

opción

Revista de Antropología, Ciencias de la Comunicación y de la Información, Filosofía,
Linguística y Semiótica, Problemas del Desarrollo, la Ciencia y la Tecnología

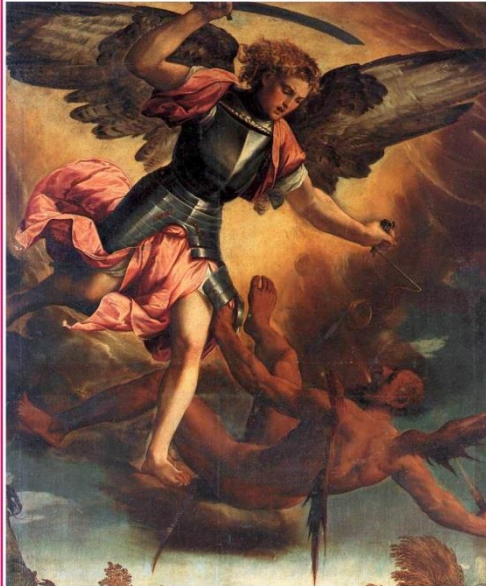
Año 35, 2019, Especial N°

20

Revista de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales

ISSN 1012-1537/ ISSNe: 2477-9385

Depósito Legal pp 198402ZU45



Universidad del Zulia
Facultad Experimental de Ciencias
Departamento de Ciencias Humanas
Maracaibo - Venezuela

Jawara Banten the Social Transformation of Local Elites Muslim in Indonesia

Suwaib Amiruddin¹, Fahmi Irfani²

**1 Universitas Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa, Indonesia
suwaibamirudin@gmail.com**

**2 Universitas Ibn Khaldun Bogor, Indonesia
fahmiirfani@fai.uika-bogor.ac.id**

Abstract

This article discusses the significant changes of social transformation towards one of the local elite Muslim in Indonesia, that elite called as Jawara Banten (Strongman) in the province of Banten. During its process, Jawara Banten experienced a vertical mobilization in both social and economic aspects. The roles of Jawara was no longer as Jaro, spiritual teachers or Kyai. In Orde Baru and reformation era many of Jawara became entrepreneur, official workers and politicians. Jawara which used to be an Informal Leader transformed to be more modern in its role without leaving their identity. The identity and Jawara's culture themselves were called as Subculture of Violence, the violence culture itself has been the culture of Jawara Banten. Violence used as a tool to gain their position and get a higher social status to be the most respectful Jawara in their community.

Key words: JawaraBanten, Local Elite Muslim, Transformation, Orde Baru, Indonesia.

Jawara Banten, la transformación social de las élites locales musulmanas en Indonesia

Resumen

Este artículo discute los cambios significativos de la transformación social hacia uno de los musulmanes de élite local en Indonesia, esa élite llamada como Jawara Banten (Hombre fuerte) en la provincia de Banten. Durante su proceso, Jawara Banten experimentó una movilización vertical en aspectos sociales y económicos. Los roles de Jawara ya no eran Jaro, maestros espirituales o Kyai. En Orde Baru y en la era de la reforma, muchos de Jawara se convirtieron en empresarios, trabajadores oficiales y políticos. Jawara, que solía ser un Líder informal, se transformó para ser más moderno en su papel sin irse. su identidad. La identidad y la cultura de Jawara fueron llamadas Subcultura de la violencia, la cultura de la violencia en sí misma ha sido la cultura de Jawara Banten. La violencia utilizada como una herramienta para ganar su posición y obtener un estatus social más alto para ser el Jawara más respetuoso en su comunidad

Palabras clave: JawaraBanten, Elite local musulmana, Transformación, Orde Baru, Indonesia.

INTRODUCTION

Talking about Banten, many people assume that Banten is an area of Ulama, Kiayi and Jawara. That stereotype believed because of the strong Islamic culture in every individu of Banten society whether in its tradition, cultural or ritual. Besides that, this area wasalso famous as a magic area where people can learn about kanuragan, debus and any other magics. Banten is an area with a very heterogen society, its heterogenity was not happen because of the independence of Indonesia, but it was there since the era of Islamic Kingdoms in Banten. Banten citizens have a verydetermined characteristic but they are also have a good solidarity, sometimes they caould not be able to differentiate which they have to protect because of their loyalty (Fahmi Irfani, 2011: 51).

More than that, Banten is also famous with their unique local cultures which differentiate them with any other areas in Indonesia, in which Indonesia is famous with their different cultures in every different areas. Ali Fadillah called this local culture identity as local wisdom, from the local wisdom the cultureal values, tradition and and customs which sourced

from a strictive or a vestichas always been hold by Banten society in order to conserve and protect their culture. The culture and identity of Banten usually used as a symbol by some elites in order to gain their personal or group desires (Ali Fadilah, 2005:73). Not only famous as an area of Kiayi, Banten also known as an area of Jawara. Tihami described briefly the difference roles between Kiayi, Santri and Jawara. In Banten society, Kiayi are central figures in this community, where Jawara and Santri are the students of Kiayi. While the difference between Jawara and Santri can be seen from their perseverance while learning. Santri usually focus on learning religion while Jawara commonly focus on learning a knowledge that related to exercises and internal spiritual (MA Tihami, 1992:4). These exponents make Banten different than any other areas in Indonesia, those are because the unique traditions and cultures which assimilated to Islamic cultures.

Jawara in culture and social life of Banten society can be called as a local symbol. As groups which was born from tradition (local), community of Jawara represents different cultures than any other areas in Indonesia. Jawara as a subculture of local society has an important role in every aspect of social life. In this part, the writer will discuss about the life of Jawara in their own world, their positions and roles in local society. While the pattern of Jawara and Ulama's relationship would be very interesting to be discussed. In which Kiayi have a very important role in creating Jawara as a subculture of local society.

A. Social Life and Cultures of Jawara

As a product of Banten society, Jawara have their own world and community. Even though there were various entities (Ulama, Jawara, Priyayi, Academician) in Banten, but Jawara and Ulama hold an important roles toward "wong" Banten's social life. The personality of Jawara is Banten's characteristics, most of Banten society are proud of that characteristic. But there are some part of the society who do not agree with that pelabelan considering that the caharakteristic is not suitable to be used in the modern era. Some poeple who do not agree if Banten known for its Jawara are they who refuse the domination of Jawara in Banten's political world. The violence culture which labelled in Jawara, had been believed as a tool to gain the politic and economic power to control Banten. When talking about Jawara, that means poeple are talking about negative thing, because that was what labelled on them. A reasearcher has a research and interviewed

some elements of society, some of them are the activists for human's rights, university students and academician.

As has been discussed before that Banten is known with their Islamic value, and known for its two types of different leadership of informal leaders such as Kiayi and Jawara. Apparently, the existence of Jawara in Banten had a very long story. The religious part of Banten society can be analyzed from the higher tarekat-tarekat followed by Banten citizens and also the amount of pesantren in Banten. Moreover, Banten is the former Islamic Kingdom in Indonesia, where Kiayi have a role as the local elites in this area (Martin Van Bruinessen, 1995: 172-174). In the colonialism era, Jawara are the students of Kiayi whom had the ability in magic (*ilmu kanuragan*), but during its development which was started in Orde Baru era, Jawara separated themselves from Kiayi and started to make their own ally.

Jawara as part of the entity of Banten was not only known for their power which were able to pass any geographical boundaries, but the culture of violence are also close to their daily life. Therefore, according to Atukaromah Jawara known as the subculture of violence in Banten society. Moreover, a violence culture has been part of every Banten citizen, many problems were being solved through violence (Atukaromah, 2002: 106). Jawara also have a different style related to their social interaction, commonly they use a kind of informal (*sompral*) language, they also have a different fashion style compare to any other Banten citizens, they usually wear black suits and a gun (*golok*) tied on their hip. One of the examples of violence culture used by Jawara are as follows:

“Naon dia, kadek ku aing !

This violence considered as a tool to gain their position and social status as a respected Jawara in their community. They did that effort in order to be a leader of Jawara (*Abah*) and have a lot of followers. As the local elites, Jawara will be able to get a formal position in the governance or any other institutions, such as become *Jaro*, *Lurah*, head of region or even governor. Subculture of violence has been part of Jawara's daily life, those culture was formed based on the history of its citizens that used to rebelled toward colonialism (Kartodirdjo, 1984).

According to Pasurdi Suparlan the description of Jawara above was based on the understanding of its culture (Pasurdi Suparlan, 1984: 84). Based on that concept, the violence behaviors were a result of the individual's understanding based on what they have seen. Concept of behavior which was influenced by its environment were also supported by the opinion of Adolf

Bastian, he believes that every behavior was formed by based on its geographical domain. In Banten, Jawara's behavior culture has been blended with the local citizens. Most of Banten society have a blunt characteristic, they are brave, stubborn and have a bad temper. Looking at those characteristics, their characters were strongly supported by its geographical domain.

The violence behavior did by Jawara was one of their way to defend their pride is a "konstruksi maskulinitas", and that also one of the reason Jawara do polygamy. Based on the research and interviewed, one form of konstruk maskulinitas did by Jawara was by having more than one wife. Usually Jawara have four wives, they take cares of their first and second wife, and for the other wives they usually divorced them (Interview, April 2017). But, there are some Jawara who also have more than four wives, they even have more than ten wives. Jawara used to say that they cannot be called as a real man if they do not have more than one wives, "ncan jadi laki laki ari n'can nyandung mah".

The social life of Jawara that related to physical appearances such as holding on golok wherever they go, wearing peci and a black suits are no longer be part of their daily style, they wear that suits only for some formal ceremony such as cultural ceremony, inauguration, hajatan or debut performance. Therefore, there were shifting about the concept of Jawara lately. The existence of Jawara nowadays used as a symbolic concept which represent fearless, physical power, bluntness (blak-blakan), and aggressive characters. Jawara as part of wong Banten community was described as a respected figure, people who are good with silat, terrifying character and individu with a good magical knowledge.

The development of Jawara in Orde Baru is a symbol for some groups of people who have desires to be part of the community by trading on their fearless. In the society, the term Jawara have always labelled with negative image, as Nabila Lubis stated that Jawara is the abbreviation of Jalma Wani Rampog (people who dare to rob). Jawara do not always have a negative image from society, there are some people who believed that Jawara have a role as the protector of their society. According to Nanang, the negative image of Jawara was formed by Dutch governance during colonialism era. Related to that term, Nanang says :

Jawara itu merupakan sosok yang disegani oleh masyarakat Banten, dan mereka itu murid dari kiyai. Mereka itu pelindung rakyat, mereka dipandang bandit, penjahat itu kata orang

Belanda...! Justru sebaliknya kalau kata wong Banten mereka itu pahlawan! Mereka (jawara) itu orang yang bersih dan suci, karena ilmu kanuragan yang mereka peroleh melalui proses ritual pembersihan hati. Jawara bersama kiyai saling bahu membahu melawan penjajahan Belanda, para jawara mencuri dan menyabotase lahan milik penjajah lalu dibagikan kepada rakyat-rakyat miskin..... Wajar kalau pihak penjajah mendeskripsikan dan menggambarkan jawara dengan hal-hal yang negatif. Kalau model kaya preman pasar yang ngaku-ngaku jawara, mereka itu bukan jawara..! mereka itu cuma preman-preman berdarah yang mengaku jawara... saya mesangsikan ko.. kalau mereka memiliki ilmu brajamusti, ziyad, dan lain sebagainya.

Besides negative image labelled in Jawara, but there were also some positif social activities did by Jawara. In contrary with Nanang's statement, Hudaeri assume that the image of Jawara nowadays are described as Robin Hood (a legendary icon from England), they robbed government's money and give it to poor families, orphanage and widows.

Jawara recently believed as groups of people or society with an arrogant character and indiscipline behavior toward their faith, or did criminal things using violence as their tool to get what they want. Therefore, according to Lili Romli, Jawara are known as a subculture of violence in Banten society and they develop their own culture (Lili Romli, 2009: 91).

Nowadays, the real Jawara are hard to find. If people try to describe them in an analogy, Jawara seem like Musasi, a Samurai from Japan which the existence was unknown and covered their identity, but when something bother them, they will come and fight as asamurai. Besides, the only person who know that they are samurai are their fellow samurai. The same thing also happened with Jawara, people will not know that a person is Jawara, because they cover their real identity as Jawara. Only the fellow Jawara know that a person is Jawara.

As has been discussed before, there are two different groups of Jawara. Based on their magical power, Jawara divided into two types, the first is White Jawara those are Jawara who learn white magic and the second are Black Jawara, Black Jawara are those who learn black magic. White Jawara was created based on Islamic values and some spells, such as *jang jawok-enspell*, while Jawara with the black magic get their whole power from *elmu rawayan* and *jang jawoken* spells. Related to their relationship, there

are various conflicts between Black and White Jawara. Usually, the conflict triggered both Jawara are related to the competition in being the head of region or called as Jaro.

One of the conflict happened between both Jawara was the conflict between Jaro Karim and Risan, at that time Jaro Karim was elected to be the head of region in Lebak. Risan could not accept the fact that he was beaten by Jaro Karim, then he asked Jaro Karim to had a duel with him. Jaro Karim is a white Jawara while Risan is a black Jawara. The duel was held by both Jawara which was won by Jaro Karim. But unfortunately, the problem did not stop there, Risan who was ashamed by his failure in the region election and power duelsent a black power (elmu teluh) to kill Jaro Karim. Right in the morning, when Jaro Karim woke up, his stomach turned to be bigger than before. Knowing that he was trying to be killed by teluh, Jaro Karim use his power to sent that teluh back to the owner. Finally, Risan died by his own teluh. Teluh is one form of black magic that commonly use to kill people, and usually in the form of flying fire ball and being sent in the night. Teluh usually contains sharp weapons, such as knives, nails, broken glass, etc. The writer see them by himself how that teluh was flying over one of Kiayi's house in Banten. Some areas in Banten which known for its teluh and the black magic are Lebak, Kanekes, Bojonegoro, Walantaka, Cikande, Petir, and in Tangerang are in Pala Sari, Legok and Kresek.

Those accident was a one of the conflict happened around Jawara's social life. There are two magical sources in Banten, the first is black magic of elmu rawayan which centralized in South Banten, especially Baduy area. The second magical power sourced from religiois power, which was given from pesantren (kobong), it used to transfer white magic to people who learn it. In the world of Jawara, having the magical power consider as a lagitimation to be the real Jawara. To be Jawara, they should first master the invulnerable power "henteu terak dikadek ku golok" invulnerable of being stabbed by sharp weapons, so then they can learn the other magical powers, such as Brajamausti, Kanuragan, Ziyad, Putter gilling, etc. Mostly, the power they get was form kiayi hikmah (good kiayi) while the black jawara get their power from dukun.

The process to get that power is not eazy, there are some phases the learners should pass. The first step if people want to be Jawara, they should first master the basic movement of silat, like kuda-kuda and able to punch in the correct way. The next step are broke and crashing their own hands and later they have to massage, fix and formed both hands by themselves. If they are able to master thatsilat movements, they can move into the next

step which is transforming a power.

There are some conditions if learners wants to learn that powers, such as prayers, spell and fasting. Those prayers devided into threee types, those are dzikir, doa, and spells. Fasting is when people do not eat or drink anything, not even doing sex from the sun raises until sun sets. The purpose of fasting is to be able to punch correctly, and it must be done must be done for 40 days. Many learners turned to be crazy because they were not able to do that conditions. The process to pass that phases called as kataekan, it means that people are success in the previous phase and allowed to continue to the next phase. Based on islamic aspects, those rituals are not allowed in Islam, because islam forbid people to do fasting the whole day without eating anything.

Recently, there are some cases where people do not have to do all those rituals in order to get that magical power. What they need to do just ask kiyai to give types of power that they want to have and they will get that power faster. That shortcut in gaining magical power called as mahar, or can be called as the business of kesaktian. Kiyai sells their magical power, then people pay it with money or things. Business practice with the agreed price called as mahar is kind of magical power transformation, usually do as follow:

“pak kiyai, abdi hoyong di pingsieunan ku jelma, hoyong kajeungan wibawa, iye maharna pak kiyai..... (kiyai I want people to be afraid and respect me, I want to have a higher prestige, and this is the mahar for you kiyai)..... Kiyai, oh.... (shaking the buyer’s hand and murmuring the spell)”

Abdul Azis stated that not every magical power can be given through (kesaktian) mahar process, magic with the small power is the only types of magic that could be given that way. And that small magical power can only give a small power, such as rajah, prestige, public speaking ability, get a lot of woman. While the power with higher level, such as kanuragan, brajamusti, ziyad, puter gilling, those types of power could not be bought through mahar. If people want to get that power, they should do fasting, dzikir, and babacaan to get that higher level magical power.

To be a famous Jawara people should have at least two criterias; first, they should be good in silat, including able to play golok and be able to master kanuragan power, fearless is a must for jawara in order to be able to protect their society. Jawara can be respected if they are able to prevent conflict around society, and able to protect their citizens. Second, in the life of Jawara, criminality and power will indirectly increase their legitimation. The high criminal influence and a lot of followers will give pride and

respect for Jawara. Jawara with many followers will be called abah, some even call that person as governor general (Interview, Serang, 2017).

According to Lili Romli, there are some ways to identify whether a person is Jawara or not. First, Jawara have kanuragan (silat) skill and magical power both from black and white Jawara. The ability to master magical power is a must for every Jawara. The higher their kanuragan skill, the more respected they will be. Usually, Jawara bring golok that hangs on their hip (Romli, 2007 : 94-95).

Golok used by Jawara is not a common golok, that is golok with magical power in it. Golok that used by jawara called as Ciomas golok, that is a legenday golok and a pride for wong Banten. Golok Ciomas, is a special golok with magical power in it and different than any other golok. This golok can only made in Ciomas and can only legalized by certain Kiayi in certain months. Usually golok Ciomas are being legalized in Maulud (Islamic month) by certain Kiayi, without that procedure that golok cannot be called as golok Ciomas. Ciomas itself is one of the area in Banten, and this area is famous for its traditional golok. Ciomas golok is a type of golok with magical power and able to destroy many thing with its power. To use this golok, the owner does not have to hurt his enemy by taking of this golok out of its bag. Usually there were the writings of Quran on the surface of the golok and there were carving of Dragon's head or certain animals on its handle.

Third, groups of Jawara usually wear black or white outfit with sarong and golok tied on their hip. Banten citizens usually categorized types of Jawara's based on their outfit and their golok. Therefore, the society will call a person jawara if they wear that outfit., while Spencer define identity as a process to move forward where there are some differences between one another, or between one group into another one (Spencer, 2006: 26-27). Fourth, Jawara usually have an aggressive characteristic with a loud and blunt words (Irfani, 2011: 45-49). Those are some characteristics of Jawara, they do not pretend to be soft and kind to others, bluntless and less courtesy are believed as Jawara's characteristics.

Some identity of Jawara revealed by Lili Romli are no longer relevant in Jawara's daily life. Currently, Jawara does not wear any black outfit or put golok on their hip. They wear that outfit only for some ceremonial events. A few of Jawara who are still holding that identity mostly lived in villages.

1. Jawara and Social Bandit (Criminal)

The negative image of Jawara as subculture of violence in their local community are keep growing until now. In example, Kartodirjo believes that

Jawara are social or local bandit criminal (Kartodirdjo, 1984 : 83). Furthermore, due to their criminal activities, Jawara usually sabotage the colonial governance, and the one who suffered by their actions are poor people. According to William, Jawara refers to groups of people who are not only dare to break the legal laws and jurisdictions but also dare to fight anything that block thier way (Williams, 1990: 45-50).

Based on that identification, Jawara are categorized as social criminal because some of them are supported by their society. Therefore, in 19th Century, there were many robbery and sabotage towards Dutch colonial and those are the reasons Jawara and all people who rebell towards the colonial governance called as local bandit (criminal). The negative image of Jawara as groups of people who use violence and premanisme method in solving any problems are still growing until now.

Before discussing any further, the writer would like to give the brief definition of social bandit. The term of bandit are very subjective based on an individu who give that term. The term bandit itself come from the authorities, in this situations that authorities are the colonial governance. That term came from the authorities who were being harmed by the destructive acts did by individu or groups of persons.

In the end, that term can be accepted by society, because their criminal acts considered as an act that rebelled towards colonial governance and their acts will also effected society. While individu who did that criminal acts do not accept the term labelled on them. Suhartono defines bandit as; robbers, thieves, assassins or gangsters and an individu who get an unfair advantages (Suhartono, 2010: 105-107). The main purpose of social crime movements were to reduce the determination and exploitations towards poor people, because those determination and exploitations were experienced by Banten society during colonialism era. But during its progress, that movement turn to be the political and rebellion movement to get the Independence of Indonesia.

In any other areas in Indonesia, there were also similar phenomeneon of social bandit with different names and terms. In Javaneese culture, that term called as bromocorahor known as jago. In any ather areas in Java, that term called as weri, gali, and blaterin Madura. In Banten, the terms jago, weri, gali, atau blaterare terms for jawara called as pendekaror jagoan (Okamoto Masaki & Abdur rozaki, 2006). According to Tihami, the word Jawara was taken from Arabic language named majhul jauharo, which means expert in goodness and prevent crimes.

While the characteristic of social criminals themselves are; they would

never leave their community (groups), have morality and good ideology towards their community, they are discipline towards their ideology and that ideology were also supported by their community. Social crime movement appeared because of the internal conflict and that movement considered as the local mediator. During the 19th Century, Dutch colonial ruled Banten both economical and political aspect. Lot of protest toward colonialism happened in Banten, and Jawa as social criminal was one of them (Irfani, 2011: 63).

In Dutch colonialism terminology, the term “social criminal (bandit)” considered as an individual or groups of people who threaten social security. While in fact, that labelled are still arguable depends on the society’s point of views. Based on the subjective and formal point of view, bandit considered as criminal act and it gave a negative image towards government. That was the reason any criminality must be eradicated so then the government are able to run their activities and get a lot of advantages. While based in an informal point of view, bandit considered as heroic and noble act because they tried to help poor citizens.

The subjectivity came from both sides were understandable, but that subjectivity will be better if both sides consider the suffered side (in this case were the farmers in Banten). Bandit were born from the farmers who tried to depend their existence in the village which were determined by the government. In other words, bandit activities are respond toward colonialism. During colonialism era, groups of Jawa known as the social bandit (criminal) by the government are they who helped citizens’ rights. They did such a noble acts and supported by their local community (citizens).

According to Suhartono, not every bandits in 19th Century helped their community from colonialism, some of them were real criminals. But on the other side, there were also bandits whom fights for their communities’ rights. Groups of bandits who helped their society were appeared as the power to fight colonialism (Suhartono, 2010). The criminal movements in Banten are part of protests which was caused by politics, economics and religion aspects.

According to Ota Atsushi in 1808-1830, after the collapsed of sultanate era of Banten, criminal activities happened everywhere around Banten. Groups of Jawa called as bandit by the colonialists, got a lot of support from wong Banten. The beneficial environment and supported community got by Jawa were disadvantageous for colonialists (Ota Atsushi, 2006:163). This situations helped the groups of Jawa to keep growing. The magical environment in Banten are also still growing well,

moreover groups of Jawara have magical ability in order to help them to fight their enemies.

One of the most famous Jawara in that era was Mas Jakaria, his criminal (bandit) activities happened during 1811-1827 M. Mas jakaria was inherit of Keraton Kesultanan Banten, he fought for his people towards colonialism. Jakaria who believed as social criminal (bandit), helped their community to fight colonialism. Besides him, there were any other famous Jawara in that era, those are Sahab, Conat, Ija, Sakam, Kamudin, and Saniin. Some of them known as White Jawara some others were Black Jawarawho did common crime.

Jawara Sahab and Ija for example, they did criminal activities (perbanditan) to help their people, that thing can be proven from their victims (Dutch Colonialists). Jawara Sahab who ruled South Banten, became the protector for his local community. He went to prison several times and end up as jaroin Lebak to maintain the stability and security of that area. On the other hand, there were also Sakam as Black Jawara, he did the real criminal activities and thretened society, he even dare to kill the victims. The society believed that Sekam is one of Jawara who has the powerful magical ability (Suhaartono, 2010: 149-151).

If Geertz classified Java citizens into three types as santri, abangan, and-priyayi, then he needs to explain the position of Jawara whether they are santrior abangan. Looking at the historical and cultural aspects, groups of Jawara are really close to Islam, but on the other hand, Jawara mostly did criminal activities and blended the local traditions (Clifford Geertz, 1981).

In this era, Jawara believed as a symbol for groups of people who eager to ruled society with courage as their provison. Jawara as the social criminal are still believed by the society as negative image of them. Those term/label given by the society based on Jawara's criminal activities and premanisme.

B. Positions and The Roles of Jawarain Banten

The traditional roles of Jawara in Banten are fluctuated, and that caused the changing perception towards Jawara in Banten. Jawara will be needed if the stability and security of Banten are not stable. They often get negative image because of their criminal acts.

During Dutch colonialism, groups of Jawara were the pillars an did the direct fights toward colonialists. In this case, Jawara have a role as the resistance movement to fight Dutch colonialism. In the era of colonialism, Jawara known as social criminal (bandit social), and based on that roles Jawara were famous during colonialism era. The collapsed of BantenSul-

tanateand the less religion's role in the political system had changed the loyalty of Kiayi.

Kiayi believed that the colonialism governance were contemptible because they considered as kafir who took the domination of Muslim's leadership and those act must be fight. Those religion's believes dominate almost all aspects of Banten society and this view has a very significant influence towards Banten society. In this situations, Kiayi have a very important roles in the rebellions of colonial government. Those activities got a powerful support from Banten citizens, including the social elites such as noble community and Jawara (Else Ensering, 1995: 136). since the collapsed of Banten Sultanate, there were many rebellions which were supported by Jawara. Therefore, both social elites (Jawara and Kiayi) have such a charismatic roles in Banten society.

C. Social Transformatin of Jawara Banten

During the colonialism era, Jawara had the undeniable roles in the society, this local elites had responsibility as the guardian for their society and cuture. During the globalization era, this groups follow its flow and blended with the new era. Jawara used to have the roles as a local leader, such as; jaro, lurah, and security in the villages (jagakersa), silattrainer and magician teacher (Mohammad Hudaeri, 2002).

There are sifgnificant social transformation towards Jawara Banten in the modern era, the roles of Jawara are no longer as jaro, magician teacher, or security. Jawara experienced a high vertical mobilization in Banten, many Jawara became entrepreneur, functionaries and politicians. This vertical mobilization become one of the most important topic of the roles of Jawara. Although there were changing process of Jawara, from the traditional into the modern one, but Jawara did not lose their identity. The description of Jawara's role in Banten society will be explained in the further discussion.

a. Jaro

In the rural areas in Banten, a village usually lead by a leader called as Jaro. Jaro leads kejarooan (village). In the era of Banten Sultanate, Jaro was chosen by Sultan. The main role of Jaro was to manage all the Sultanate Governance, such as taking upeti and ordered his people to do kerajaan bakti. In his dialy work, jar usually get help from the staffs of kelurahan called as carik (the secretary of jaro), jagakersa (security), pancalang (postman), amil (the one who handle taxes and zakat), modin (the one who responsible in religion and Masjid).

b. Silat Trainer

Banten has a very long story of its Silat. In serat centhinistated that before Islam came, the term paguronor padepokan around Gunung karang Pandeglang area has been broadly known. Banten was known for its various types of silat training, such as; Terumbu, Bandrong, Paku Banten, Jalak Rawi, Tjimande Tari Kolot Djeruk Hilir (TTKDH), Padepokan Macan Paku Banten, etc. Every padepokan(silat training) have different characteristics. Even thou they have a different characteristics, but each of them have a relation one another because they were came from the same jurus silat.

c. Guru Ilmu Hikmah (Magic Trainer)

Jawara are not only famous for their martial arts (silat) andkanuragan, but they are also have ilmu hikmah, bathin or magic. Those are the ability to control and manipulate their supernatural power in order to get what they want. Those abilities related to the invulnerability from sharp weapons, fireproof, paranormal, peramal, controllingdevil, and physical treatment such as; bone crashes and tukang pijit.

Usually Jawara use brajamusti (the ability to have a powerful punch), ziyad (to control something from distance), jimator rajahto get pride, glory and being loved by many people, putter gilling (to find missing persons), elmu (to conquer wild animal), etc. Some of local or central functionaries usually come to Jawara who have those ability, they usually asked that Jawara's prayers or blessing in order to get what they want.

d. Pemain Debus(Debus player)

One of the soul and emotional training do by Jawara is Debus. Debus is one of Banten's tradition which was developed in the era of Ageng Tirtayasa (1651-1682), it used as a tool to fight against VOC. Debus is one of the traditional game which purpose is to show the invulnerable body from any sharp weapons and it was did by syekh debus(person who perform Debus), or the leader of Debus and its performers. In general, invulnerability considered as the core of Debus in Banten.

Nowadays, Debus known as one of Banten's traditional art which was developed in Serang, Pandeglang and Lebak. There are some of Debus groups stay in Serang, those are al-maddad, surosowan andlangitan. The relationship between Debus and Islam can be seen from tha magic formu-

las spelled by the performers, most of the magic formulas were taken from the Holy Qur'an and Banten language called as gembel. It can be assumed that the development, the form and the process of Debus have a very close relationship to Islamic values, especially the Sufism side. Debus which was taken from the word Dzikir, soul and salawat is an art which close to Islamic spirituality (Nauval Syamsu, 2004 : 93).

Debus as one of Banten heritage has a very unique followers. It is not only known as an invulnerability attraction and performance, but Debus has a faith which implied to the attitude and social life of its performers. And so were the attitudes towards their faith in solving life's problem.

The attraction of Debus mostly played by Jawara, those are groups which considered to have the invulnerability power. But not all Jawara can play this attraction, because it will be dangerous for those who are not able to do that, it even caused death. Banten society has various types of Debus, those are al-madad, surosowan and langitan. Debus-al-madad means asking for help, because during its performance the performers say al-maddad words, and those words describe Allah's help. Al-madadis the most difficult Debus because to do the attractions, the leader (khallifah) should do a very long and difficult rituals. Al-Madad affiliated to one of the tarekat in Islam which is tarekat Rifa'iyah and Qodariyah.

Surosowan is one of Debus that does not need any special or higher ability to play it. Therefore, it can be played by the teenagers or even children. The name of surosowan is related to the Sultanate Kingdom in Banten. It seemed that this type of Debus was aimed to be performed in Surosoan Kingdom during the Sultanate era in Banten and not to get any kinds of power. While Langitan Debus is the type of Debus that use teenagers as sharp weapons' object without getting hurt or injured. This Debus was aimed to be performed in front of the audiences and not to get any power or being vulnerable.

e. Khodim Kiyai

The real Jawara are those whom has a role as khodim kiyai. It means that Jawara has a role as someone who helps and guard Kiyai based on what Kiyai have taught them, such as fight for goodness, be on the weak people's side, have a good attitude, not being arrogant and obey every rules. But nowadays, those ideal roles are no longer obeyed by some of Jawara. Based on the above traditional roles of Jawara as had been described by Hudaeri in his research, there are any others roles of Jawara in Banten society which experienced some development during its progress. Nowadays,

Jawara are not only have traditional roles as Jaro, magical trainers, and security, but they also have a role as Entrepreneurs, Functionaries, and Politicians. The roles of Jawara experienced a high mobilizations around society.

1. Orde Baru as The Transformation Era of Jawara

The contribution of Orde Baru towards the existance of Jawara, considered to have a very significant role in reborning Jawara in this era. Therefore, the Orde Baru regime considered as the endeavoring period of Jawara. Orde Baru considered to have a had a huge contribution in reborning Jawara in this era, and put Jawara in the higher level of social structures, because in thei era groups of Jawara were being constructed in the aspects of organization, politic and economic. Therefore, this era can be called as endeavoring period of Jawara. While according to Hudaeri, the highest contribution of Orde Baru regime was uniting all Jawara into one organization that aaffiliate with Orde Baru regime.

Jawara were being endeavored by the governance of Orde Baru related to the political issues, in this period, Jawara were being accommodated by Orde Baru governance. That endeavor process can be seen from how the Orde Baru governance facilitate Jawara to construct their power. Moreover, the Orde Baru regime gave Jawara some facilities in both economic and political power (Irfani, 2011: 121-123).

Jawara experienced the changing transitions due to its role. They used to have a traditional roles, but now they have the more modern, organized and they also experienced vertical mobilization. As has been stated before, that the vertical mobilization experienced by Jawara can be seen from various types of aspects, such as occupation, salary and political power. Those things can be used as the measurement aspects, because many of Jawara jumped into business world and get a lot of ultimate. Based on the political aspect, groups of Jawara have a position in the governance, both as a council members local functionaries.

The endeavoring process did by Orde Baru governance has been designed neatly. Jawara Banten have been connotated negatively, both by the local and sburbian citizens. The negative image as a group that commonly use their muscle, violence and civilians power were being taken advantage by the Orde Baru regime governance. Jawara used to be scattered anywhere, but since the Order Baru regime, they were being accommodated in one organization. The family relationship around Jawara are very close and strong, even though they do not have a blood relationship.

Come from the same paguron, padepokan (a place called to learn Silat and martial art) and areas make them close each other and be a family without considering blood relationship.

The presence of the organization which unite all Jawara in Banten was able to accommodate the potentation of Jawara. The intervention did by governance of Orde Baru towards Jawara in Banten was one of the historical phase during the development period of Jawara in the west point of Banten Island. The development transition and the influence of Jawara can be classified into some phases in the history, started from the traditional era, where Jawara were born and affiliated with Kiayi, then the roles of Jawara as an informal and traditional leaders in Banten, then they affiliated with the governance, until finally groups of Jawara take control of Banten and dominate both politic and economic aspects until now. Jawara used to dominate the area of villages and traditional market, but now Jawara have a very wide domination, they even run political aspect in Banten. The empowerment process of Jawara cannot be separated from their own individual potential as the local elites and the source of local power. Looking at each individual, it will be difficult to understand how could someone without any academic histories can be the head of region and manage a huge company and even governance.

The powerful role of Jawara in Banten is related to their historical background and the religiosity of local citizens during the colonialism era, in which Kiayi and Jawara were fighting against colonialists. As a leader in the local community, Jawara have their own charisma and pride. The existence of Jawar as the informal leader in wong Banten society sometimes go beyond Banten's formal and central leaders. The writer will describe the roles and postition of Jawara after their social transformation.

a. Entrepreneur

One of the roles of Jawara which experienced a huge vertical mobilization was their role as entrepreneur. They usually run a business as a contractor. For the example Chasan Sohib, he is one of the figure of Jawara whom known for his sucessful business as contractor, he has a company named PT Sinar Ciomas Group, PT Bahtera Banten jaya, and PT Mustika Empat Lima.

H.Tb Chassan Sohib is one of the most respected Jawara in Banten. Chasan Sohib usually called as Gubernur jendralthe leader of Jawara in Banten, he is being called that way because all of Jawara in Banten are bowed and obey him. His role in the life of Banten citizens are very significant, espe-

cially in both politic and economic aspect. He is a leader of Golkar Party in regional area, leader of PPPBSI (Silat and Banten cultures Organization), moreover, he is a father of Rt. Atut Choisyah, and Atut was the Governor of Banten. Therefore, he has an important role in Banten, especially in the political aspect.

Chassan Sohib started his career as an entrepreneur in Orde Baru era. He was given credence to handle many projects from the governance of Orde Baru because his close relationship with that governance. His movement as an entrepreneur followed by any other Jawara, those who follow his step as an entrepreneur are Djuwanda, HM Danu Ahmad, Eki Syahrudin, etc. Those are Jawara who was being educated by Chassan Sohib as an entrepreneur. Many of Jawara whom thankful to Chassan Sohib because he taught them to be an entrepreneur.

b. Politician

The political domination in Banten cannot be separated from Jawara, groups of Jawara have a very powerful domination in deciding political orientation of Banten citizens. There were shifting and a quick social mobilization in the groups of Jawara. Jawara used to have a traditional roles as Jaro, Silat trainer and security. But since the changing roles and shifting values of Jawara, they become one of the most powerful social elites in Banten.

According to the description of Jawara's life that has been explained above, Clifford Geertz called that as the process of cultural development and the evolution of human's intelligent. Including their behavior and attitudes that keeps changing and developing (Geertz, 1973). In this case, the thought and culture of Jawara are keep developing along with the reality.

According to Andi Rahman the domination of Jawara in political aspect reflects the difference concept of democracy in every city in Indonesia. He believes that democracy in Banten got a lot of values from Jawara and Islam, and that was the reason Jawara's dominate Banten beyond Banten's local government themselves. Jawara in the aspect of local culture were close to Islam and that gave Jawara lot of advantages because the local society also have a high religiosity toward Islam, and that was helpful for them. As the local elite, Jawara have a huge influence in Banten, that can be seen from the huge cadres of Jawara who became the officials of several Parties, council members, and head of region (Andi Rahman Alamsyah, 2009: 171-174). Therefore, the democracy in Banten mostly influenced by

Jawara Banten. Besides the domination in the aspect of business, groups of Jawaara also have a very huge domination in political aspects, both as the member of several parties and council members or head of region. Some of Jawaara whom have a powerful domination in Politic and Economic aspects are H. Tb Ismetullah Abbas (Persatuan Demokrasi Kebangsaan Party), Djuanda chairman of Regional Representative Board (from Golkar Party) Jayeng Rana, Hasan Cobra, etc.

Besides dominating political aspect, the cadres of Jawaara also have a position as the head of region. For example, Rt. Atut Chosiyah as one of the cadre is the governor of Banten, and she is a daughter of H. Chassan Sohib, and he is the most powerful Jawaara in Banten. Lebak as one of the area in Banten is also lead by Jawaara, he is Mulyadi Jayabaya. He used to be Jawaara who run several business before being the regent of Lebak. According to Hera Rahmat one of local government's staff in Banten.

"ayena, di kabupaten lebak teh hebat mang ami...! eta teh hente aya pegawai anu berani macem-macem, hente aya nu korupsi, anu telat, anu bolos. Jadi anjena (Bupati Mulyadi) mimpin masyarakatna pake gaya jawara. Sanajan nyana hente ngarti kana birokrasi sistem tapi karena anjena jawara, eta hente aya anu berani macem-macem, plus ditambah nyana teh mimpina bener hayang masyarakat Lebak maju. "Bupati Mulyadi : awas ini ya para pejabat jangan macem-macem sama urusan pemerintah dan rakyat. Kalau ada yang macam-macam, nanti pejabat yang eselon empat saya turunkin jadi eselon tiga.....!"

Quoted from the above interview, it can be seen that Mulyadi as one of Jawaara did not understand the administration system, and that can be analyzed from his statement "kalau ada pejabat yang macam-macam, eselon empat saya turunkin menjadi eselon tiga". According to the structural system, that statement can be concluded as a promotion instead of demotion. Mulyadi as the head of region, successfully lead Lebak, that thing can be seen from so many local officials who obey his leadership. He leads his region with the style of Jawaara Banten, If someone mess with his leadership, then he will use violence to hit that person. Moreover, the role of Jawaara in political system of Banten has been arranged and is constructed systematically. The constructed system means as the domination of Jawaara in Banten in the aspect of politic and constructed political dynasty in Banten. Family and emotional relationship used by Jawaara in controlling and dominating Banten governance. Domination of Jawaara started in Orde Baru era, when one of the most respected Jawaara H. Chassan sohib trusted to be the elder of Golkar Regional Representative Board (DPD) in Banten. After

becoming an independent province, almost all of the regional leadership led by their family, such as Rt Atut Choisyah as his daughter who became the vice of governor which then became the Governor of Banten, Andika Hazrumi as the member of Banten Regional Representative Board (DPD), Dimiyati Natakusuma regent of Pandeglang, Mulyadi regent of Lebak, Rt Alamsyah mayor of Serang, Hj. Airin as the mayor of South Tangerang. Controlling the system of local governance in Banten means controlling all aspects of community life in Banten, including its social, economic and politic systems. Those political dominations of Jawara that generally were being protested by the students of Banten from several universities, such as UNTIRTA, IAIN SMH, IAIB, etc.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this paper is to explain that there were significant changing and social transformation toward the local entities, in this case were groups of Jawara in Banten. During their development, the roles of Jawara in Banten society experienced the higer vertical mobilization in both social and economic aspect. The roles and positions of Jawara were not only as Jaro, magic trainer and security anymore. But during the reformation and Orde Baru era, many of Jawara turned to be the entrepreneurs, functionaries and politicians. Jawara experienced a higher development due to their roles, they used to have a traditional roles as an informal leader, but now their roles tuned to be the modern one without changing their identity. The life identity and culture of Jawara called as subculture of violence, because violence has been part of Jawara's culture. Violence used as a tool to gain a higher position and social status in order to be the most respected Jawara in their community.

REFERENCE

- Alamsyah, Andi Rahman. 2010. Islam, Jawa dan Demokrasi, Geliat Politik Banten Pasca-Orde Baru. Jakarta : Dian Rakyat.
- Atsushi, Ota. 2006. Change of Regim and Social Dynamic in West Java, Society, State, and the Outer World of Banten 1750-1830. Leiden Netherland : Brill.
- Bachtiar, Wardi. 2006. Sosiologi Klasik Dari Comte hingga Parson. Bandung : Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Biley, A. Carol. A guide to Qualitative Field Research. Thousand Oaks, CA : Pine Forge Press, 2006.
- Cavallaro, Dani. 2004. Critical and Cultural Theory, Teori Kritis dan Teori Budaya. Yogyakarta : Niagara.
- Dhofier, Zamakhsyari. 1985. Tradisi Pesantren , Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kiyai. Jakarta : LP3ES
- Djajadiningrat, Hosein. 1983. Tinjauan Kritis Tentang Sejarah Banten Sumbangan Bagi Pengenalan Sifat-sifat Penulisan Sejarah Jawa. Jakarta : Djambatan.
- Durkheim, Emile. 2005. Suicide A Study In Sociology. London : Routledge Classic and Kegan Paul.
- Ensering, Else. 1995. Banten in Times of Revolution. Journal Archipel, Paris.
- Epstein L, Richard, Siegel, Dina, Nelen, JM (ed). 2008. Organized Crime : Culture, Markets and Policies. New York : Springer Press.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1981. Abangan, Santri, Priyayi Dalam Masyarakat Jawa. Jakarta : Pustaka Jaya.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1973. The Interpretation of Cultures. New York : Basic Books, A Member of the Perseus Books Group.
- Hudaeri, Mohammad. 2002. Tasbih dan golok, Studi tentang Kedudukan, Peran dan Jaringan Kiyai dan Jawa di Banten. Laporan penelitian, Serang : Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin Banten.
- Humaeni, Ayatullah. 2009. The Phenomenon of Magic in Banten Society. Netherlands : Leiden University.
- Irfani, Fahmi. 2011. Jawa Banten, Sebuah Kajian Budaya, Sosial dan Politik. Jakarta : Onkor Semesta Press.
- K. Yin, Robert. 2003. Case study research: design and methods, Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Karim, M. Rusli. 1999. Negara dan Peminggiran Islam Politik. Yogyakarta : Tiara Wacana.

- Karomah, Atu. 2002. *Jawara dan Budaya Kekerasan Pada Masyarakat Banten*. Tesis FISIP Universitas Indonesia, Depok.
- Kartodirdjo, Sartono. 1984. *Pemberontakan Petani Banten 1888*. Jakarta : Pustaka Jaya.
- Kartodirdjo, Sartono. 1993. *Pendekatan Ilmu Sosial dan Metodologi Sejarah*. Jakarta : Gramedia.
- Khaldun, Ibn. 1986. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldun*, terj. Ahmadie Toha. Jakarta : Pustaka Firdaus.
- Khatib, Mansur. 2000. *Profil Haji Tubagus Chasan Sohib, Beserta Komentar 100 Tokoh Masyarakat Seputar Pendekar Banten*. Jakarta : Pustaka Antara Utama.
- Koentjaraningrat. 2004. *Manusia dan Kebudayaan di Indonesia*. Jakarta : Djambatan Cet-24.
- Wee, C.J.W.L. 2002. *Local Cultures and The New Asia, The States, Culture, and Capitalism in Southeast Asia*. Singapore : Institute of Southeast Asia Studies.
- Lubis H. Nina, 2003. *Banten Dalam Pergumulan Sejarah: Sultan, Ulama, dan Jawara*. Jakarta : LP3ES.
- Makmun, Ismail. 1985. *Riwayat Singkat Berdirinya Satkar Ulama Golkar, Munas I Satkar Ulama Golkar*, Jakarta.
- Martin, Roderick. 1993. *Sosiologi Kekuasaan*. Jakarta : Raja Grafindo Persada.
- McGlynn, Frank and Artur Tuden (ed). 2000. *Pendekatan Antropologi pada Perilaku Politik*. Jakarta : UI Press
- Michrob, Halwani dan Chudori, Mudjahid. 1993. *Catatan Masa Lalu Banten*. Serang : penerbit Saudara Serang.
- Muhyidin, Mansyur. *Banten Menuju Masa Depan*. Serang : Yayasan Kiyai Haji Wasyid, 1999.
- Masaaki, Okamoto dan Rozaki, Abdur, 2006. *Kelompok Kekerasan dan Bos Lokal Di Era Reformasi*. Yogyakarta : CSEAS IRE Press.
- Nordholt, Schulte Henk, Van Klinken, Geert Arend, Van Klinken, Gerry. 2007. *Renegotiating Boundaries : Access, Agency and Identity in Post-Suharto Indonesia*. Leiden : KITLV Press.
- Nordholt, Schulte Henk, Van Klinken, Gerry. 2007. *Politik Lokal di Indonesia*. Jakarta : Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Palm, C.H.M. 1984. *Sejarah Antropologi Budaya*. Bandung : Jemmars.
- Parsa, Misagh. 2000. *States, Ideologies, & Social Revolution, A Comparative Analysis of Iran, Nicaragua and the Philippines*. Edinburg UK : Cambridge University Press.

- Potts, Jhon. 2009. *A History of Charisma*. New York : Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pribadi, Yanwar. 2008. *The Background to the Emergence of Jawara in the Erly Nineteenth Century Banten*. Al Qalam, Jurnal Ilmiah Bidang Keagamaan dan Kemasyarakatan. Vol. 25, No.3
- _____. ANOTHER SIDE
- Pruitt, G. Dean, Rubin, Z. Jeffry and Kim, Sung Hee. 1994. *Social Conflict, Escalation, Stalemate, and Settlement*. McGraw-Hill, Inc –2nd ed : United States of America.
- Pudjiasih, Titik. 2007. *Perang, Dagang, Persahabatan, Surat-surat Sultan Banten*. Jakarta : Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Ritzer, George and Goodman, Douglas J. 2007. *Teori Sosiologi Modern*, terj. Aliman. Jakarta : Kencana.
- Rivai, Ahmad. *Suatu Tinjauan Kriminologi Atas Kepemimpinan Jawara di Wilayah X*. Tesis FISIP Universitas Indonesia, Depok 2003.
- Liddle, William R. *Leadership and culture in Indonesia Politics*, Sidney Allen and Urwin, 1996.
- Romli, Lili. 2007. *Jawara dan Penguasa Politik Lokal di Provinsi Banten (2001-2006)*. Disertasi, FISIP Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta.
- Suparlan, Pasurdi. 1984. *Manusia, Kebudayaan, dan Lingkungannya*. Jakarta : Rajawali.
- Spencer, Stephen. 2006. *Race and Ethnicity, Culture, Identity and Representation*. New York : Routledge taylor & Francis Group.
- Syamsu, Nauval. 2004. *Debus Sebuah Fenomena Keagamaan, Studi Kultural Debus Banten*. Tesis, Pasca Sarjana UIN Syarif Hidayatullah : Jakarta.
- Syamsuddin, M. Din. 1999. *Islam dan Politik : Era Orde Baru*. Jakarta : Logos Wacana Ilmu.
- Tihami, MA. 1992. *Kiyai dan Jawara di Banten, Studi tentang Agama, Magi, dan Kepemimpinan di desa Pesanggrahan Serang, Banten*, Tesis. Universitas Indonesia :
- Van Harskamp, Anton. 2005. *Konflik-konflik Dalam Ilmu Sosial*. Yogyakarta : Kanisius.
- Van Bruinessen, Martin. 1995. *Shari'a court, Tarekat and Pesantren : Religious Istitutions in The Banten*. Paris : Archipel.
- Pranoto, Suhartono W. 2010. *Jawa Bandit-Bandit Pedesaan, Studi Historis 1850-1942*. Yogyakarta : Graha Ilmu.
- Weber, Max. 2006. *The Hand Book of Sociology, Studi Komprehensif Sosiologi Kebudayaan*,(terj). A.Qodir Sale. Yogyakarta : IRCiSoD.
- Williams C Michael. 1990. *Sickle and Crescent, The Communist Revolt of*



**UNIVERSIDAD
DEL ZULIA**

opción

Revista de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales

Año 35, N° 20, (2019)

Esta revista fue editada en formato digital por el personal de la Oficina de Publicaciones Científicas de la Facultad Experimental de Ciencias, Universidad del Zulia.

Maracaibo - Venezuela

www.luz.edu.ve

www.serbi.luz.edu.ve

produccioncientifica.luz.edu.ve