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

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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 Kartodirjo (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 leuweng 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 (head of village) in many ways creates a political condition as Bantenese local politic that 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). 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.

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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 Bantinese power structure. Besides those influences, the dynamic of social-political role of ulama and jawara and the special types of rural Bantinese power relation also affect the power structure construction.

4.1 Bantinese 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 Bantinese 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 Bantinese 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 Bantinese 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 Bantinese 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 kampons, 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 temperament. 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: Pandeglangese Rural Power Structure**

![Pandeglangese Rural Power Structure](source)

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 the 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 ustaz. Wali is the highest level of ulama, after that abuya, kyai and ustaz. In term of master-servant relation or the degree of religious mastery, it could be understood that the teacher of ustaz 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 ustaz too, not only kyai.

In fact, among those types of ulama, kyai play the most important part. Actually ustaz has the most closed relation to people than kyai, but because ustaz 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 ustaz. Because of this condition, the people give more respect to kyai than ustaz.

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 salafiyyah (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 salafiyyah 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 ceremorial 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 Pandeglangese concept, jawara is constructed by kyai to fight against elmu hideung or elmu ruyak (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 Pandeglangese 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 supernatural 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 Bantenese 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 nyneta 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 ustaz 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Government Periods</th>
<th>Social-Political Role</th>
<th>Ulama</th>
<th>Jawara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Bantenese Sultanate</td>
<td>Government high rank official</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Guardian of ulama</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Religious advisor (kadi)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Actor of syiar/dakwah</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Dutch Colonialism</td>
<td>Main actor of resistance movement</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Guardian of resistance movement</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Successor of the rural elite leadership</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Rural government high rank official (as jaro)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Actor of syiar/dakwah</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Social bandit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Beginning of Independence</td>
<td>Government high rank official</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Reading/learning Quran teacher</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>High rank military</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Martial art teacher</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Unifier element of nation state</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Expert of traditional medicine</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Head of the independence protector soldier</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Soldier of the independence protection</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Actor of syiar/dakwah</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Supernatural teacher</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>New Order</td>
<td>Vote getter of government politic</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Reading/learning Quran teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Actor of syiar/dakwah</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Martial art teacher</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Expert of traditional medicine</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Vote getter of government politic</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Local Autonomy</td>
<td>Vote getter of political party</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Martial art teacher</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Actor of syiar/dakwah</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Expert of traditional medicine</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>Vote getter of political party</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>Political broker</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Economic broker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>High rank politician</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

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).
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Concept of Power Relation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>The relation between kyai and santri (master-servant relation)</td>
<td>Master-servant relation is derived from the relation between kyai as a teacher and santri as his student. In this relation santri will do anything that commanded or asked by kyai like the relation between a master and a servant.</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>The relation between ulama and jawara (conquest and obedience)</td>
<td>Until now Baduyese still pay tribute (it is called seba in Baduyese term) to the formal government (regent and governor that represent sultan of Banten) that indicate their obedience to elmu putih (white magic).</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>The relation between ulama and bupati (ulama-umaro)</td>
<td>This concept of ulama-umaro means that government are ulama, and ulama are government. In Bantenese Sultanate era, sultan act as a chief executive of administration, meanwhile sultan itself is ulama. So there is the integration between government and religious administration, or the ideal bupati is an ulama.</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>The relation between bupati and jawara (the strategic role of ulama)</td>
<td>Rural Bantenese society believes that it’s impossible a jawara compete with kyai, because nobody can compete with the ulama. Therefore, in order to control jawara, bupati ask for help to kyai to do that.</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>The relation between kepala desa and ulama (religion and tradition bureaucracy)</td>
<td>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.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>The relation between kepala desa and jawara (jaro as the ideal jawara)</td>
<td>Jaro is a local term for kepala desa. Meanwhile, kepala desa itself is the formal or national term of the head of village. An ideal jaro is a jawara, so a jaro must be a jawara. It is indicated that jaro is the very expected person in Bantenese rural society.</td>
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</table>

**Table 2: The Concepts of Power Relation on Rural Banten**

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