



THE ROLE OF MOSLEM SOCIETIES'S LEADERSHIP IN PERSPECTIVE OF NATIONAL INTEGRATION: A CASE STUDY IN PEGAYAMAN VILLAGE, BULELENG DISTRICT, BALI

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ABSTRACT

Muslim communities which is located in Pegayaman Village, in Buleleng Regency, have a unique and ambivalent position. Nationally, they are part of the majority Muslim communities in Indonesia. However, since they located at Buleleng regency which is a Hindu majority, the communities certainly becomes a minority group. The Muslim community of Pegayaman can live in harmony and be able to integrate with other community as a minority. In the national integration of the Muslim Pegayaman community is able to blend with other communities without losing their cultural identity. This is inseparable from the system of values, beliefs and cultural (religious) identity and leadership in the village. The concept was able to bring the Pegayaman Muslim community to maintain national integration and keep them away from disintegration process.

Keywords: Muslim communities, leadership, Pegayaman village

INTRODUCTION

Pegayaman village is the village with its own uniqueness because, it's the only small village in North Bali which has a majority of Moslem villagers. This village also has an unique history background because of their Moslem's villagers involved in the history of Buleleng's empire during Dinasti Panji Sakti's governance in the 17th century. According to the resources, Moslem villagers in Pegayaman came from Blambangan (East Java). In that time (1963), Panji Sakti, the king of Buleleng had successfully conquer Mataram's empire centered in Solo. (Peter Worsley, 1992: 150 - 161)

A triumph of conquering Mataram's empire forces chief commander Ing Alogo Sayidin Nagatama took the path of peace and acknowledge Panji Sakti's power. Furthermore, he gave Panji Sakti an elephant and 80 Blambangan's soldiers. Panji Sakti put the soldiers from Blambangan in one of his empire's territory which is being named Pegayaman for now. That placement also had a purpose to make a fortress for Buleleng's empire to defending them from Mengwi's empire. Furthermore, they've mingled with the native villagers, settled in that placed and did some intermarriage and form in a societies. (Panji Tisna & Ngurah, 1952: 12).

For Moslem villagers in Pegayaman, Islam not only being their belief's system which has an abstract value but also being an attribute or the cultural's



symbol that differentiate between Moslem villagers and their surrounding Hindu-Bali villagers in Pegayaman. As a part of societies which already took a long time to lived, that Moslem villagers identified them self as “Bali- Selamat” which mean Balinese Moslem. In opposite, Hindu-Bali villagers most likely identified them the same as the other Moslem that is Java and Bugis as a stranger.

The existence of Pegayaman’s Moslems which is according to history are more than 3 centuries who already had done an intermarriage and mingled with Hindu-Bali villagers also using Balinese language as their native tongue not becoming something important. For Hindu-Bali villagers, people who can be stated as Balinese are Hindu, because of that, some people are not considered as a stranger if they turn out their religion into Hindu. The word “Bali” here contained a religious and racial connotation. A combination of this religion identification can be clearly seen when Hindu-Bali villagers call their religion as “the religion of Bali”, otherwise Moslem villagers call their self as “Bali-Selamat” so that their identification not mistaken.

In every village in Bali, especially since the enactment of local government principal law No.5/1974 known the separation of a village between administration village and custom village. Administration village concerning the village governor function as a sub-district unit which is led by a chief of village. Whereas the criteria decided by the ownership of “khayangan tiga”, enforcing and burial location. In consequence, the membership of cultural village limited in the villagers who are Hindu. That custom village led by a custom leader who have an informal authority separated from the chief of administration village.

Looking from the two criteria, it seems like Pegayaman that almost 80% or majority of their villagers are Moslem doesn’t have one unit of custom village. Officially, this village divided into four neighborhood which is Barat Jalan, Timur Jalan, Kubu and Amerti. Although it doesn’t have a unity of custom village, Pegayaman village have an approval from Indonesian Mufti Council (MUI) branched Bali as a “Santri Village”. This approval is based on the composition of Moslem villagers, the amount of mufti’s role and religious activity especially recitation of the Quran in mosque and villager’s home. Depart from that brief review, author appointed the problem of how far the role of leadership which has an important effect for forming a social integration and disintegration in Pegayaman.

METHOD

To explain the problems, author used a literature review and observation method. That two method combined until the accurate data as a scientific responsibility has been obtained. Recalling that the problem that has been appointed is how far the role of the leadership affecting the forming of social integration and disintegration in Pegayaman, so theoretical approach that the author used is structural functional approach or structural functionalism approach. The underlying theories in this approach known as integration theories, orde theories, equilibrium theories, or structural functionalism theories (Nasikun, 1984: 9-11).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Group Identification

As explained in an introduction section, Moslem villagers in Pagayaman using a terminology of “Bali-Selamat” so people won’t be mistaken them as Hindu. In addition from group naming, attributes that they used as a symbols to differen-



tiate between Moslem villagers and Hindu villagers in Pegayaman can be seen from a way they're dressing, using language and their personal name. The men in Pegayaman using "kopiah" as daily dressing and the women using "jilbab" as a religion symbol.

In daily chatting, Moslem villagers in Pegayaman using Balinese language and which is interesting is recognizing the list of name (birth order names) as first name for naming their child the same as Hindu-Bali villagers such as Wayan for the first born, Nyoman for the second born, Nengah for the third born, and Ketut for the fourth born. For the second name, they use Arabic language or using prophet's name, an angel name, prophet's friends, wives, and the other important names in Islam. For instance, there're people who named Nyoman Ali Akbar, Wayan Jamil and Ketut Abdullah.

Religion attributes or symbols are not only forming a belief's system in the societies but also becoming a source of group identity. Its also give a normative restriction or limitation about the act that allowed and not allowed to do by the group members. Facing a situation as a minority, Moslem villagers in Pegayaman not only showed the strength of their religion values but also a toleration with the other religion norm limitation which is validated in their environment.

The Role of Leadership

The exclusiveness of Pegayaman as an Islam minority group that separated from Hindu-Bali majority can be seen from the developing leadership model in that village. Officially, Pegayaman doesn't have an unity of custom village but they have a formal and informal leadership. That formal-informal leader have a role in developing local institutions which have a essential function in guarantee the existences of Pegayaman's villagers. The leader in Pegayaman can be separated into : they who have function in the religion section (main group), and in the agriculture section especially the irrigation organization (subak) which is led by subak's leader.

The process to reach a mufti status in Pegayaman doesn't have so much differences with the mufti in Java. Individual characteristics such as piety, amenity, and pious which are called as attributes for mufti in Java also given to the mufti in Pegayaman. Those attributes came along with dedication from the mufti in the teaching and spreading Islam in their environment. In 1989, Pegayaman has nine muftis which are led by a Moslem leader.

Just as an ordinary Hindu-Bali who occupy as a farmer, Pegayaman's Moslems also knowing about subak or traditional irrigation system. The members of subak led by the chief of subak and divided into two section which are pengampel's subak and pengayah's subak. Chief of Subak is a leader of informal-traditional which have a source of authority from a local values assets especially irrigation system in Pegayaman village. Authority of agriculture from "sedahan agung" (in subdistrict) and "sedahan agung" (in district), have a formal authority to make a supervision that shed the watter into the small dam in all over the village.

An informal-traditional leader have a position that relatively stronger and stable because of their underlying authority based on traditional values. Their position as traditional leader is not the position that should be contested because there's no rivalry and conflict in every new leader election. Traditional procedure that based on mutual agreement is a basic for traditional leadership election.



Briefly, the switching in the leadership usually has no problem and always harmonic.

An election of the chief of subak also regulated by traditional norms, usually people choose based on their member who is the most talented, diligent and hard worker in maintaining their subak. The former chief of subak's preferences also determining the election of the new chief. The most often thing happen in the election is the former chief choose his vice to take over his role with the approval from the other members.

Weber has been grouping the type of the leadership into charismatic, traditional and legal-rational. (Max Weber, 1974: 341) However, to Pegayaman cases, its has been showed that all of that weber classification are overlapping one to the other. Mufti and Subak's Chief, based on weber model can be classified as the traditional leaders. In fact, traditional leader in Pegayaman sometimes doing his real function to give an authority from a formal leader. Especially in giving a program or central government's laws to his villagers such as agricultural briefing, introduction of contraception program and others, so it'll take a role of charismatic traditional leader.

Mufti in Pegayaan as an informal- traditional leader creating a patron-client relationship, not only reputed as the leader of religious ritual but also reputed as the carrier of blessings. Patron client relationship between muftis and their followers make the muftis have a complex role in the religion and non religion problems. The harmonic relationship between the leaders and their followers can be seen with the process of social shifting in a patron- client relationship which is a characteristic of informal-traditional leadership. With all this statement, its stated that the social integration in Pegayaman determined by primordialism bond (Islam), and reinforced by the role of informal-traditional leader.

Different with informal-traditional leadership, formal leadership position especially the chief of village (lurah) relatively unstable and tend to creating social conflict. This thing occurred because the position of "lurah" is very competitive, it's often creating loyalty disunity between the followers of the candidates who competitively fight for the chief of village position. Moreover if the election involving the interest from outside the village or the central governor's interest, the conflict is going to be more complicated.

Just as some other village in Bali, the chief of Pegayaman village involving the ABRI. The placing of military officer as the chief of village is a part of the function of ABRI like what its represent in dual fungtion of ABRI that are a function as stabilisator and dinamisator. ABRI member who got the job as the chief of village have a mission to stabilize that reflecting the security approach. When a Moslem from ABRI being a village's chief, his existence will bring dissatisfaction in societies because they feel that they don't have the autonomy to choose their own leader yet.

Pegayaman villagers identified Lurah as "a stranger" because Lurah is not the native or part of Pegayaman's villagers. Furthermore, Lurah who have a duty in Pegayaman live outside the village or in the city so it'll become easier for society judging. Lurah has less integration with local culture. The climax was when the election of Lurah for 1987-1995, Pegayaman's villagers didn't want to do the instruction from "kelurahan" (political district administered by a village chief). The one who have done the instruction is the elementary's students.



CONCLUSION

Pegayaman's Moslem who have been created from three century before have an unique and ambivalent position because we can see from national that they are the part of and identified them self as majority of Moslem societies in Indonesia. However, because their existence in Bali with a majority of societies are Hindu-Bali, so Pegayaman's Moslems are included to an ambivalent group, identity as a Moslem group are creating from the element outside the environment through a process of selective cultural renting including from Hi culture such as language and Balinese name. irrigation system application and intermarriage.

Looking from national integration dimention, the interesting thing from Pedayangan's Moslem is a social defends without loosing their own cultural identity, even when they lived in the middle of Hindu-Bali society environment. Beside its determined by the value system and belief, culturual identity is also determined by leadership factor as a values controller in Pegayaman. A partition of authorization in Pegayaman usually based on the traditional values and modern bureaucracy system. The manifestation of this authorization's partition can be seen from the development of traditional leadership in religion section (muftis) and agricultural irrigation (subak), and formal leadership which have an authority in the village government.

Traditional leadership authority in Pegayaman is based on a religion and cultural value so the indidual's charisma is a characteristic in the traditional leader. Their position is stronger and stable because of its based are came from the primordial value (cultural and belief system which is inherited from generation to generation). The position of the traditional leader usually not something to be competed about and giving the conflict between their followers. Informal traditional leader election usually run in a relatively harmonic condition and underlied by mutual agreement and only follow the old procedure which is inherited from generation to generation.

In contrast, disintegration occurred in formal leadership which is more concern in external force through the control from central government. Centralization of authority through controlling the bureaucracy in central governor creating the institutional changes and also creating primordial sentiment or disobeying act and social disintegration. For now on, element that become an unifier to reduce conflict's intensity is a primordial bond (religion values). Because of that reason, primordial bond have to be observed by the formal leader to reduce the regional sentiment.

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