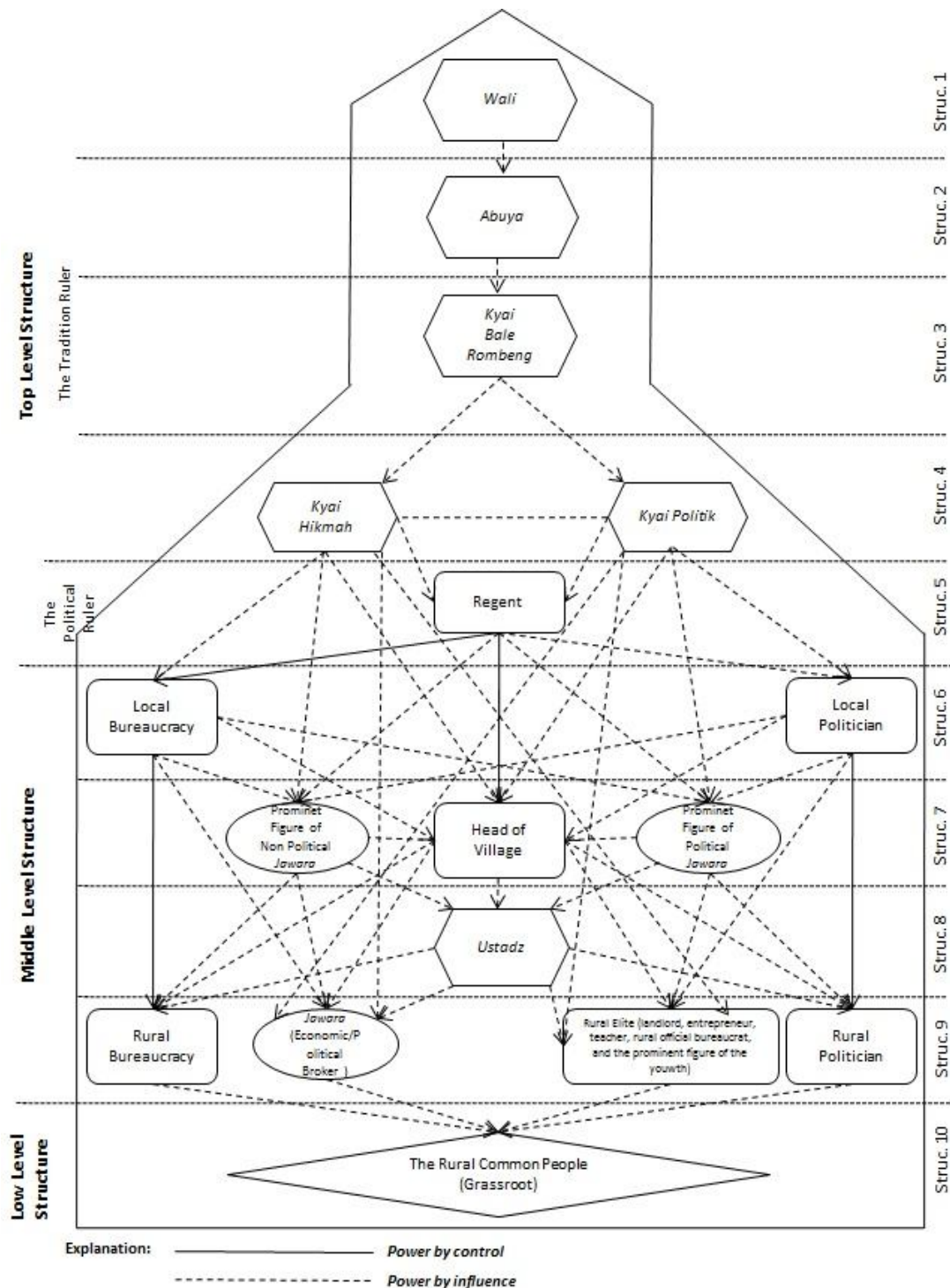
In the local autonomy era, because of the democratic and decentralization process, it opened all the element of civil society to participate in that process. *Jawara* was given an opportunity to strengthen their political power by entered the government system; moreover they had dominate the local political system by their economic capacity, so that *jawara* dominate not only the economic field, but also all the level of the government structure. *Ulama* also give a big contribution to the political system, but they keep their distance. They only involve in the strategic matter like in the formulation of local legislation.

4.5 Pandeglang Power Structure

To understand how big the influence of *ulama* and *jawara* in local decisions, it could be traced from some local government decision that did not executed because one of the *ulama* refused that decision. For example is in the establishment the food industry of PT. Mayora which had been allowed by the local government previously, but because of the rejection from *Abuya* Muhtadi (one of the biggest *ulama* in Pandeglang), so PT. Mayora could not execute their business. In term of *jawara*'s role, according to the statement of Mr. Epi Sutiasa (*camat* of sub district of Sumur), local government also involved *jawara* in several local projects. The involving of *jawara* was done in order to protect those projects, so there was no one who would brave to disturb those projects.

The political role of *ulama* could also traced by several local legislation that has accommodate the Islamic notions like in Local Legislation of Pandeglang Regency Number 27 Year 2007 about Study Obligation of Madrasah Diniyah (The Islamic Elementary School). The formulation of this local legislation was done because of the demand of *ulama*. As explained above, it could be concluded that rational-legal authority of bureaucracy was dominated by the traditional and charismatic authority of *ulama*. It is the main point of the shift of power structure in Banten. Because of the influence of *ulama*, so the top level power structure is dominated by them (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Pandeglang Power Structure



Source: Research Observation

4.6 Factors Contributing in the Shift of Power Structure

The power structure is mainly constructed by the power relation. So, the concepts of power relation in Bantenese society are the most important factors in constructing the shift of power structure. The relation between *kyai* and *santri*, in many cases affect the relation between *ulama* and *jawara*.

In term of *jawara* as a student of *kyai*, the relation was constructed. Until now, there are many *jawara* who got their remarkable abilities from the blessing of *kyai*. So, it is very logic if *jawara* still depend on *kyai*'s power. But not all *jawara* do the same thing.

A part group of *jawara* got their abilities from the old *jawara* as their master. In this case, these types of *jawara* do not have direct relation to *kyai*. Their dependence is not to *kyai*, but to the old *jawara* who has given *kajawaraan* to them. But, the relation between *kyai* and the old *jawara* decide the pattern of power relation which would be constructed. This condition is mainly depends on the high of their magical power. Meanwhile, according to this condition, *kyai* is superior to *jawara*. Thereby, in a whole, *kyai* dominate *jawara* in their master-servant relation. To observe the types of power relation in Bantenese rural society that affect to the constructing of power structure, there are some power relation concepts in Bantenese rural society as shown on Table 2.

Table 2: The Concepts of Power Relation on Rural Banten

No.	Concept of Power Relation	Description
1.	The relation between <i>kyai</i> and <i>santri</i> (master-servant relation)	Master-servant relation is derived from the relation between <i>kyai</i> as a teacher and <i>santri</i> as his student. In this relation <i>santri</i> will do anything that commanded or asked by <i>kyai</i> like the relation between a master and a servant.
2.	The relation between <i>ulama</i> and <i>jawara</i> (conquest and obedience)	Until now Baduyese still pay tribute (it is called <i>seba</i> in Baduyese term) to the formal government (regent and governor that represent sultan of Banten) that indicate their obedience to <i>elmu putih</i> (white magic).
3.	The relation between <i>ulama</i> and <i>bupati</i> (<i>ulama-umaro</i>)	This concept of <i>ulama-umaro</i> means that government are <i>ulama</i> , and <i>ulama</i> are government. In Bantenese Sultanate era, sultan act as a chief executive of administration, meanwhile sultan itself is <i>ulama</i> . So there is the integration between government and religious administration, or the ideal <i>bupati</i> is an <i>ulama</i> .
4.	The relation between <i>bupati</i> and <i>jawara</i> (the strategic role of <i>ulama</i>)	Rural Bantenese society believes that it's impossible a <i>jawara</i> compete with <i>kyai</i> , because nobody can compete with the <i>ulama</i> . Therefore, in order to control <i>jawara</i> , <i>bupati</i> ask for help to <i>kyai</i> to do that.
5.	The relation between <i>kepala desa</i> and <i>ulama</i> (religion and tradition bureaucracy)	For the rural Bantenese society, a good regime is a regime that is good in religion and tradition service. So, the rural governance system dominated by religion and tradition service not in formal administration one.
6.	The relation between <i>kepala desa</i> and <i>jawara</i> (<i>jaro</i> as the ideal <i>jawara</i>)	<i>Jaro</i> is a local term for <i>kepala desa</i> . Meanwhile, <i>kepala desa</i> itself is the formal or national term of the head of village. An ideal <i>jaro</i> is a <i>jawara</i> , so a <i>jaro</i> must be a <i>jawara</i> . It is indicated that <i>jaro</i> is the very expected person in Bantenese rural society.

Source: research observation

The types of power relation in Bantenese bureaucracy actually depict the power relation in rural Bantenese where *ulama* and *jawara* control and dominate it. For example is in master-servant relation between *kyai* and *santri*, this relation transfers to bureaucratic life like in handshake manner where the lower will kiss the upper hand as if a *santri* to the *kyai*. Moreover, in many activities, the regent will ask to *ulama* to do something important especially to take a decision that brings a huge social impact. The regent do this because only *ulama* that can control the mass, and actually the *ulama* too who can mobilize the mass effectively. That is why in the power structure *ulama* dominate it as Figure 3.

5. Conclusion

Formally, bureaucracy (in this case *bupati* and *kepala desa*) as the formal structure is the one and only institution who has power to control the Pandeglang government system. In reality, *jawara* and *ulama* play their social and political role even they control the local bureaucracy. There are several reasons to understand this condition. Firstly, Pandeglang rural society that coloured by the Islamic life brings the position of *ulama* in the highest level structure. Meanwhile *jawara* who play their traditional leader, can control the rural society by their martial art abilities although sometimes by physical enforcement.

Pandeglang (Bantenese) belief system that based on agriculture and tradition give huge impact to the local social and political constellation. Secondly, the relation between *kyai* and *santri* as well as *ulama* and *jawara* in the format of the master-servant relation is brought to the relation in the bureaucratic life. This condition make bureaucracy was influenced by the informal leader especially by the power of *ulama*. For the last but not the least, there was a national policy especially in local autonomy policy which makes the opened opportunities especially for *jawara* to enter to the local politics. All those condition make the informal leader (*ulama* and *jawara*) could dominate the power structure.

References

- Abrori A. (2003). Peran Politik Jawara Banten dalam Proses Politik di Banten. Depok: UI.
- Alamsyah AR. (2009). Islam, Jawara & Demokrasi: Geliat Politik Banten Pasca-Orde Baru. Jakarta: Dian Rakyat.
- Alkhudri AT. (2013). Kepemimpinan Elit Lokal di Pedesaan pada Era Desentralisasi: Studi Kepemimpinan Jawara di Pesisir Tangerang. Bogor: IPB.
- Aziz, YMA. (2002). Elite dan Masyarakat Sipil dalam Gerakan Sosial Pembentukan Provinsi Banten. *Paradigma Polistaat*. 4(7):48-58.
- Bandiyah. (2010). Evolusi Jawara di Banten (Studi Evolusi dari Bandit Menjadi Pejabat). *Jurnal Interaktif Universitas Brawijaya*. 1(2):111-171.
- Bates TR. (1975). Gramsci and the Theory of Hegemony. *Journal of the History of Ideas*. 36(2):351-366.
- Bruinessen Mv. (1995). Shari`a Court, Tarekat and Pesantren: Religious Institutions in the Sultanate of Banten. *Archipel*. 50:165-200.
- EmersonRM. (1962). Power-Dependence Relation. *Journal American Sociological Review*. 27(1):31-41.
- Hoare Q, Smith GN (ed.). (1999). Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Hamid A. (2010). Memetakan Aktor Politik Lokal Banten Pasca Orde Baru: Studi Kasus Kiai dan Jawara di Banten. *Politika*. 1(2):32-45.
- Hidayat S. (2007). Too Much Too Soon, Local State Elite's Perspective on and The Puzzle of Contemporary Indonesian Regional Autonomy Policy. Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada.
- Jones S. (2006). Antonio Gramsci. New York: Routledge.
- Kartodirdjo S. (1984). Pemberontakan Petani Banten 1888. Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya.
- LubisNH. (2003). Banten dalam Pergumulan Sejarah: Sultan, Ulama, Jawara. Pustaka. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Muslim A, et al. (2016). Dinamika Peran Sosial Politik Ulama dan Jawara di Pandeglang Banten. *Mimbar* 31(2):461-474.
- Pribadi Y. (2011). Strongmen and Religious Leaders in Java: Their Dynamic Relationship in Search of Power. *Al-Jamiah*. 49(1):159-190.
- Ritzer G, Smart B (ed). (2011). (translation: Iman Muttaqien, et. al.). Handbook Teori Sosial. Bandung: Nusa Media.
- Scott JC. (1972a). Patron-Client Politics and Political Change in Southeast Asia. *The American Political Science Review*. 66(1):91-113
- Scott JC. (1972b). The Erosion of Patron-Client Bonds and Social Change in Rural Southeast Asia. *Journal of Asian Studies*. 32(1):5-37.
- Scott JC. (1992). Perlawanan Kaum Tani. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor.
- Scott JC. (1994). Moral Ekonomi Petani: Pergolakan dan Subsistensi di Asia Tenggara. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Sidel JT. (1989). Beyond Patron-Client Relations: Warlordism and Local Politics in Philipines. *Kasarinlan*. 4(3):19-30.
- Suhaedi. (2003). Tasbih dan Golok: Studi tentang Kharisma Kyai dan Jawara di Banten. *Istiqro*. 2(1): 57-87.
- Sunatra. (1997). Integrasi dan Konflik: Kedudukan Politik Jawara dan Ulama dalam Budaya Politik Lokal (Studi Kasus Kepemimpinan Informal Perdesaan di Banten Selatan). Bandung: Unpad.
- Tihami MA. (1992). Kiyai dan Jawara di Banten: Studi tentang Agama, Magi dan Kepemimpinan di Desa Pasangrahan Serang. Depok: UI