



SETIA GUMILAR

## The Islamic Scholars' Movement in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, 1998-2007

**ABSTRACT:** *The change that occurs in Garut Regency, West Java, Indonesia has positioned the Ulama (Islamic Scholars) to have a significant role in various aspects of lives, especially in religious affairs, almost in every age or period of Islamic history. In the New Order government era (1966-1998), the Ulama of Garut were positioned by the government to be in the right tract, namely religious aspect. However, along with the changing period, the Ulama in Garut have attempted to reposition their identity, which is not only limited to religious but also in political, law, and economic aspects. This article – using the qualitative approaches, historical methods, and literature studies – elaborates the role of Ulama in socio-political movement in Garut. This shows that there has happened a movement shift of the Ulama in Garut in the period of 1998-2007. The findings showed that in the previous period, in the New Order era, the Ulama tended to only move in religious corridor. Meanwhile, in the period of 1998-2007, the Ulama's movement reached other aspects, such as politic and law. In this period also, through the BKUI (Badan Koordinasi Umat Islam or Muslim Coordination Institution), the Ulama's movements were aimed to reunite their position which was considered as experiencing a gap as a result of national political chaos. Then, the Ulama's movement in Garut attempted also to create the "Syari'at Islam" (Islamic Law) as behavior base in Garut Regency through media called as LP3SyI (Lembaga Pengkajian, Penegakkan, dan Penerapan Syari'at Islam or Institution for Islamic Study, Empowerment, and Implementation). Other movement is anti-corruption action by seriously providing inputs and feedbacks to the Regional Budgeting or APBD (Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah) of Garut Regency, both in planning process and its implementation.*

**KEY WORDS:** *Ulamas' Movement; Social Changes; Garut Regency; Islam and Politics.*

### INTRODUCTION

During 1998-2007, the *Ulamas* (Islamic Scholars)' movement in Garut, West Java, Indonesia had dynamically occurred. The *Ulamas*, who previously focused on religious affairs and the development of *ummat* (Islamic community), started to involve in various aspects of life, such as economy,

politics, or even law. Thus, the *Ulamas'* movement in Garut had changed. Obviously, there was a functional and movement change of Islamic scholar in Garut. This condition changed the previous stigma upon the Garut people, which told that the *Ulamas'* movement was divided, or the so called reduced, which means it was just to manage

**About the Author:** Dr. Setia Gumilar is a Lecturer at the Department of Islamic Civilization History, Faculty of *Adab* and Humanities UIN (Universitas Islam Negeri or State Islamic University) Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, Jalan A.H. Nasution No.105 Cipadung, Bandung 40614, West Java, Indonesia. E-mail: [setiagumilar@uinsgd.ac.id](mailto:setiagumilar@uinsgd.ac.id)

**Suggested Citation:** Gumilar, Setia. (2019). "The Islamic Scholars' Movement in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, 1998-2007" in *TAWARIKH: Journal of Historical Studies*, Volume 11(1), October, pp.29-42. Bandung, Indonesia: Minda Masagi Press owned by ASPENSI, with ISSN 2085-0980 (print) and ISSN 2685-2284 (online).

**Article Timeline:** Accepted (July 27, 2019); Revised (September 30, 2019); and Published (October 30, 2019).

the religious affairs. This condition also happened at the time of the New Order era, 1966-1998. And when it entered the Reform era in Indonesia, 1998 to date, the orientation of the *Ulamas'* movement was not on the religious affairs only, but also the economic, politics, and law aspects (cf Horton & Hunt, 1984; Iskandar, 2007; Zulkifli, 2013; and Gumilar, 2014).

The reality above mainly caused by the existence of the change on the socio-politics arrangement at the time of New Order era, which limited the *Ulamas'* movement turned into the social arrangement at the time of Reform era, which opened the freedom for all people; and it means that the *Ulamas* do all of their activities. The existence of this *Ulamas'* movement change implied to the social order in Garut. For instance, the *Ulamas'* movement oriented on political aspect implied the *Ulamas* reposition in their relationship to *umara* or the government leader. In economic aspect, the alms movement issued by the *Ulamas* implied the alms awarnes increasing of Garut people. In law aspect, the *Ulamas'* movement in Garut implied the awareness of implementing various policies issued on PERDA (*Peraturan Daerah*) or Regional Regulation.

This article – using the qualitative approaches, historical methods, and literature studies (Lloyd, 1993; Leirissa, 1999; Sjamsuddin, 2007; and Zed, 2008) – tries to analysis the *Ulamas'* movement in Garut with pertaining to: (1) *Social Structure and the Existence of Islamic Scholars in Garut*; (2) *the Islamic Scholar Movement in Garut at the Time of the New Order*; and (3) *Islamic Scholars' Movement in Garut around 1998-2007*.

## FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

***Social Structure and the Existence of Islamic Scholars in Garut.*** The Regency of Garut is well known as one of Islamic student city located in East Preanger, West Java, Indonesia. It is because the majority of Garut people are Muslim and also there are many Islamic boarding schools, or *Pesantren*, and many religious activities there. Based on 2008 data, the number of Muslim in Garut was 2,220,516 souls, from entire Garut

people summed as 2,225,241 souls. The number of *Ulamas* (Islamic Scholars) in Garut Regency, based on data, was 2,335 people.<sup>1</sup> The number of *Pesantrens* (Islamic Boarding Schools) spread in Garut was 988 with 127,999 *Santris* (Islamic Boarding School Students) on it. The number of great mosque was 4,297; mosque was 6,677; and *mushola* (small mosque) was 3,571.<sup>2</sup>

The religious situation and atmosphere in Garut is well kept. Recently in Garut, there are 108 RAs (*Raudhatul Athfals* or Islamic Kindergartens); 151 MIs (*Madrasah Ibtidaiyahs* or Islamic Elementary Schools); 137 MTs (*Madrasah Tsanawiyahs* or Islamic Junior High Schools); 46 MAs (*Madrasah Aliyah* or Islamic Senior High Schools); 942 MDs (*Madrasah Diniyahs* or Islamic School); dan 515 *Pesantrens* or Islamic Boarding Schools.<sup>3</sup> This number of Islamic educational institution perhaps is not as many as in other Regencies in West Java; however, with those number, Garut has been known as an “Islamic Student City” or *Kota Santri*, with its breeze religious atmosphere.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>From the data above, if we convert to a percentage, the whole Muslim in Garut reached 99%. This number is not different to the previous years' data, which was from 2005, 2006, and 2007, which told that the number of Muslim in Garut reached 99%. See the table of religious worshiper in Garut dated on 2008. See also the table for Sub-District, or *Kecamatan*, dated on 2007; and also see the table of religious leader recapitulation in Garut dated on 2008.

<sup>2</sup>See the table of Islamic boarding schools development in Garut Regency for last six years; the data of Islamic Information Division from Religious Affair Department in Garut, 2008; and also the table of the development of religious facilities in Garut for last five years.

<sup>3</sup>The data of Islamic Information Division from Religious Affair Department in Garut, on Agustus 2002. There is also categorization of large *Pesantrens* (Islamic Boarding Schools), such as *Pesantren Al-Musadadiyah*, *Pesantren Darul Arqam*, *Pesantren PERSIS (Persatuan Islam* or Islamic United) in Bentar and Rancabogo, *Pesantren Keresek*, and *Pesantren Cipari*.

<sup>4</sup>For comparison, besides Garut, Cianjur is also known as the *Kota Santri* (Islamic Student City). The majority of Cianjur people are Muslim (1,893,203 souls or 98%) and Non-Muslim reached 2% consist of: (1) Christian, 32,841 souls or 1.7%; and (2) Buddha and Hindu, 5,796 souls or 0.3%. See, for further information, the enclosure of PERDA (*Peraturan Daerah* or Regional Regulation) of Cianjur Regency, Number 16 Year 2001, dated on 3<sup>rd</sup> Oktober 2001, about the Yearly Development Plan of Cianjur Regency in 2002, Chapter II, the Common Condition, pp.8-12. The religious facilities in Cianjur are as following here: 4,462 large mosques; 13,850 *mushola* (praying room); and 663 Islamic boarding schools. Besides those above, in Cianjur, there are also 1,668 TPAs (*Taman Pendidikan Al-Qurans* or Al-Quran Education Schools); 473 TKAs (*Taman Kanak-kanak Al-Qurans* or Al-Quran Kindergartens); 59 RAs (*Raudhatul Athfals* or Islamic

This religious atmosphere can be seen on the religious spirit in Islamic institutions, such as doing *shalat* (praying) on time, say *salam* (greeting) when meet people, and use Islamic clothes or *jilbab* (veil). These behaviors are still implemented in various religious institutions, such as *Pesantren* and Islamic-based schools. Meanwhile, in the other public institution, the practice of Islamic way is still far from perfectness. Besides in Islamic institution, women from the institution under the Regional Government or PEMDA (*Pemerintah Daerah*) also wear *jilbab*. So, the PEMDA in Garut has ordered the Muslim women to wear the *jilbab*, when they work in the government office (Kushidayati, 2009; Gumilar, 2014; and Kusmana, 2017).

The religious atmosphere in Garut is proved once again by the existence of *Dakwah* (Islamic proselytizing) institution. The *Dakwah* institution in Garut is classified into four kinds of: ORWAH (*Organisasi Dakwah* or *Dakwah* Organization); MT (*Majelis Ta'lim* or Lecturing Session); RM (*Remaja Masjid* or Mosque Youth); and LPA (*Lembaga Pendidikan Al-Qur'an* or *Al-Qur'an* Educational Institution). From the available data, it is recorded that the number of ORWAH in Garut is 364; MT is 4,791 groups; RM is 722; and the number of LPA from the kindergarten level to boarding school level is 430 institutions with the total students of 40,083. These numbers are the combination of 22,451 students for LPA; 11,304 students for *Al-Qur'an* Kindergarten, and 6,327 students for Islamic Boarding School.<sup>5</sup>

The religious atmosphere in Garut is still strong. Almost in every areas of Garut Regency, there are many the Islamic educational institutions with its various religious activities;<sup>6</sup> therefore, it makes

---

Kindergartens); dan 4,099 MTs (*Majlis Ta'lims* or Islamic Learning Communities). The religious human resource in Cianjur are consisted of: *Ulamas* (Islamic Scholars) are 4,169 people; 4,046 are *Da'is* (Preachers); 9,965 are *Khatib Jum'ahs* (Friday Preachers); and 510 *Ustads* (Islamic Educators). See, for further information, data of LPPI [*Lembaga Pengkajian dan Pengembangan Islam* or Institution of Islamic Development and Study] in 2002, Chapter II, p.5.

<sup>5</sup>See also "Data of Islam Information Section of Religious Affair Department of Garut, on Agustus 2002", *Unpublished Files*, owned by the Author.

<sup>6</sup>This Islamic Institutions, such as RA (*Raudhatul Athfal* or Islamic Kindergarten); MI (*Madrasah Ibtidaiyah* or Islamic

Garut as a place of *Santri* (Student of Islamic Boarding School) as well as the place of *Ulama* (Islamic Scholar).<sup>7</sup> This situation becomes the significant aspect, which influences the movement to issue the governal policies and/or the public needs directly in line with the condition and potency of that particular area (*cf* Tilly, 1978; Gumilar, 2014; and Zakiyah, 2016).<sup>8</sup>

The people of Garut, as a religious society, are very close to *Ulama*,<sup>9</sup> who

---

Elementary School); MTs (*Madrasah Tsanawiyah* or Islamic Junior High School); MA (*Madrasah Aliyah* or Islamic Senior High School); and *Pesantren* (Islamic Boarding School).

<sup>7</sup>The term of *Ulama* come from Arabic language, plural form of *Aliim*, which is *sighah mubalaghah* from '*alima ya'lamu*, which means a person who knows a lot of the Islamic knowledge. Therefore, not all people who have knowledge are called *ulama*, because '*aalim* has the plural form of '*aalimun* not '*ulama*. Whereas etymologically, the word of *ulama* means Muslim who has deep knowledge about Islam, it is not those who have lack of knowledge about Islam; believe and faith, not an infidel or those who do sins; and doing good deeds, not a bad deeds. The appearance of *ulama* was born from the development of the Islam itself, which sees *ulama* as a group of Islamic scholar. It has become the basic characteristic of the Indonesian people, who always promote the knowledgeable one as a leader. The appearance of *ulama* in the society has been well accepted as the modernity volunteer, who makes the influence of *ulama* become greater after successfully managing the *Pesantren* (Islamic Boarding School).

<sup>8</sup>In Garut, for instance, there is a force from *ulama* to immediately issue the Anti-Sin Regulation or *PERDA* (*Peraturan Daerah*) *Anti Maksiat*; the Learning Obligatory in Islamic Elementary School or *PERDA Wajib Belajar di Madrasah Diniyah*; Alms Regulation or *PERDA Zakat*; and etc. Recently, there is the regional government regulation which attempt to implement the formalization of Islamic law by releasing "PERDA No.2 Year 2008 about the Anti-Sin Activity, which becomes the clear follow-up of PERDA No.6 Year 2000", *Unpublished Files*, owned by the Author.

<sup>9</sup>*Ulama* in this study is categorized into *ulama* who works in religious institution, such as: DI or (*Dewan Imamah* or Leader Council); MUI (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia* or Indonesian Ulama Council) from Regency level to Village level; and ORMAS (*Organisasi Massa* or Mass Organizations), such as *Muhammadiyah* (Followers of Prophet Muhammad), NU (*Nahdlatul Ulama* or Islamic Scholars Awakening), and PERSIS (*Persatuan Islam* or Islamic United). The other categorization is the political *ulama*, such as: Haji Qudsi, Imam Sibaweh, Ustadz Siroj, Yusuf L.C., Cecep Abdul Halim, Kyai Haji Saeful Azhar, and Giom Suwarsono. This political categorization is marked by the *ulama's* activity in political party; their thinking concept which is more political minds, such as *siyasah* (Islamic politic). Furthermore, the *ulama* categorization based on law aspect, such as: Kyai Haji Ulumudin Banani, Kyai Haji Aceng Zakaria, Kyai Haji Fauzan, Kyai Haji Yosef Juanda, and Kyai Haji Toto Tantowi Jauhari. This categorization is marked by the activity of *ulama* who order the law, teaching *fiqh* (law) in *Pesantren*, and writing the *fiqh* books. The categorization of *ulama* based on *Tarekat* (Islamic mysticism) aspect, such as Kyai Haji Ikyan Sibaweh, Ajengan Satibi, and Haji Aan Mustafa Kamil. *Ulama* on this category are marked by the more intense on *riyadhoh* (Islamic practice of penance and mortification for spiritual enlightenment) activities, have the *Pesantren Tarekat* (Islamic



become the influence paragon for the followers, as an honored and adored people. The people impression toward *Ulama* is mainly because *Ulama* has deep religious knowledge and also has a charismatic aspect (Noer, 1991; Iskandar, 2007; Siregar, 2013; and Gumilar, 2014).

The existence of the *Ulamas'* movement in socio-political constellation in this country cannot be underestimated. Agreed or not, their existence becomes one of all powers which always become the consideration for groups interest, especially the decision of policy-making, in this case the government. Garut has a deep Islamic socio-political history. In this area, there was also the movement which involves the role of *Ulama*. It is proven by the appearance of the *Ulamas'* movement in this area, whether at the time of Dutch colonialism (Iskandar, 2001:170-171);<sup>10</sup> at the time of Indonesian independence, 1945-1950;<sup>11</sup> and the post Indonesian independence and New Order eras, 1950 to date (cf Noer, 1991; Leirissa, 1994; and Gumilar, 2014).

**The Islamic Scholar Movement in Garut at the Time of the New Order.** The Garut *Ulamas* (Islamic Scholars) could only express

---

Boarding School of Mysticism), and have the *Santri Thoriqoh* (Mysticism Students of Islamic Boarding School). *Ulama* who become the subject of this study have various educational backgrounds. There are those who undergraduated, such as Drs. (*Doctorandus*) Kyai Haji Cecep Abdul Halim and Drs. Giom Suwarsono; *Magister* or Post-Graduated, such as Undang Hidayat, M.Ag. (*Magister Agama*) and Yadi Januari, M.Ag.; and Doctor, such as Dr. Ikyan Sibaweh.

<sup>10</sup>At this time, there were well known *Ulama*, such as Kyai Harmaen, Kyai Adra'i, Kyai Haji Muhammad Zakariya, Yusuf Taojiri, Kyai Haji Muhammad Anwar Sanusi, Kyai Haji Romli, Kyai Haji Abdul Qohar, Kyai Haji Muhammad Bakri, Kyai Haji Fatah, and Raden Haji Sukantawijaya. They were the SI (*Syarikat Islam* or Islamic League) activists, who held the reformation movement by establishing the MASC (*Majlis Ahli Sunnah Cilame* or Islamic Mainstream Member Council of Cilame) in Garut, West Java, Indonesia.

<sup>11</sup>At this time, there was the GIS (*Gerakan Institut Suffah* or *Suffah* Institute Movement), who intended in education which became the embryo of DI/TII (*Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia* or Islamic State/Indonesian Islam Soldier) led by S.M. (Sekarmaji Marijjan) Kartosuwiryo. Besides that, the GD (*Gerakan Darussalam* or Peace Domain Movement) cooperated with TNI (*Tentara Nasional Indonesia* or Indonesian National Soldier) to eradicate the DI/TII movement in Garut led by Yusuf Taojiri; the GP (*Gerakan Perutusan* or Deputation Movement), which issued the Muslim to be non-reactionary radical, volunteered also by Ajengan Fauzan; and the GTT (*Gerakan Tarekat Tijaniyah* or *Tijaniyah* Islamic Mysticism Movement) in Garut that will Islam to be non-reactionary radical led by K.H. (Kyai Haji) Badruzzaman.

their movement on a limited area with the strict supervision of the government. For instance, when they do the *dakwah Islamiyah* (Islamic propagation), they should have the permission of the local security.<sup>12</sup>

The condition above made the role of *Ulama* was focused more on the religious affair. This situation had become the target of the New Order government (1966-1998), which in this case the Regional Government of Garut which attempted to make *Ulama* has just a religious affair role in the society living. But, functionally, *Ulama* has a function of *warasatul anbiya' wal mursalin* (the descendants of the Prophets), who has two dimensional deeds, namely: *ubudiyah* (divine deeds) dimension; and *muamalah* (social deeds) dimension; therefore, there is a balance and synergy between both two.<sup>13</sup>

The reality, if *Ulama* did the political movement orientation, the government would respond strictly and always tried to block it. For instance, when the General Election time was come,<sup>14</sup> there were many *Ulamas* started to be active in a political activity, such as becoming the political party officer; becoming the member of the advisor council of the mass organization; or even becoming the political party cadre, who mobilize the supporting vote. This reality was opposed by the Regional Government, who always brought back the *Ulama* position and function to its previous basic-track, which is the religious affairs.<sup>15</sup>

This government attitude was done to decrease any political opposition movement from the *Ulamas*. The limitation of the Muslim

---

<sup>12</sup>See also, for example, the Interviews with K.H. (Kyai Haji) Cecep Abdul Halim; Giom Suwarsono; and Undang Hidayat in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2009. Interview Transcriptions owned by the Author.

<sup>13</sup>Meaning also that the position of *Ulama* (Islamic Scholar) does not only move on the religious affair, but the other aspects, such as politics, economy, and law should be done by *Ulama*. See, for example, Interview with Undang Hidayat, a Secretary of MUI (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia* or Indonesian Islamic Scholars Council) of Garut Regency, in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2009. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.

<sup>14</sup>Almost in every General Elections in the New Order era (1971, 1977, 1982, 1987, 1992, and 1997).

<sup>15</sup>See also the Interviews with K.H. (Kyai Haji) Cecep Abdul Halim; Giom Suwarsono; and Undang Hidayat in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 6<sup>th</sup> July 2009. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.

movement was the government great weapon to always dominate the political situation. It is proved by the result of the General Election, where the government political party, namely GOLKAR (*Golongan Karya* or Functional Group) would always have the significant result and lead the count. It was irony because Garut is a *Kota Santri* (City of Student Islamic Boarding School), but the Islamic political party never win in the General Election. Every General Elections in the time of New Order government won by GOLKAR.

On 1992 General Election in Garut, for example, GOLKAR got 22 chairs position in the DPRD (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* or Regional Legislative Assembly) of Garut; whereas PPP (*Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* or Development United Party), as an Islamic political party, got 7 chairs position; and PDI (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia* or Indonesian Democratic Party) got 3 chairs position. It was even until 1997, at the end of the New Order government, the GOLKAR was still dominating the chairs position in the DPRD of Garut. From 36 chairs that being competed at the DPRD of Garut Regency, PPP has taken 11 chairs; PDI has taken 1 chair; while the GOLKAR has taken 24 chairs. Therefore, the *Bupati* (Regency Leader) position at the time of the New Order government, 1966-1998, which became the right-hand of GOLKAR; and President Soeharto regime was very strong and full-power (Aspinall & Fealy eds., 2010; Frederick & Worden eds., 2011; and Gumilar, 2014).

From those realities above, the position of *Ulama* in the Garut society's perspective was just only to maintain the religious affairs around their areas. The struggling-line of the *Ulamas* had been restored to the strengthening of the civil society. So, the people orientation was not added by the political projects that consumed the great energy of conflict. They were realized that to move back to the civil society one. *Ulamas* were hopefully having an orientation to the religious affairs, such as *dakwah* (propagation), *ceramah* (lecturing), sermon, reciting and discussing, and managing the *Pesantren* (Islamic Boarding School). This condition was not merely leaving the whole

political world, but there were *Ulamas* that concerned on politics, but their political activities were not exposed clearly to the public.

For instance, the *Ulamas* who enrolled in PII (*Pelajar Islam Indonesia* or Indonesian Islamic Student) of Garut Regency, such as Giom Suwarsono, Karna, and Kyai Haji Saeful Azhar. This was what that distinguish the *Ulama* activists in the New Order era (1966-1998) and those who in the Reform era (1998 to date). The *Ulama* activities in the Reform era are not only becoming the stamp or the judge of the religious affairs for the government interest. *Ulamas* start to criticize the government, such as the conduction of Islamic law movement and anti-corruption.

*Ulamas*, when they do their *dakwah* activity and guide people, they use the religious institution whether in the *Pesantren* and/or in mosque. They become a voluntary religious teacher without having salary, whether salary from the government or from the people.<sup>16</sup> To revitalize the religious institutions, the *Ulamas* get donation from the people, such as *zakat* (tithe), *infak* (donation), and *sadaqah* (alms). Besides that, they also get support from the follower, whether it is psychological and physical supports. With both supports and the participation from people, the *Ulamas* could conduct their religious mission optimally (*cf* Wahab & Rahman, 2011; Gumilar, 2014; and *ibidem* with footnote 15).

Besides guiding the religious educational institution, among all *Ulamas* in Garut, there are *Ulamas* also that skilled in *Ilmu Falaq* or Astronomy, who help people to decide the praying time and schedule, including fasting time in the month of *Ramadhan* or *Imsakiah*.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup>They are *Ulamas* (Islamic Scholars), who have the *Pesantrens* (Islamic Boarding Schools) base, such as: K.H. (Kyai Haji) Toto Tantowi Jauhari and K.H. Cecep Abdul Halim, as leaders of *Pesantren of Al-Musadadiyah* in Garut; K.H. Bunyamin, as a leader of *Pesantren* in Cipari, Garut; Ustadz Aceng Zakaria, a leader of *Pesantren* of PERSIS (*Persatuan Islam* or Islamic United) in Rancabango, Garut; and K.H. Ulumuddin Banani, as a leader of *Pesantren of Al-Huda* in Garut. Those *Pesantrens* are categorized who have historical value in Garut Regency, West Java, Indonesia.

<sup>17</sup>The *Ulamas* (Islamic Scholars) who skilledful in this field are: Ustadz Yusak, an *Ulama* from *Muhammadiyah* (Organization of Prophet Muhammad Followers); Ustadz

The value and behavior of the Garut people show the Islamic atmosphere in every aspects of life. For instance, people attempt to always involve the *Ulamas* in every activity, such the establishing of house building, start from consulting it to *Ulama*; when they do celebration, such as marriage or any other reception, *Ulamas* become the people who to be asked their opinion. This condition happens to those who live in the rural area, such as in Cikedokan Village in Bayongbong Sub-District in Garut. In this area, there is a *Pesantren* named Nanggoh led by who categorized as a great *Ulama* of Garut, he is Kyai Haji A. Mimar Putera, the grandson of the other Garut great *Ulama*, named Kyai Haji Hidayatullah.

Now, Kyai Haji A. Mimar Putera becomes the great *Imam* (Islamic leader) in Great Mosque of Garut. This *Pesantren*, led by Kyai Haji A. Mimar Putera, has a historical value; it is a reference for the *Pesantren Salaf* (Conservative Islamic Boarding School) of NU (*Nahdhatul Ulama* or Islamic Scholars Awakening) people, when deciding the first day of *Ramadhan* (Fasting Month) and *Idul Fitri* (feast celebrating the end of fasting period) day in Garut, West Java, Indonesia.

The situation above cannot be separated from the role of *Ulamas* through their *Pesantren* educational institution as a life base of *Ulama*. The role of *Ulama* on that educational institution is very influencing for all social order in the society. Even, the construction of mosque is always be volunteered by *Ulama*. So, *Ulamas* become the people mobilizer who stands on the front-line by giving explanation to the people about the important of mosque.

*Ulamas* also motivate people to donate and pay their alms in order to finish the mosque's construction. The will of people to donate part of their wealth for mosque construction is not separated from the ability of *Ulama* in explaining the people regarding the important things of those institutions. These *Ulamas* motivate people through various ways, which always

oriented to the reward value that will be gain from the people.<sup>18</sup>

***Islamic Scholars' Movement in Garut around 1998-2007.*** In the next development time, as well as the socio-political change from the New Order era (1966-1998) to the Reform era (1998 to date), the *Ulamas* (Islamic Scholars)' movement in Garut, West Java, Indonesia has changed. The shift from the New Order era to the Reform era was marked by the change of the social structure; it brought hopes for many social components, for instance the *Ulamas*. The *Ulamas* in Garut responded thos shift joyfully. The understood movement hopefully will bring the good change to the people.

The barrier at the time of New Order hopefully would be opened imediately. The democracy in the Reform era brought the new hope for strategy, pattern, characteristics, and the target of the movement of *Ulamas* in Garut.<sup>19</sup> Actually, the shift of this order changed the characteristics and paradigm of *Ulamas* movement. The *Ulamas* and *Kyais* (Clerics of Islamic Boarding School), who stricted on the religious affair, cultural-civil-society affair, as Clifford Geertz (1960) called "cultural broker",<sup>20</sup> had changed. The *Ulamas*

---

<sup>18</sup>See also, for example, the Interviews with Asep Ahmad Hidayat; Yadi Januari; and Rofik Azhari in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 7<sup>th</sup> July 2009. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.

<sup>19</sup>See again the Interviews with K.H. (Kyai Haji) Cecep Abdul Halim; Undang Hidayat; and Giom Suwarsono, in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2009. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.

<sup>20</sup>Clifford Geertz (1960), in his book, argued that *Ulama* (Islamic Scholar) is just able to manage religious affair; meanwhile in politics, the ability of *Ulama* is lack. Regarding this statement, the Author does not agree that *Ulamas* are just only having the ability on a religious affair. The Author, and other Indonesian scholars, argued that *Ulamas* are also able to involve in politics. There is a proof where how the *Ulamas* movement in Garut, West Java, Indonesia attempted to involve in a political and law affairs. Besides the opinion above, Clifford Geertz (1960) argued also that the role of *Ulama*, as cultural broker, makes the great *Ulama* position becomes even greater and more charismatic. This argument gains various responses from the experts, for instance the response from Mohammad Iskandar (2001:24). He stated that the position of *Ulamas* are not only decided by their role as cultural broker, but it is decided by measuring aspects, such as: *Ulamas* who have done pilgrimage already, having *Pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) consisted hundred or thousands *Santris* (students of Islamic boarding school) make *Ulama* gained his great name. In my opinion, the great name and position of *Ulama*, besides as stated by Clifford Geertz (1960) and Mohammad Iskandar

---

Iqbal Santosa of PERSIS (*Persatuan Islam* or Islamic United); and K.H. (Kyai Haji) Badruzaman of NU (*Nahdhatul Ulama* or Islamic Scholars Awakening).



movement slowly moved as well as the change of the political situation in Indonesia. The *Ulamas* also started to enter the politics, economy, and law (cf Geertz, 1960; Dhofier, 1982; Horikoshi, 1987; Iskandar, 2001; and Gumilar, 2014).

Around 1998-2007, *Ulamas* in Garut started to do their movement, besides the religious aspect; they also oriented on the economic, political, and law aspects. Furthermore, in economic aspect, *Ulamas* in Garut issued the alms awareness movement, created the BMT (*Baitul Maal wat Tamwiil* or Alms Institution). Then, on political aspect, the *Ulamas* in Garut attempted to reposing themselves on their relationship to the government. In law aspect, the *Ulamas* criticized the implementation of Garut Regency Budgeting. The focus of this *Ulamas* movement started from the political movement by giving advice to the Regional Government policy. Then, the policy is realized as the PERDA (*Peraturan Daerah* or Regional Regulation) in Garut Regency, West Java, Indonesia.

In conducting their movement, *Ulamas* in Garut hold the "ethic-theologic principal",<sup>21</sup> based on Islam. Based on this principal, the early attempt to respond the order-shift by *Ulamas* was through conducting coordination among Muslim, so that Muslim will still be unified. In 1998, it had been established an institution which was oriented more on the process of integrating Muslim. The institution is called the BKUI (*Badan Koordinasi Umat Islam* or Muslim Coordination Institution) in

---

(2001), it is also decided by the people submission where the *Ulama* live. The reality of Garut became popular around 1998-2007 was divided by the increasing of the people toward various effort of *Ulama* at that time. See, for comparison, Clifford Geertz (1960); Zamakhsyari Dhofier (1982); Hiroko Horikoshi (1987); Mohammad Iskandar (2001); and Setia Gumilar (2014).

<sup>21</sup>A moral foundation which is oriented in reaching the divine values, such as the realization of the religious society who do the Islamic norms. See also, for example, Interview with K.H. (Kyai Haji) Muhammad Qudsi, a Leader of *Pesantren Suci* (Holy Islamic Boarding School); an Initiator of LP3Syl (*Lembaga Pengkajian, Penegakkan, dan Penerapan Syari'at Islam* or Institution for Islamic Study, Empowerment, and Implementation); and Member of Advisory Board of PPP (*Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* or Development United Party), in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 5<sup>th</sup> March 2009; and 26<sup>th</sup> November 2010. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.

Garut Regency, West Java, Indonesia.

Around the establishment of BKUI, the religious and social condition in Garut was dynamic. It was because there was a change on the socio-political order, which influenced the Garut condition after the agenda of democracy; it was the Election of the Regency Leader, which triggered various political intrigues that would excess the differences among Muslim. *Ulamas* who enrolled in MUI (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia* or Indonesian Islamic Scholar Council) of Garut Regency, one of them was Cecep Abdul Halim, conducted an attempt which concern more on the Muslim integration. This attempt gained support from the Regency Leader of Garut, Dede Satibi. This attempt was also conducted formally through establishing BKUI of Garut Regency. The establishment of BKUI was so effectively for the *Ulamas* in conducting the religious and other matters' movement toward the Garut people (cf Leirissa, 2004; Siregar, 2013; Zulkifli, 2013; and Gumilar, 2014).<sup>22</sup>

One of the *Ulamas* movements which connected to BKUI was coordination Muslim in Garut, when they were interest conflict happened after the Regency Leader Election for 1998-2003 period. Muslim was successfully coordinated in order to not to involve in any of the interest conflicts.<sup>23</sup> This interest conflict was caused by the spreading different perception of a group of Garut people, which told that the triumph of Dede Satibi elected as *Bupati* (Regent) of Garut was dishonest; there was a gratification of the DPRD (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* or Regional Legislative Assembly) members in Garut, West Java, Indonesia.<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup>Interviews with K.H. (Kyai Haji) Halim Basyaroh; and Rofik Azhar, in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 3<sup>rd</sup> March 2009. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.

<sup>23</sup>See, for example, News in *Bandung Pos*, a newspaper published in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia: December 12<sup>th</sup> 1998; and Interview with Giom Suwarsono, as an *Ulama* (Islamic Scholars) dan Deputy Head of MUI (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia* or Indonesian Islamic Scholars Council) of Garut Regency, in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2009; and 4<sup>th</sup> February 2010. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.

<sup>24</sup>This conflict was also happened between the supporters of *Bupati* (Regent) candidate, Dede Jayalaksana, who lose and merged to the members of DPRD the supporters of Dede Jayalaksana with the members of DPRD and the supporters of the elected *Bupati*.

Facing the 1999 General Election, the *Ulamas* in Garut – under the coordination of BKUI and MUI of Garut Regency – attempted to always support this democracy agenda. To prove it, *Ulamas* in Garut met the Regional Government. This meeting was mainly to strengthen the relationship between *Ulamas* and the government, as stated by K.H. (Kyai Haji) Makmun Syamsuddin, the leader of MUI of Garut Regency.<sup>25</sup> The *Ulamas* issued Muslim to not to do mis-choose. The *Ulamas* issued also the Muslim to always stayed under the corridor of *Ukhuwah Islamiyah* (Islamic Brotherhood) in order to create the the peace and calm society.<sup>26</sup>

This issue was continuously attempted by the *Ulamas* in Garut. The attempt of integrating Muslim in Garut became the main strategy of *Ulamas* movement in Garut. According to K.H. Cecep Abdul Halim and Giom Suwarsono, this *Ummat* (Islamic society) integration became a capital for the Islamic value struggle, whether in the local or even in national level. This strategy was also conducted when K.H. Cecep Abdul Halim led an organization called *Dewan Imamah Kabupaten Garut* or the Leader Council of Garut Regency.<sup>27</sup>

This Autonom Government Council,<sup>28</sup> a form of the *Ulamas'* movement which oriented on the religious aspect, was made to response the national tension, because Gus Dur (Abdurahman Wahid) was assumed fail to lead the country for particular groups, in 1999; which, then, dispose from the postion

<sup>25</sup>As states in the News in *Galamedia*, a newspaper published in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia: 19<sup>th</sup> April 1999 and 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1999.

<sup>26</sup>One of the issues is that Muslim hopefully would not be provoked by a particular group, who intended to separate Muslim. Muslim should always aware and hold the Islamic value strongly, based on the *Al-Qur'an* (holy book of Islam) and *Al-Hadits* (words and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad).

<sup>27</sup>Interviews with K.H. (Kyai Haji) Cecep Abdul Halim; and Giom Suwarsono, in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2009. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.

<sup>28</sup>This establishment of *Dewan Imamah* (Islamic Leader Council) was not depended on the other institutions; it was pure from the idea of *Ulama* to reach the harmony among all religious organizations in Garut. See, for example, Interview with K.H. (Kyai Haji) Cecep Abdul Halim, Head of MUI (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia* or Indonesian Islamic Scholars Council) of Garut Regency and also as Head of *Dewan Imamah* (Islamic Leaders Council) of Garut Regency, in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2009; and 27<sup>th</sup> November 2010. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.

as a President of the Republic of Indonesia. That polictical event triggered tension on the grass-root people, especially those who declared themselves as the member of NU (*Nahdlatul Ulama* or Islamic Scholars Awakening), as Gus Dur supporters, versus *Muhammadiyah* (Prophet Muhammad Followers) organization, as Amien Rais supporters.

To anticipate the tension between NU members and *Muhammadiyah* members, it was made the Islamic Leader Council volunteered by many religious and political figures. The acitivity done by Islamic Leader Council was doing *silaturahmi* (Islamic meeting) between ORMAS (*Organisasi Massa* or Mass Organization) of Islam and ORPOL (*Organisasi Politik* or Political Organization) leaders. The Islamic Leader Council, as stated by Undang Hidayat, a member of the Islamic Leader Council, this organization has a dual function: the intern function, it has a function as *silaturahmi* forum among the religios and political figures that cooperate to solve the people problem. Meanwhile the other function, it has a function as a moral force.<sup>29</sup>

Beside the effort done by the *Ulamas* of Garut above, they also kept maintaining their movement through issuing the order to fight against the sin-practice and violation. On 22<sup>nd</sup> October 2001, for example, the *Ulamas*<sup>30</sup> in Garut visited the DPRD (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* or Regional Legislative Assembly) of Garut building to force the council members to give the moral support to *Ulamas* and the interlinked parts regarding the fighting against the sin-practice and violation in Garut.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup>One of the moral actions conducted by *Dewan Imamah* (Islamic Leader Council) to the DPRD (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* or Regional Legislative Assembly) of Garut was the critics to DPRD *Kabupaten* (Regency) Garut members, who asked money for 100 milion Rupiah to the PEMKAB (*Pemerintah Kabupaten* or Regency Government) of Garut to buy the private vehicle.

<sup>30</sup>The arrival of *Ulamas* was accompanied by the leader of Garut MUI (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia* or Indonesian Islamic Scholars Council), K.H. (Kyai Haji) Ma'mun Syamsuddin; the leader of *Dewan Imamah* (Islamic Leaders Council), K.H. Cecep Abdul Halim; and the leader of KANDEPAG (*Kantor Departemen Agama* or Religion Affairs Department Office) of Garut of Garut, Drs. H. (Doctorandus Haji) Cecep Alamsyah.

<sup>31</sup>News in *Priangan*, a newspaper published in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia, on 24-26 October 2001.



This arrival of *Ulamas* was an accumulation of disappointed for the fast spreading growing of sin-practice and violence in Garut. Meanwhile, the council members were assumed not too reactive toward this social problem. The *Ulamas* hoped that the council members make the PERDA (*Peraturan Daerah* or Regional Regulation), which forbid all kind of violences comprehensively. The existing regulation about the violence, PERDA No.6 Year of 2000, was assumed by the *Ulamas* to be insufficient enough to forbid the violences. This PERDA was only forbid the prostitution practice; meanwhile, the *Ulamas* argued that violence is not only prostitution, but many, such as gambling, drinking, and so on (Siregar, 2013; Zulkifli, 2013; Gumilar, 2014; and *ibidem* with footnote 31).

Next, in law aspect, the *Ulamas'* calling was based on ethic-theologic, which stated that the alternative action towards the moral and mental crisis was by activating the implementation of Islamic law. This indication of moral crisis can be seen upon the weak of the law enforcement in the society, country, and nation. The existing of sin-practice and violence happened in Garut, such as prostitution, gambling, corruption, whether the religious law or the public law which codified into the government policies. The weakness of solving the violence practice was understood as meter of increasing the law force, whether by implementing the existing law or making the new law. Thus, the discussion of the law culture should be conducted by seeing the life norms in the society which mainly Muslim, as stated by Haji Qudsi.<sup>32</sup>

The call of Haji Qudsi was responded by the Garut *Ulamas*,<sup>33</sup> through establishing

the KPSI (*Komite Penegak Syari'at Islam* or Islamic Law Upholder Committee) in the beginning of 2002. This KPSI forced the PEMDA (*Pemerintah Daerah* or Regional Government) and DPRD (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* or Regional Legislative Assembly) of Garut to regulate the *Syari'at Islam* (Islamic Law). To accommodate the KPSI force, PEMKAB (*Pemerintah Kabupaten* or Regency Government) and DPRD of Garut along with the *Ulamas* established the LP3SyI (*Lembaga Pengkajian, Penegakkan, dan Penerapan Syari'at Islam* or Institution for Islamic Study, Empowerment, and Implementation).<sup>34</sup>

The establishment of LP3SyI was meant to become a place for reciting, implementation, and upholding the Islamic law. Besides that, LP3SyI was as a response of the PEMKAB of Garut and Islamic organizations regarding the will of regulatin the Islamic law, as mentioned by Kusaeni, a leader of KESBANG (*Kesejahteraan dan Pembangunan* or Prosperity and Development) of PEMKAB in Garut, West Java, Indonesia (Gumilar, 2014; and *ibidem* with footnote 34).

LP3SyI has two written documents regarding their movement. Firstly, the ethic code of LP3SyI; and the secondly, the working program of LP3SyI. The ethic code of LP3SyI in Garut Regency consists of trait, function, purpose, guidance (basic), method (way), and the ethic of upholding the Islamic law. On the ethic code of LP3SyI, the characteristic is independent. The independence and freedom understood by LP3SyI is a unity. The freedom is understood as a incarnation of the total theologism, the basic attitude which becomes the belief that the one who has power is

<sup>32</sup>Among all *Ulamas* (Islamic Scholars) who agree with Haji Qudsi, they are K.H. (Kyai Haji) Aceng Dadang Zakaria; K.H. Ubun Bunyamin; Ustadz Firmansyah; and K.H. Syahrul al-Gifari. These *Ulamas* remind all Muslims to immediately stick together for the sake of the Muslim safe by regulating the *Syari'ah* (Islamic Law) and *Khilafah* (Chaliphate); and the *Ulamas* hopefully not to be stucked on the prgamtic thinking that will lead to the personal destruction which impact the society; because the *Ulamas* are the representation of the *risalah* (message) brought by *Rasulullah* (the Messeger of God) SAW (*Salallahu Alaihi Wassalam* or Peace Be Upon Him). So, it is good if *Ulamas* hold the *mabda Islam* (Islamic law), not the others.

<sup>33</sup>They are K.H. (Kyai Haji) Endang Yusuf, Lc.; Giom Suwarsono; Halim Basyaroh; Undang Hidayat; Mahyar Suwara; and K.H. Saeful Azhar. See, for example, Interview with K.H.

(Kyai Haji) Endang Yusuf, Lc., as Head of KPSI (*Komite Penegak Syari'at Islam* or Islamic Law Upholder Committee) and Member of Executive Board of LP3SyI (*Lembaga Pengkajian, Penegakkan, dan Penerapan Syari'at Islam* or Institution for Islamic Study, Empowerment, and Implementation) of Garut Regency, in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 4<sup>th</sup> March 2009; and 4<sup>th</sup> February 2010. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.

<sup>34</sup>See, for example, News in *Priangan*, a newspaper published in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia, on 2-5 March 2002; and Interview with Asep Ahmad Hidayat, as a Member of Executive Board of LP3SyI (*Lembaga Pengkajian, Penegakkan, dan Penerapan Syari'at Islam* or Institution for Islamic Study, Empowerment, and Implementation) of Garut Regency, in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 3<sup>rd</sup> March 2009. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.

only Allah the only one God. Meanwhile, the independence is understood as consequence and implication of the chaliphate faith, which is ordered for every single person that should be submitted to Allah.<sup>35</sup>

The declaration of LP3SyI was held on 15<sup>th</sup> March 2002 AD (*Anno Domini*), or 1<sup>st</sup> *Muharram* 1423 AH (*Anno Hijriah*) in the Islamic calendar. This decision based on the agreement between MUI (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia* or Indonesian Islamic Scholars Council) and *Dewan Imamah* (Islamic Leaders Council) consists of 50 members, including *Ulamas* (Muslim Scholars), law practitioners, and Islamic political organizations. The coordinator of the declaration was based on the agreement was led by the leader of MUI. The content of the declaration as follows:

Firstly that as an attempt to create the peaceful Garut people to reach the Allah will in NKRI (*Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia* or Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia), which is based on the one divinity, therefore the implemenataion of Islamic law for the believers is a must. Secondly, the implementation of Islamic law in Garut Regency is a reality of aspiration, which needs to be attended and followed up. Thirdly, the spread and the implementation of Islamic law must be conducted well and responble enough. Fourthly, in order to reach the maximal implementation of Islamic law in Garut regency, it needs a deep audit in line with the dynamic change of social and cultural order of the society.

To reach those purposes, by trusting to Allah SWT (*Subhanahu Wa-Ta'ala* or Almighty), we agree to declare the upholding and implementation of Islamic Law through LP3SyI of Garut Regency. May Allah bless and always give His guidance upon us. Amin.<sup>36</sup>

One of the implementations of this declaration, Dede Satibi, as *Bupati* (Regent) of Garut instructed all his staffs, especially for

<sup>35</sup>See, for example, "Kode Etik LP3SyI dan Pedoman Dasar LP3SyI Kabupaten Garut". *Unpublished Paper*. Available and owned by the Author; and Interview with K.H. (Kyai Haji) Yosef Djuanda, a Member of Executive Board of LP3SyI (*Lembaga Pengkajian, Penegakkan, dan Penerapan Syari'at Islam* or Institution for Islamic Study, Empowerment, and Implementation), in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 26<sup>th</sup> November 2010. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.

<sup>36</sup>See "Naskah Deklarasi LP3SyI Kabupaten Garut". *Unpublished Manuscript*. Available and owned by the Author; and also quotation is translated from the Indonesian language to English by the Author.

women to wear *jilbab* (veil) and instruct all Muslims to pay the *zakat* (tithe).<sup>37</sup> Regarding these *zakat*, the *Ulamas* in Garut attempt to do a movement in an economic aspect by issuing the *zakat* awareness movement. Started by the of PERDA (*Peraturan Daerah* or Regional Regulation) No.1 Year of 2003 about the *Zakat* (Tithe), *Infaq* (Donation), and *Shodaqoh* (Alms) managing influences the Muslim awareness in Garut to pay the *Zakat*, *Infaq*, and *Shodaqoh* (*cf* Wahab & Rahman, 2011; Zulkifli, 2013; and Gumilar, 2014).

The making of PERDA about *Zakat*, *Infaq*, and *Shodaqoh* managing was based on several consideration: Firstly, in its attempt to increase the Muslim awareness to do the good deeds, including the finishing of *Zakat*, *Infaq*, and *Shodaqoh* managing, which become a potencial source of fund for creating the welfare for the people and give a chance for those who wants to participate; secondly, *Zakat*, *Infaq*, and *Shodaqoh* are the obligation of all Muslims to create the social justice for the people of Garut; and thirdly, the attempt of finishing the *Zakat*, *Infaq*, and *Shodaqoh* management system needs to continuously increased, so that the implementation will be more useful to be responsible.

The awareness of paying the *Zakat*, *Infaq*, and *Shodaqoh* in Garut Regency was increasing. It was based on the record in 2001/2002, which reached the sum of IDR (Indonesia Rupiah) 1,140,450,417.00 for *Zakat Fitrah* (tithe in rice or money paid on last day of fasting month), which increase into IDR 8,585,734,310.00 in 2007/2008.<sup>38</sup>

Meanwhile, in the other law section includes the political section, the *Ulamas* in MUI (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia* or Indonesian Islamic Scholars Council) of Garut Regency participated on the movement "Garut as an Anti-Corruption City". A number of movements conducted by the *Ulamas*, it is giving the report to the lawyers regarding the

<sup>37</sup>News in *Suara Rakyat Merdeka*, a newspaper published in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia, on 5-12 April 2002.

<sup>38</sup>See "Rekap Laporan BAZIS (Badan Amil Zakat, Infaq, dan Shodaqoh) Kabupaten Garut: Laporan Rekapitulasi Tahun 2002-2009". *Unpublished Report*. Available and owned by the Author. This IDR (Indonesia Rupiah) 8,585,734,310.00 sum comes from 18 Sub-Districts. Meanwhile, in 2008/2009 until February 2009, the sum of IDR 2,045,880,950.00 comes from 9 Sub-Districts in Garut, West Java, Indonesia.

mis-implementation of the APBD (*Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah* or Regional Budgeting and Income Generating) of Garut Regency, which happened since 2001. The case known as *APBD Gate* was volunteered by the *Ulamas* in Garut, which was ended by the imprisoned of the regional council members. This *Ulamas* movement of eradicating corruption was kept running until the end of the Bupati Garut for 2003-2008 period, Agus Supriadi, from his position (BPKP, 2002; Basyar, 2008; and Gumilar, 2014).

## CONCLUSION

The structure of Garut society is a religious area; therefore, it is well known for the title of Garut as the *Kota Santri* (City of Islamic Boarding School Student). This title means that how the religious attitude is very strong upon the Garut people. It is proven by the existing of plenty religious institution, which direct the religious behavior to become the important and unseparable part of the Garut people. *Pesantren* (Islamic Boarding School) is an influencing religious institution that makes Garut Regency tasted strong in its religious atmosphere. This condition cannot be separated from the role of the religious figures, which is called *Ulama* (Islamic Scholar).

The position of *Ulamas* in Garut Regency, West Java, Indonesia is very strategic. From the Garut historical track aspect, the *Ulamas* had a significant position and role. Their struggle had brought Garut to become the *Kota Santri*. There are many great *Ulamas* come from Garut, for example K.H. (Kyai Haji) Muthofa Kamil; Yusuf Taujiri; K.H. Badruzaman; K.H. Anwar Musaddad, and many more. A factor that makes *Ulamas* to have a prestigious position in Garut is that they place the ethic-theologic foundation as a base of activities in all aspects of life.

During 1998-2007, for example, the *Ulamas* of Garut kept doing their role in various aspects of the movement, whether religious, political, economic, or law aspects. During this time, the *Ulamas* of Garut focused their movements on a non-religious field, such as politics and law.

Previously, at the time of the New Order government (1966-1998), the *Ulamas* of

Garut in the surface were only able to show their role on only religious aspect; whereas in the other aspects, they were not able. It was because the policy of New Order government forbid the *Ulamas* to involve in the political aspect. On the next development, which was exactly at the time of Reform era (1998 to date), the *Ulamas* in Garut started to show their identity to participate in the other aspects beyond the religious aspect.

There were many the Garut *Ulamas'* role by their movement, for example the Muslim integration movement in order to strengthen the unity of Muslim by establishing the BKUI (*Badan Koordinasi Umat Islam* or Muslim Coordination Institution). The anti-violences movement regarding the maintaining the title of Garut as a "*Santri* and Religious City" by establishing LP3SyI (*Lembaga Pengkajian, Penegakkan, dan Penerapan Syari'at Islam* or Institution for Islamic Study, Empowerment, and Implementation). This institution attempts to make Garut as an area that implement the Islamic law.

The others political movement was to keep correction the Regional Government works. It was proven by the hard effort of reducing the corrupt governal officer. The discharging of *Bupati* (Regent) of Garut, Agus Supriadi, as a real form of the *Ulamas* attention to the law aspect. Besides that, the *Ulamas* in Garut are also focused on the making and implementing the Regional Budgeting or APBD (*Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah*) of Garut Regency.<sup>39</sup>

## References

- Aspinall, Edward & Greg Fealy [eds]. (2010). *Soeharto's New Order and its Legacy: Essays in Honour of Harold Crouch*. Canberra: ANU [Australian National University] E Press. Available online also at: <https://press-files.anu.edu.au/downloads/press/p687/pdf/book.pdf> [accessed in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia: December 7, 2018].
- Basyar, M. Hamdan. (2008). "Dinamika Peran Ulama dalam Perpolitikan Nasional Pasca Orde Baru" in

<sup>39</sup>**Statement:** I, hereby, stated that my paper is not product of plagiarism, not to be submitted to the other journal(s), reviewed as well as published by other scholarly journals; and finally having received, it will also not to be withdrawn by the Author from this TAWARIKH journal.



- Jurnal Penelitian Politik*, Vol.5, No.1, pp.73-86.
- BPKP [Badan Pengawasan Keuangan dan Pembangunan]. (2002). *Upaya Pencegahan dan Penanggulangan Korupsi pada Pengelolaan APBN/APBD*. Jakarta: Tim Pengkajian SPKN BPKP. Available online also at: [http://www.bpkp.go.id/public/upload/unit/investigasi/files/uppk\\_apbn\\_apbd\(1\).pdf](http://www.bpkp.go.id/public/upload/unit/investigasi/files/uppk_apbn_apbd(1).pdf) [accessed in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia: December 14, 2018].
- "Data of Islam Information Section of Religious Affair Department of Garut, on Agustus 2002". *Unpublished Files*, owned by the Author.
- Dhofier, Zamakhsyari. (1982). *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai*. Jakarta: Penerbit LP3ES, Translation.
- Frederick, William H. & Robert L. Worden [eds]. (2011). *Indonesia: A Country Study*. USA [United States of America]: Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data, sixth edition and first printing. Available online also at: [http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/cs/pdf/CS\\_Indonesia.pdf](http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/cs/pdf/CS_Indonesia.pdf) [accessed in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia: December 7, 2018].
- Geertz, Clifford. (1960). "The Javanese Kijaji: The Changing Roles of a Cultural Broker" in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 2.
- Gumilar, Setia. (2014). "Dinamika Gerakan Politik Ulama di Garut, 1998-2007". *Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation*. Depok: Study Program of History PPs UI [Postgraduate Program, University of Indonesia].
- Horikoshi, Hiroko. (1987). *Kyai dan Perubahan Sosial*. Jakarta: Penerbit P3M [Perhimpunan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat], Translation.
- Horton, Paul B. & Chester L. Hunt. (1984). *Sosiologi, Jilid 2*. Jakarta: Penerbit Erlangga.
- Interview with Asep Ahmad Hidayat, as a Member of Executive Board of LP3SyI (*Lembaga Pengkajian, Penegakkan, dan Penerapan Syari'at Islam* or Institution for Islamic Study, Empowerment, and Implementation) of Garut Regency, in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 3<sup>rd</sup> March 2009. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.
- Interview with Giom Suwarsono, as an *Ulama* (Islamic Scholar) dan Deputy Head of MUI (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia* or Indonesian Islamic Scholars Council) of Garut Regency, in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2009; and 4<sup>th</sup> February 2010. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.
- Interview with K.H. (Kyai Haji) Cecep Abdul Halim, Head of MUI (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia* or Indonesian Islamic Scholars Council) of Garut Regency and also as Head of *Dewan Imamah* (Islamic Leaders Council) of Garut Regency, in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2009; and 27<sup>th</sup> November 2010. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.
- Interview with K.H. (Kyai Haji) Endang Yusuf, Lc., as Head of KPSI (*Komite Penegak Syari'at Islam* or Islamic Law Upholder Committee) and Member of Executive Board of LP3SyI (*Lembaga Pengkajian, Penegakkan, dan Penerapan Syari'at Islam* or Institution for Islamic Study, Empowerment, and Implementation) of Garut Regency, in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 4<sup>th</sup> March 2009; and 4<sup>th</sup> February 2010. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.
- Interview with K.H. (Kyai Haji) Muhammad Qudsi, a Leader of *Pesantren Suci* (Holy Islamic Boarding School); an Initiator of LP3SyI (*Lembaga Pengkajian, Penegakkan, dan Penerapan Syari'at Islam* or Institution for Islamic Study, Empowerment, and Implementation); and Member of Advisory Board of PPP (*Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* or Development United Party), in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 5<sup>th</sup> March 2009; and 26<sup>th</sup> November 2010. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.
- Interview with K.H. (Kyai Haji) Yosef Djuanda, a Member of Executive Board of LP3SyI (*Lembaga Pengkajian, Penegakkan, dan Penerapan Syari'at Islam* or Institution for Islamic Study, Empowerment, and Implementation), in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 26<sup>th</sup> November 2010. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.
- Interview with Undang Hidayat, a Secretary of MUI (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia* or Indonesian Islamic Scholars Council) of Garut Regency, in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2009. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.
- Interviews with Asep Ahmad Hidayat; Yadi Januari; and Rofik Azhari in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 7<sup>th</sup> July 2009. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.
- Interviews with K.H. (Kyai Haji) Cecep Abdul Halim; Giom Suwarsono; and Undang Hidayat in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2009. Interview Transcriptions owned by the Author.
- Interviews with K.H. (Kyai Haji) Cecep Abdul Halim; and Giom Suwarsono, in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2009. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.
- Interviews with K.H. (Kyai Haji) Cecep Abdul Halim; Giom Suwarsono; and Undang Hidayat in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 6<sup>th</sup> July 2009. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.
- Interviews with K.H. (Kyai Haji) Halim Basyaroh; and Rofik Azhar, in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 3<sup>rd</sup> March 2009. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.
- Iskandar, Mohammad. (2001). *Para Pengemban Amanah: Pergulatan Pemikiran Kiai dan Ulama di Jawa Barat, 1900-1950*. Yogyakarta: Mata Bangsa.
- Iskandar, Mohammad. (2007). "Aksi Kolektif Petani Ciomas Tahun 1886: Dampak Politis bagi Pemerintahan Hindia Belanda". *Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation*. Depok: Department of History FIB UI [Faculty of Cultural Science, University of Indonesia].
- "Kode Etik LP3SyI dan Pedoman Dasar LP3SyI Kabupaten Garut". *Unpublished Paper*. Available and owned by the Author.
- Kushidayati, Lina. (2009). "Shari'a Contested: Public Opinions in Kompas and Republika" in *Millah*, Vol.IX, No.1(August), pp.71-88.
- Kusmana. (2017). "Contemporary Interpretation of *Kodrat Perempuan*". *Unpublished Doctoral Thesis*. Rotterdam, Netherlands: Erasmus University.

- Leirissa, R.Z. (1994). "Sejarah Indonesia Modern: Antara Kontinuitas dan Diskontinuitas" in *Majalah Prisma*. Jakarta: Penerbit LP3ES.
- Leirissa, R.Z. (1999). "Metodologi Strukturalis dalam Ilmu Sejarah". *Unpublished Articles Collection*. Available and owned by the Author.
- Leirissa, R.Z. (2004). "Charles Tilly dan Studi tentang Revolusi" in *Jurnal Sejarah: Pemikiran, Rekonstruksi, Persepsi*, Volume 6(1), pp.3-15.
- "Naskah Deklarasi LP3SyI Kabupaten Garut". *Unpublished Manuscript*. Available and owned by the Author; and also quotation is translated from the Indonesian language to English by the Author.
- News in *Bandung Pos*, a newspaper published in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia: December 12<sup>th</sup> 1998.
- News in *Galamedia*, a newspaper published in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia: 19<sup>th</sup> April 1999 and 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1999.
- News in *Priangan*, a newspaper published in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia, on 24-26 October 2001.
- News in *Priangan*, a newspaper published in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia, on 2-5 March 2002.
- News in *Suara Rakyat Merdeka*, a newspaper published in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia, on 5-12 April 2002.
- Lloyd, Christopher. (1993). *The Structures of History*. Oxford: Blackwell Publisher.
- LPPI [Lembaga Pengkajian dan Pengembangan Islam]. (2002). *Gerbang Marhamah: Gerakan Pembangunan Masyarakat Berakhlakul Karimah, Rencana Strategis Muwujudkan Masyarakat Cianjur Sugih Mukti Tur Islami*. Cianjur: Lembaga Pengkajian dan Pengembangan Islam.
- Noer, Deliar. (1991). *Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia, 1900-1942*. Jakarta: Penerbit LP3ES, Translation.
- "PERDA [Peraturan Daerah or Regional Regulation] No.2 Year 2008 about the Anti-Sin Activity, which becomes the clear follow-up of PERDA No.6 Year 2000". *Unpublished Files*, owned by the Author.
- "Rekap Laporan BAZIS (Badan Amil Zakat, Infaq, dan Shodaqoh) Kabupaten Garut: Laporan Rekapitulasi Tahun 2002-2009". *Unpublished Report*. Available and owned by the Author.
- Siregar, Ferry Muhammadsyah. (2013). "Religious Leader and Charismatic Leadership in Indonesia: The Role of Kyai in Pesantren in Java" in *KAWISTARA: Jurnal Ilmiah Sosial dan Humaniora*, Vol.3, No.2. Available online also at: <https://jurnal.ugm.ac.id/kawistara/article/view/3977> [accessed in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia: December 7, 2018].
- Sjamsuddin, Helius. (2007). *Metodologi Sejarah*. Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak.
- Tilly, Charles. (1978). *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Wahab, N. Abdul & A. Abdul Rahman. (2011). "A Framework to Analyse the Efficiency and Governance of Zakat Institutions" in *Journal of Islamic Accounting and Business Research*, Vol.2, Iss: 1, pp.43-62.
- Zakiah, Laena. (2016). "Morals Coaching through Tahfidh Al-Quran: Descriptive Study in PERSIS Tsanawiyah Boarding School in Karangpawitan, Garut, West Java" in *International Journal of Nusantara Islam*, Vol.04, No.01, pp.91-102. Available online also at: <http://digilib.uinsgd.ac.id/4093/1/1440-3468-1-PB.pdf> [accessed in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia: December 7, 2018].
- Zed, Mestika. (2008). *Metode Penelitian Kepustakaan*. Jakarta: Penerbit YOI [Yayasan Obor Indonesia].
- Zulkifli. (2013). "The Ulama in Indonesia: Between Religious Authority and Symbolic Power" in *MIQOT*, Vol.XXXVII, No.1 [Januari-Juni], pp.180- Available online also at: <https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/152235-EN-the-ulama-in-indonesia-between-religious.pdf> [accessed in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia: December 7, 2018].



**The Position and Role of *Ulamas* in Garut Regency**  
(Source: <https://news.detik.com>, 14/12/2018)

The position of *Ulamas* (Islamic Scholars) in Garut Regency, West Java, Indonesia is very strategic. From the Garut historical track aspect, the *Ulamas* had a significant position and role. Their struggle had brought Garut to become the *Kota Santri* (City of Islamic Boarding School Students). There are many great *Ulamas* come from Garut, for example K.H. (Kyai Haji) Muthofa Kamil; Yusuf Taujiri; K.H. Badruzaman; K.H. Anwar Musaddad, and many more. A factor that makes *Ulamas* to have a prestigious position in Garut is that they place the ethic-theologic foundation as a base of activities in all aspects of life.