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# **TEUNGKU DAYAH AND SOCIAL-RELIGIOUS CAPITAL IN THE AGENCY OF DRUG ERADICATION IN ACEH, INDONESIA**

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## **Abstract**

This article examines the success of *teungku dayahs* (Islamic scholars) in the agency of the collective drug eradication movement in Ujoeng Pacu, Lhokseumawe-Aceh, Indonesia. The role of social-religious capital to combating drugs market in global drug policy has less studied. This study provides a quite different view from most scholars who works for combating drugs dealers by engaging participation of religious community in rural society. This article explored the success of the *teungku dayahs* in the agency of drug eradication carried out by using live-in method, observation, in-depth and interviews some villagers. The main purpose of this method is that researchers are able 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 gossips, worshipped with them and were involved in certain jobs carried out by the community members who are targeted as informants Using the power of charisma, this article argue that *teungku dayahs* effectively used social and religious capital of the Ujoeng Pacu community to conduct drug eradication agency. Social-religious capital is not only effective as the unifying element of the people, but moreover it becomes an energy that keep motivating the participants of the movement to finally succeed in driving out the drug mafias and the drug dealers out of Ujoeng Pacu village.

## **Keywords**

*teungku dayah, social-religious capital, agency, drug eradication, aceh,*

## Introduction

In Indonesia, statistics finds that 4.5 million of Indonesians are drug addicts and there are about 40-50 people who die every day because of narcotics (Ng, Kissenkoetter, & Sorby-Adams, 2015). To solve this, Indonesia government carried out the war on drugs in 2 ways: legal approach, and rehabilitation or psychological approach (Purwatiningsih 2001, 37). In grassroots level, Indonesia adopting cultural approach to campaign the threats of drugs. But, as Lindsey show that problems with the elements of criminal responsibility make people lose their trust in drug dealing (Lindsey & Nicholson 2016, 41-42). However, what should be taken into account is that each of these approaches actually does not greatly differ when viewed from the side of actor involvement. Both approaches depend on the involvement of the state as the main actor in combating drugs. Hence the efforts made by the Ujoeng Pacu villagers viewed as a different approach because they prioritize the community as the main actor.

This article argues that the eradication of drugs carried out through the agency of religious scholars has a significant impact in combating drug trafficking in rural areas. The act of *tengku dayah* to mobilize villagers to fight drug dealers in Ujung Pacu Village shown a significant impact. This study provides a quite different view from most scholars who works for combating drugs dealers by engaging participation of the lower classes (Herschinger 2015, 183-201; Burger & Kapron 2017, 269-278). The main thesis of this article argue that the agency of *tengku dayah* success because people still influence by the charisma of religious leaders as the peak of social power. By using this charisma, *tengku dayah* successfully mobilize villagers to combating drug trafficking. This model is more effective for rural communities who have the pattern of social relation ties based on religion.

In relation to drug eradication, the role of religion has long been seen by scholars. King (1990, 101) for example, observed Church programs in Canada in combating drugs. King viewed Church intervention in drug trafficking still lacking, even though in the history of the kingdom itself the Church's intervention in public health had been carried out for quite a long time (King 1990, 102). In fact, the relationship between drugs and religion has been as old as human civilization (Daisetz 1971, 128). Daisetz gave an example of the habits of ancient Indians, Arabs and Americans who used drugs to evoke the illusory nature as a

meditation. In his article Daisetz is not as specific as saying that drugs currently known are the same drugs used by ancient civilizations, for that the context of the use of drugs is different. However, the interesting thing about Daisetz's article is that his presentation on the role of religion in controlling drug use (Daisetz 1971, 128).

According to Al Omari, Hamed and Tarih's work the role of social-religious capital to combating drugs market in global drug policy has less studied (Al Omari, Hamed & Tariah 2015). In generally, the study of drugs eradication focus to investigated the role of institutional law to secured the peoples from the massive effects of drugs (Schleifer & Pol 2017, 253-261; Ferreira 2015, 265-291; Van Ooyen-Houben & Kleemans 2015, 165-226). But, like Van Ooyen-Houben & Klemans show that the changes in drug policy have an effect on supply markets, but drug use seems largely unaffected (Van Ooyen-Houben & Kleemans 2015, 165). A breakthrough is needed that has a gradual and effective impact at the grassroots rather than merely giving an injection through strengthening legal institutions.

Addressing this gap in the literature, we explore that religion capable of carrying out a collective movement against drugs market. This article seen the role *tengku dayah's* agency and the influence of Islam as social capital in an effort to combating drugs market in Ujung Pacu village. This new approach greatly provides new optimism for Indonesia in combating increasingly massive drug trafficking. Theoretically, this article also proposes contributions that are expected to be able to introduce the agency of religious leaders and social capital that departs from religious norms in contemporary crime issues.

## **Methods**

The research was carried out in Ujoeng Pacu village, Muara Satu sub-district, Lhokseumawe City, Aceh Province. This location was selected due to massive use of drugs this area that the village was called "drug village". The circulation process was coordinated well since the distribution agents as well as the mafias were domiciled within the village. Community anxiety spread due to the disruption of the social life caused by their activities. The prevention and eradication efforts conducted by village apparatus always ended in failure. This was partly triggered by the low integration of the masses and also the demoralization

of the movement after the counter-attack from drug mafias (Campbell 2014, 60). The researchers employed the live in method in the data collection process. The main purpose of this method is that researchers are able 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 gossips, worshipped with them and were involved in certain jobs carried out by the community members who are targeted as informants. Those kinds of jobs included cutting grass for livestock, taking care of the fish ponds, and harvesting rice. These strategies do not only help with the building of sociological imagination but also the emotional and close relationship between researchers and villagers. Furthermore, the researchers could also obtain as much information as possible.

The informants in this study were the *teungku dayahs* and villagers groups involved in the collective movement against the drug mafia. There were three *Teungku Dayahs* involved and became the key informants. They were Abu Hasballah Nisam, Abati Babah Buloh and Abi Muslim At-Thahiry. While village leaders who became informants were Nuriman Daud (movement leader), *geuchiek* (village Chief), *Tuha Peut* (Village Representative Body), *Teungku Imeum* (religious leader) and Youth Leaders. The researchers also interviewed several villagers who were randomly selected. The process of data analysis was carried out interactively.

## **Results**

### **Ujoeng Pacu: From War To Drugs As Source Of Livelihood**

Ujoeng Pacu is a village located in Muara Satu sub-district, Lhokseumawe City, Aceh-Indonesia. The population in Ujoeng Pacu village is 1,293 with 312 households. Nearly 96% of the population is Acehnese, while the remaining 4% are Javanese and Minangnese (Ujoeng Pacu' Demographic Profile 2015). Like most agrarian areas, the main source of income for the people is from agricultural sector. This village has 230 hectares of plantations, 73 hectares of fish ponds and 35 hectares of rice fields (Gampoeng Ujoeng Pacu's Monograph Data, 2009). Most of the villagers work as farmers.

This historical fragment of agricultural economics, although not entirely, was cut off during a period of intense conflict between the Indonesian government and the Free Aceh

Movement in 1976-2005 (Thorburn 2012, 89). The presence of the Indonesian army which had implications on casualties had triggered the anger of the Ujoeng Pacu villagers to the military. Meanwhile, the sending of Indonesian troops from outside Aceh resulted in the unpleasant actions conducted by the military personnel such as in the opposite sex interactions and having less respect towards Islamic values affected the social and cultural systems of the local community. This gave rise to a feeling of collective hatred of the Ujoeng Pacu villagers towards the Indonesian military apparatus.

On the other hand, the security disturbances triggered by GAM guerrilla activities had clearly encouraged the Indonesian military apparatus to limit the movement of GAM through regional sterilization and the construction of security posts in areas which are considered as strategic hideouts for combatants. Among the strategic areas were swamps, ponds and plantations. Due to its geographical location, as it has swamps, ponds and plantations the village has become one of the villages that were guarded very tightly in east coast of Aceh and a lot of military posts established in the area.

The live of rural communities in Aceh has impacted by the armed conflict that occurred in Aceh in 1976-2005 (Smith 2015, 54-55). This conflict had significant negative impacts to the livelihoods of Acehnese. However, at the same time, the conflict had created some economic opportunities for some communities including for the villagers in Ujoeng Pacu, Lhokseumawe (Czaika 2009). During the conflict, the Ujoeng Pacu villagers actually took advantage of the situation by becoming workers for Free Aceh Movement (*Gerakan Aceh Merdeka*-GAM). In this period, GAM employed them as intelligence staff, staff whose work to hide weapons, logistical agents and medicine suppliers for sick or injured combatants (Anonymous a, January 15, 2018).

In conflict period, working for GAM had put some people in decent living. The family economy was fulfilled, although they had to work very carefully to avoid being detected by Indonesian authorities (Anonymous b, 25 January 2018). The condition changed for the Ujoeng Pacu villagers when Memorandum of Understanding between Indonesian government and GAM was signed where those who previously worked for GAM lost their source of living. Even though Ujoeng Pacu is a fertile rural area with extensive land for plantation and ponds, some of the villagers had no more interest in farming or they did not have access to working capital.



In this long difficult situation, in mid-2007 several people who had migrated to avoid being arrested by the Indonesian authorities returned from Malaysia. Their return was initially welcomed as they were generous and built good relationship with the villagers. However, not long after returning, it turned out that they were involved in drugs trading since GAM has “died” and they could not make money anymore. This situation is commonly experienced by separatist movements that do not have financial support from the state (Clarke 2016, 1). The gap of jobseeker in village used by former GAM to recruit the young villagers to get involved in their drug business. The unavailability of jobs and the lure of these former GAM members had made it easy for them to attract the youth. Consequently, between 2007 and 2014 Gampoeng Ujoeng Pacu was known as the village with the massive drug business (Nuriman Daud, 30 July 2017).

This situation creates anxiety among *tengku dayahs*. As Muslim society, *tengku dayahs* reject the presence of drugs dealer in Ujung Pacu because it is forbidden by Islamic law. Also, the villagers has been frustrated by the issue that their village will be punish by God if their not combating drugs dealer in 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, *tengku dayah* has high social status and charismatic persona in the eyes of the community (Ichwan 2011, 183-214). The *Tengku Dayah* movement that took inspiration from Islamic values succeeded in building a collective awareness of the community in combating drug trafficking.

The consolidation built on the values of the Islamic religion and the charisma of *tengku dayahs* succeeded in becoming the main energy source that made the drug eradication movement possible and successful. The unifying energy of the Ujoeng Pacu villagers is the collective feeling built by shared religious norms. We argue that social penetration through religious-based ties gives birth to collective action that is built from the lower levels. This condition causes social penetration to have a simultaneous impact.

### **Religion And Social Capital Of Ujoengpacu**

According to Yearly's work (2012, 331-347) religious organizations as producers and facilitators of social capital. This role is actually not different from that carried out by *Dayah*

institutions who embrace the community to face crime. We investigated that religion is used to gain networks and trust in Ujung Pacu during the campaign against drugs trafficking. This results same as Woolcockan & Narayan's argue that the substance of social capital is the norms, networks and mutual trust relationships that grow from both parties so that people are able to move together collectively (Woolcockan & Narayan 2000: 1187-1193). In Putnam's theory this condition is called by 'cognitive social capital'. This model of social capital consists of values, norms and behaviors that establish a sense of trust among members of society in their social relations (Putnam, 2004: 6). Community organizing based on shared norms is a significant reality that supports the success of various collective movements.

Religion, as proved by Candland (2000), is an important social capital in the community development process and in supporting social movements. Candland, stated that: *"faith can be a social capita. A community of believers needs not to have a face to face in one another, as a Muslim, for all that one thinks, and is known to Allah and will be examined on judgment day"*. Religious values about the importance of forgiveness, hope, and gratitude in interpersonal relationships and social networks and support offered through religious institutions may also provide members with a sense of social trust or well-being with others and surrounding society (Krause 2008).

This article, find that the various constructs of the social and cultural values of the Ujoeng Pacu villagers are derivations from interpretations of Islamic values. Aceh has been known for a long time as a society that places Islam as the basic value of the social system (Wormser 2012, 369-370). Even now, the value of social norms in Acehese society sourced from Islamic norms (Kloss 2014, 60). Motivation to act in the social, political, economic and cultural spheres is a dialectical strand born of religious impulses. Work is interpreted as a religious calling to provide for the family, the social interactions among people are also conducted based on what has been set in Islam. 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 Ujoeng Pacu's villagers in living their lives. These three basic principles are the main social capital of the people in Ujoeng Pacu which dictate their actions in their daily lives.

This is what confirms religion as an important instrument that gives direction to how to live life for its followers. All people in Ujoeng Pacu village are moslem and as a single

religion, Islam plays a central role in the life of the community. This is in line with Mintarti's (2003) view, that Islam has an important value which is social capital, namely *ta'awun* (mutual cooperation), *takaful* (mutual bearing), and *tadhamun* (having solidarity). At the social level, togetherness that is formed because of Islam, the similarities in geography, diet, social interaction, livelihoods and the high intensity of encounters established strong emotional relationships among villagers. This emotional bond results in high reciprocity for various problems faced. *Ta'awun* is the main characteristic as can be seen that villagers always do activities together such as going to the paddy field, cultivating ponds, conducting funeral and wedding rituals, while payment systems only apply to activities that require high expertise that are not owned by the majority of people such as carpentry.

This condition then established the norm "*Si Droë Keu Ban Duem, Ban Duem Keu Sie Droë*" (One for all and all for one). The problems faced by each individual in society are considered as shared problems. This fact encourages Ujoeng Pacu people to always be involved in maintaining, facing and solving problems together. These characteristics of solidarity that are formed in Ujoeng Pacu, according to Emile Durkheim's term, is called mechanical solidarity. In mechanical solidarity the main bond is mutual trust, goals and moral commitment. Through these shared norms, a collective awareness is established, where individuality is suppressed while homogeneity is highlighted (Dubeski, 2001: 5).

As a mechanical society, Ujoeng Pacu people always encourage individuals behaving in the way of shared norms. Social pressure is harsh on community members who threaten the existence of the norms. Those who "dare" to bring different norms and behaviors within the community are demanded to be cautious as there are social sanctions for the actions. Diversity is valued as far as it does not threaten the common norms of society. Violators will face sanction to be 'excluded' from the community. Therefore, the community members are always required to maintain norms and group solidarity.

## **Discussion**

### **Tengku Dayah's Agency and Combating Drugs With Religious Capital**

According to Putnam (1993), norms are one of the central parts of social capital, in addition to trust and social networks that can improve and facilitate coordination of community

actions. Through shared norms, community does not only understand what they have to do but also what obligations they must fulfill. Shared norms consolidate emotional and social actions of the community members. Someone who adopts a certain norm is encouraged to always be obliged to care about what is experienced and felt by his/her friends.

Putnam's theory on social capital suggests that social network have value at three levels: individual, community and societal (Rademacher & Wang 2014, 1213). According to Rademacher & Wang (2014, 1214) the individual ties to community or/and societal with connecting interpersonal relationships, feelings of reciprocity and trust. This cultivates feelings of social solidarity and overall social cohesion strength of social ties. The network formed based on certain social norms becomes very important in supporting the success of a community movement.

The massive drug abuse among young villagers was followed by the numerous actions against Islamic teachings. These actions included having less respects 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, July 23, 2017). Even worse, the addicts coming from outside Ujoeng Pacu also committed other actions contradicted to Islamic teachings such as drinking alcohol and having pre-marital sex. The female drug addicts were willing to provide sexual services for anyone who is willing to exchange it for drugs. These actions did not only violate the social norms, but also religious norms of the Ujoeng Pacu's villagers (ZR, April 15, 2018).

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 Ujoeng Pacu. Livestock is saving that they will spend (read: sold) when they are faced with urgent needs such as for their children's education, Ied celebration, harvesting celebration or when they or family members are sick (M. Nurdin, 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, et.al December 13, 2015). This condition had resulted in the rise of collective anger among villagers in Ujoeng Pacu so the collective actions need to be performed to fix the problems.

The collective movement of the Ujoeng Pacu villagers started by inviting 3 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 values of social capital contained in Islamic teachings were transformed intensively to the people of Ujoeng Pacu (Galvin 2010, 478). 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 *teungku dayahs* shared responsibilities in the process of 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 Ujoeng Pacu after *Isya* prayer. The women also attended this event. Abu Hasballah Nisam led the *zikir* that was held every fourth week of the month. Meanwhile, Abi Muslim At-Thahiry 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.

The three strategies are considered strategic and effective because they are a common means for *teungku dayahs* to communicate with the villagers. The recitation strategy is directed at transferring fundamental knowledge to the villagers about Islam with an emphasis on unity and faith and its contextual interpretation (Solagberu 2015, 219). *Istighotsah* is directed at efforts to consolidate the movement while *zikir* aimed at strengthening psychological, emotional, unity and strengthening the faith of the villagers (Abi Muslim At-Thahiry, July 24, 2017).

To put more value to the movement, the *teungku dayahs* combined these three values with jihad *fisabilillah* (*jihad for the sake of Allah*). For this purpose, they did the contextualization of the meaning of jihad from fighting to defend Islam to fight against drug. Abi Muslim At-Thahiry, head of the Dayah Darul Mujahidin North Aceh said:

" From the perspective of Islam, someone who is drunk or who is affected by drugs tends to be an apostate more easily. Someone who justifies the forbidden and forbids the lawful ones which Allah SWT has set aside can be called as an apostate. Different from getting high from eating *jengkol* or mushrooms and so on, taking drugs is self-abusing that is considered a postasy and the effects of intoxicating oneself can cause

the perpetrator to commit various criminal and immoral acts such as killing, divorcing a wife without cause, stealing and justifying the illegitimate. Saving people from the kufr is jihad. As I have said above that drugs are more dangerous than terrorists. Then protecting the religion of Allah does not have to fight infidels using the weapons. but fighting against drugs also another way to protect the religion of Allah "(Abi Muslim Thahiri, July 24, 2017).

The means of Jihad has a central position in the existence of Islamic societies (Haleem 2010, 148). In the Qur'an the word jihad is called up to 41 times. In the context of Islam, jihad can simply be interpreted as a fight against bad deeds. For the *teungku dayahs*, the availability of the theological normative foundation (Al-Qur'an's verses) for jihad is interpreted as a strategic raw material that becomes a resource of discourse to consolidate the villagers of Ujoeng Pacu moving together to eradicate drug. The problem is, in the theological perspective, drugs have become the root of various tyrants so that they can no longer be tolerated. Abu Hasballah Nisam, said:

"Eradication of drugs in Ujoeng Pacu must be done through jihad. Jihad that is praying to Allah so that the drug mafias can get the guidance. Jihad against the drug mafia must be done because this is the command of the Qur'an. One of the surahs in Qur'an mentions "do not put our soul into destruction". So fighting drug mafias whose work destroys other human's life is *jihad fisabilillah*" (Abu Hasballah Nisam, May 15, 2018).

Strengthening mass consolidation to join the drug eradication movement was carried out by *teungku dayahs* to the villagers through the transformation of various hadiths and verses of the Qur'an which call for jihad against all destructions and inconvenience caused by drug mafias. The movement is considered strategic as it could encourage villagers members who are known to be fanatical so that they were collectively join the movement. Internalization of religious moral appeal permeated the souls of the villagers. The strength of the religious appeals from the *teungku dayahs* consolidated the hearts and emotions of the Ujoeng Pacu people. The internalization of religious values in an effort to eradicate drugs has made villagers label this movement as the Anti-Immoral Movement (RZ, August 15, 2017).

After a religious ritual led by charismatic Teungku Dayahs, villagers came down from the top of Napai hill (the hill which is the gate of Ujoeng 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, 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 similarity of charisma attributions among followers because proximity provides greater opportunities for mutual influence to occur.

The next day, the drug eradication movement in Ujoeng Pacu was carried out starting with sweeping "strangers" visiting Ujoeng 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 Ujoeng Pacu were also handed over to the police. One mafia managed to get away but then after evacuating his wife and children, his house was destroyed by the people. Only the main mafia who fled to Medan who could not be arrested by this collective action.

There are nine people who 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, 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 Ujoeng Pancu had bad experience when one drug dealer who after being handed over to the police could get out of jail easily (Hasbi is the leader of the Ujoeng Pancu movement, July 17, 2017). Therefore the

dialectical relationship between people of Ujoeng 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, Ujoeng 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 National Narcotics Board, the number of drug dealers and users in Muara Satu sub-district was immediately dropped by 50%. This indicated that the number of drug transactions, drug dealers and drug users was massive in Ujoeng Pacu village (Ujoeng Pacu *Geuchiek*, June 14, 2017)

Solid relations between villagers and *teungku dayahs (ulama)* succeeded in giving rise to a collective movement to eradicate drugs in Ujoeng Pacu. This success makes a strategic contribution to the world, because drugs trafficking has become one of the global issues that is difficult to eradicate. Furthermore, the success of the drug eradication movement in Ujoeng Pacu also proves that religious values consisting of *ta'awun*, *takaful* and *tadhamun* combined with the spirit of *Jihad Fisabilillah* become significant social capital in collective movement to eradicate drugs. These findings can certainly be an alternative for the state to make a policy to eradicate drugs by involving the active role of the community.

## **Conclusion**

The success of the collective movement of the Ujoeng Pacu villagers in eradicating drugs 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*, *tadhamun* and *jihad fisabilillah* to the Ujoeng Pacu people carried out by the charismatic *teungku dayahs* 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*, *tadhamun*, and *jihad fisabilillah*, the *teungku dayahs* were transformed into energetic practical social capital in the Drug Eradication Movement in Ujoeng Pacu. Therefore, the drug Mafias 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 religious teachings has a strategic and significant position in the process of social change in society. Community



fanaticism towards religious teachings makes social capital sourced from religious teachings 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.

This success is certainly influenced by factors that work together, such as social capital, agency and religion. For this reason, our findings at the end of the run can reflect a number of possible alternatives in the fight against drug trafficking by involving grassroots actively and simultaneously. A faith-based approach needs to get more attention especially when the state is dealing with the social system of rural communities where social ties are formed on the basis of religious norms.

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### **List Of Informants**

- 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
- Nuriman Daud, 53 years old, The head of Drug Eradication Movement (*Gerakan Pemberantasan Narkoba*–GAN) Ujoeng Pacu
- MN 45 years old Ujoeng Pacu villager

CD , 37 years old, Ujoeng Pacu villager

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

Zaenal 40 Years old,village figure of Ujoeng Pacu

Hasbi 43 years old, activist of Ujoeng Pacu

**2. Bukti Konfirmasi Review Dan  
Hasil Review Pertama  
(8 November 2019)**



Yogi Febriandi &lt;febriandiyogi@gmail.com&gt;

**[JSP] Manuscript notification (desk review)**

4 messages

**Janianton Damanik** <jurnalsospol@ugm.ac.id>  
To: Yogi Febriandi <febriandiyogi@gmail.com>

8 November 2019 at 09:13

Dear Mr. Yogi,

Thank you for submitting your article to Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik.

Along with this email, we attach the results of the desk review process of the article. A double-blind review will be conducted after the article passed the desk review process.

Please submit the revision of desk review by Nov 29, 2019.

Thank you.  
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**Teungku Dayah And Social-Religious Capital In The Agency Of Drug Eradication In Aceh, Indonesia - desk review.docx**  
58K

**Yogi Febriandi** <febriandiyogi@gmail.com>  
To: Janianton Damanik <jurnalsospol@ugm.ac.id>

10 November 2019 at 19:27

Thank you for your email. In this attachment, we send our revision.

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75K

**Yogi Febriandi** <febriandiyogi@gmail.com>  
To: "Dr. Nirzalin, S.Ag., M.Si Dr. Nirzalin, S.Ag., M.Si" <nirzalin@unimal.ac.id>, Nirzalin Armia <nirzalinarmia@yahoo.co.id>

5 August 2022 at 22:42

[Quoted text hidden]



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Action: failed

Status: 5.0.0

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Diagnostic-Code: smtp; 554 30 Sorry, your message to [nirzalinarmia@yahoo.co.id](mailto:nirzalinarmia@yahoo.co.id) cannot be delivered. This mailbox is disabled (554.30).

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----- Forwarded message -----

From: Yogi Febriandi <[febriandiyogi@gmail.com](mailto:febriandiyogi@gmail.com)>

To: "Dr. Nirzalin, S.Ag., M.Si Dr. Nirzalin, S.Ag., M.Si" <[nirzalin@unimal.ac.id](mailto:nirzalin@unimal.ac.id)>, Nirzalin Armia <[nirzalinarmia@yahoo.co.id](mailto:nirzalinarmia@yahoo.co.id)>

Cc:

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Date: Fri, 5 Aug 2022 22:42:46 +0700

Subject: Fwd: [JSP] Manuscript notification (desk review)

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# TEUNGKU DAYAH AND ~~SOCIAL-RELIGIOUS CAPITAL IN THE~~ ~~AGENCY-OF-DRUG ERADICATION AGENCY~~ IN ACEH, INDONESIA

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## Abstract

This article examines the success of *teungku dayahs* (Islamic scholars) in the agency of the collective drug eradication movement in Ujoeng Pacu, Lhokseumawe-Aceh, Indonesia. The role of social-religious capital to combating drugs market in global drug policy has less studied. This study provides a quite different view from most scholars who works for combating drugs dealers by engaging participation of religious community in rural society. This article explored the success of the *teungku dayahs* in the agency of drug eradication carried out by using live-in method, observation, in-depth and interviews some villagers. The main purpose of this method is that researchers are able 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 gossips, worshipped with them and were involved in certain jobs carried out by the community members who are targeted as informants Using the power of charisma, this article argue that *teungku dayahs* effectively used social and religious capital of the Ujoeng Pacu community to conduct drug eradication agency. Social-religious capital is not only effective as the unifying element of the people, but moreover it becomes an energy that keep motivating the participants of the movement to finally succeed in driving out the drug mafias and the drug dealers out of Ujoeng Pacu village.

## Keywords:

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~~religious scholars~~ ~~tengku dayah~~; ~~social religious capital~~ ~~agency~~; ~~agency~~; drug  
eradication; ~~aceh~~

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## Introduction

In Indonesia, statistics finds that 4.5 million of Indonesians are drug addicts and there are about 40-50 people who die every day because of narcotics (Ng, Kissenkoetter, & Sorby-Adams, 2015). To solve this, Indonesia government carried out the war on drugs in 2 ways: legal approach, and rehabilitation or psychological approach (Purwatiningsih, 2001, 37). In grassroots level, Indonesia adopting cultural approach to campaign the threats of drugs. But, as Lindsey & Nicholson (2016) show that problems with the elements of criminal responsibility make people lose their trust in drug dealing (Lindsey & Nicholson 2016, 41-42). However, what should be taken into account is that each of these approaches actually does not greatly differ when viewed from the side of actor involvement. Both approaches depend on the involvement of the state as the main actor in combating drugs. Hence the efforts made by the Ujoeng Pacu villagers viewed as a different approach because they prioritize the community as the main actor.

This article argues that the eradication of drugs carried out through the agency of religious scholars has a significant impact in combating drug trafficking in rural areas. The act of *tengku dayah* to mobilize villagers to fight drug dealers in Ujung Pacu Village shown a significant impact. This study provides a quite different view from most scholars who works for combating drugs dealers by engaging participation of the lower classes (Herschinger, 2015, 183-201; Burger & Kapron, 2017, 269-278). The main thesis of this article argue that the agency of *tengku dayah* success because people still influence by the charisma of religious leaders as the peak of social power. By using this charisma, *tengku dayah* successfully mobilize villagers to combating drug trafficking. This model is more effective for rural communities who have the pattern of social relation ties based on religion.

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In relation to drug eradication, the role of religion has long been seen by scholars. King (1990),<sup>101</sup> for example, observed Church programs in Canada in combating drugs. King viewed Church intervention in drug trafficking still lacking, even though in the history of the kingdom itself the Church's intervention in public health had been carried out for quite a long time (King, 1990),<sup>102</sup>. In fact, the relationship between drugs and religion has been as old as human civilization (Daisetz, 1971),<sup>128</sup>. Daisetz (1971) gave an example of the habits of ancient Indians, Arabs and Americans who used drugs to evoke the illusory nature as a meditation. In his article Daisetz (1971) is not as specific as saying that drugs currently known are the same drugs used by ancient civilizations, for that the context of the use of drugs is different. However, the interesting thing about Daisetz's article is that his presentation on the role of religion in controlling drug use (Daisetz 1971, 128).

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According to Al Omari, Hamed and Tarih's (2005) work the role of social-religious capital to combating drugs market in global drug policy has less studied (Al Omari, Hamed & Tariah 2015). In generally, the study of drugs eradication focus to investigated the role of institutional law to secured the peoples from the massive effects of drugs (Schleifer & Pol, 2017),<sup>253-261</sup>; Ferreira, 2015),<sup>265-291</sup>; Van Ooyen-Houben & Kleemans, 2015),<sup>165-226</sup>. But, like Van Ooyen-Houben & Klemans show (2015) that the changes in drug policy have an effect on supply markets, but drug use seems largely unaffected (Van Ooyen Houben & Kleemans 2015, 165). A breakthrough is needed that has a gradual and effective impact at the grassroots rather than merely giving an injection through strengthening legal institutions.

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Addressing this gap in the literature, we explore that religion capable of carrying out a collective movement against drugs market. This article seen the role *tengku dayah's* agency and the influence of Islam as social capital in an effort to combating drugs market in Ujung Pacu village. This new approach greatly provides new optimism for Indonesia in combating increasingly massive drug trafficking. Theoretically, this article also proposes contributions that are expected to be able to introduce the agency of religious leaders and social capital that departs from religious norms in contemporary crime issues.

## Methods

The research was carried out in Ujoeng Pacu village, Muara Satu sub-district, Lhokseumawe City, Aceh Province. This location was selected due to massive use of drugs this area that the village was called “drug village”. The circulation process was coordinated well since the distribution agents as well as the mafias were domiciled within the village. Community anxiety spread due to the disruption of the social life caused by their activities. The prevention and eradication efforts conducted by village apparatus always ended in failure. This was partly triggered by the low integration of the masses and also the demoralization of the movement after the counter-attack from drug mafias (Campbell, 2014, 60). The researchers employed the live in method in the data collection process. The main purpose of this method is that researchers are able 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 gossips, worshipped with them and were involved in certain jobs carried out by the community members who are targeted as informants. Those kinds of jobs included cutting grass for livestock, taking care of the fish ponds, and harvesting rice. These strategies do not only help with the building of sociological imagination but also the emotional and close relationship between researchers and villagers. Furthermore, the researchers could also obtain as much information as possible.

The informants in this study were the *teungku dayahs* and villagers groups involved in the collective movement against the drug mafia. There were three *Teungku Dayahs* involved and became the key informants. They were Abu Hasballah Nisam, Abati Babah Buloh and Abi Muslim At-Thahiry. While village leaders who became informants were Nuriman Daud (movement leader), *geuchiek* (village Chief), *Tuha Peut* (Village Representative Body), *Teungku Imeum*(religious leader) and Youth Leaders. The researchers also interviewed several villagers who were randomly selected. The process of data analysis was carried out interactively.

## Results

### Ujoeng Pacu: From War To Drugs As Source Of Livelihood

Ujoeng Pacu is a village located in Muara Satu sub-district, Lhokseumawe City, Aceh-Indonesia. The population in Ujoeng Pacu village is 1,293 with 312 households. Nearly 96%

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of the population is Acehnese, while the remaining 4% are Javanese and Minangnese (The Geuchik Ujoeng Pacu Office, 'Demographic Profile-2015). Like most agrarian areas, the main source of income for the people is from agricultural sector. This village has 230 hectares of plantations, 73 hectares of fish ponds and 35 hectares of rice fields (The Geuchikampoeng Ujoeng Pacu Office's Monograph Data, 2009). Most of the villagers work as farmers.

This historical fragment of agricultural economics, although not entirely, was cut off during a period of intense conflict between the Indonesian government and the Free Aceh Movement in 1976-2005 (Thorburn, 2012, 89). The presence of the Indonesian army which had implications on casualties had triggered the anger of the Ujoeng Pacu villagers to the military. Meanwhile, the sending of Indonesian troops from outside Aceh resulted in the unpleasant actions conducted by the military personnel such as in the opposite sex interactions and having less respect towards Islamic values affected the social and cultural systems of the local community. This gave rise to a feeling of collective hatred of the Ujoeng Pacu villagers towards the Indonesian military apparatus.

On the other hand, the security disturbances triggered by GAM guerrilla activities had clearly encouraged the Indonesian military apparatus to limit the movement of GAM through regional sterilization and the construction of security posts in areas which are considered as strategic hideouts for combatants. Among the strategic areas were swamps, ponds and plantations. Due to its geographical location, as it has swamps, ponds and plantations the village has become one of the villages that were guarded very tightly in east coast of Aceh and a lot of military posts established in the area.

The live of rural communities in Aceh has impacted by the armed conflict that occurred in Aceh in 1976-2005 (Smith, 2015, 54-55). This conflict had significant negative impacts to the livelihoods of Acehnese. However, at the same time, the conflict had created some economic opportunities for some communities including for the villagers in Ujoeng Pacu, Lhokseumawe (Czaika, 2009). During the conflict, the Ujoeng Pacu villagers actually took advantage of the situation by becoming workers for Free Aceh Movement (*Gerakan Aceh Merdeka*-GAM). In this period, GAM employed them as intelligence staff, staff whose work to hide weapons, logistical agents and medicine suppliers for sick or injured combatants (Anonymous a Muzakir, personal communication, January 15, 2018).

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In conflict period, working for GAM had put some people in decent living. The family economy was fulfilled, although they had to work very carefully to avoid being detected by Indonesian authorities (Anonymous bMuzakir, personal communication, 25 January, 2018). The condition changed for the Ujoeng Pacu villagers when Memorandum of Understanding between Indonesian government and GAM was signed where those who previously worked for GAM lost their source of living. Even though Ujoeng Pacu is a fertile rural area with extensive land for plantation and ponds, some of the villagers had no more interest in farming or they did not have access to working capital.

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In this long difficult situation, in mid-2007 several people who had migrated to avoid being arrested by the Indonesian authorities returned from Malaysia. Their return was initially welcomed as they were generous and built good relationship with the villagers. However, not long after returning, it turned out that they were involved in drugs trading since GAM has "died" and they could not make money anymore. This situation is commonly experienced by separatist movements that do not have financial support from the state (Clarke, 2016, 4). The gap of jobseeker in village used by former GAM to recruit the young villagers to get involved in their drug business. The unavailability of jobs and the lure of these former GAM members had made it easy for them to attract the youth. Consequently, between 2007 and 2014 Gampoeng Ujoeng Pacu was known as the village with the massive drug business (Nuriman Daud, personal communication, 30 July, 2017).

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This situation creates anxiety among *tengku dayahs*. As Muslim society, *tengku dayahs* reject the presence of drugs dealer in Ujung Pacu because it is forbidden by Islamic law. Also, the villagers has been frustrated by the issue that their village will be punish by God if their not combating drugs dealer in 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 Acehese society, *tengku dayah* has high social status and charismatic persona in the eyes of the community (Ichwan, 2011, 183-214). The *Tengku Dayah* movement that took inspiration from Islamic values succeeded in building a collective awareness of the community in combating drug trafficking.

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The consolidation built on the values of the Islamic religion and the charisma of *tengku dayahs* succeeded in becoming the main energy source that made the drug

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eradication movement possible and successful. The unifying energy of the Ujoeng Pacu villagers is the collective feeling built by shared religious norms. We argue that social penetration through religious-based ties gives birth to collective action that is built from the lower levels. This condition causes social penetration to have a simultaneous impact.

### Religion And Social Capital Of Ujoengpacu

According to Yearly's (2012) work (2012, 331-347) religious organizations as producers and facilitators of social capital. This role is actually not different from that carried out by *Dayah* institutions who embrace the community to face crime. We investigated that religion is used to gain networks and trust in Ujung Pacu during the campaign against drugs trafficking. This results same as Woolcockan & Narayan's (2000) argue that the substance of social capital is the norms, networks and mutual trust relationships that grow from both parties so that people are able to move together collectively (Woolcockan & Narayan 2000: 1187-1193). In Putnam's (2004) theory this condition is called by 'cognitive social capital'. This model of social capital consists of values, norms and behaviors that establish a sense of trust among members of society in their social relations (Putnam, 2004: 6). Community organizing based on shared norms is a significant reality that supports the success of various collective movements.

Religion, as proved by Candland (2000), is an important social capital in the community development process and in supporting social movements. Candland, stated that: *"faith can be a social capita. A community of believers needs not to have a face to face in one another, as a Muslim, for all that one thinks, and is known to Allah and will be examined on judgment day"*. Religious values about the importance of forgiveness, hope, and gratitude in interpersonal relationships and social networks and support offered through religious institutions may also provide members with a sense of social trust or well-being with others and surrounding society (Krause 2008).

This article, find that the various constructs of the social and cultural values of the Ujoeng Pacu villagers are derivations from interpretations of Islamic values. Aceh has been known for a long time as a society that places Islam as the basic value of the social system (Wormser, 2012, 369-370). Even now, the value of social norms in Acehese society sourced

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from Islamic norms (Kloss, 2014), 60). Motivation to act in the social, political, economic and cultural spheres is a dialectical strand born of religious impulses. Work is interpreted as a religious calling to provide for the family, the social interactions among people are also conducted based on what has been set in Islam. 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 Ujoeng Pacu's villagers in living their lives. These three basic principles are the main social capital of the people in Ujoeng Pacu which dictate their actions in their daily lives.

This is what confirms religion as an important instrument that gives direction to how to live life for its followers. All people in Ujoeng Pacu village are moslem and as a single religion, Islam plays a central role in the life of the community. This is in line with Mintarti's (2003) view, that Islam has an important value which is social capital, namely *ta'awun* (mutual cooperation), *takaful* (mutual bearing), and *tadhamun* (having solidarity). At the social level, togetherness that is formed because of Islam, the similarities in geography, diet, social interaction, livelihoods and the high intensity of encounters established strong emotional relationships among villagers. This emotional bond results in high reciprocity for various problems faced. *Ta'awun* is the main characteristic as can be seen that villagers always do activities together such as going to the paddy field, cultivating ponds, conducting funeral and wedding rituals, while payment systems only apply to activities that require high expertise that are not owned by the majority of people such as carpentry.

This condition then established the norm "*Si Droë Keu Ban Duem, Ban Duem Keu Sie Droë*" (One for all and all for one). The problems faced by each individual in society are considered as shared problems. This fact encourages Ujoeng Pacu people to always be involved in maintaining, facing and solving problems together. These characteristics of solidarity that are formed in Ujoeng Pacu, according to Emile Durkheim's term, is called mechanical solidarity. In mechanical solidarity the main bond is mutual trust, goals and moral commitment. Through these shared norms, a collective awareness is established, where individuality is suppressed while homogeneity is highlighted (Dubeski, 2001: 5).

As a mechanical society, Ujoeng Pacu people always encourage individuals behaving in the way of shared norms. Social pressure is harsh on community members who threaten the existence of the norms. Those who "dare" to bring different norms and behaviors within

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the community are demanded to be cautious as there are social sanctions for the actions. Diversity is valued as far as it does not threaten the common norms of society. Violators will face sanction to be 'excluded' from the community. Therefore, the community members are always required to maintain norms and group solidarity.

## Discussion

### Tengku Dayah's Agency and Combating Drugs With Religious Capital

According to Putnam (1993), norms are one of the central parts of social capital, in addition to trust and social networks that can improve and facilitate coordination of community actions. Through shared norms, community does not only understand what they have to do but also what obligations they must fulfill. Shared norms consolidate emotional and social actions of the community members. Someone who adopts a certain norm is encouraged to always be obliged to care about what is experienced and felt by his/her friends.

Putnam's theory on social capital suggests that social network have value at three levels: individual, community and societal (Rademacher & Wang, 2014), ~~1213~~). According to Rademacher & Wang (2014), ~~1214~~ the individual ties to community or/and societal with connecting interpersonal relationships, feelings of reciprocity and trust. This cultivates feelings of social solidarity and overall social cohesion strength of social ties. The network formed based on certain social norms becomes very important in supporting the success of a community movement.

The massive drug abuse among young villagers was followed by the numerous actions against Islamic teachings. These actions included having less respects 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 Ujoeng Pacu also committed other actions contradicted to Islamic teachings such as drinking alcohol and having pre-marital sex. The female drug addicts were willing to provide sexual services for anyone who is willing to exchange it for drugs. These actions did not only violate the social norms, but also religious norms of the Ujoeng Pacu's villagers (ZR, [personal communication](#), April 15, 2018).

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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 Ujoeng Pacu. Livestock is saving that they will spend (read: sold) when they are faced with urgent needs such as for their children's education, Ied 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, et al](#) December 13, 2015). This condition had resulted in the rise of collective anger among villagers in Ujoeng Pacu so the collective actions need to be performed to fix the problems.

The collective movement of the Ujoeng Pacu villagers started by inviting 3 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 values of social capital contained in Islamic teachings were transformed intensively to the people of Ujoeng Pacu (Galvin, 2010), 478). 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 *teungku dayahs* shared responsibilities in the process of 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 Ujoeng Pacu after *Isya* prayer. The women also attended this event. Abu Hasballah Nisam led the *zikir* that was held every fourth week of the month. Meanwhile, Abi Muslim At-Thahiry 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.

The three strategies are considered strategic and effective because they are a common means for *teungku dayahs* to communicate with the villagers. The recitation strategy is directed at transferring fundamental knowledge to the villagers about Islam with an emphasis on unity and faith and its contextual interpretation (Solagberu, 2015), 219).

Istighotsah is directed at efforts to consolidate the movement while *zikir* aimed at strengthening psychological, emotional, unity and strengthening the faith of the villagers (Abi Muslim At-Thahiri, [personal communication](#), July 24, 2017).

To put more value to the movement, the *teungku dayahs* combined these three values with jihad *fisabilillah* (*jihad for the sake of Allah*). For this purpose, they did the contextualization of the meaning of jihad from fighting to defend Islam to fight against drug. Abi Muslim At-Thahiry, head of the Dayah Darul Mujahidin North Aceh said:

" From the perspective of Islam, someone who is drunk or who is affected by drugs tends to be an apostate more easily. Someone who justifies the forbidden and forbids the lawful ones which Allah SWT has set aside can be called as an apostate. Different from getting high from eating *jengkol* or mushrooms and so on, taking drugs is self-abusing that is considered a postasy and the effects of intoxicating oneself can cause the perpetrator to commit various criminal and immoral acts such as killing, divorcing a wife without cause, stealing and justifying the illegitimate. Saving people from the kufr is jihad. As I have said above that drugs are more dangerous than terrorists. Then protecting the religion of Allah does not have to fight infidels using the weapons. but fighting against drugs also another way to protect the religion of Allah "(Abi Muslim Thahiri, [personal communication](#), July 24, 2017).

The means of Jihad has a central position in the existence of Islamic societies (Haleem, 2010), 148). In the Qur'an the word jihad is called up to 41 times. In the context of Islam, jihad can simply be interpreted as a fight against bad deeds. For the *teungku dayahs*, the availability of the theological normative foundation (Al-Qur'an's verses) for jihad is interpreted as a strategic raw material that becomes a resource of discourse to consolidate the villagers of Ujoeng Pacu moving together to eradicate drug. The problem is, in the theological perspective, drugs have become the root of various tyrants so that they can no longer be tolerated. Abu Hasballah Nisam, said:

"Eradication of drugs in Ujoeng Pacu must be done through jihad. Jihad that is praying to Allah so that the drug mafias can get the guidance. Jihad against the drug mafia must be done because this is the command of the Qur'an. One of the surahs in Qur'an mentions "do not put our soul into destruction". So fighting drug mafias whose work destroys other human's life is *jihad fisabilillah* "(Abu Hasballah Nisam, [personal communication](#), May 15, 2018).

Strengthening mass consolidation to join the drug eradication movement was carried out by *teungku dayahs* to the villagers through the transformation of various hadiths and verses of the Qur'an which call for jihad against all destructions and inconvenience caused by drug mafias. The movement is considered strategic as it could encourage villagers members who are known to be fanatical so that they were collectively join the movement. Internalization of religious moral appeal permeated the souls of the villagers. The strength of the religious appeals from the *teungku dayahs* consolidated the hearts and emotions of the Ujoeng Pacu people. The internalization of religious values in an effort to eradicate drugs has made villagers label this movement as the Anti-Immoral Movement (RZ, [personal communication](#), August 15, 2017).

After a religious ritual led by charismatic Teungku Dayahs, villagers came down from the top of Napai hill (the hill which is the gate of Ujoeng 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 indicate 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 similarity of charisma attributions among followers because proximity provides greater opportunities for mutual influence to occur.

The next day, the drug eradication movement in Ujoeng Pacu was carried out starting with sweeping "strangers" visiting Ujoeng 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 Ujoeng Pacu were also handed over to the police. One mafia managed to get away but then after evacuating his wife and child, his house was destroyed

by the people. 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 Ujoeng Pacu had bad experience when one drug dealer who after being handed over to the police could get out of jail easily (Hasbi ~~is the leader of the Ujoeng Pacu movement~~, [personal communication](#), July 17, 2017). Therefore the dialectical relationship between people of Ujoeng 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, Ujoeng 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 National Narcotics Board, the number of drug dealers and users in Muara Satu sub-district was immediately dropped by 50%. This indicated that the number of drug transactions, drug dealers and drug users was massive in Ujoeng Pacu village (Ujoeng Pacu *Geuchiek*, [personal communication](#), June 14, 2017)

Solid relations between villagers and *teungku dayahs (ulama)* succeeded in giving rise to a collective movement to eradicate drugs in Ujoeng Pacu. This success makes a strategic contribution to the world, because drugs trafficking has become one of the global issues that is difficult to eradicate. Furthermore, the success of the drug eradication movement in Ujoeng Pacu also proves that religious values consisting of *ta'awun*, *takaful* and *tadhamun* combined with the spirit of *Jihad Fisabilillah* become significant social capital in collective

movement to eradicate drugs. These findings can certainly be an alternative for the state to make a policy to eradicate drugs by involving the active role of the community.

## Conclusion

The success of the collective movement of the Ujoeng Pacu villagers in eradicating drugs 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*, *tadhamun* and *jihad fisabilillah* to the Ujoeng Pacu people carried out by the charismatic *teungku dayahs* 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*, *tadhamun*, and *jihad fisabilillah*, the *teungku dayahs* were transformed into energetic practical social capital in the Drug Eradication Movement in Ujoeng Pacu. Therefore, the drug Mafias 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 religious teachings has a strategic and significant position in the process of social change in society. Community fanaticism towards religious teachings makes social capital sourced from religious teachings 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.

This success is certainly influenced by factors that work together, such as social capital, agency and religion. For this reason, our findings at the end of the run can reflect a number of possible alternatives in the fight against drug trafficking by involving grassroots actively and simultaneously. A faith-based approach needs to get more attention especially when the state is dealing with the social system of rural communities where social ties are formed on the basis of religious norms. [Finally, this article enriches the study of religion and drug eradication in Indonesia.](#)

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## List Of Informants

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

Nuriman Daud, 53 years old, The head of Drug Eradication Movement (*Gerakan Pemberantasan Narkoba-GAN*) Ujoeng Pacu

~~MN 45 years old Ujoeng Pacu villager~~

~~CD, 37 years old, Ujoeng Pacu villager~~

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

~~Zaenal 40 Years old, village figure of Ujoeng Pacu~~

Hasbi 43 years old, activist of Ujoeng Pacu

**3. Bukti Konfirmasi Submit Revisi Pertama  
Dan Artikel Yang Diresubmit  
(10 November 2019)**



Yogi Febriandi &lt;febriandiyogi@gmail.com&gt;

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4 messages

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To: "Dr. Nirzalin, S.Ag., M.Si Dr. Nirzalin, S.Ag., M.Si" <nirzalin@unimal.ac.id>, Nirzalin Armia <nirzalinarmia@yahoo.co.id>

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Yogi Febriandi &lt;febriandiyogi@gmail.com&gt;

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**Yogi Febriandi** <febriandiyogi@gmail.com>

18 November 2019 at 16:52

To: "Dr. Nirzalin, S.Ag., M.Si Dr. Nirzalin, S.Ag., M.Si" &lt;nirzalin@unimal.ac.id&gt;, Nirzalin Armia &lt;nirzalinarmia@yahoo.co.id&gt;

[Quoted text hidden]

**Editor's feedback Tengku Dayah.docx**

16K

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**Dr. Nirzalin, S.Ag., M.Si Dr. Nirzalin, S.Ag., M.Si** <nirzalin@unimal.ac.id>

18 February 2020 at 22:41

To: Yogi Febriandi &lt;febriandiyogi@gmail.com&gt;

assalamualaikum

ini bukunya ya gi. oh ya password jurnal ugm apa?? trims

[Quoted text hidden]

**PdF revisi Buku pak Nirzali.pdf**

996K

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**Yogi Febriandi** <febriandiyogi@gmail.com>

5 August 2022 at 22:43

To: Nirzalin Armia &lt;nirzalinarmia@yahoo.co.id&gt;, "Dr. Nirzalin, S.Ag., M.Si Dr. Nirzalin, S.Ag., M.Si" &lt;nirzalin@unimal.ac.id&gt;

[Quoted text hidden]

**PdF revisi Buku pak Nirzali.pdf**

996K

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**Mail Delivery Subsystem** <mailer-daemon@googlemail.com>

5 August 2022 at 22:43

To: febriandiyogi@gmail.com



## Address not found

Your message wasn't delivered to **nirzalinarmia@yahoo.co.id** because the address couldn't be found, or is unable to receive mail.

The response from the remote server was:

554 30 Sorry, your message to [nirzalinarmia@yahoo.co.id](mailto:nirzalinarmia@yahoo.co.id) cannot be delivered. This mailbox is disabled (554.30).

Final-Recipient: rfc822; [nirzalinarmia@yahoo.co.id](mailto:nirzalinarmia@yahoo.co.id)

Action: failed

Status: 5.0.0

Remote-MTA: dns; [mx-apac.mail.gm0.yahoodns.net](https://mx-apac.mail.gm0.yahoodns.net). (106.10.248.73, the server for the domain [yahoo.co.id](https://yahoo.co.id).)

Diagnostic-Code: smtp; 554 30 Sorry, your message to [nirzalinarmia@yahoo.co.id](mailto:nirzalinarmia@yahoo.co.id) cannot be delivered. This mailbox is disabled (554.30).

Last-Attempt-Date: Fri, 05 Aug 2022 08:43:42 -0700 (PDT)

----- Forwarded message -----

From: Yogi Febriandi <[febriandiyogi@gmail.com](mailto:febriandiyogi@gmail.com)>

To: Nirzalin Armia <[nirzalinarmia@yahoo.co.id](mailto:nirzalinarmia@yahoo.co.id)>, "Dr. Nirzalin, S.Ag., M.Si Dr. Nirzalin, S.Ag., M.Si" <[nirzalin@unimal.ac.id](mailto:nirzalin@unimal.ac.id)>

Cc:

Bcc:

Date: Fri, 5 Aug 2022 22:43:22 +0700

Subject: Fwd: [JSP] Desk Review Notification

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## Editor's Feedback

- a. The introduction should consist of:
  - i. Explaining why the topic is important. You have mentioned about the problem of drugs in Indonesia, but make it more a cohesive information about it. Presenting more argument about the problem, and back up the argument with more data about it.
  - ii. Explaining what is the theoretical/research/empirical gap of the existing topic by presenting the past studies that have discussed this topic and how the studies still pose the gap, and how this study you want to conduct can fill in the gap. I know you have mentioned about the gap, but the literature is old, it's from 2005, there is 14 years gap from now. Please do a thorough systematic literature review and be sure about the gap you mentioned. For example, I found this study:

Pozdnyakova, M. E., & Moiseeva, V. V. (2008). The role of religious communities in countering drug abuse. *Herald of the Russian Academy of Sciences*, 78(4), 390-396.

- iii. Explain what is your research question(s).
  - iv. State your research objectives (how the study can advance the knowledge of existing field, and so on). This should be presented very thoroughly, you have to be able to find your academic objectives and how those can advance the body of knowledge about the topic.
2. Theoretical foundation or literature review (1000-1500 words). This chapter is very important as it serves as a theoretical basis to analyze your findings. Please find a fitting theory that can assist you to analyze your findings. Putnam's concept about social capital is too broad, can you find a more fitting conceptual framework or theory?
3. Research methodology (500-1000 words)
  - a. In research method, you provide justification on why you choose a particular method and approach.
  - b. You provide justification on why you select a particular context to be your locus. Please provide this with data.
  - c. In data collection, you are required to mention who are your informants, and what questions you asked to them, and how the interviews were going on. You need to present how you minimize bias and triangulate your findings? How do you check the validity of data?
  - d. You also need to explain how you analyze the data (data analysis)
4. Context (500-800 words): Ujoeng pacu: from war to drugs as source of livelihood should be presented in the chapter of context of the locus. It shouldn't be presented in the result chapter.
5. Result (500-1500 words). You have to write the findings in a more structured way and more rich. I did not see the quotation from your interviews in the findings. I only read the quotation from the book, so it seems that you only do a content analysis rather than presenting your primary data.
6. Discussion (1500-2000 words). In this section, you analyze the findings with the theory you explain in chapter 2, and how your results agree or disagree with



previous studies and why. Therefore, don't put the quotation of your interview in the discussion chapter. The quotation of the interview (your findings) should be presented in results chapter.

7. Conclusion. Summarize your principal findings. Present-emphasis on what should be now accepted as established knowledge.

**5. Bukti Konfirmasi Submit Revisi Kedua  
Dan Artikel Yang Diresubmit  
(24 Maret 2020)**

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## Fwd: Hasil Revisi Artikel Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Politik UGM\_Nirzalin dan Yogi Febriandi\_Teungku dayah agency and socio religios capital on drugs eradication in aceh

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**Yogi Febriandi** <febriandiyogi@gmail.com>

5 Agustus 2022 pukul 22.43

Kepada: "Dr. Nirzalin, S.Ag., M.Si Dr. Nirzalin, S.Ag., M.Si" <nirzalin@unimal.ac.id>, Nirzalin Armia <nirzalinarmia@yahoo.co.id>

----- Forwarded message -----

From: **Yogi Febriandi** <febriandiyogi@gmail.com>

Date: Tue, 24 Mar 2020 at 10:56

Subject: Hasil Revisi Artikel Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Politik UGM\_Nirzalin dan Yogi Febriandi\_Teungku dayah agency and socio religios capital on drugs eradication in aceh

To: Janianton Damanik <jurnalsopol@ugm.ac.id>

Salam,

Terima kasih atas review yang diberikan terhadap draft artikel kami . Beberapa masukan dari reviewer telah kami baca dan kami tambahkan kedalam artikel. Terima kasih atas masukan dan kerja sama dari tim editor. Dibawah ini kami kirimkan file artikel hasil revisi yang telah kami lakukan dan juga file summary review. Artikel hasil revisi juga telah kami kirim melalui website ojs Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Politik. Besar harapan artikel kami menjadi salah satu artikel yang dimuat dalam edisi ini. Terima kasih

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### 2 lampiran



**Hasil Revisi Artikel di Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Politik UGM Finish.docx**

59K



**Form Review Summary rev (1).docx**

23K

**Revision Summary**  
**Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik**

<b>Manuscript Number:</b>	-
<b>Title of the Manuscript:</b>	<i>TEUNGKU DAYAH AND DRUG ERADICATION</i> <b>AGENCY IN ACEH</b>
<b>Type of the Article</b>	<b>Journal</b>

<b>Reviewer's Comment</b>	<b>Author's Comment</b>
<p><i>(please insert reviewer comment)</i></p> <p><b>A. Introduction Need to explain:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Why do people who return from Malaysia eventually work as druggers?</li> <li>2. What is their profession while in Malaysia?</li> <li>3. Why in the 2007-2014 range did the druggers develop freely in the Ujoeng Pacu Village?</li> <li>4. What types of drugs are traded?</li> <li>5. Are there data between 2007-2014 about the circulation of the number of drugs, dealers and buyers (users)?</li> <li>6. Are there data on the profits of dealers so that druggers develop in this village? Keuntungan mencapai 100 % dari setiap hasil penjualan. Jika modal Rp. 75.000.000, hasil penjualan mencapai 150.000.000</li> </ol> <p><b>B. Methods</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. How long did the researcher lived in?</li> </ol>	<p><i>(please write down the revision based on reviewer comment in the manuscript)</i></p> <p><b>A. Introduction Need to explain:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. After conflict ends, the formers of GAM member hardly to find suit job. They do not have skill in farm and do not much money to start business. Given by that situation, joint in transnational drug business much easier to get some money.</li> <li>2. Porters, Construction workers dan low-labour skill and truck driver</li> <li>3. Consequently, between 2007 and 2014 Gampoeng Ujoeng Pacu was known as the village with the massive drug business (Nuriman Daud, personal communication, 30 July, 2017). In this period, the villagers and <i>tengku dayahs</i> do not observe drug trafficking because they think that the drugs are dopping. Most of villagers are farmers, and they need strong stamina for work in twelve hours a day, so the drugs are worthwhile. But, after years the villagers know that the dopping that sold in their village is drugs they start worried.</li> </ol>

2. Are there informant from druggers and users?

If so, who is the informant?

This needs to balance information for data analysis.

### C. Results

1. It is necessary to explain why druggers can develop massively, even though the religious factors and figures of the three ulama are very strong in this village?

2. Are there data on the number of younger villages affected by druggers?

3. In the theoretical debate, the debated is the theory of religious social movement, but in the content of discussion is more to social movements led by Teungku Dayah. Give an argument about this.

**D. Check all the sentence structure, grammatical mistakes; spelling error; The APA style of referencing**

**E. The explanation on Teungku Dayah Movement should be detailed out at the beginning of the article.; Methodology - qualitative not quantitative**

**F. The same title has been published in Book Chapter:**

<http://repository.unimal.ac.id/id/eprint/4968>

4. Crystal Met

5. According to Daud (personal communication, 30 July, 2017), at least there are fifteen dealers who works for one big dealer in Ujung Pacu village

6. Keuntungan mencapai 100 % dari setiap hasil penjualan. Jika modal Rp. 75.000.000, hasil penjualan mencapai 150.000.000

### B. Methods

1. The article was written based on research conducted for seven months using the live in method in Ujung Pacu Village

2. Cimeng (35), Geulanteu (37), Gogot (40). These three are informants from the druggers

### C. Results

1. In this period, the villagers and tengku dayahs do not observe drug trafficking because they think that the drugs are dopping. Most of villagers are farmers, and they need strong stamina for work in twelve hours a day, so the drugs are worthwhile. But, after years the villagers know that the dopping that sold in their village is drugs they start worried.

2. There is 20 young affected in Ujung Pacu village. This is the list:

NO	Nama	Umur	Dusun
1	Udin Pelor	33	C
2	Uus Tompel	25	A
3	Mody	20	A
4	Yusni	25	A
5	Iwan	23	A
6	Lirzata	21	A
7	Komeng	23	A

8	Syukri	20	A
9	Amana	24	A
10	M. Boby	19	A
11	Bob Jacko	20	A
12	Andreas	20	B
13	Deka	18	B
14	Manah Dollah	20	B
15	Jack Ceurapei	37	B
16	Fidil Carlos	19	B
17	M. Beude	19	B
18	Lahu Ujeun	18	B
19	Lambak Pelor	17	B
20	Andoi buprang	30	B

3. As part of the discussion on social capital, religious social capital follows the recent of social capital studies. Quoting Stark and Finke (2000) Religious social capital refers to the degree of mastery of, and attachment to, certain religious cultures. Following Lancee (2012: 24), this article shows that the religious social capital as bonding capital because "having dense ties and thick trust". This ties and thick trust fully 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). In Ujoeng Pacu case, *teungku dayahs* agency succeeded in mobilized the villagers by integrating their resources through the unification of religious norms and social moral values. (page 6-7)

The above view helps explain the formation of social capital in runway

communities that based on religious norms. However, it has not been able to explain the role of the *tengku dayah* agency in utilizing religious social capital like the data has shown. For this reason, the article uses Lance's (2012) view that bonding social capital can be driven by individual agency. Lancee (2012) criticize the collective approach to anatomize the concept of social capital. He argues that collective social capital is not more (or less) than the sum of its individual parts. But, Lancee did not clearly outlines how individuals can function social capital. Ling and Dale (2013) can contributed to fill the Lancee's theory by basing it on view that agency actions by both individuals and communities needed to mobilize social capital. These theories important to analyze religious social capital displayed by the Ujung Pacu community arises because of the agency of *tengku dayah*. The effectiveness of the work of agency's actions explained clearly through the formula of Ling and Dale (2013): (page 8)

	<p>D. Done</p> <p>E. Done</p> <p>F. We offer re-write the tittle from <i>“TEUNGKU DAYAH AND DRUG ERADICATION AGENCY IN ACEH”</i> to <i>“TEUNGKU DAYAH AGENCY AND RELIGIOUS SOCIAL CAPITAL ON DRUG ERADICATION IN ACEH, INDONESIA”</i></p>
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# **TEUNGKU DAYAH AGENCY AND RELIGIOUS SOCIAL CAPITAL ON DRUG ERADICATION IN ACEH, INDONESIA**

## **Abstract**

This article examines the success of religious social capital and the agency of *teungku dayah* (Islamic scholars who belongs to traditional religious school) in the collective drug eradication movement in Ujoeng Pacu, Lhokseumawe-Aceh, Indonesia. The role of religious social capital to combating drugs market in global drug policy has less studied. This study provides a quite different view from most scholars who works for combating drugs dealers by engaging participation of religious community in rural society. The agency of *teungku dayah* succeeded in mobilizing the villagers due to the social capital that bonded the community is 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 gossips, worshipped with them and were involved in certain jobs carried out by the community members who targeted as informants. Using religious social capital, this article argues that *teungku dayah* effectively used social and religious capital of the Ujoeng Pacu community to conduct drug eradication agency. Religious social capital has strong ties in unifying element of the people in same religion, moreover it becomes an energy that keep motivating the community to run anti-drugs movement and driving out the druggers in Ujoeng 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 legal does not provide a significant solution, because according to Lindsey and Nicholson (2016) thesis, the government of Indonesia 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 druggers. According to ASEAN Drug Monitoring Report (2016), in 2016 the government arrested 47,391 suspects consist of 47,228 Indonesian citizens and 163 foreigners. However, the Indonesia government cannot turn

around from these paradigms, because alternative approaches still 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 millennia. Unfortunately, works of literature that drawing religious aspect in drugs eradication has not paid much attention (Pettus, 2016; Francis et.al, 2019). Contrary to this condition, we found interesting cases where a religious community in Aceh (Indonesia) success in directing religious social capital into social force against drug eradication. This article is written to contribute towards developing a suitable conceptual framework for linking religious social capital and drug eradication in rural communities.

Just like other literature in social capital studies, generally, the religious social capital is divided into two underpinnings, first viewed as an asset of an individual (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1990), second, an asset of society (Putnam, 1995). In religious social capital literature, society level paradigms divide in two groups. First, seeing the religious social capital as cognitive awareness that arises from the effort to the personalization of religious norms (Chen & Williams, 2016; Bokek-Cohen & Ben-Asher, 2018; Francis et.al, 2019). Second, religious social capital is determined by structural aspects of religion (Kaplowitz, 2015; Kaasa, 2015; Park & Sharma, 2015; Pettus, 2016; Deller, Conroy & Markeson, 2018; Scott, 2018). Kaasa (2015) criticized the cognitive awareness perspective because ignored the community participation in associations and voluntary organizations. Consistently with a structural perspective, this article focuses on religious social capital formed by structural aspects. However, the absence of these works was believed that religious social capital is limited because it cannot consolidate society to move beyond the tasks of the congregation or the community service. By forwarding Ling and Dale's (2013) theory, that showed social capital cannot be utilized as a social force without an individual agency to reduce the barrier in community, this article examines Teungku Dayah agency in mobilizing rural Muslim community to fights drugs abuse. The novelty of this article is seen religious social capital can be observed as a community resource to shape participation in generating social resistance.

To display our argument, this article investigated teungku dayah's agency in Ujung Pacu, Lhokseumawe—Aceh to throw out the druggers by utilizing religious social capital.

Ujoeng Pacu is a village located in Muara Satu sub-district, Lhokseumawe City, Aceh-Indonesia. The population in Ujoeng Pacu village is 1,293 with 312 households. Nearly 96% of the population is Acehnese, while the remaining 4% are Javanese and Minangnese (The Geuchik Ujoeng Pacu Office, 2015). Like most agrarian areas, the main source of income for the people is from the agricultural sector. This village has 230 hectares of plantations, 73 hectares of fish ponds and 35 hectares of rice fields (The Geuchik Ujoeng Pacu Office, 2009). Most of the villagers work as farmers. This historical fragment of agricultural economics, although not entirely, was cut off during a period of intense conflict between the Indonesian government and the Free Aceh Movement in 1976-2005 (Thorburn, 2012). This military's strategy had significant negative impacts on the livelihoods of Acehnese (Smith, 2015).

In the case of the Ujoeng Pacu, many of the villagers created other options to make money. Most of them employed as GAM's snoopers, arms smugglers, logistic suppliers and medicine suppliers (Muzakir, personal communication, January 15, 2018). Being GAM employers is common practice for most of Acehnese when the conflict destroys other sources of income. But tragedy came afterward when Memorandum of Understanding between the Indonesian government and GAM was signed, those who previously worked for GAM lost their source of income. The villagers no more interest on-farm, because they had too long left their fields and ponds.

In this difficult situation, in mid-2007 several GAM members who had migrated to 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 stayed 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 Ujung Pacu and then became the druggers and recruited the youths. After the end of the conflict, the formers of GAM members were hard to find a suited job. They do not have skills in farming and do not much capital to start a new business. Given that situation, joint in transnational drug business was much easier to get some money.

Consequently, between 2007 and 2014 Gampoeng Ujoeng 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 Ujung 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 the pieces of stuff sold by the druggers are dopping. In so, the villagers and *teungku dayah* do not observe drug trafficking because they think that the drugs are dopping. 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 dopping, 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 Muslim society, *teungku dayahs* reject the presence of drugs dealer in Ujung Pacu because it is forbidden by Islamic law. Also, the villagers have been frustrated by the issue that their village will be punished by God 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 Acehese 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 druggers?. The second question is how *teungku dayahs* used this capital to mobilized villagers in countered the druggers?. To provide these answers, first, we will examine the act of religious leaders in mobilizing villagers to counterwork the druggers in Ujung Pacu. Second, we will glance at the role of religion as social capital in Ujung 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 druggers in rural areas.

## Literature review

The contribution of religious social capital in drug eradication has not drawn much attention. Excepts 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 drugs 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 norms and drug eradication is less, the findings which showed the role that can be played by religion in efforts to combating drug abuse should be appreciated (Pettus, 2015; Francis et.al, 2019). Although both works have made important contributions to this study, the limitations of their research still leave a wide gap, especially in examines in what ways can the religious community build networks against drugs.

Pettus looked at the influence of religious institutions on the fights of drug abuse through the analysis of theological roots and how Church “war on drugs” reshaped in international and domestic law. The initial assumption built in this research is the emphasis on the fact that in Christian theology, drug abuse is sin and the missionaries had against this for a long time. This study gives contribution because examines the roots of religious norms in early imperial narcotics policies that have been encoded in international and domestic law. Contrary to other studies (Ooyen-Houben & Kleemans, 2015) that not mention religious aspects in narcotics policies, Pettus (2015) shows faith-based organizations agenda that are advocating certain views on drug use and harm reduction policies. However, this research reveals that only a few of the efforts built by religious organizations that have direct contact with other institutions in the field. Religious organizations only work at the top level (government, religious institutions, and exclusive followers) without actively moving at the grassroots.

Francis et.al (2019) studies examine religiosity influence on drug eradication using quantitative data. This study uses a large sample (20,277 students as population) to see the level of religiosity and religious associations towards the tendency of sexual disorders, alcohol addiction and drug use in adolescents. Francis et.al (2019) show that religious associations, as well as the level of religiosity in students, influence the results of their research. In students who have, both categories found a slight tendency for sexual disorders, alcohol addiction, and the use of drugs. Francis et al

(2019) have no conclusions that neither the secular association nor the religious association has any influence on the propensity for drug use. The absence of this study is cannot provide a full explanation and reveal to what extent the influence of religion on drug eradication can be useful. Instead of explaining the influence of religion contributes to drug awareness, this study actually stuck in between secularity and religiosity question. Nevertheless, Francis et.al (2019) have examined the necessary conclusion that religion effectively motivated individuals or groups to combat drug abuse.

Previous works did not provide a comprehensive and in-depth explanation related to the role of religion in combating drugs. Instead of giving new directions to the study of drug eradication by presenting religion as a potential alternative approach, the above literature leaves important questions to what extent the potential of religion is a capital for the community in reducing drug abuse. For that cause, an outline of the study sought to enrich the study of the relationship between religion and drug eradication using the theory of religious social capital.

In some arguments, this article is not different from the previous literature concluded, that religion is an effective force in combating drugs. In Ujoeng Pacu, religious preacher agency and religious social capital are successful in combating the druggers. Even though previous works and our article stand in the same argument, still there is an opposite thesis because of this study advance by looking at the capacity of a community to utilize religion int drug eradication by focusing the analysis on the religious social capital. Given this, the article analyzes the Teungku Dayah agency that successfully mobilized the villagers to combat drug trafficking using religious norms and religious status.

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 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). This argues not differently in Putnam's (2000) drawing that religious social capital has strong ties and shared the same identity in the homogeneous communities. The case in Ujoeng Pacu, Teungku Dayahs agency succeeded in mobilized 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 generally social capital theory follows 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 knowing. Finally, Putnam (1995) 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 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 (1995) theory has significant role to facilitate participation individuals in society level (Kaasa, 2015). Kaasa (2015) drawing that religious social capital in that analyze in society-level as an aggregate of the social capital of individuals living in that particular country or region (Kaasa: 2015, 773). Not contrary from Kaaasa (2015), Scott (2018) define 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 did not pay attention to the religious cognitive stimulus in individual who participated in community (Bokek-Cohen & Ben-Asher, 2018). The absence on examines the capability of individual to form a social participation, reveal that society level not utilizes to analyze religious social capital formation in religious community. The individual-level tradition emphasized analyze 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 linked between norms and networks when observed individual parts in community participation (Park & Sharma, 2015; 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 forwarding social capital at level society is not more or less still need aggregation from individual parts (Lancee, 2102). This article initiates the role of religious norms on binding individuals to promote networks in religious social capital studies. According to this, the article not stand in individual-level traditions and more often stand in structural-level traditions.

In Lance's (2012) study, he drawing that all a kind 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 of its individual parts. But, Lancee did not clearly outline how individuals can function social capital. According to this, this article offers Ling and Dale (2013) theoretical analyses that demonstrate agency actions by both individuals and communities needed to mobilize social capital. The effectiveness of the work of the agency's actions explained clearly through the formula of Ling and Dale (2013):

Agency = (capacity + reason to act (perceived need or threat) + social capital) – barriers at the community level.

This formula requires prerequisites like: (i) there is no shortage of social capital, there is necessary connections between people and networks are strength or connected; (ii) there is the requisite leadership to motivate the process; (iii) there is a necessary skill (capacity); (iv) there is a pressing and common concern to rally around; and (v) there is no barriers that stifle action are present.

## **Methods**

The research was carried out in Ujoeng Pacu village, Muara Satu sub-district, Lhokseumawe City, Aceh Province. This location was selected due to the massive use of drugs in this area that the village was called “drug village”. The circulation process was coordinated well since the distribution agents, as well as the mafias, were domiciled within the village. Community anxiety spread due to the disruption of social life caused by their



activities. The prevention and eradication efforts conducted by the village apparatus always ended in failure. This was partly triggered by the low integration of the masses and also the demoralization of the movement after the counter-attack from drug mafias (Campbell, 2014). The article was written based on research conducted for seven months using the live-in method. The main purpose of this method is that researchers are able to build a sociological imagination about the patterns of the 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 gossips, worshipped with them and were involved in certain jobs carried out by the community members who targeted as informants. Those kinds of jobs included cutting grass for livestock, taking care of the fishponds and harvesting rice. These strategies do not only gaining of sociological imagination but also the emotional and close relationship between researchers and villagers. Furthermore, the researchers could also obtain as much information as possible.

The informants in this study were the druggers, *teungku dayahs* and villagers groups involved in the collective movement against the druggers. There were three *Teungku dayahs* involved and became the key informants. They were Abu Hasballah Nisam, Abati Babah Buloh and Abi Muslim At-Thahiry. While village leaders who became informants were Nuriman Daud (movement leader), geuchiek (village Chief), Tuha Peut (Village Representative Body), Teungku Imeum (religious leader) and Youth Leaders. Meanwhile, the informants from the druggers were Cimeng, Geulanteu and Gogot. The researchers also interviewed several villagers who randomly selected. The process of data analysis was carried out interactively.

## **Results**

### ***Teungku dayahs* Capacity in Ujung Pacu**

Putnam's theory on social capital suggests that social network have value at three levels: individual, community and societal (Rademacher & Wang, 2014). According to Rademacher & Wang (2014) the individual ties to community or/and societal with connecting interpersonal relationships, feelings of reciprocity and trust. This cultivates

feelings of social solidarity and overall social cohesion strength of social ties. The network formed based on certain social norms becomes very important in supporting the success of a community movement.

Just like in another community in Aceh, the Ujung Pacu villagers' social system 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 Ujoeng Pacu's villagers. These three basic principles are the main social capital of the people in Ujoeng 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 has perform social movement as proof of social action.

The collective movement of the Ujoeng Pacu villagers started by inviting 3 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 the process of 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 Ujoeng Pacu after *Isya* prayer. Abu Hasballah Nisam led the *zikir* that was held every fourth week of the month. Meanwhile, Abi Muslim At-Thahiry 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 frequently bought drugs from them. The massive drug abuse among young villagers was followed by the numerous actions against Islamic teachings. These actions included having less respects 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

Ujoeng 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 Ujoeng Pacu. Livestock is saving that they will spend (read: sold) when they are faced with urgent needs such as for their childrens education, Ied 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 Ujoeng Pacu so the collective actions need 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 Ujoeng 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 three strategies are considered strategic and effective because they are a common means for *teungku dayahs* to communicate with the villagers. The recitation strategy is directed at transferring fundamental knowledge to the villagers about Islam with an emphasis on unity and faith and its contextual interpretation (Solagberu, 2015). *Istighotsah* is directed at efforts to consolidate the movement while *zikir* aimed at strengthening psychological, emotional, unity and strengthening the faith of the villagers (Abi Muslim At-Thahiri, personal communication, July 24, 2017).

To put more value to the movement, the *teungku dayah* combined these three values with *jihad fisabilillah (jihad for the sake of Allah)*. For this purpose, they did the contextualization of the meaning of *jihad* from fighting to defend Islam to fight against drug. Abi Muslim At-Thahiry, head of the Dayah Darul Mujahidin North Aceh said:

" From the perspective of Islam, someone who is drunk or who is affected by drugs tends to be an apostate more easily. Someone who justifies the forbidden and forbids the lawful ones which Allah SWT has set aside can be called as an apostate. Different from getting high from eating *jengkol* or mushrooms and so on, taking drugs is self-abusing that is considered a postasy and the effects of intoxicating oneself can cause the perpetrator to commit various criminal and immoral acts such as killing, divorcing a wife without cause, stealing and justifying the illegitimate. Saving people from the *kufr* is *jihad*. As I have said above that drugs are more dangerous than terrorists. Then protecting the religion of Allah does not have to fight infidels using the weapons. but fighting against drugs also another way to protect the religion of Allah "(Abi Muslim Thahiri, personal communication, July 24, 2017).

The means of *Jihad* has a central position in the existence of Islamic societies (Haleem, 2010). In the Qur'an the word *jihad* is called up to 41 times. In the context of Islam, *jihad* can simply be interpreted as a fight against bad deeds. For the *teungku dayah*, the availability of the theological normative foundation (Al-Qur'an's verses) for *jihad* is interpreted as a strategic raw material that becomes a resource of discourse to consolidate the villagers of Ujoeng Pacu moving together to eradicate drug. The problem is, in the theological perspective, drugs have become the root of various tyrants so that they can no longer be tolerated. Abu Hasballah Nisam, said:

"Eradication of drugs in Ujoeng Pacu must be done through *jihad*. *Jihad* is a kind of worship to Allah so that the drug mafias can get guidance. *Jihad* against the drug mafia must be done because this is the command of the Qur'an. One of the surahs in Qur'an mentions "do not put our soul into destruction". So fighting drug mafias whose work destroys other human's life is *jihad fisabilillah* "(Abu Hasballah Nisam, personal communication, May 15, 2018).

Strengthening mass consolidation to join the drug eradication movement was carried out by *teungku dayah* to the villagers through the transformation of various hadiths and verses of the Qur'an which call for *jihad* against all destructions and inconvenience caused by drug mafias. The movement is considered strategic as it could encourage villagers

members who are known to be fanatical so that they collectively joined the movement. The internalization of religious moral appeal permeated the souls of the villagers. The strength of the religious appeals from the teungku dayah consolidated the hearts and emotions of the Ujoeng Pacu people. The internalization of religious values in an effort to eradicate drugs has made villagers label this movement as the Anti-Immoral Movement (RZ, personal communication, August 15, 2017).

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 Ujoeng 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 Tenggku 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 Ujoeng Pacu was carried out starting with sweeping "strangers" visiting Ujoeng 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 Ujoeng Pacu were also handed over to the police. One mafia managed to get away but then after evacuating his wife and children, his house was destroyed by the people. 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 Ujoeng Pacu had a bad 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 Ujoeng 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, Ujoeng 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 indicated that the number of drug transactions, drug dealers and drug users was massive in Ujoeng Pacu village (Ujoeng Pacu *Geuchiek*, 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 Ujoeng 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, the success of the drug eradication movement in Ujoeng Pacu also proves that religious values consisting of *ta'awun*, *takaful* and *tadhamun* combined with the spirit of *Jihad Fisabilillah* become significant social capital in a collective movement to eradicate drugs. These findings can certainly be an alternative for the state to make a policy to eradicate drugs by involving the active role of the community.

## **Discussion**

### **Religious Social Capital on Drugs Eradication**

This article, although not breaking away from theoretical discussions, seeks to see empirically the contribution religious social capital on drugs eradication practiced by villagers of Ujong Pacu, Aceh-Indonesia. This article shows that communities that have social capital bonding - in this case, religion - need the presence of an agency to be able to transform social capital into concrete actions in the form of a resistance movement. This argument shows a similarity with Lancee (2012) and Ling and Dale (2013) said that social capital requires the actions of individual agencies in order to function.

In the case of the teungku dayah agency that successfully mobilized villagers to throw out the druggers from the village, verified Ling and Dale (2013) work that social capital still requires the actions of actors in order to effectively achieve a common goal. Contrary to Morello (2019) that seen religious leader capital built upon his effort to renovate religious institutional using sacred power, our finding proposes that religious leaders can not build capital without aggregated the individual agency and structural norms. This demonstrates that religious social capital presented community participation in drug eradication. Unlike Pettus (2016) found that religious preachers just “doing service job” and do not take serious action in the war on drugs, this article shows that teungku dayahs directly mobilized the villagers at the frontline in the war on drugs. This finding also revisited Brault & Shihadeh (2018) that seen communities with a preponderance of bonding capital encourage institutional disengagement, which in turn is linked to higher rates of violence.

Following Kasaa (2015), religion can be producers and facilitators to build social capital stronger in a community that has high religious participation. This role is actually not different from that carried out by Dayah institutions who embrace the community to face crime. This article testament that religion at the end of society as a function of bonding social capital that is not only strong in organizational ties but also effectively creates resistance movement to forms networks. Based on our interview with some activists against the druggers, their main motivation to throw out the druggers because Islam does not provide a place for sinners to be part of the community. Quoting Scott (2018) more frequent religious service attendance may indicate greater importance of religion and stronger spiritual commitment, and hence, contribute to abstaining from the use of illegal substances.

Community organizing based on shared norms is a significant reality that supports the success of various collective movements.

The study findings have implications for the enrichment of drug eradication studies. The novelty of this article is to examine the possibility of religious social capital in shaping public participation in drug eradication. Approaches such as McRae (2017), Sabarinah (2019), and Koram (2019) elaborated on drugs policy at the state level and did not discuss the participation of the investigated community. Our results underscore the importance of conducting a community-based assessment that includes religion effectively used to fighting the druggers. This can be an alternative solution to drug eradication policy that pays attention to community capability.

## **Conclusion**

The success of the collective movement of the Ujoeng Pacu villagers in eradicating drugs 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*, *tadhamun* and *jihad fisabilillah* to the Ujoeng 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*, *tadhamun*, and *jihad fisabilillah*, the *teungku dayah* were transformed into energetic practical social capital in the Drug Eradication Movement in Ujoeng Pacu. Therefore, the druggers 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 the process of 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 Informants**

- 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

**6. Bukti Konfirmasi Artikel Accepted  
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