

THE DISCOURSE OF SHARĪ'AH IMPLEMENTATION IN BANTEN 1999-2015

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Abstract

The establishment of Banten Province in 2000 has had a profound impact on the political and social situations. It also stimulated the rise of the implementation of Islamic law (sharī'ah) discourse in Banten. It is well known that Bantenese is one of the societies that strictly perform Islamic teachings in Java. The rise of Panitia Persiapan Penerapan Syariat Islam Banten (P3SIB/ The Committee of Sharī'ah Implementation Preparation in Banten), a local organization that propagated the importance of the implementation of sharī'ah in Banten for instance, illustrated the willingness of Bantenese to implement it. Supported by some local organizations among others alumnae of PII, FSPP (Forum Silaturahmi Pondok Pesantren/Forum for Friendly Relation among Islamic Boarding Schools), as well as transnational organization such as HTI and Tarbiyah, P3SIB organized public meetings, discussions, and seminars about the importance of the implementation of sharī'ah in Banten. Those activities however are not followed by any further serious steps. This paper analyzes the development of the sharī'ah implementation discourse in one of the "religious" provinces in Indonesia and looks at the future of the discourse in Banten

Keywords : Banten, Sharī'ah, P3SIB, MUI Banten

INTRODUCTION

Banten is located in the westernmost of Java. In the beginning of its establishment in 2000, Banten consisted of four districts namely Serang, Tangerang, Lebak, and Tangerang and two municipalities namely Kota Cilegon and Kota Tangerang. In 2008, two new municipalities were established namely South Tangerang municipality and Serang municipality

respectively. The population of Banten province reach more than 8 million people in 2000. Thirteen years later, Banten population has reach more than 11 million people in which about 93,27% of the population is Moslem. According to Statistic Body of Banten province, the 30th province in Indonesia covers 9.662,92 km square or about 0,51% of the total area of Indonesia.¹

The region is also well known for its long history of rebellion against the Dutch colonial rule especially between the nineteenth to the early twentieth century, the period of the birth of the nationalist movement.² Between 1810 and 1870 for instance, there were no less than nineteen rebellions.³ Some rebellions were led by Moslem leaders who involved their followers in the confrontation against the Dutch considered as infidel.⁴ During the Dutch period, Islam was seen by the Bantenese people as the defender of the people and the only force able to provide resistance to the Dutch. Therefore Bantenese people consider Islam as the most influential aspect that influence their life ranging from cultural, social, educational, to political aspect.

After the establishment of Banten province, the issue of implementation of *sharī'ah* spread among Bantenese people. Some researchers furthermore considered Banten as one of the regions in Indonesia which actively demanded the formalization of *sharī'ah* and ready to implement *sharī'ah* in the daily life of Banten province citizens. This article tries to get some answers of the following question: how does the development of the issue of discourse of *sharī'ah* implementation in Banten? Who are the proponents of the discourse of *sharī'ah* implementation in Banten?

To answer those questions, I use anthropological and historical method in which I interview some key informants who involved in the dynamic of *sharī'ah* implementation discourse in Banten. In addition, I also use primary data by reading and analyzing the organization's documents and periodicals that dealt with the discourse. Due to the description of the past event that covers the beginning of the Reformasi Era, I start from 1999 in which the central government released the local autonomy regulation that brought the establishment of Banten province and the emergence of *sharī'ah* implementation discourse in Banten. The discussion then ends in 2015 when MUI (Indonesian Council of Ulama) of Banten province organized the KUIB (Kongres Umat Islam Banten) that formalized the desire of the proponents of *sharī'ah* implementation in Banten.

The discussion about *sharī'ah* implementation in Banten is important due to some reasons. First, it examines the relationship between Islam that has a strong place in Banten history and identity politics. Second, it will examine the intersection between the local political development and the trends at the national and international levels. Third, Banten becomes a part of the issue of *sharī'ah* implementation in Indonesia.

Some scholars have been working in this subject. Using comparative overview of the role and position of *sharī'ah*-based law in twelve national legal system of Muslim countries, Jan Michiel Otto concludes that in the Muslim world, Islam and *sharī'ah* functioned for about a thousand years as a system of religion, governance, and law.⁵ In Indonesian context moreover, Otto concludes that Indonesia's moderate Islam has changed to the extent that puritan forces and interpretations of *sharī'ah* have pervaded the national law.⁶ Another important study on *sharī'ah* is the work of Arskal Salim. He proposed that the islamization of laws in Indonesia is not a complete and real introduction of *sharī'ah* rather it is only a symbolic token. He also argues that the introduction of *sharī'ah* in Indonesian context is an indoneisanization of *sharī'ah* because it involves the human interference through parliamentary enactment in making some religious obligations which have non-divine character.⁷ The two scholars have discussed the issue of *sharī'ah* in Indonesia however they did not discuss the dynamic of the implementation of *sharī'ah* at the local level. In Banten province case for instance, the struggle to implement *sharī'ah* looks tough because the issue was only articulated among religious elite without any significant support from the grass root level.

Reformation Period and the Establishment of Banten Province

After the collapse of Soeharto, there are some significant political changes in Indonesia. According to Crouch there are some political areas that had a significant change during the Reformation period. First, the reform in the constitution and electoral reform.⁸ The new policy toward democratization paved the way to the establishment of multiple political parties totally different with the election during the New Order regime which only allowed three political parties; PPP, PDI, and Golkar. Based on the regulation No. 2/1999 about Political Party, the general election was held as many observers argue that the election was the free general election after the first election in 1955.⁹ Second, the rise of regional autonomy law No. 22/1999 in which government functions are shared to the local government and the local government has authority to develop the region. Third, the

military reform. Fourth, the anti-corruption policy. The last is the rise of communal violence in Maluku and Aceh.¹⁰

Meanwhile according to Azra, there are four political appearance related to political Islam after the fall of Soeharto in 1998. First, the rise of political parties based on Islamic principle as their platform replacing *Pancasila* (the five principles of Indonesia) used by Suharto as the only ideology for any organization during his reign.¹¹ There are two big Islamic parties that had a quite significant seat in the parliament namely PPP (Pertai Persatuan Pembangunan, the United Development Party) and PBB (Partai Bulan Bintang, the Crescent Star Party). Second, the demand to implement the formalization of *sharī'ah*. Third, the emergence of Moslem organizations considered as radical organization such as FPI (Front Pembela Islam, Front of Islamic Defender), HTI (Hizb Tahrir Indonesia, Party of Liberation), MMI (Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia, (Council of Jihad Fighters of Indonesia). The last is the increase of the popularity of Islamic magazine such as *Sabili*.¹² All of the political appearance was also the case in Banten realm.

In the beginning of Reformation period, Bantenese people used the political situation to perform another endeavor to the establishment of Banten province. The main purpose of the creation of Banten province during this period was to develop infrastructure in Banten and at the same time to empower its people toward prosperity.¹³ This endeavor was also stimulated by unfair policies implemented by the central government and West Java provincial government. The central government for instance gave big opportunity to West Java officials to fill key positions in bureaucracy military positions in Banten while at the same time neglecting the local officials.¹⁴ Motivated by the situations in Banten together with the political situation in the central level, Bantenese activists created two organizations to accelerate the establishment of Banten province namely the Pokja Pembentukan Provinsi Banten (The Working Group of Banten Province Establishment) led by Irsyad Djuaeli and Komite Pembentukan Provinsi Banten (The Committee of Banten Province Establishment) led by Uwes Qorny. The two organizations then merged into one organization namely Badan Koordinasi Pembentukan Provinsi Banten (BAKOR PPB, The Coordination Body of Banten Province Establishment). Under the administration of last BAKOR PPB, Banten province was finally created. Banten was established as independent province and separated from West Java based on the Law No. 23/2000 on the establishment of Banten Province issued on 17th October 2000.

Although the law about Banten Province was implemented during the reign of Abdurrahman Wahid, the initial phase of the reappearance of the movement to establish Banten province in the Reform period was the political connection between Bantenese elites with president Habibie. The connection between Habibie and Bantenese elite could be explained as follows. Habibie who became the fourth presidents of Indonesia at least represented two faces; Islam on the one side and Golkar on the other side. On December 1990, Habibie successfully managed a national meeting of Indonesian intelligentsia that resulted the rise of ICMI (Association of Indonesian Muslims Intellectual) in which he became the leader of the new organization. Through ICMI, Habibie maintained a close relationship with Moslems around Indonesia including from Banten. Some Bantenese Moslem who engaged in ICMI among others Uwes Qorni, Hasan Alaydrus, and Embay Mulya Syarif.¹⁵ The last name moreover actively supported Habibie during the special session of the People Consultative Assembly (MPR) on November 1998 by coordinating the thousands of *Pam Swakarsa* (Voluntary Security Force) from Banten to support Habibie.¹⁶ Muslim organizations especially in Banten proposed Habibie to become the next president in Indonesia after Soeharto because he was regarded as pious Muslim who concerned with Islam in Indonesia.

Banten was also known as the basis of Golkar. During the reign of Suharto, the two informal leaders of Banten, *kyai* (religious charismatic person leading an Islamic boarding school) and *jawara* (the strong men) were coopted by the New Order and became political machine of Golkar to get votes from Bantenese people. On 3 May 1970, the ulama's organization Satkar Ulama (Ulama Working Squad) was founded in Banten, with KH Mahmud as general chairman Satkar Ulama then became a member of Hasta Karya, a wing of Golkar. To coopt *jawara* in Banten, the government founded Satkar Jawara (Jawara Working Squad), which later changed its name to Persatuan Pendekar Persilatan Seni Budaya Banten Indonesia (Indonesian Union of Bantenese Men of Martial Arts, Art and Culture, PPPSBBI) in 1973, became a pillar of the New Order in Banten.¹⁷

From the two factors namely the relationship with Islam and Golkar, Habibie gained support from Bantenese. Because of this relationship perhaps that made Habibie arranged a plan to visit Banten in the beginning of 1999. On 5th February 1999, Habibie visited Pandeglang and Cilegon. In Pondok Pesantren Darul Iman, Pandeglang, K.H. Aminuddin Ibrahim suggested Habibie to elevate the status of Banten recidency to become a province. Meanwhile in the meeting attended by Bantenese *ulama* in Cilegon, K.H.

Mansur Muchjidin in the meeting between Habibie and *ulama* in Cilegon also suggested the same thing. Habibie then responded the suggestion positively and gave advice to the movement that they should follow the constitution. It should be underlined however that although both *kyais* informed and suggested to Habibie about the willingness of Bantenese people to increase the status of Banten in “Islamic atmosphere”, they did not mention religious reason as the background of the establishment of Banten province.

The Emergence of *Shari’ah* Implementation Movement in Banten

Suharto’s collapse and the rise of Habibie in May 1998 provided the opportunity for political parties and several Muslim organizations to amend the constitution. One of the important issues in the Constitution Amendment for several Muslim political parties was the introduction of *shari’ah* into the Constitution in which the state should concern with the special rights of Muslims and the obligation for the government to implement *shari’ah*. Some Islamic political parties especially PPP (United Development Party) and PBB (Star and Crescent Moon Party) insisted to the inclusion of the seven words in Article 29 of the Constitution, which declares that ‘The State shall be based upon the belief in the One and Only God.’ They moreover wanted a constitutional guarantee that their rights to observe *shari’ah* would be fully implemented in Indonesia.

There are several believes that support the proponents of the insertion of the seven words. First, Muslim is the majority in Indonesia. Second, the weak of the low enforcement in Indonesia due to corruption, collusion, and nepotism. Third, they believe that Islam is a complete religion encompassing all aspects of life not only rituals but also politic, economic, social, and cultural as well. Fourth, the religious conflict in Ambon and Poso also contributed to the spirit of Islamism used by radical Muslim organizations to demand of *shari’ah* implementation. After a heated debate in the parliament, the demand to insert the seven words was not success due to the limited number of seats which supported the issue. The majority seats in the parliament that came from secular-nationalist parties moreover saw that PPP and PBB’s proposal was a ‘bridge’ for greater demands that was the establishment of an Islamic state.

In the Banten context, Reformation period provided the opportunity for Bantenese people to establish a new province and opportunity for Bantenese to establish new organizations in Banten either as local organization or as the

branch of central organizations in Jakarta. Banten also became a region in which the contestation of political dynamic in Jakarta could be found. One important thing is the *sharī'ah* implementation debate between 1999 and 2002. The demand to implement *sharī'ah* in Banten however was not only because of the position of Banten which is not far from the central government in Jakarta in which many issues can easily be transmitted to Banten but also derived from some factors such as the history of the glory of Banten Sultanate that inspired Banten Muslim organizations and the implementation Islamic law in Aceh through the Regulation No. 18/2001 about Special Autonomy for Special Province of Aceh as Nangroe Aceh Darussalam.

The beginning of *sharī'ah* discourse in Banten was initiated when the new province searched their identity. The first thing that should be prepared was the strategic planning (*Rencana Strategis*) of Banten 2002-2006. Based on the Government Regulation (Peraturan Pemerintah) No. 108/2000 about the Procedure of the Accountability of the Region's Head, the strategic planning must be include vision, mission, strategy, and program as the benchmark and indicators of the development. This was indeed the domain of Banten parliamentary to discuss it. However, some Muslim organizations in Banten also had an interest to ensure that Islam would become a soul in the process of development the new province. The discussion and debate about the strategic planning took place inside and outside the parliament. According to Yayat Suhartono, parliament member from PK, the Islamic parties in Banten province parliament was successful to insert the Special Province of Banten and the *sharī'ah* issue in the strategic planning. On 28th March 2002, the Governor of Banten legitimized the local regulation No. 2/2002 about Strategic Planning of Banten province in which in one of the chapter, it is stated:

...As the new province, there is an aspiration of Bantenese people to increase the status of Banten to become Special Province of Banten shaded by the implementation of Islamic system. This aims to indicate Banten specialty from other provinces. This issue should be analyzed comprehensively and need to be socialized continuously by the local government.¹⁸

Another heated debate in the parliament was when the parliament discussed Banten province symbol. According to Tihami, before the governor election of Banten in 2001, there were several discussions that discussed the discourse of Banten province's logo. The logo proposed by *ulama* and Muslim organizations was "Banten Darussalam"¹⁹ Islamic party

in the parliament supported the logo but then it was refused by secular-nationalist parties for several reasons among others that *darusalam* already became Nangroe Aceh Darusalam and Brunei's symbol, *darusalam* was considered as the exaggerating symbol for the new province, and *darusalam* was related to Islamic state. In another word, the proposal is suspected as a 'bridge' for greater demands that was the establishment of an Islamic state.²⁰

After the heated debate, the Special Committee (Panitia Khusus) of Banten parliament given the authority to discuss this came to another alternative that is *Iman* and *Taqwa*.²¹ This logo was finally accepted by both side, Islam and Secular-Nationalist as well as *ulama* and Muslim organizations in Banten. This logo became part of Banten province symbol and it is mentioned in the local regulation No.10/2002 about Banten Province Symbol (Lambang Daerah). According to Tihami, many *kyais* in Banten assumed that the heated debate about the strategy planning and the motto of Banten was the "Jakarta Charter" of Banten.

The Rise of P3SIB

In the search of Bantenese identity and symbol, the discourse of implementation of *sharī'ah* in Banten was emerged and articulated by elements of Bantenese society. Several seminar, conference, and discussion were held by local organizations and trans-national Islamic movements in the local level in which the main concerns of these elements was to bring back the glorious development and sovereignty of Banten province.²²

One of the conferences was organized by Hizbu Tahrir in 2000 and attended by 1000 people including individual *ulama*, Moslem activists, and Muslim organizations in Banten. The committee invited speaker from local and national level. Embay Mulya Syarif became the speaker together with Muhammad al Khatat from central HT. After the conference, Embay Mulya Syarif invited Muslim organizations in Banten such as NU, Muhammadiyah, Persis, Tarbiyah, HT, MUI, and Islamic political parties including Muhammad al Khatat to come to Embay's house to discuss the importance of the implementation of *sharī'ah* in Banten. The result of the discussion was the declaration of *Panitia Persiapan Penerapan Syariat Islam Banten* (The Committee of Islamic Sharī'ah Implementation in Banten) led by H. Embay and the secretary at that time was Adhi Abu Fatih from HT. P3SIB functioned as the bridging of Muslim organizations in Banten in propagating *Sharī'ah*.²³

According to Embay Mulya Syarif, P3SIB wanted to repeat the glory

by Banten Sultanate. He added that during the glory of Banten sultanate the area of Banten's territory did not only reach Eastern areas (such as Batavia and Priangan) from its core region in the Northern of Banten but also reach Lampung and Southern part of Sumatra. The port of Banten sultanate moreover was also known as one of the busiest ports in the archipelago opening the opportunity to cooperate with foreign countries such as China, Britain, Denmark, Netherlands and many European countries. The trading cooperation enabled the Sultans of Banten to develop the region. Possessing the development ineconomical and political aspect also enabled the sultanate to enhance Banten sultanate to be the core of Islamic civilization. In the peak of its glory, Banten sultanate became one of the Islamic learning destinations in the archipelago. Related to the evidence upon the implementation of *sharī'ah* law during the sultanate's law administration, the sultan possessed a *Qadis* who came from foreign countries and gave religious advice to the Sultans. In Banten sultanate, a *Qadi* court functioned as a law institution that would decide the punishment for the criminals based upon the *sharī'ah*.²⁴ P3SIB also believed that during the sultanate, some Islamic laws had been imposed in Banten sultanate, which should be followed by Bantenese after becoming the new province.²⁵

As a coordinative organizations that support the implementation of *sharī'ah* in Banten, P3SIB organized regular meetings. The meeting mainly discussed the implementation of *sharī'ah* and the socialization that should be performed by Muslim organizations in P3SIB. It seems however that P3SIB is only a loose organization because the officials never register P3SIB to obtain legality. According to Yasin, the problem was perhaps the different perspectives among the member of P3SIB about the definition of *sharī'ah* itself and the strategy to convey *sharī'ah* to Bantenese people. Of course relying only on the glorious history of Banten sultanate was not enough to articulate the issue of *sharī'ah* among Bantenese people. The organization needed to possess the vision, mission, blue print, and the strategies to manage the organization and deliver the messages of *sharī'ah* to the society. This became a dilemma of P3SIB. On the one hand, P3SIB consisted of Muslim organizations and influential person important for the organization, on the other hand they have different understanding and perspective about how *sharī'ah* should be understood.

According to Yasin for instance Islam cannot be implemented through the parliament since parliament is the result of democracy. He argues that *sharī'ah* is the rule of God that must be implemented integrally in all aspects not only aqidah (believe) but also in *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), education,

economy, social, and politics. *Shari'ah* also should be implemented directly not gradually. Only in the phase of socialization that Islam could be practiced gradually.²⁶ On the other hand, *Tarbiyah* and PK believes that Islam could be implemented by using democracy as the tool to perform *da'wah* in the cycle of power. This situation was one of the problems that hampered P3SIB movement as the result, P3SIB never discussed the strategy any more. Rather, P3SIB give the strategy of *da'wah* to each Muslim organizations in P3SIB.

The organization then organized a meeting in Baitul Hamdi, Pandeglang in 2004. Attended by more than 100 Muslim prominent figures in Banten, the participants of the meeting had the same willingness to create Special Province of Banten, the same with that of Aceh which already implements *shari'ah*.²⁷ The meeting also recommended P3SIB to organize the *Kongres Umat Islam Banten* (KUIB, Banten Muslim Congress).²⁸ In order to avoid "a wild movement", P3SIB gave the process of *shari'ah* implementation through the Banten Muslim Congress to MUI Banten (Council of *Ulama* Indonesia of Banten Branch). The participants of the meeting hoped that the congress would be the peak of the struggle to implement *shari'ah* in Banten in which Bantenese Muslim would urge the local government to implement it. From then on P3SIB became a name without any real activism among Bantenese society because each organization prefer to use their own organization rather than P3SIB.²⁹

The "transfer" of the process of the implementation of *shari'ah* to MUI Banten however raised a question. The question is what happen to P3SIB? In the beginning of its establishment, P3SIB looked so confident in making maneuvers to coordinate the Muslim organizations in Banten and campaign *shari'ah* among Bantenese by campaigning the importance of *shari'ah* in campuses.³⁰ After about four years of its establishment, the intensive activities of P3SIB has been declined and even stopped. The decision certainly did not stand alone.

The *shari'ah* movement in Indonesia and elsewhere in the world faced the fact that on September 11th 2001, some American symbols were attacked by al Qaida targeting the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and the Washington DC. George W. Bush, the President of United States, responded to the attacks by proclaiming the War on Terror. He moreover commanded the American troops to invade Afghanistan to remove the Taliban from power since they protected al-Qaeda.³¹ George W. Bush coined a famous term "either you are with us or against us". After the tragedy and the president's speech, many countries in the world strengthened their anti-

terrorism legislation and expanded the powers of law enforcement to combat the terrorist and Indonesia is not an exception.

In Indonesian context, the radical organizations found the momentum after the Suharto collapse. The religious conflict and unawareness of the intelligent body to detect the conflict could be used by radical Muslim organizations to attack some non Moslem targets. Between 2000 and 2005 there were some bombings in some places in Indonesia. This led the police and military officials to point activists of Muslim organizations who have radical perspective in implementing *sharī'ah* in Indonesia. Some attacks were performed by Bantenese who joined Jama'ah Islamiyah. Among Bantenese responsible for the attacks were Imam Samudra who lived in Serang, the capital of Banten and the center of P3SIB movement. The predicate of terrorist, radical, and fundamentalist became widely referred to those who struggle for Islam and yell out *jihād*. This is perhaps that hamper the P3SIB activists in continuing their program. Therefore P3SIP transferred the process of the implementation of *sharī'ah* in Banten to MUI. In the other word, MUI then took over the struggle of the implementation of *sharī'ah* in Banten from P3SIB. This is moreover considered as the success of P3SIB.³²

The fate of the implementation of *sharī'ah* now is in the hand of MUI Banten. MUI Banten as in other places in Indonesia always depends on the local government in term of financial support. The problem faced by MUI Banten to organize the KUIB was financial problem. But, in my opinion, it is not solely about financial problem indeed. During the administration of MUI Banten in the period of 2001-2006, 2006-2011, and 2011-2016 of MUI Administration, Ratu Atut Chosiyah was still in power. For Bantenese, it is widely known that Ratu Atut Chosiyah was only puppet of his father, Haji Hassan who tend to have the secular perspective toward religion. During the reign of Atut moreover, MUI Banten and other mass organizations received regular money from Banten Province government that hampers MUI Banten to discuss the plan to organize the congress. Therefore, the Congress of Bantenese Muslim was finally organized in August 2015, almost ten years after it was transferred to MUI from P3SIB and two years after KPK (the Commission of Corruption Eradication) arrested Ratu Atut Chosiyah because of a bribery case.³³

The Proponents of *sharī'ah* Implementation in Banten

There are some organizations and party politics that support the implementation of *sharī'ah* in Banten. First, MUI Banten. After the establishment of Banten province on October 2000, council of '*ulamā*' Indonesia from four districts and two municipalities in Banten were gathered to discuss the establishment of the council of '*ulamā*' Indonesia of Banten province. The result of the meeting was to propose a letter addressed to the council of '*ulamā*' Indonesia of West Java to advise and supervise the establishment of council of '*ulamā*' Indonesia of Banten province. On March 2001, the first provincial meeting of the council of '*ulamā*' Indonesia of Banten province was held and Prof. K.H. Wahab Afif was chosen as the first chief for the period 2001-2006. In the second MUI Banten congress in 2006, KH Wahab Afif was reelected as the chairperson of MUI Banten for the period of 2006-2011. In the second congress of MUI, it was more difficult for him to be reelected due to the demand of reforming MUI Banten by *Hizbu Tahrir* (HT) activists. However, he accepted the condition proposed by HT activists namely to be active in endorsing the *sharī'ah* in Banten.³⁴ Yasin Munthahar, one of the HT important activists in Banten then became MUI Banten officials and played important role in maintaining the discourse of *sharī'ah* implementation among MUI members. According to Ichwan moreover, MUI Banten has been successful in guiding the *ummah* through *sunni* orthodoxy.³⁵

MUI Banten officials come from different background. MUI Banten structure in 2006-2011 consists of ninety nine people for instance there are thirty academicians, ten Serving bureaucrats, nine retired bureaucrats, three entrepreneurs, three Islamic movement activists (*Hizbu Tahrir* Indonesia), thirty *kyais*, four serving politician (PKS and PPP), two senior high school teachers, one Journalist, and seven other members.³⁶

Second, *Hizbu Tahrir* (HT) was founded in 1952 in al Quds by Taqiuddin al Nabhani.³⁷ It came to Indonesia in the 1980s when an Australian activist named Abdurrahman Al-Baghdadi visited Indonesia. He entered Indonesia based on the invitation of KH Abdullah bin Nuh to teach at Pesantren Al-Ghazali, Bogor. During the breaks, Al-Baghdadi took the opportunity to discuss with activists of Masjid Al-Ghifari of Intitut Pertanian Bogor (IPB, Bogor Agricultural Institute) and he used the opportunity to introduce HT to Indonesian society by using Arabic books namely *Nizhamul Islam* (Rule Living in Islam), *Daulatul Islamiyah* (Islamic State), *Mafaheem Hizb* (Principles Hizb mind), *At Takattul Al Hizbi* (Formation of Political Parties), and *Muqaddimah Ad Dustur* (Introduction to

the Constitution). Such discussions then developed by utilizing propaganda of campus network so that activities not only in IPB, but also be held in outside Bogor.³⁸ One of the reasons why students were interested to HTI is the usage of those Arabic books in their propagation. Through IPB moreover, some young students who came from Banten met the movement and became the activist of HTI. After they finished their study, they came back to Banten and supported HTI movement in Banten.

For *Hizb Tahrir*, *da'wah* became the main tool to establish the Caliphate system. To spread this idea, the HTI activists published a monthly magazine *Al-Wa'ie* which circulates among HTI members and proponents and a weekly bulletin *Al-Islam* distributed every Friday in many mosques. HTI initiated five ways that must be implemented by Muslims before establishing Khilafah Islamiyah. First, shaping political awareness of Muslims with based on ideology according to the Qur'an, *Sunnah* (prophet tradition), *ijma'* (consensus), and *qiyas* (analogy). Second, it provides a solution for the good of the Muslims with pressing the authorities in order to establish Islamic *sharī'ah* as a whole. Thirdly, unlock the secrets of an international plot to destroy Islam and his people through capitalism, communism, and colonial culture. Fourth, do struggle thoughts to understand Islam well as non-Muslims in order to win the argument in the name of Islam. Fifth, the political struggle not only in parliament because the parliament as product whereas democracy supreme sovereignty belongs only to God SWT.³⁹ According to Yasin, HTI since the beginning of its foundation has the objective to continue the Islamic life in which all aspects must be based on the Quran and *Sunnah*. He continues that HT will struggle the *sharī'ah* everywhere.⁴⁰

In Banten, the presence of HTI was initiated by Ustadz Ir. Adhi Abu Fatih in 1998. He started to spread HT's perspective toward *sharī'ah* by giving sermon among students in IAIN and Untirta and labors in Serang and Cilegon. At the same time, he also circulated *al Wa'ie* magazine among the sympathizers of HT. After that, Ustads Yasin Munthohar and Ir. Ali Mustofa came to Banten. Ustad Yasin is a young intelligent HT activist who has a fluency in Arabic. Although he is not Bantenese, his skill in reading Arabic texts and his speech skill is helpful to manage communication among important religious figures in Banten.

Meanwhile, Ir. Ali Mustofa was a graduate of IPB and was influenced by HT perspectives in many ways during his study in IPB. HT actively propagates Islam in some campuses in Banten and organizes discussions and meetings with Bantenese local figures in local government to propagate *sharī'ah* in

Banten. Under the leadership of young activists, HT Banten established al Abqory Islamic boarding school in Serang led by Yasin Munthahar and consistently holds a discussion about *shari'ah* to religious, political, military, and bureaucracy elites in Banten. They also use local radio and television stations to propagate *shari'ah* and discuss some issues related to the *ummah's* interests.

Third, PII (Pelajar Islam Indonesia, Indonesian Islamic School-Student Association) Banten Network. After Sukarno proclaimed the independence of Indonesian Republic, there were some Muslim organizations established one of which is Islamic School-Student Association (PII, Pelajar Islam Indonesia). It was established in Yogyakarta in 4th May 1947.⁴¹ In the New Order period, Suharto implemented program called *pembinaan* (guidance) in which every organization should be in line with the government objective and put *Pancasila* as the organization's ideology. Muslim organizations that refused to utilize *Pancasila* as their ideology were prohibited and PII became one of it under the instruction of Minister of Internal Affairs.⁴² PII however did not suspend the movement right away. Instead they keep its movement to train cadres to become more Islamic in term of character. There are some PII activists in Banten among others the late Uwes Qorny, Hasan Alaydrus, Embay Mulya Syarif, M.A. Tihami, and Taufiq Nuriman who became the chairperson of Muhammadiyah of Banten province, the successful entrepreneur, former rector of IAIN SMH Banten, and the major/*bupati* of Serang District respectively. Of course there are many PII members in Banten who work and are successful in their business and profession. In Banten, many of PII activists are still active as officers in Banten Province bureaucracy, lecturers in campuses, teachers in schools, and activists of Non-Government Organizations (NGO) creating a network which is still politically powerful in Banten. In this paper however, I describe Embay Mulya Syarif and Hasan Alaydrus as two important persons of PII who was active in P3SIB.

Embay was born 4th March 1952 in the hilly region of Pandeglang. When he was a young boy, he used to do sport and martial arts. He is skillful in various styles of *penca* like Cimande, Gagak Lumayung, Terumbu, and Bandrong, the traditional martial arts of Banten. Young Embay spent his education in Serang from elementary, junior, until high school level.⁴³ After he graduated from senior high school, he was recruited to run as rice business of PT Sinar Ciomas and he managed to obtain strategic position in the company.

This success however did not satisfy the young Embay. In the same year Embay decided to resign from PT. Sinar Ciomas because he wanted to run his own business. He then founded PT. Berkah Saputra, a company related to construction business which got various projects, such as the construction of the Krakatau Steel Hospital and the Krakatau Steel Training Centre.⁴⁴ Embay is also active in social and religious activities. According Hamid:

“...He became member of the headboard of the Indonesian Ulama Council (Majelis Ulama Indonesia, MUI) and of the Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals (ICMI) branch of Serang, which at the central level was led by the prominent national political figure, B. J. Habibie. Due to his close relation with him in ICMI, when Habibie replaced Suharto as President of the Republic of Indonesia in 1998, Embay was sought to send a thousand and five hundreds *jawara* to join the Reform Movement of Banten Society (Gerakan Reformasi Masyarakat Banten, GRMB). The group, which was soon better known as Pam Swakarsa, had the task to defend Habibie in the special session of the People’s Consultative Assembly (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat, MPR). According to Embay, the group was composed mostly from *kiai* and their students (*santri*) to face the Anti Special Session movement (Gerakan Anti Sidang Istimewa MPR) issued from Christian campuses, such as the Universitas Kristen Indonesia or the Catholic Universitas Atmajaya. Embay organized religious scholars and Muslim activities through the Forum Ukhuwah Islamiyah Banten (FUIB), which condemned the slaughtering of the Muslim congregation in Ambon and the burning of houses and mosques. He declared:

If until March 27 1999 the (Ambon) cases are not settled, we will not hesitate to wave the flag Jihad *Fi Sabilillah, Li ‘T’Laikalimatullah* (“Jihad war in the way of Allah, there is no sentence but Allah”)....⁴⁵

The ideology endorsed by Embay tends to a revivalist view which supports the formalization of Islamic law, as it is expressed in his involvement in the Ambonese conflict, his leadership in Syariah Banking and the foundation of the committee of *sharī’ah* implementation in Banten.⁴⁶

Another important figure in PII is Hassan Alaydrus. Hassan was born in Lebak on 17th August 1945. He spent his elementary school in Sekolah Rakyat (SR, People School) Rangkas Bitung. After that he continued his study to junior and senior high schools in the same city. Hassan is an outspoken person. His perspective of Islam is modernist in which he always warn Muhammadiyah members in Banten to avoid shirk (polytheism) and in the small discussion among Muhammadiyah Student’s Activists, he condemned the practice of *tahlilan*, a tradition which has been handed down from generations among traditional Muslims in Banten. His career in PII was

started when he became the chairperson of PII Lebak District from 1964 to 1966. After that, he became the chairperson of PII of West Java between 1970 and 1972. Finally, Hassan managed to obtain the position in the central level by becoming the secretary general during 1972-1973. He then became the chairperson of PII alumnae of Banten province between 2005 and 2010.

Young Hassan was very active during the struggle of Banten province in last decade of 1960s. Because of his activism, he was prisoned in Bandung. After the establishment of Banten province, he becomes the chairperson of some organizations in the provincial level such as Muhammadiyah in which he became the chairperson from 2000 until now and ICMI between 2000 until 2005. He also is active some organizations such as *Majelis Ulama Indonesia* Provinsi Banten (Indonesia Council of Ulama of Banten Province) and *Dewan Masjid Indonesia* (Indonesian Mosques Council of Banten Province). To counter the influence of Communism in Banten, he also participated and became the chairperson of KABAK, (the Anti-Communist Action Command of Banten) from 2006 up to present.

Fourth, FSPP (Forum Silaturahmi Pondok Pesantren, Forum for Friendly Relations between *Pesantrens*). It was established in Banten by alumnae of pesantren Darussalam Gontor, Ponorogo and Daar el Qolam Gintung, Tangerang. Many alumnae of those *pesantrens* established their own *pesantren*. Sulaeman Ma'ruf, one of the founders of FSPP for instance established Daar el Istiqomah pesantren in Serang City. Others also founded *pesantrens* in Lebak, Pandeglang, and Tangerang. Initially the FSPP was only a forum in which they visited one *pesantren* to other *pesantrens* to share the problems and find the solution for *pesantrens* in Banten. The establishment of the new province furthermore triggered the young *kyai* in the forum to establish an organization that would unite, develop and improve the quality of education and economy of modern and traditional (*salafiyah*) *pesantrens* in Banten.⁴⁷

FSPP was established in Serang on 23rd December 2002. Based on its statute, the ideology of the organization is Islam. Meanwhile the objectives of FSPP are the realization of civilized society (*madani*) under the auspices of Allah and the implementation of *sharī'ah* in Banten.⁴⁸ It is clear that FSPP becomes one of the Muslim organizations in Banten which supports the implementation of *sharī'ah*. Therefore, the organization with other mass organizations supported P3SIB. The number of *pesantrens* which join FSPP increases significantly from time to time. In 2007 for instance the member of

FSPP was about 1500 *pesantrens*. Meanwhile in 2014, the number is more than 3000 *pesantrens*.⁴⁹

Fifth, Islamic Political Parties in Banten. Although Banten is considered as the land of Islam, it does not guarantee that Bantenese people will vote Islamic parties in the general election. In the first election in 1955 for instance, there are four parties which gained a significant result in Banten among others Masyumi, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), PNI (Indonesian Nationalist Party), and (Indonesian Communist party) in which PNI gained a significant result in Lebak and Pandeglang.⁵⁰ In the second general election in 1971, Golkar gained 66.11%. Meanwhile other parties such as NU, PSII, Parmusi, PNI, IPKI, Chritian Party, Perti, Murba, and Catholic party gained 15,80%, 7,99%, 6,45%, 1,63%, 1,13%, 0,29%, 0,22%, 0,17%, and 0,13% respectively.⁵¹ It was in the 1977 that Golkar took control of the voters in Banten due to its success to insert *kyai* and *jawara* in Banten to become Golkar's proponents. Golkar maintained its position as the winner in the general election in Banten until the general election in 1997 when Golkar obtained 68,70% voters.⁵² The political competitor of Golkar in Banten during the period between 1977 until 1997 general election was the PPP (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, the Development United Party) supported by Masyumi, NU, Perti, and Parmusi.

In the first election in the Reformation period in 1999, PDIP gained a significant result nationally including in Banten. After the establishment of Banten province, Banten had to create its parliament in the provincial level. Unlike the other provinces however, the creating of Banten Province Legislative Body was created based on the President Decree No. 06 /2001 and the Minister of Internal Affairs Decree No. 12/2000. Based on these regulations, there was a team called the seven committee (*Panitia Tujuh*) as the Selection of Membership Committee (PPK, *Panitia Pemilihan Keanggotaan*) mostly came from Banten province bureaucracy. The team was chaired by Adhi Pranoto, Head of National Unity Body of Banten province and assisted by M.Rifai, The Vice of Government Bureau, and the other five members namely Haeron Muksim, Saepudin, Sibli Sarjaya, Jai, Agus Najiullah .

The seven committee the chose five people who were considered as capable figures to run the PPK tasks. They are Hassan Alaydrus (Chairman), Adiwarman SH (deputy chairman) and three members namely Hidayat Laksana, KH.Sya'mum Abduh and Prof.HM Tihami, MA.⁵³ As the result, PPK had been successful to select the 75 members of Banten province parliament. They are as follows:

Table 1. The Composition of DPRD Banten 2001-2004

No.	Party	Number of Sit	Ideology
1	PDIP	24	Pancasila/Marhaen
2	Golkar	12	Pancasila
3	PPP	12	Islam
4	PAN	5	Pancasila
5	PKB	3	Pancasila
6	PBB	2	Islam
7	PK (S)	2	Islam
8	PNU	1	Islam
9	PKP	1	Pancasila
10	Partai Persatuan	1	Islam
11	PSII	1	Islam
12	Masyumi	1	Islam
13	PDR	1	Pancasila
14	PDI	1	Pancasila
15	Army/Police ⁵⁴	8	Pancasila
	Total	75	

Source: *The Office of the Nation's Unity and People's Protection of Banten Province*

As the result of the 1999 election in Banten, there were some parties considered which took Islam as their ideology among others PPP, PBB, PK, PSII, Masyumi, PNU, and Partai Persatuan. It means that those party are only 27% of the seat in the parliament. The discussion about the map of Islamic party in the parliament is important in order to portray the dynamic in the parliament related to issues related to aspect considered as *sharī'ah* discussed in the parliament. Not all of these “Islamic” parties however involved in the discourse of the implementation of *sharī'ah* in Banten. Although PPP was very critical in the central parliament, this was not the case in Banten province. This was perhaps because PPP chairperson, Joko Munandar, became the Governor of Banten.

During the discourse of *sharī'ah* implementation in Banten only two parties quite vocal related to this issue. It was the Justice Party (Partai Keadilan), a party maintained by *Tarbiyah* activists in Banten. *Tarbiyah* movement is a movement inspired by *Ikhwanul Muslimin* movement in Egypt. It has a different view toward democracy. While HT maintains to keep their distance from parliament, *Tarbiyah* on contrary believes that democracy is an effective way to do *da'wah* (Islamic Propagation). Therefore they established a party that involved to obtain as many voters as

possible. The second party was PBB. In Banten, the party was maintained by Masyumi and Matlaul Anwar (MA) activists who has a strong desire to formalize *sharī'ah* in Banten.

The Result of Muslim of Banten Congress

It is quite strange that the congress did not take a significant portion among prominent newspaper in Banten. Only Republika, a national newspaper that covered the information about the preparation of the congress on 23rd July and the opening of the congress 1st August 2015.⁵⁵ The congress itself was held on 31st July until 2nd August 2015 and took place in Hotel Sofyan Inn, Pandeglang.

The congress was divided into five commissions among other Religion and Ideology Commission, Social and Political Commission, Social and Cultural Commission, Economy Commission, and Recommendation Commission.⁵⁶ However the result of KUIB can be portrayed from the result of Recommendation Commission. In this commission, there are some recommendations such as the warning to Bantenese about radical perspective toward religion and Communism in Banten, the need of Bantenese Muslims to improve their religious understanding to prevent fascism, radicalism, and communism, the need to perform Islam as *Rahmatan lil 'Alamin*. Other recommendations related to religion are:

1. KUIB demands Banten Province including district and municipality government to increase the financial support to *madrasah* (religious school), *pesantren*, and Muslims organizations;
2. KUIB requests Banten Province including district and municipality government to release the local regulation about Diniyah Education⁵⁷ and Pesantren;
3. KUIB urges Banten Province including district and municipality government to support reciting *quran* after magrib prayer and limit the program in television which contains entertainment;
4. KUIB promotes women Muslim in Banten to wear hijab;
5. KUIB asks Muslims in Banten to implement the values of *sharī'ah* in social interaction;
6. KUIB demands Banten Province government, district and municipality governments including the legislative body (DPRD) to support Banten to become Special Province that implemented *Sharī'ah*.⁵⁸

CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have described the development of the struggle of Bantenese to implement shari'ah in Banten. I also have described the organizations that supported the implementation of shari'ah in one of the dynamic region in Java. From the description above we can draw a conclusion that the struggle of shari'ah implementation in Banten gained its momentum when Banten became a new province in 2000. Inspired by the glorious of Banten Sultanate, some Muslim organizations and Muslim figures demanded the shari'ah as the solution of the multidimensional crisis faced by Bantenese and Indonesian society as well. At the same time, the strong demand then was taken as the opportunity by transnational organizations that is the HT, Tarbiyah and other local organizations as the entry point to spread shari'ah agenda in Banten. As the result of the same willingness to implement shari'ah in Banten, they established P3SIB to coordinate the movement. The shari'ah movement in Banten then is successful in maintaining the issue. This at least can be seen in the insertion of shari'ah implementation issue in Banten Strategic Planning and Banten province symbol in 2002.

In the last ten years however the shari'ah movement in Banten has been decline due to several factors. First, the successful program of the government in the campaign to combat terrorism, radicalism, and fundamentalism. The issue has been able to stop the movement for not too aggressively in socializing shari'ah implementation in Banten. Second, the different perspective of shari'ah and da'wa among the members of P3SIB. Third, the success of the local government to influence and maintain MUI Banten and other Muslim organizations. Only after KPK arrested Ratu Atut Chosiyah at the end of 2013, MUI Banten was able to manage the KUIB in which the issue of shari'ah reappear in its recommendation (tausiyah) of the congress. Although the results of the KUIB represent the spirit of the shari'ah implementation, there is no further step that was followed by MUI Banten after the congress.

Endnotes:

¹ The precise number of Banten population in 2013 is 11.452.491 people. See, Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Banten, *Banten dalam Angka 2014/Banten in Figures 2014*, (Banten: Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Banten, 2014), p. 78-175.

² *Ibid*

³ *Ibid*, p. xxix. There were some rebellions in Banten between 19th and 20th century such as the rebellion of Patih Wargadirja/Mangundirja in 1808, the rebellion of Mas Zakariya in

1817, the rebellion of Cikande Udik in 1824, the rebellion of Ki Wakhia in 1850, the rebellion of peasants in 1888, and the rebellion of Red Sarekat Islam (Communist). Interviewed with Yadi Ahyadi on 9th September 2015. Earlier rebellion in this region however was the rebellion led by Ratu Bagus Buang and Kyai Tapa in 1750-1752. The rebellion was motivated by their loyalty to the royal family and they considered VOC as a foreign power which caused the ruin of Banten Sultanate. See, Atsushi Ota, *Changes of Regime and Social Dynamics in West Java Society State and the Outer World of Banten 1750-1830* (Leiden & Boston: E.J. Brill, 2006).

- ⁴ One of the most important rebellions in Banten led by *kyai* (religious person) was the peasant's revolt in 1888. See, Sartono Katodirdjo, *The Peasant's Revolt of Banten in 1888: Its Condition, Course, and Sequel*, ('S-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1966).
- ⁵ Jan Michiel Otto, *Sharia Incorporated: A Comparative Overview of the Legal Systems of Twelve Muslim Countries in Past and Present*, (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2010), p. 44.
- ⁶ *Ibid*, p. 479.
- ⁷ Arskal Salim, *Challenging the Secular State: The Islamization of Law in Modern Indonesia*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), h. 177.
- ⁸ Harold Crouch, *Political Reform in Indonesia after Soeharto*, (Singapore: ISEAS, 2010). p. 1-14.
- ⁹ Miriam Budiarjo, *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*, (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2010), p. 480-484. *Ibid*. p. 6.
- ¹⁰ Crouch, *op. cit*. Crouch admitted that President Habibie was able to propose the release of political prisoners, he reformed the anti-subversion law, lifted restrictions on the press, developed new political parties within a multi-party system, held new general elections, carried out the drastic decentralization of regional government, and freed East Timor from Indonesia.
- ¹¹ There are Political Parties participated in the 1999 election that stated Islam as their ideology among others Partai Kebangkitan Muslimin Indonesia (Indonesian Moslem Awakening Party), Partai Umat Islam (Muslims Party), Partai Masyumi baru (New Masyumi Party), Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia 1905 (The Coalition of Indonesian Islam Party 1905), Partai Politik Islam Indonesia Masyumi (Indonesian Islamic Political Party of Masyumi), Partai Keadilan (Justice Party), and Partai Persatuan Nahdlatul Ummah Indonesia (the Unity of Moslem Awakening Party).
- ¹² Azyumardi Azra and Arskal Salim *et. al.*, *Shari'ah and Politic in Modern Indonesia*, (Singapore: ISEAS, 2003), p. 1-3.
- ¹³ The infrastructure in Banten was considered worse than the infrastructure in West Java in term of roads, schools, and health facilities. Moreover the number of poverty rate in Banten was considered high compared to other regions in West Java.
- ¹⁴ Okamoto Masaaki and Abdul Hamid, Jawa in Power 1999-2007, in *Indonesia* 86, Oktober, 2008, p. 1-30.
- ¹⁵ Interview with Embay Mulya Syarieff on 10th September 2015.
- ¹⁶ Nina H. Lubis *et. al*, *Sejarah Banten: Membangun Tradisi dan Peradaban*, (Serang: Badan Perpustakaan dan Arsip Daerah, 2014), p. 295. The *Pam Swakarsa* was actually founded by Indonesian military generals who wanted to encounter student's rally during 1998 and secure the Special Session of People Consultative Assembly.

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- ¹⁷ Abdul Hamid, The *Kyai* in Banten: Shifting Roles in Changing Times, in Okamoto Masaaki and Ahmad Suaedy, *Islam in Contention: Rethinking Islam and State in Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Wahid Institute, Center for Southeast Asian Studies (CSEAS) and Center for Asia-Pacific Area Studies (CAPAS), 2010), p. 421-443.
- ¹⁸ The Attachment of Local Regulation No.2/2002 about Banten Province Strategic Planning 2002-2006.
- ¹⁹ *Darussalam* literally means the house of salvation. It derives from two words *daar* means house and *salam* means salvation.
- ²⁰ Interview with Tihami, the former rector of IAIN SMH Banten on 2009.
- ²¹ Interview with Yayat Suhartono on 5th September 2015.
- ²² Interview with Embay Mulya Syarif, the chairperson of P3SIB in Serang 23rd July 2009.
- ²³ Interview with Yasin Muntahar, HT Banten.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵ About the *sharī'ah* implemented in Banten Sultanate, see Dinar Boontham, Op. Cit. p. 258-283.
- ²⁶ Interview with Yasin Muntahar
- ²⁷ Interview with Ali Mustofa, the secretary of P3SIB after Adhi Abu Fatih resigned in 2003.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹ According to Embay Mulya Syarif, P3SIB is still exist but according to Ali Mustofa the organization is already not active after the meeting in Baitul Hamdi, Pandeglang.
- ³⁰ In 2002, I once attended the seminar to socialize the discourse of *sharī'ah* in University of Tirtayasa, Banten, in which one of the speakers was Embay Mulya Syarif. I was amazed by his passion in encouraging young people to implement *sharī'ah* in Banten.
- ³¹ <http://www.history.com/topics/9-11-attacks>. Accessed on 15th September 2015.
- ³² Interview with Ali Mustofa and Yasin Munthahar.
- ³³ <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2013/12/20/1746234/Ditahan.KPK.Atut.Menangis>. Accessed in 15th September 2015.
- ³⁴ Moch. Nur Ichwan, The Local Politics of Ortodoxy: The Majelis Ulama Indonesia in the Post-New Order Banten, in *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, Vol. 06, No.1 June 2012, p. 1-29.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*
- ³⁶ Rohman, Challenging the Result of a Holy Alliance: The Study of Debus Fatwa of MUI Banten, Thesis, University of Leiden, 2011. p. 30.
- ³⁷ Jajang Jahroni and Jamhari, *Gerakan Salafī Radikal di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2004), p. 165-169.
- ³⁸ Interview with Ali Mustofa, HTI of Banten Branch, 13th September 2015.
- ³⁹ Interview with Yasin Munthahar, HTI Banten, 10 September 2007.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁴¹ Agus Salim Sitompul, Pemikiran Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam tentang Keislaman-Keindonesiaan 1947-1949, Dissertation, IAIN Sunan Kali Jaga, 2001, p. 2.
- ⁴² Donald J. Porter, *Managing Politics and Islam in Indonesia*, (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2002), p. 39.
- ⁴³ Curriculum Vitae of H. Embay M. Syarief, ICMI Orda Kota Serang document.
- ⁴⁴ Abdul Hamid and Gabriel Facal, Nationalism, Islam, and Political Influence: The Ethics of the Enterprises in Banten, in *Moussons*, <http://moussons.revues.org/index.html?lang=en>.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

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- ⁴⁷ Interview with KH Muhammad Shodiqin, the chairperson of FSPP Banten on 20th August 2015.
- ⁴⁸ The Statute of FSPP Banten on 5th February 2003.
- ⁴⁹ Interview with KH Muhammad Shodiqin
- ⁵⁰ Lili Romli, *Demokrasi dalam Bayang-Bayang Kekuatan Jawara: Kasus Provinsi Banten*, a project report in LIPI (no year).
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁵² *Ibid*
- ⁵³ <http://setdprd.bantenprov.go.id/>. Accessed on 2nd September 2015.
- ⁵⁴ Army in the first election of Reformasi era was not chosen but selected by the army/police headquarter.
- ⁵⁵ <http://khazanah.republika.co.id/berita/dunia-islam/islam-nusantara/15/08/01/nsdchu320-umat-islam-banten-gelar-kongres>. Accessed on 15th September 2015.
- ⁵⁶ Keputusan Kongres Umat islam Banten (KUIB) tahun 1436 H/ 2015 M.
- ⁵⁷ Diniyah Local regulation is a regulation that obliged the graduate of elementary school to have the diploma from Diniyah/Maddrasah in order to ensure that the graduates are able to read the Quran.
- ⁵⁸ *Op. cit.* Keputusan...

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