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***Teungku Dayah* Agency and Religious Social Capital on Drug Eradication in Aceh, Indonesia**

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Abstract

This article examines the success of religious social capital and the agency of *teungku dayah* (Islamic scholars who belong to traditional religious school) in the collective drug eradication movement in Ujong Pacu, Lhokseumawe-Aceh, Indonesia. The role of religious social capital in combating the drugs market in global drug policy has been less studied. This study provides a quite different view from most scholars who work for combating drug dealers by engaging participation of religious communities in rural society. The agency of *teungku dayah* succeeded in mobilizing the villagers due to the social capital that bonded the community based on religious ties. The article used live-in method, observation, in-depth and interviews to build a sociological imagination about the patterns of social practice of the people who become the subject of the research. The researchers lived in one of the villager's houses, participated in their discussions, listened to the gossip, worshipped with them and were involved in certain jobs carried out by the community members who targeted informants. Using religious social capital, this article argues that *teungku dayah* effectively used the social and religious capital of the Ujong Pacu community to conduct drug eradication. Religious social capital has strong ties in unifying elements of the people in the same religion, moreover it becomes an energy that keeps motivating the community to run anti-drugs movement and driving out the drug addicts in Ujong Pacu, Lhokseumawe-Aceh.

Keywords:

religious social capital; Islamic traditionalist scholars; drug eradication; Aceh

Introduction

Statistics find that 4.5 million Indonesians are drug addicts and there are about 40-50 people who die every day because of narcotics (Ng, Kissenkoetter, & Sorby-Adams, 2015). Due to this, Indonesian law enforcement and institutional law does not provide a significant solution, because according to Lindsey and Nicholson (2016) thesis, the government of Indonesia is still dealing with corruption issues and ineffective law enforcement in relation to drug-related offenses. These approaches seem not effective to restrain the numbers, because the main problem is the drug addicts.

According to ASEAN Drug Monitoring Report (2016), in 2016 the government arrested 47,391 suspects consisting of 47,228 Indonesian citizens and 163 foreigners. However, the Indonesia government cannot turn around from these paradigms, because alternative approaches still have not received much attention. Besides, the research mainstream on drugs eradication using the law, health policy or political studies approaches (McRae, 2017; Sabarinah, 2019; Koram, 2019).

According to Pettus (2016) religion is still usable as alternative approaches to combat drug abuse in this millennium. Unfortunately,

Malaysia in order to avoid being arrested by the Indonesian authorities, returned. Most of these people worked in the informal sectors such as porters, construction workers, and truck drivers while staying in Malaysia. Separatist movements that do not have financial support from the state (Clarke, 2016) commonly experience this situation. Their return was initially welcomed as they were generous and built good relationships with the villagers. These people who have just returned from Malaysia settled in Ujong Pacu and then became drug addicts and recruited youths. After the end of the conflict, former GAM members found it hard to find a suitable job. They did not have skills in farming and did not have much capital to start a new business. Given that situation, joining a transnational drug business was a much easier way to get some money.

Consequently, between 2007 and 2014 Gampong Ujong Pacu was known as the village with the massive drug business (Nuriman Daud, personal communication, 30 July 2017). According to Daud (personal communication, 30 July 2017), at least there are fifteen dealers who work for one big dealer in Ujong Pacu village. The market transactions carried out ranged between seventy-five million to one hundred and five million rupiahs per person. This large number is very far compared to the income obtained from doing manual labor. Apart from the large numbers, the villagers think that the pieces of stuff sold by the drug addicts are dope. So, the villagers and *teungku dayah* do not observe drug trafficking because they think that the drugs are dope. Most of the villagers are farmers, and they need strong stamina for work in twelve hours a day, so that material is worthwhile. But, after years the villagers discover that the stuffs are not dope, but crystal meth.

The villagers' and *teungku dayahs* knew that crystal meth is a type of dangerous drugs, they start worried. This situation creates anxiety

among *teungku dayahs*. As a Muslim society, *teungku dayahs* reject the presence of drugs dealer in Ujong Pacu because it is forbidden by Islamic law. Also, the villagers have been frustrated by the issue that God will punish their village if they are not combating drug dealers collectively. In fact, some forms of crime such as theft started to disrupt the safety of the villagers. To respond to this condition, *teungku dayahs* initiated the resistance movement in 2014. In Acehnese society, *teungku dayahs* has high social status and charismatic persona in the eyes of the community (Ichwan, 2011). The *teungku dayahs* movement that took inspiration from Islamic values succeeded in building a community participation in combating drug trafficking.

To understand this case, we constitute a question: How religious social capital inspired counterwork to the drug addicts? The second question is how *teungku dayahs* used this capital to mobilize villagers and counter the drug addicts? To provide these answers, first, we will examine the act of religious leaders in mobilizing villagers to counterwork the drug addicts in Ujong Pacu. Second, we will glance at the role of religion as a social capital in Ujong Pacu village. This study seeks to extend the research on drug eradication using religious social capital theory by examining the agency of Islamic traditionalist scholars (*teungku dayahs*) in combating the drug addicts in rural areas.

Literature review

The contribution of religious social capital in drug eradication has not drawn much attention. Excerpts for Pettus (2015) and Francis et.al (2019), the works that examine the role of religion in drug eradication, in a few years still hard to find. The mainstream literature on drug eradication focuses on institutional paradigm, especially legal and political institutions (Schleifer & Pol, 2017; Ferreira, 2015); Van Ooyen-Houben & Kleemans, 2015). Although the amount of literature related to religious

As part of the discussion on social capital, religious social capital follows the recent social capital studies. Following Lancee's argument (2012: 24), this article shows that the religious social capital as a bonding capital because "having dense ties and thick trust." These ties and thick trustful function in integrating religious communities by collecting resources owned by the members of an individual's close and dense social network, which may become available to the individual as a result of the history of these relationships (Lancee, 2012). Putnam (1993) states that religious social capital has strong ties and shares the same identity in the homogeneous communities. The case in Ujong Pacu, *teungku dayahs* agency succeeded in mobilizing the villagers by integrating their resources through the unification of religious norms and social moral values.

To enrich the theory of religious social capital, we must address some different definitions in the literature on social capital. In social capital theory there are three major schools (Swart, 2017). First, Coleman (1990) with the functionalism approach explains that social capital is not a single entity, but a diverse entity that has two characteristics: it consists of several aspects of social structure and functions to facilitate individual actions in the structure. The next school was introduced by Bourdieu (1985) who saw social capital as a whole of both actual and potential resources associated with ownership of a fixed network of institutional relationships based on mutual recognition and mutual knowledge. Finally, Putnam (1993) who said social capital as a characteristic of social organizations, such as networks, norms and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation to get mutual benefits.

This article follows the latest tradition by believing that social capital is seen as a network of social relations bound by norms so that it is effective in forming cooperation. The norms and networks in Putnam's (1993) theory have a significant role to facilitate participation

of individuals at society level (Kaasa, 2015). According to this perspectives, Kaasa (2015) examines the society-level social capital as an aggregate of the social capital of individuals living in that particular country or region (Kaasa: 2015, 773). Not contrary from Kaasa (2015), Scott (2018) defines religious social capital pertains to resources available to individuals through social connections within a religious community. Society-level perspectives criticized by scholars from individual-level traditions because they did not pay attention to the religious cognitive stimulus in individuals who participated in community (Bokek-Cohen & Ben-Asher, 2018). The absence examines the capability of individuals to form a social participation, revealing that society level is not utilized to analyze religious social capital formation in religious communities. The individual-level tradition emphasized analysis in religious social capital covered general trust and cognitive awareness individuals in community (Chen & Williams, 2016). In hence, individual-level traditions had deficiencies in explaining the mutual links between norms and networks when observed individual parts in community participation (Park & Sharma, 2016; Misane & Niklass, 2016; Scott, 2018; Morello, 2019).

The critics from the individual-level still have contribution because has shown the gap in society-level traditions in analyzing the presence of an individual in community-scale action. This article contributed to fill the theoretical gap in structural-level traditions by analyze initiates the role of religious norms on binding individuals to promote networks in religious social capital studies. According to this, the article does not stand in individual-level traditions and more often stands in structural-level traditions.

Lancee (2012) states that all kinds of bonding models in social capital theory can be driven by the individual agency. He argues that collective social capital (at level society) is not more (or less) than the sum

Just like in another community in Aceh, the Ujong Pacu villagers' social system was formed by Islamic norms (Wormser, 2012; Kloss, 2014). Islamic values and norms that instruct their people to help each other, bear each other's burdens and maintain high solidarity are the main values that are internalized and become the basic principle of Ujong Pacu's villagers. These three basic principles are the main social capital of the people in Ujong Pacu which dictate their actions in their daily lives. During our observation, we saw that religion is an important social capital in the community. The villagers form a mutual commitment based on religious doctrine and have performed social movement as proof of social action.

The collective movement of the Ujong Pacu villagers started by inviting three charismatic *ulamas*-Abu Hasballah Nisam, Abati Aba Buloh Sawang and Abi Muslim At-Tahiry to lead the strengthening of the spiritual and moral movements. The *teungku dayahs* shared responsibilities in transforming the values of Islamic social capital to the villagers. Abati Babah Buloh did it through the recitation of (*kitab kuning*) every Wednesday night in the mosque of Ujong Pacu after *Isya* prayer. Abu Hasballah Nisam led the *zikir* that was held every fourth week of the month. Meanwhile, Abi Muslim At-Tahiry did it through speeches during Friday prayer twice a month. Apart from those activities, *teungku dayahs* also always provided time for the villagers at their Islamic boarding school to discuss the dangers of drugs and the importance of eradicating drug to protect Islam, society and future generations.

According to Cimeng and Gogot (personal communication, December 11, 2015), there are 20 young men who have become heavily addicted and often bought drugs from them. The massive drug abuse among young villagers was followed by the many actions against Islamic teachings. These actions included having less respect towards the statements of the *ulamas*, not performing prayers, fasting

and others. Young villagers do not respect their parents anymore when their parents cannot provide money to buy drugs (RZ, personal communication, July 23, 2017). Even worse, the addicts coming from outside Ujong Pacu also committed other actions contradicted to Islamic teachings such as drinking alcohol and having pre-marital sex (Geulanteu, personal communication, December 11, 2015). The female drug addicts were willing to provide sexual services for anyone who is willing to exchange it for drugs (Cimeng, Gogot and Geulanteu, personal communication, December 11, 2015).

Actions that are contradictory to religious values resulted in increased concerns among community members about the superiority of the values and norms of the community for future generations. Meanwhile, criminal acts like theft threatened the security and economy of the people of Ujong Pacu. Livestock is saving that they will spend (read: sold) when they are faced with urgent needs such as for their children's education, Eid celebration, harvesting celebration or when they or family members are sick (M. Nurdin, personal communication, June 7, 2015). When their livestock such as chickens, ducks, goats are stolen, it is similar to the loss of money in the bank account for rich people in the city (Razali, personal communication, December 13, 2015). This condition had resulted in the rise of collective anger among villagers in Ujong Pacu, so the collective actions needed to be performed to fix the problems.

Reduce Barriers

The values of social capital contained in Islamic teachings were transformed intensively to the people of Ujong Pacu (Galvin, 2010). Social religious capital consisting of *ta'awun*, *takaful* and *tadhamun* and jihad are the main values that are always internalized to the villagers through yellow book (*kitab kuning*) recitations, Friday prayers and *istighotsah*. The

After a religious ritual led by charismatic *Teungku dayah*, villagers came down from the top of Napai hill (the hill which is the gate of Ujong Pacu village). Then, they did the convoy around the village. This was done to “strengthen togetherness and increase the fighting spirit of the villagers because we realize that eradicating drugs means fighting organized groups, lives are at stake for this movement” (Nudirman Daud, personal communication, April 13, 2017). This mobilization proves the attribution of Tengku Daya’s charisma has a great influence on the awareness of villagers to fight drug trafficking. This article indicates that the patterning of leadership attributes on the part of individual followers should, to some extent, be predicted by their respective positions in the social structure and the pattern of their contacts to other followers. In a network effects model, proximity in the social network will be related to the similarity of charisma attributions among followers because proximity provides greater opportunities for mutual influence to occur.

The next day, the drug eradication movement in Ujong Pacu was carried out starting with sweeping “strangers” visiting Ujong Pacu. The villagers interrogated them to find out the information about their visit’s purpose and the persons they want to meet in the village. Those identified as having drugs were immediately arrested and handed over to the authorities, while those who wish to buy drugs were brought to the intended dealer. Then, both parties were arrested and handed over to the police. Besides the “strangers,” the users and dealers coming from Ujong Pacu were also handed over to the police. One mafia managed to get away but then after evacuating his wife and children, the people destroyed his house. Only the main mafia who fled to Medan who could not be arrested by this collective action.

There are nine people were arrested. Five drug mafia accomplices were successfully arrested by the villagers, while four others

including F, the main mafia who fled to Medan, were arrested by the police. To ensure that all drug mafias that have been arrested and handed over by the villagers to the police were processed through the legal procedure, the villagers kept monitoring while coordinated with the army especially with Guided Missile Detachment (Denrudal) of Pulo Rungkom (M. Nurdin, personal communication, May 15, 2017).

This collaboration with the army is significant for this movement. In addition to providing a sense of security, comfort and moral strength of the movement, coordination with Denrudal was also to make sure that the legal process of drug conspiracy is truly carried out according to the procedure. The problem is, residents of Ujong Pacu had a negative experience when one drug dealer who after being handed over to the police could get out of jail easily (Hasbi, personal communication, July 17, 2017). Therefore, the dialectical relationship between people of Ujong Pacu and Denrudal becomes a chain of supervision for the implementation of procedural legal proceedings against drug mafias.

Following the arrest of the drug mafias, Ujong Pacu was completely clean from drug trafficking. No more drug users or dealers in the village as it can be seen before the movement. According to data from the National Narcotics Board, the number of drug dealers and users in Muara Satu sub-district was immediately dropped by 50%. This showed that the number of drug transactions, drug dealers and drug users was massive in Ujong Pacu village (Ujong Pacu *Geuchik*, personal communication, June 14, 2017)

Solid relations between villagers and *teungku dayah* (ulama) succeeded in giving rise to a collective movement to eradicate drugs in Ujong Pacu. This success makes a strategic contribution to the world because drug trafficking has become one of the global issues that is difficult to eradicate. Furthermore,

is inseparable from the solid integration of the masses in this movement. Internalization of the values of Islamic teachings which consist of *ta'awun, takaful, tadamun* and *jihad fisabilillah* to the Ujong Pacu people carried out by the charismatic *teungku dayah* is the key that binds social relations and becomes the source of energy that is unstoppable. *Kitab kuning* recitation, Friday prayers, *istighotsah* and *zikir* and values of *ta'awun, takaful, tadamun*, and *jihad fisabilillah*, the *teungku dayah* were transformed into energetic practical social capital in the Drug Eradication Movement in Ujong Pacu. Therefore, the drug addicts could not run their business in the village anymore even though their business is systematic and well-organized and is sometimes supported by the state security forces, they are unable to resist the invasion of the masses which are driven by the spirit of internalized religious values.

This reality proves that social capital originating from *teungku dayah* has a strategic and significant position in social change in society. Community fanaticism towards *teungku dayah* makes social capital sourced more easily accepted, absorbed and mobilized than social capital that comes from non-religious values and norms. Through religious social capital, social movements become a collective movement that is integrated, organized, systematic and fanatical, that it is not easily broken.

Finally, yet importantly, this finding can reflect a number of possible alternatives in the fight against drug trafficking by involving grassroots actively and simultaneously. A faith-based approach must get more attention, especially when the drug eradication comes in direct contact with the religious community.

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List of Informant

- Abu Hasballah Nisam, The head of dayah Darut Thalibin, North Aceh
- Abati Babah Buloh, The head of Dayah Darut, North Aceh
- Abi Muslim At-Thahiri, the head of Dayah Darul Mujahidin, North Aceh
- Abu Bakar, The head of Ujoeng Pacu village Cimeng, 35 years, the druggers
- Geulanteu, 37 years, the druggers
- Gogot, 40 years, the druggers
- Nuriman Daud, 53 years old, The head of Drug Eradication Movement (*Gerakan Pemberantasan Narkoba-GAN*) Ujoeng Pacu
- RZ 48 years old, activist of the movement of drug eradication of Ujoeng Pacu
- M. Nursyah, Ujoeng Pacu villager
- M. Nurdin, 43 years old, Ujoeng Pacu Villager
- ZR, 35 years old, Former Logistic staff of Free Aceh Movement, Ujoeng Pacu Villager
- Zakaria Berdan, 62 years old, village figure of Ujoeng Pacu
- Hasbi, 43 years old, activist of Ujoeng Pacu