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STELLINGEN

As part of the thesis:

ISLAM AND POLITICS IN MADURA:

Ulama and Other Local Leaders in Search of Influence (1990-2010)

1. There have been other dominant civilizations in the past; there will no doubt be others in the future. Western civilization incorporates many previous modernities, it is enriched by the contributions and influences of other cultures which preceded it in leadership. It will itself bequeath a Western cultural legacy to other cultures yet to come (Lewis, 1997: 130).
2. If we look at the situation in the end of the twentieth century more globally, it is not surprising to see that the rapid and sustained development in Indonesia was similarly found in other third world countries in Asia and Latin America. What is more interesting to note is that the efforts to create this development were typically state-led or state-designed in top-down policies in all these places (this thesis).
3. The roles of *kiai* in politics in Madura were perhaps most visible during the New Order. The state attempted to break into and arrange all aspects of its citizen's lives. The power of the state rested upon its dominant control over the public and private realms. At first glance, it seems that the state—through its hierarchical authority—was able to intervene into the lowest level of administration, the village. In reality, large segments of society were able to form informal ties and operate within their own hierarchies of authority (this thesis).
4. As is the case in many rural societies, it seems quite obvious that the existence of traditional local leaders in a decentralised era cannot be ignored due to their constant influence. The circumstances in the Madurese villages encourage interaction between important segments of society in which the *kiai*, the *blater*, and the *klebun* form complex relationships in the struggle for influence, in which Islamic symbols and patronage play significant parts. Despite different attitudes from the three actors, the relationship is perhaps best described as pragmatic and mutually beneficial in nature (this thesis).
5. After the Suharto administration came to an end, the relationships between the central government and the religious leaders have changed. Alongside the rise of more independent religious leaders, the sole authority of the state, as well as its coercive force, began to disappear (this thesis).

6. Violence is intertwined with masculinity, and the human body often serves as a cultural medium, as a source of metaphorical material to symbolize power relations (Blok, 2001: 113).

7. Many parts in Indonesia have experienced the lack of control by the central government and the local administrations over violence. This circumstance has led people to doubt the ability of state institutions to enforce the law. Consequently, this condition has allowed local strongmen to spread their influence and challenge influential actors, state officials and religious leaders (this thesis).

8. Perhaps the most influential strongmen group in the socio-political world of Indonesia is *jawara*. The New Order administration provided them with opportunities to expand themselves into socio-political realms. The post-New Order period, often characterized by social instability and insecurity, even has placed the position of this group on a firm basis (Pribadi, 2011: 167).

9. Elections in Madura are an arena of contests, mainly between religious and cultural powers, in which the competing parties make extensive use of Islamic symbols in interactions with the people. Despite the fact that this may seem a manipulative practice, the use of Islamic symbols is actually considered necessary by the people, as the Madurese strongly identify with Islam (this thesis).

10. In the post-Suharto period, support from political parties that win general elections to governor or regent candidates does not directly draw a parallel with the triumph of these candidates (this thesis).

11. Local politics in Madura has long been a field in which local leaders obtain power. The ongoing process of state formation, including policies such as democratization and decentralization, has allowed for the emergence of new autonomous local leaders. In Madura, the *kiai* and the *blater* seem to strive for influence many times, and have their own interests and their own means by which to maintain power, influence and social status. Therefore, the term 'contesting authorities' in Madura can represent the contests between the *kiai* and the *blater*, or between these two groups and the state. In Madura both situations have continuously occurred (this thesis).

12. The use of the word 'jago' does not always refer to negative connotation. In contemporary period, one, for instance, can denote an expert on mathematic as 'jago matematika', although certainly to identify an infamous thug who commits crimes, one may call that person 'jagoan'.