BLACK BLANGKON:
THE IDENTITY OF SUNAN KALIJAGA'S PADEPOKAN DAKWAH MOVEMENT IN URBAN MUSLIM SOCIETY

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Abstract

This paper discusses the identity represented by the community of Padepokan dakwah Sunan Kalijaga (Padasuka). This community is located in Pesantren Ummul Qura, Pondok Cabe Ilir, South Tangerang. There are several reasons underlying the need to explore Padasuka community. One of them is the black clothes and Javanese blangkon of the male members. This fact is certainly interesting as this community exists in a multi-ethnic region and modern urban area. The finding shows that Kiai Syarif, as the leader plays a dominant role in the process of identity representation. This is because he has a strong capital in the social and cultural aspects. In addition, the cultural identity of the communitynot only serves to determine the code of conduct, but also as a tool of resistance against the domination of the external culture.

Tulisan ini membahas identitas yang digunakan oleh komunitas Padepokan dakwah Sunan Kalijaga (Padasuka). Padasuka merupakan komunitas yang berada dalam Pesantren Ummul Qura, Pondok Cabe Ilir, Tangerang Selatan. Ada beberapa alasan yang menjadikan komunitas Padasuka menarik untuk dikaji. Salah satunya adalah pakaian mereka yang serba hitam, dan memakai blangkon dari Jawa bagi anggota laki-laki. Kenyataan ini tentunya menarik,karena Padasuka berada dalam kawasan multi-etnis dan wilayah perkotaan yang modern. Hasil penelitian ini menjelaskan bahwa Kiai Syarif, sebagai tokoh komunitas Padasuka, mempunyai posisi yang sangat dominan dalam proses reproduksi identitas. Hal ini karena dia memiliki modal yang kuat dalam

aspek sosial dan kultural. Selain itu, dalam komunitas Padasuka, identitas budaya bukan hanya sebagai pengarah yang menentukan kode etik, namun juga menjadi alat resistensi atas dominasi budaya dari luar.

Keywords: Identity; Padasuka; Community; Black Blangkon

Introduction

In recent decades, the study of locality and globality has become an interesting conversation. Many academics have taken an interest in the discussion of locality in global spaces. Anthropologists then created a new term, *glocalization,* to explain this phenomenon. In this case, *glocalization* means the phenomenon of struggle between globalization, local culture and tradition. Khondker illustrates that *globalization* describes the adaption between local cultures and traditions in the chaotic global world (Prasojo, 2009: 274). Thus, in simple terms, *glocalization* wants to dissect local cultural elements in the dimension of increasingly globalized modernity.

Several works emerged that attempted to examine the issue of *glocalization* in the cultural space where the culture originated. Prasojo (2009: 274) for example, tries to dissect the phenomenon of the Dayak Katab Kebahan community in interacting with the dynamics of modern society. This study aims to highlight the adaptation patterns of the Dayak Katab community in maintaining their identity in the face of globalized modernity. Unlike the aforementioned paper, this paper seeks to connect the dynamics of locality in a new, modern cultural space. Straightforwardly, this study seeks to dissect the phenomenon of 'local' which then reappears in a new social and cultural space. Precisely, the focus of this paper is to understand the phenomenon of the Padepokan Dakwah Sunan Kalijaga (Padasuka) community, which in its activities always emphasizes 'local' attributes in the nuances of a cultural space that is quite different from the currents of modern society. There are several reasons why the phenomenon of the Padasuka community is interesting to study. *First*, the Padasuka community wears attributes that accentuate the all-black colour and for men wear blangkon. This reality is certainly interesting because the Padasuka community is in a multiethnic, modern, and all-new urban cultural space. *Second*, many members of the Padasuka community are urban communities who come from various ethnicities. In this reality, it is certainly quite interesting when they

use the blangkon identity, which is part of Javanese culture. Even specifically, the black blangkon with two pigtails is a cultural attribute of Javanese society. *Third*, the Padasuka community is not only part of an exclusive and closed group, but is a community that has similar thoughts and movements. Thus, the Padasuka community has the power to expand the movement even though it uses very 'local' attributes within the framework of a multiethnic and multicultural society and is in a new cultural space.

According to Abdullah (2010: 42), the understanding of the process of cultural reproduction concerning how the 'original culture' is represented in the new environmental space is still very limited. Based on this opinion, this paper tries to take part in filling the limitations of the study. Within this framework, this research seeks to answer two questions, namely: *First*, why does the Padasuka community wear an all-black identity and wear blangkon in urban society? *Second*, how is the identity reproduction process so that it is accepted by the community?

Every culture that humans have essentially consists of universal cultural elements. As expressed by Koentjaraningrat (1985: 203) that:

> "Every culture that is owned by humans has seven elements of culture that are universal, the elements of culture include: (1) language, (2) knowledge system, (3) social organization, (4) system of living equipment and technology, (5) livelihood system, (6) religious system, and (7) art".

Based on Koentjaraningrat's statement, it is clear that culture is a reflection of the life of a community by the environment in which the community lives.

The religious system is a universal cultural element found in people's lives. According to Koentjaraningrat (2009: 82), the concept of religion is divided into five components that have their own roles and all five are very closely related. These five components consist of religious emotions, belief systems, rite and ceremony systems, rite and ceremony equipment, and religious people.

Religious emotion is a component that makes humans have an all-religious attitude, and is a vibration that moves the human soul. For example, the attitude of awe and fascination with the supernatural and sacred. In essence, religious emotion is something

that cannot be explained by the human mind because it is far beyond its reach. The belief system takes the form of human thoughts and ideas regarding the conception of the supernatural. In addition, the belief system also involves a value system and a system of religious norms, moral teachings, and other doctrines that regulate human behaviour. Then the system of rites and ceremonies in a religion takes the form of human activities and actions in carrying out the belief system and is an attempt to communicate with the supernatural. In carrying out rites and ceremonies, humans usually use various means and equipment. Thus, ritual equipment is a component of tools used by humans in ritual activities. Meanwhile, the people component is a social unit that adheres to a belief system and performs rites and ceremonies (Koentjaraningrat, 2009: 80-82).

Speaking of the form of culture, Koentjaraningrat (1987: 5). distinguishes the form of culture into three, namely: *First*, the form of culture is a complex of ideas, ideas, values, norms, rules and so on. *Second*, the form of culture is a complex of patterned behavioural activities of humans in society. *Third*, the form of culture is as object of human work.

According to Appadurai, a group of people who move from one cultural environment to another will experience a sociocultural process that can affect their mode of adaptation and identity formation (Abdullah, 2010: 41). Thus, mobility has a close relationship with cultural reproduction. The process of cultural reproduction is an active process that emphasizes its existence in socio-cultural life so that it requires adaptation for groups that have different cultural backgrounds. This kind of process is an important socio-cultural process because it involves two things. *First*, at the social level, it will be seen that the process of cultural domination and subordination occurs dynamically. *Second*, at the individual level, the process of resistance will be observed in the reproduction of the cultural identity of groups of people in certain sociocultural contexts (Abdullah, 2010:42).

Methods

This research uses an anthropological approach using the interpretive paradigm (cultural interpretation). This paradigm is one of the paradigms that exist in the socio-cultural sciences (Ahimsa-Putra, 2012:

27). The choice of this paradigm is based on the reason that this paradigm views reality subjectively. According to this paradigm, reality is created, not found, and can be interpreted. With this framework, informants are positioned as people who know best, while researchers are only tasked with helping to understand and interpret what appears behind events, the background of human thought, and how humans place meaning on events.

In terms of respondents, several people were used as sources of information. Kiai Syarif is the main respondent in this research. In several communications with the Padasuka community, it appears that Kiai Sharif plays a central role. In addition to Kiai Sharif, Padasuka community administrators and members are also important. Eko Bando (chairman of the Padasuka community) was used as a research respondent because he knew the Padasuka community from the beginning. In addition, information was also obtained from members of the Padasuka community.

It took the author several stages to be able to enter and interact closely with the respondents. At first, the author was invited by one of the ustadz at Pondok Ummul Qura to be introduced to one of the Padasuka community members named Faturrahman. This meeting provided a lot of initial information related to the Padasuka community. Faturahman is an Ummul Qura student who is also active in Padasuka community activities.

Then in November 2013, the author had the opportunity to directly interact, conduct interviews and closely observe the figure of Kiai Syarif. Communication runs quite smoothly and friendly, making it easier to examine the dynamics of the Padasuka community. The author has enough time to be able to understand the reality of Kiai Sharif's daily life in terms of eating, praying, and interacting with family, guests and students.

In December, the author had the opportunity to participate in the Padasuka community event, namely a pilgrimage at the tomb of Sunan Kalijaga and *live* filming activities on one National TV. With this, the author has a way to find out the pattern of relations and relationships between Kiai Syarif and Padasuka community members, Padasuka Community activities and the views of its members.

This research is a field research that seeks qualitative data. The data collection strategy is carried out using: *first*, observation. The focus of the observations made in this study are

observing the activities of Kiai Sharif and members of the Padasuka community. In the observations that have been made, the author observes Kiai Sharif and the Padasuka community in the realm of daily, activities and rituals. *Second*, interviews. The author conducts in-depth *interviews* with respondents. The respondents in this case are Kiai Sharif and the administrators and members of the Padasuka Community whom the author chose by *purposive sampling*. *Third*, documentation. The author traces data related to the Padasuka community, both in written documentation and in the media.

Padepokan Dakwah Sunan Kalijaga

Padasuka is a community under the auspices of Ummul Qura Islamic boarding school. Geographically, Ummul Qura Islamic boarding school is located in Pondok Cabe Ilir, South Tangerang. The pesantren is led by KH. Rahmat Syarif, SQ, MA or better known as *Abi* in the community. Besides being the leader of the pesantren, Kiai Syarif is the central figure in the Padasuka community.

Talking about the Padasuka community cannot be separated from the figure of Kiai Syarif. Kiai Syarif. He is not a native of Pondok Cabe Ilir, but a migrant. Kiai Syarif came from Banjarsari, an area included in the Ciamis district of West Java. His father's name is Rd. Ahmad who has a lineage from Wonokromo, an area in the Bantul region of Yogyakarta. His mother, Shafiyah, is from Ciamis. Thus, the culture that encompasses his life comes from Yogyakarta (Java) and Ciamis (Sunda). These two cultures influenced his unique
personality traits.

Kiai Syarif has many roles in his life. He is a Kiai, academic, ustadz and supernatural figure. As Kiai, it can be seen from his activities as the main figure in the Ummul Qura Islamic boarding school. As a Kiai, he always accompanies the students to study. When he is at the boarding school, he is the imam of the prayer which is followed solemnly by his students.

As an academic, it can be identified from his activities as a lecturer at PTIQ Jakarta. He completed his higher education at the College of al-Qur'an Sciences (PTIQ) Jakarta until he became a bachelor of al-Qur'an (SQ) plus *hafid* al-Qur'an (memorizer of the Qur'an) and is now a lecturer. Now he is completing his doctoral program at the Postgraduate School of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta.

The role of ustazd (preacher) is part of Kiai Syarif's activities. His talent for preaching has been apparent since he became the first winner of the Jakarta PTIQ student lecture competition. Furthermore, he was active in preaching in various government and private institutions from recitation in taklim assemblies to national-level tabligh akbar. Kiai Syarif is also a regular speaker on private radio in Jakarta. He has also been active as a spiritual counsellor at Salemba Pondok Bambu detention centre, Pasar Rebo Hospital, and PT Primajasa. Not only there, but he has also filled the program on Jac TV, taklim hadis on MNC TV and was a lecturer on TV One for the Damai Indonesiaku program.

Kiai Syarif is also known as a supernatural figure. According to Arir, one of the respondents, Kiai Sharif has had spiritual talent since he was a child. Many unique and extraordinary events have occurred in his life journey. This potential was further recognized when Kiai Sharif defended a television show called *Ghost Hunters*. The show was criticized and condemned by many because it was seen as a shirk. But he dared to put up his body to explain that the show was not shirked. This then led Kiai Syarif to be invited to a recitation event for shamans held at TMII Jakarta. Even more than that, in the event he was later appointed as an advisor to Indonesian psychics thanks to his polite way of preaching and carrying the values of local traditions.

The description of the figure of Kiai Syarif gives us information about why then he gets such a special position in the Padasuka community. He has such strong cultural, social and spiritual capital that the Padasuka community seems inseparable from Kiai Sharif.

Returning to the Padasuka community, although it is under the auspices of the Ummul Qura Islamic Boarding School, the management and membership of the two are not bound. Not all students at Pesantren Ummul Qura are members of the Padepokan dakwah Sunan Kalijaga. According to Faturrahman, only a few students participate in Padasuka community activities, while others focus on learning activities.

The Padasuka community was born from a unique process. Initially, after Kiai Sharif wore the blangkon and began giving recitations in several places, questions arose from the congregation, was Kiai Sharif the grandson of Sunan Kalijaga? This question often arises and is answered by Kiai Syarif with 'If yes how, if not then how?" Although

unanswered, the image of Sunan Kalijaga has been attached to Kiai Sharif marked by the symbol of his blangkon.

At the next stage, Eko Bando emerged as one of Kiai Sharif's admirers. Eko is someone who often meets Kiai Sharif because he is active in the entertainment world. Eko then tried to document Kiai Sharif's recitation material by creating a social media account under the name Padepokan Kanjeng Sunan. From this, it gradually crystallized into aPadasuka community.

Padasuka Community does not have a clear management structure. According to Eko, this is because the Padasuka community is based on the similarity of spirit and spirit in the movement. Nevertheless, in practice, Eko is the head of the Padasuka community who was appointed directly by Kiai Syarif. The goal of the Padasuka community is to unite Muslims in various forms and styles. On every occasion, the Padasuka community always emphasizes the importance of unity, solidarity and *tasamuh* (tolerant attitude) among fellow Muslims. For this reason, the Padasuka community is ready to devote its potential energy and thoughts to achieve a harmonious religious life with the slogan, Islam must be NKRI inevitable.

Padasuka community is a group of people who have a unique view in understanding their identity. The structure of the social and cultural space where the Padasuka community grows and develops, it looks quite interesting. In terms of the identity of the clothes used, for example, they look quite striking. They wear all black clothes and for men wear blangkon. This is certainly quite interesting, because black clothes and blangkon contradict the culture of modern society where the Padasuka community is located. Likewise, the blangkon they wear is not typical of the local community, which is closer to Sundanese and Betawi culture, but the blangkon they wear is typical of the Yogyakarta community.

Community identity

Identity means characteristics or behaviours that characterize individuals as members of a group (Prasojo, 2009: 276). Thus identity is a form of character that indicates a group or identity. Padasuka as a community also has a set of characters that explain its identity. Male members of the Padasuka community wear all-black clothes. The top shirt has a character like a martial arts shirt

in hermitages. As for the lower attributes, they wear black pants or sarongs. In addition, they also use a black blangkon. The blangkon they use, although they are in the Sundanese and Betawi cultural environment, is a Yogyakarta-style blangkon. As for women, they wear all-black attributes as well, both from clothes and headscarves.

With these all-black attributes, they then identify their community. They can map which ones are *in-group* or *out-group*. As Jackson and Smith (in Baron & Byrne, 2003: 163-164) conceptualize social identity can best be conceptualized in four dimensions, namely perceptions in an intergroup context, *in-group* attractiveness, interrelated beliefs and depersonalization. They state that security and insecurity are the two basic types of identity that underlie these four dimensions. As for which role social identity plays in intergroup relations, it depends on which dimension is currently in effect. Individuals tend to evaluate the *out-group* more favourably, be more open and even be less biased when comparing the *in-group* with the *out-group* when the degree of secure identity is higher than insecure identity, and vice versa.

Brewer et al. (in Burke, 1998: 17-19) divide social identity into four types, namely: *first*, identity-based on the individual. What is more emphasized in this type is how the self-nature of the group part is internalized by individual members as part of the self-concept. So that it appears that individuals do it in everyday life. *Second*, *social* identity is based on correlation (*social relation identity*). This type provides an understanding that individuals use group identity at certain times when individuals have special relationships with people who are outside their group. This relational relationship is usually often carried out in intergroup relationships. *Third*, social identity is based on the group, meaning individual behaviour about the group. In these conditions, individuals must use social identity to be able to join other social groups. *Fourth*, collective identity, this identity has a more practical meaning. Social identity is not only a shared knowledge to define personal and group identity. Social identity is a process of social action. Collective identity is sometimes used to resist when their group is presented by other groups. Based on the concept of

The identity built by the Padasuka community has a position in all four dimensions.

The black attribute is a personal identification when they are outside the group. They feel that wearing black clothes has an inner dimension of satisfaction. They also use the black attribute when interacting with other groups. Kiai Syarif confidently appeared on television despite wearing all black. Many expressions emerged from the audience in response to Kiai Sharif's attributes. Starting from being identified with a shaman to being said to be a descendant of Sunan Kalijaga. The group identity can be identified when they join an activity such as recitation or pilgrimage. The members of the Padasuka community will wear all-black attributes as a symbol of the community.

Blangkon is the identity used by the Sunan Kalijaga Da'wah Padepokan. According to Kiai Syarif, the blangkon identity is based on two things, namely the coincidence factor and the inner need factor. The coincidence factor arose when Kiai Syarif and his wife were looking at the Nusantara Culture Exhibition in Jakarta. On that occasion, he saw a blangkon and then tried it on. The assessment of *pants* then emerged from his wife, which for Kiai Syarif was a signal that he should wear the blangkon.

The inner need is Kiai Syarif's awareness in understanding the blangkon in a broader spectrum. In his statement about the reason for wearing the blangkon he explained that:

> "I have been pondering the life of the nation for a long time. I used to live in the PTIQ dormitory, one room with Bugis people, wearing a peci is funny … like takraw, which Gus Dur used to wear. Gus Dur liked the Bugis cap made from rattan, sepak takraw…when I left the dormitory, I saw that the sense of pride in Indonesia was starting to disappear. There was an impression that those who dressed in Arabic were holy, while those who dressed locally were identified as not good.".

From this, it seems that Kiai Syarif understands that there is a loss of pride as an Indonesian citizen with his local traditions. This is the inner reason for him to take blangkon as part of his life to show pride in local traditions.

Community Rituals

Rituals referring to Turner's definition are "*…prescribed formal behavior for occasions not given over to technological routine, having reference to beliefs in mystical beings or power*" (in Abdullah, 2002: 9). From this definition,

rituals are often manifested through praying and so on. This is because rituals are holy and sacred. Some rituals are usually carried out by the Padasuka Community, namely pilgrimage and reading munajat.

Pilgrimage is simply the ritual of visiting a sacred place. According to Woodward (2008: 258), a sacred place is usually a holy tomb or other sacred place where a saint can be invoked solemnly. In Javanese society, the pilgrimage tradition is quite interesting. This is evidenced by the emergence of several researchers who tried to explain this reality. Many researchers have tried to examine pilgrimage rituals in Javanese society. Woodward (2008) notes some differences in the tradition of grave pilgrimage at the Yogyakarta palace family tomb and the pilgrimage tradition that prevails in Javanese society in general. Pilgrims, both in Yogyakarta and in Javanese society in general, hope to receive blessings to overcome the various life problems they face. Some pilgrims come to gain spiritual experience to get closer to God. However, Woodward also found some differences in pilgrimage activities in Java. In Yogyakarta and Surakarta, the pilgrims' destination is the tombs of the Mataram royal officials. The pilgrims must also comply with the rules set by the tomb managers, for example, they can only go on pilgrimage on certain days or at certain hours (Woodward, 2008: 256-268).

The study of pilgrimage was also conducted by Syam (2005) about tombs when researching the issue of coastal Islam. According to him, tombs are not only intended as a place to store corpses but also a place to gather, pray and seek blessings. Syam (2005: 140) mentions several tombs on the north coast of East Java that are considered sacred places, including the burial complex of Sunan Ampel in Surabaya, the tomb of Princess Suwari in Leran, the tombs of Malik Ibrahim and Giri in Gresik, Sunan Drajat in Paciran and Sunan Bonang in Tuban. These sacred tombs are well-maintained and always crowded with pilgrims. Their existence serves not only as a means of religious ritual but also as an economic field. Some tombs are surrounded by several merchants who are visited by many people between pilgrimages.

In addition, there is an interesting article on pilgrimage written by Jamhari (2001) which reveals that *barakah* is an important orientation element in pilgrimage rituals. The issue of blessing in Jamhari's conception is the 'ideological basis' to explain the issue of pilgrimage (Jamhari, 2001: 121).

For pilgrims, visiting a sacred place is a rite of passage to *ngalap berkah* (seek blessings). However, there are differences in understanding who gives the blessing. Some understand that the blessing is *God's reward* obtained through the guardian, while others understand that the blessing is a direct gift from the guardian.

For Padasuka Community, pilgrimage can make the heart alive. According to Eko Bando, "it is better to play with dead people but make the heart alive than to play with living people who make the heart dead". From this expression, it can be understood that the spiritual heart is an important orientation in the Padepokan Dakwah Sunan Kalijaga community.

The purpose of pilgrimage places is more emphasized by the figures of the archipelago, such as the saints. Padasuka does not identify the habibs as an important place for pilgrimage. As is known, in Jabotabek, the tombs that are considered holy are mostly the tombs of the habibs. However, this is dismissed by the Padasuka community who prefer the tombs of Jakarta's local saints and scholars as places of pilgrimage.

Besides pilgrimage, reading munajat is also an important ritual in the Padasuka Community. Munajat is a collection book of wirid and prayers in the Qur'an compiled by Kiai Syarif. Munajat book has 31 pages with Arabic writing and 31 pages for translation. From page 1 to page 13 are hizib or wirid that are commonly read and recommended by the Prophet as explained in several traditions. While pages 14 to 31 are prayers found in the Qur'an.

When reading munajat, it is recommended to use manners in prayer. The manners in question include purification, lowering the voice, and so on. In addition, before reading the prayer it is also recommended to read selawat and hamdalah. In reading munajat, it can be done individually or in groups. Individually it can be done every day, but the best time is before the Fajr prayer. As for when it is read in groups, it is usually done when the Padasuka community congregation is conducting recitations and monthly meetings.

According to Kiai Syarif (Rahmat, 2013), munajat is a guide in prayer. He states:

> "...I have compiled this solely for the sake of Allah, after I saw how people are competing in practicing various hizibs and man-made supplications competing in practicing various hizibs and man-made supplications, while very few people turn their eyes to Allah's guidance in the Qur'an, even though He forbids us to precede Allah and His Messenger.

(al-Hujurat: 1). I don't mean by this to forbid prayer, istighasah or supplication in other forms. However, no matter how much a mu'min is bound by the two basic principles: the Qur'an and as-Sunnah, there is no going astray for the one who sticks to them.".

Black Attributes as Resistance Identity

There are several main views in the Padasuka community. The Padasuka community views nationalism is like the story in the Qur'an about the grandmother who spun the yarn. The story tells of a grandmother who spun yarn and the surrounding people saw that the grandmother couldn't produce a cloth. But it turns out that later the grandmother managed to finish a cloth and the results were so beautiful. The surprising thing was when the beautiful cloth was then unravelled again by the grandmother. The grandmother was then said to be crazy. This is also the case with nationalism in Indonesia. According to the Padasuka community, Indonesia is a beautiful cloth that has been spun by the ancestors. It is crazy if someone then tries to unravel Indonesia into irregular threads under any pretext.

For the Padasuka community, pride in being a child of the country is a fundamental symbol. They see that Indonesia's previous destruction began with a feeling of inferiority in front of other nations. Indonesia lost to the Dutch because it felt that the Dutch were greater. Likewise, the defeat of Japan started from feeling inferior to the Japanese. Now, when the Arabization movement emerges, people feel inferior before the Arabs. It is this feeling that Indonesians must shake off.

The Padasuka community sees that the concept of Habib does not exist. This is certainly different from the reality of people who understand the concept of Habib. In simple terms, a habib is a male descendant of the Prophet Muhammad. The basis for rejecting is based on two arguments, namely text arguments and logical arguments. The text argument used by the Padasuka community to reject habibs is based on Q.S. al-Ma'idah: 18 and Q.S. al-Ahzab: 40.

As is known, recently there has been a phenomenon of the application of Islamic law and the emergence of Arabic-style attributes that are dominated by the colour white. One of them is the emergence of the idea to make Islamic sharia as the basis and guidance in several regions in Indonesia. In Padang, for example,

The local government tried to implement the obligation to wear jilbab and Islamic clothing (for Muslims) and the recommendation to wear it (for non-Muslims) which was enforced through the Mayor's instruction. In addition, the phenomenon of the mandatory use of the jilbab is also enforced in Nangroe Aceh Darussalam. Of course, the instruction caused polemics, because what was instructed was not part of the culture that developed in the community.

In addition, in society there is also the phenomenon of fundamentalist movements that try to apply the concept of Islamic law. The tendency that arises from this movement is to apply the construction of Islamic law with an Arabic face. This certainly has an impact on the situation where Arab expressions become dominant, even hegemonic culture and traditions that develop in society. What is even more disturbing is the emergence of justifications such as not yet *kaffah*, heresy, bidah or musyrik to people who do not use these expressions (Najitama, 2007).

With the emergence of this phenomenon, of course, the existence of local culture becomes marginalized. The modern fundamentalist movement seeks to eliminate the culture of slametan, gamelan music and many local traditions that are considered Hindu and kejawen. The fundamentalist Islamic movement seeks to eliminate all local culture and replace it with the Arabic model of the Prophet's Islamic teaching system.

The reality of Arabization was responded to by Padasuka with anxiety. They see that Arabization takes pride in the reality of nationality low. For the Padasuka community, pride as a child of the country becomes a fundamental symbol. They see that the destruction of Indonesia previously started from feeling low before other nations. Indonesia lost to the Dutch because they felt that the Dutch were greater. Likewise, the defeat of Japan started from feeling inferior to the Japanese. Now, when the Arabization movement emerges, people feel inferior before the Arabs. It is this feeling that must be dismissed by the Indonesian people.

The Padasuka community views black is a local colour that must be used to show pride in its own culture. From several meetings with Padasuka members, they do not agree with the Arabization movement that carries the colour white. Likewise, the Habib indicates that there are differences in humans from

the point of view of descent. For the Padasuka community, Habib is nothing more than "selling lineage, for the sake of fate".

According to Scott (1990: 12), the relationship between the dominated and the dominating occurs in a relationship where the second mentioned uses power to dominate the first group. The dominant group, which in the context of this discussion is represented by the ulama and the state, actualizes its authority over society through the formulation of regulations or certain efforts to subordinate the subordinated group. Scott said that the ruling class not only dominates the physical means of production but also the symbolic means of production. Its control over the material forces of production is replicated at the level of ideas, in the control of the ideological sectors of society - such as culture, religion, education and the media - in a way that allows it to spread values that reinforce its position.

In reality, the phenomenon of Arabization with all Arabic and white attributes has become part of society. This can be seen in the media where white is always considered as holy and the other is not. This condition creates an understanding that white is good, while black is bad. Colors are value-free and relative. In the end, white is the dominant colour that becomes a symbolic tool to strengthen the Arabization movement. The black colour then becomes subordinate. In this condition, the reality of the identity battle that emerged in society in the context of Padasuka.

The all-black identity is a form of resistance used by the Padasuka community to fight the hegemony of Arabization that emphasizes the colour white. Black for the Padasuka community is a local color that is part of the tradition of Indonesian society. This black color is then collaborated with blangkon which further sharpens the local identity. As is known, Arabization carries an all-white turban. This is usually a symbol of religious authority and knowledge. But this logic is reversed so smartly by Padasuka. They use local attributes in the form of blangkon which they wear in every activity. Even more than that, the blangkon for the Padasuka community is also used in worship activities such as prayer, replacing the Arabic-style turban. Thus, the identity used by the Padasuka community is a form of local cultural reproduction in the face of cultural globalization and Arabism that is increasingly vibrant in society.

Conclusion

The all-black identity is actually a form of resistance used by the Padasuka community to fight the hegemony of Arabization that emphasizes the colour white. Black for the Padasuka community is a local color that is part of the tradition of Indonesian society. This black color is then collaborated with blangkon which further sharpens the local identity. As is known, Arabization carries an all-white turban. This is usually a symbol of religious authority and knowledge. But this logic is reversed so smartly by Padasuka. They use local attributes in the form of blangkon which they wear in every activity. Even more than that, the blangkon for the Padasuka community is also used in worship activities such as prayer, replacing the Arabic-style turban. Thus, the identity used by the Padasuka community is a form of local cultural reproduction in the face of cultural globalization and Arabism that is increasingly vibrant in society.

Blangkon is an identity worn by the Padasuka community. Kiai Syarif understands blangkon in a broader spectrum because it is preceded by concern over the loss of pride as an Indonesian citizen with its local traditions. This is the inner reason for him to take blangkon as part of his life to show pride in local traditions. Identity reproduction is very centralized in the figure of Kiai Syarif. This can be understood because Kiai Syarif has strong cultural capital, social capital and spiritual capital, so he has such a strong position.

Thus it can be concluded that Kiai Syarif as a Padasuka community figure has a very dominant position in the process of cultural reproduction, this is because he has strong social and cultural capital. In addition, in the Padasuka Community, cultural identity is no longer just a guide thatdetermines the code of conduct that is obeyed and has coercive power butbecomes a means of resistance to certain cultural domination.

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