MITIGATING THE SPREAD OF RADICAL IDEAS THROUGH COUNTER-RADICALIZATION BASED ON LOCAL WISDOM

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Abstract: Understanding efforts made by the government to counter radicals are limited to three (3) major patterns: national preparedness, deradicalization, and counter-radicalization. However, these efforts have yet to be effective enough. The facts show that more than efforts to fight the spread of radicalism are needed with law enforcement. On the one hand, we can see in some areas, especially those in Pamekasan district, that local wisdom also significantly influences efforts to counteract radicalism. The unwritten rules of living in society have indirectly fortified themselves from radical ideas. On this basis, the problems that will be raised in this study are related to the local wisdom of the Pamekasan Madura community, which is considered capable of resisting the entry of radical ideas; the purpose of this study is to find out that the norms that live in the community have succeeded in counteracting.

Keywords: Radicalism, Counter-Radicalization, Local Wisdom

I. INTRODUCTION

Many legal experts experience confusion and deadlock when faced with the latest legal problems, especially if they only focus on their doctrinal approach, where this approach is always the main reference to provide solutions to the legal problems they face. No exception in terms of efforts to fight the teachings of radicalism in Indonesia, which is believed to be the initial door for someone to become radicalized and transform into a terrorist.

In sociological terms, the concepts of radicalism and radicalism are historically vague and depend a lot on the context. Different state regimes and responses can influence what is considered radical behavior (Remy Cross, 2011) It defines three types of radicalism: (1) high-risk or extreme movement activity, (2) the process of becoming radicalized, and (3) an identity ascribed to activists who are or may not yet be radicalized. The focus of this article lies on the cultural forces that exist and live in the Madurese community, especially those in Pamekasan Regency, exploring how radical disseminators develop their identity and their impact on radical organizations that become mainstream movements.

Previous research by Della Porta revealed that militant radicals within the left in Italy and Germany were united by strong personal connections and shared activist experiences. Participation in radical acts strengthens and facilitates future involvement in similar acts, leading to an increased radicalization process. Cross expanded on Della Porta's work by studying grassroots social movements, from which it was found that structural and psychological factors influence the development of radical identities and their willingness to see violence as a viable political strategy.

Grassroots social movements are understood as "Radical means understanding things at the root", reflecting the belief among grassroots activists that authentic change happens at the grassroots level. Grassroots organizations provide a "free space" where radicals can deepen their radical identity, engage in radical action planning, and form the groups they want. These spaces are protected by a culture of security, foster trust, enable clientelism activities, and facilitate the recruitment and influence of non-radical activists (Prakasa et al., 2021).

This is very important in this study, like Madurese society in general, the issue of religiosity living in the community in Pamekasan regency is one of the most important factors in their survival. People believe that obeying and obeying religious rules is the key to success in life. Many of them are associated and gather in a religious organization, pesantren, and madrasah school whose learning materials discuss a lot about living guidelines according to Islamic religious teachings, ranging from Fiqh, Sunnah, Aqidah, and Foreign Language Learning. For Madurese, Islam is an inseparable part of their identity, and deviation from religion can lead to social rejection and loss of their Madurese "roots". The presence of private langgar (prayer rooms) in almost every household in Madura symbolizes their commitment to Islam and serves as a local Islamic institution, with kiayi langgar (langgar leaders) playing an important role as religious and community leaders in their daily lives (Muh. Syamsuddin, 2015).

Conditions like this can actually easily encourage the entry of radical ideas. They no longer care about reason, because what the kiyai consider true is a sacred "truth". Of course, there are so many other local wisdom that also determines whether or not radical ideas easily enter the land of Madura, especially in Pamekasan Regency. On this basis, this research was conducted, namely to see from a different point of view, how the pattern of social behavior of the Pameaksan community is known to be very religious, but not easily exposed to radical ideas which in their spread use many religious issues.

II. RESEARCH METHOD

The method used in this study is Socio-Legal study (empirical legal research) which is the result of a mix between normative legal research methods and social sciences with an Ethnographic approach (Nuh et al., 2022). the importance of non-doctrinal legal research methods (Socio-Legal) departs from the dissatisfaction of experts with the output of the results of legal research with doctrinal approaches that are considered no longer relevant to the development of science (Al-Fatih, 2023). The use of the Socio-Legal research model with an ethnographic approach is an effort to be able to provide an overview related to a problem that develops in a group /community being studied (Nugrahani, 2014), By exploring or clarifying a symptom, or phenomenon, or existing social reality, so that later it can draw a conclusion that is in accordance with the existing problem (Samsu, 2017), accompanied by a study of positive laws (related laws) regulated in Indonesia.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
Social Structure and Role of Madurese Local Elite

Based on the religious devotion of the Madurese, they are known as a community of "Santri", which emphasizes their adherence to the teachings of Islam. The role of religious leaders, known as kiyai, holds significant influence and respect in Madurean society, beyond the role of formal leaders. Madura is well known for its association with Islamic education, with many pesantren founded by the Muslim community. The kiyai, being a highly respected and trusted

figure, served as a guiding force for the Madurese people in matters related to religious and worldly affairs, embodying cultural traditions that have been passed down from generation to generation.

The existence of local elites also has a very big influence on the solidity of Madura society in maintaining its culture. In many literatures it is mentioned that not only kiyai, there are Klebun (Village Head) and Blater / Bajing who also have a great influence in the social order of Madura society. They have different roles, or perhaps in terms of religion contradict each other, but they go according to their own paths, and are mutually sustainable in maintaining the conduciveness of society.

The Madurese expression that reads buppa'-babu'-guruh-ratoh is an early marker of how the hierarchy of respect in the family sphere and the role of kiyai who have a central position in the sphere of society, of course, the most important thing is still respect for parents, for Madurese, respect for buppa'-babu' (father / mother) is a truth that does not need to be debated. While the main factor in society that must be respected is thunder, not only towards teachers in formal schools or in madrasas, the use of the term thunder also refers to kiyai, namely people who are considered to have higher religious knowledge and are considered to have karomah, so they are highly respected. after that, the third respect is respect for ratoh (government), within the smallest scope of government, including the Klebun (village head) and his officials(Mohammad Kosim Kosim, 2012).

The three local elites have interconnectedness and continuity in exerting influence on society. of course, when viewed from the external elite, Kiyai has the highest position. People tend to be indifferent to the attitude/action taken by a kiyai, because it is considered an absolute truth. This is also a strong reason how radical ideas in Madura, especially in Pamekasan, cannot thrive. Until now, of course, young people have always been the main target by radical militants to spread the ideas they believe in, but this is also not easy to enter and take root in the soul of young people in Madura.

In 2022, the East Java Terrorism Prevention Coordination Forum (FKPT) said that there are at least four new patterns used to spread radical ideas among young people, namely (1) through mass media, (2) family relationships, (3) direct communication, and (4) through educational institutions. This was reinforced by Sarwono, Director of State Defense of the Indonesian Ministry of Defense, he said that educational institutions are no exception to universities. The findings of the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) in 2018 showed that there were 39% of students in 7 state universities who had been exposed to radical ideas. One of the actions was that they participated in fundraising to help ISIS (Yuyun Wulandari, 2022). Apart from the emergence of sympathy on humanitarian grounds, this is clear evidence of how radical ideas have spread among young people through the education system in Indonesia (Unggul et al., 2023).

Madurese Society and Acts of Terror

Although until now there have been no acts of terrorism, it does not mean that in Madura, especially in Pamekasan, it is free from the threat of radicalism (Faradilla & Kana, 2019). So far, the conflicts that occur tend to be motivated on the basis of differences in understanding related to the perspective of Islamic teachings(Abd Hannan, 2022). Let's take the example of how the Shi'a conflict in Sampang which peaked in 2012. There are also many findings that prove that there are several perpetrators of terror who after being arrested and investigated by the police, they are Madurese. One example is;

1. Attack on Wonokromo Surabaya Police Station in 2019. Perpetrators who for the reason of wanting to make a complaint are finally immediately accepted and allowed to enter the SPKT room, after entering the room, the police who are preparing all their needs to receive reports, with conditions that are not ready to be attacked by perpetrators using sharp weapons. After the incident, the perpetrator was immediately arrested, and after tracing, it was found that the perpetrator named Imam Musthofa was a resident of Karang Teak Hamlet, Talaga Village, Ganding District, Sumenep, Madura(Achmad Faizal, 2019). The results of the search also found the fact that the perpetrators should be suspected of having been exposed to radical ISIS, this is what prompted the perpetrators to carry out the lone wolf terrorism act.

2. The case of the attack on Wiranto in 2019. One of those allegedly involved in the attack was a woman from Sampang, who lived in a rented house in Karanganyar, Central Java. This is reinforced by the testimony of the perpetrator's neighbors, who explain that the family tends to be closed and very exclusive. The results of the examination of Densus 88 explained that in the house found several books about the importance of Tawhid as a condition for receiving religious deeds, books on the law of bai'at, and several other books that strengthened evidence that the perpetrators had been exposed to radical ideas (Abd Hannan, 2022).

3. Arrest of Heri Setiawan, who is the leader of Jamaah Anshorut Daulah (JAD) Madura. Heri was one of the leaders who participated in a meeting between JAD leaders the day before the 2018 Surabaya church and police bombing tragedy. Heri is known to have joined the radical group since 2014, and has attended several trainings conducted by JAD in Malang and in Lamongan shortly after (Irfan Ma'ruf, 2019).

4. Arrest of HS and I who are a married couple, they were arrested at their residence in Sokobanah area, Sampang, Madura. Detachment 88, which took action on the case, found that the couple had been exposed to radical ideas and affiliated with ISIS. The uncovering of the terrorist network was a follow-up to the arrest of a family in Lamongan, who was also suspected of having been exposed to radical ideas (Ghinan Salman, 2019).

This fact is proof that the true radicalism that is the entrance for someone to become radicalized has also plagued Madura. At the same time, however, the laws that live in society have also been indirectly able to counter this (Asmara, 2016). At the level of expert understanding, we can explore further related to radicals themselves (Al-Fatih & Aditya, 2019). Although both aim to address perceived injustices in the existing system, radicals seek radical transformation in the existing order, while revolutionaries seek to overthrow and change every aspect of the political, socio-economic, and cultural structure. The main difference lies in the level of transformation envisioned and implemented, with radicalism as a transformative trajectory and revolution involving a break with the past (Arshin Adib-Moghadda, 2012).

Basic Implementation of Counter-Radicalization in Indonesia

Counter-radicalization in Indonesia is a cross-sectoral effort that aims to prevent and overcome the spread of radical ideology and extremism that can endanger the peace and stability of the country. Against the backdrop of cultural, religious, and ethnic diversity in

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Indonesia, counter-radicalization has an important role in maintaining social harmony and facing the threat of terrorism. The Indonesian government, through specific laws and policies, has built a solid framework to address the problem of radicalization(Timuriyono, 2020). Counter-radicalization measures involve various sectors, including education, socialization, local community empowerment, and deradicalization approaches. The educational program aims to provide an understanding of tolerance, diversity, and democratic values to the younger generation. Socialization is carried out through various media to provide information about the dangers of extremism and how to deal with it.

Empowering local communities (Hidayah & Komariah, 2019) is a crucial element in counter-radicalization efforts. Religious figures, community leaders, and societal groups collaborate to detect potential radicalization at the grassroots level and prevent it through dialogue and persuasive approaches. Deradicalization programs focus on rehabilitating individuals involved in extremist movements, aiding their reintegration into society with a more moderate perspective (Ari Wibowo, 2012). Furthermore, online surveillance and international cooperation are also part of the counter-radicalization strategy. Through collaboration with other countries, information and intelligence can be exchanged to confront the challenges of radicalization that cross national borders. Meanwhile, Counter-radicalization is understood as a series of efforts and actions taken by the government, society, organizations, and other institutions to prevent and address the process of radicalization that could lead individuals or groups to engage in extremism or terrorism. The aim of counter-radicalization is to identify the factors influencing someone to become radical and to reduce the appeal and impact of radical ideologies.
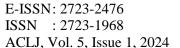
In Law Number 5 of 2018 concerning Amendments to Law Number 15 of 2003 concerning the Stipulation of Government Regulation in Lieu of the Law Number 1 of 2002 concerning the Eradication of Terrorism Criminal Acts becoming a Law, it is mentioned in Article 43C, paragraph (1), which states: "*Counter-radicalization is a planned, integrated, systematic, and continuous process carried out against individuals or groups vulnerable to exposure to radical terrorism ideology aimed at stopping the spread of radical terrorism ideology.*"

No less important is understanding the context of Deradicalization and Counter-Radicalization. Briefly it can be understood that the goal is the same, which is to make someone free from radical ideas. Deradicalization is the process of changing the views, beliefs, and attitudes of individuals who have been involved in radical ideologies or movements, so that they leave extreme thinking and return to being constructive members of society. Deradicalization aims to help individuals who have been involved in radicalism to return to society as productive members and no longer threaten security. Counter-radicalization refers to broader efforts to prevent and address the process of radicalization before individuals or groups engage in radical ideology or extremism. Counter-Radicalization Aims to prevent the emergence of radicalization by addressing the factors that favor its spread in society.

Inhibiting Factors
a. Communal Power

Making agriculture a source of income, rice and tobacco become one of the leading commodities. One of the things that underlies the communal relationship of Madurese,

especially in Pamekasan, is the pattern of settlement of residents. Houses are built not only as places for rest. Moreover, these houses are built as social units on a small scale commonly called Kampung Mejii or Tanean Lanjhang. the building is a large yard in which there are houses lined up and facing each other, and in the middle there is a courtyard (Tanean) (Mohsi, 2019). Family members who live in the house are extended family and relatives to the second generation family. The custom of the community is matrilocal, that married couples are required to live in Tanean Lanjhang together with the woman's parents.

In Madurean culture, Langghar or Kophung is a symbolic part and an integral part of their identity. Langghar is a hut or unique building where religious activities are carried out, and it is considered a belief and obligation for Madurese people to have it in their homes, usually every 1 Tanean Lanjhang (long yard) there is 1 Langghar.

Langghar is a unit of religious life that cannot be separated from Madurese society, so Madura Island is known as "Island of a Million Langghar." Despite the rapid changes in time, it is imperative to conduct in-depth research and exploration of the values and characteristics embedded in Langghar in order to preserve and strengthen this tradition through conservation and acculturation efforts. In addition, the social system of Madurese society shows strong solidarity, which is characterized by the practice of offering hospitality, food and attention to anyone who passes by their homes, even to strangers, as an expression of concern and respect for fellow human beings. This cultural norm, known as "ngangghep" (presuming), remains a norm and value for Madurese, regardless of their location or migration status.

This strength is reflected in various aspects of their lives, ranging from culture, economy, to cooperation in overcoming common challenges. One example of strong communal power in Madurese society is in maintaining and maintaining their traditions and culture. Madura's rich and unique culture, such as dance, music, and carving, continues to be preserved thanks to collaboration and support between citizens. They hold various festivals and cultural events to ensure that the values of the ancestral heritage remain alive and are passed on to future generations.

In the economic sector, communal solidarity also has a big role. Madurese people often form groups or cooperatives to overcome common economic difficulties. For example, in agriculture and fisheries, they help each other in growing rice or fishing, even in the distribution of crops and catches. This spirit of mutual cooperation not only increases productivity, but also strengthens social bonds among community members. Resilience in the face of trials is also an important aspect of communal strength in Madura. When natural disasters or difficult situations strike, Madurese people tend to unite to provide assistance and support to those affected. They share resources, knowledge, and manpower to restore things quickly (Uswatun Hasanah, 2020).

This strength, as mentioned earlier, is not only in positive aspects. One of the individuals we interviewed in writing this article mentioned that the Madurese community, especially in Pamekasan, has a very strong sense of brotherhood, even in matters that actually violate the norms that the community lives by and adheres to. This fact may sound very primitive, but it is true, and it is also one of the factors why radical ideas do not easily grow and take root in Madura because the community has a strong communal strength, and this is used effectively. We can also find the use of jargon or terms in the Madurese language, and

when these jargons are spoken, they can foster a sense of brotherhood. For example, terms like "Tretan Dhibi'" (own brother) or "Settong Dhere" (of the same blood). These jargons are often used by the Madurese community to cultivate solidarity and strengthen the bonds among themselves. Of course, this is also greatly influenced by the deep-rooted Islamic faith in Madura, so when faced with issues related to the beliefs and teachings they hold, they can easily reject such things.

b. Ignorance

Until this piece is written, the author has not found any reports of violent actions or terrorist activities occurring in Madura, linked to radical ideologies and referencing terrorism. Apart from its communal strength, one reason why radical ideologies do not easily infiltrate and take root in Madurese society is due to their lack of awareness. This is also significantly influenced by educational factors. Compared to other regions in Indonesia, education in Madura can be considered significantly behind. It's not merely a matter of facilities and access; rather, it's a problem of paradigms and the community's perspective on education itself. Formal education is seen not as much more than being able to read and do arithmetic; beyond that, it is deemed every child's obligation to learn and delve into religious studies, often through attendance at Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) (Totok Rochana, 2012).

On one hand, demographic factors also influence the sustainability of formal education in the area. Young people from farming backgrounds tend to not pursue formal education beyond high school. Apart from personal issues they may face, their parents' emphasis on the importance of religious knowledge and the suppression of critical thinking has created a unique perception of the importance of formal education.

One of the informants in this research is a community leader in the Pakong sub-district of Pamekasan. When confronted with terms like "Intolerance" or "Radicalism," they don't understand them. However, there is one important point that guides their beliefs and worldview, which is that no religious teachings promote violence. Therefore, when there is propaganda claiming to be religious but promoting violence, there is an automatic filter that prevents them from adopting radical ideologies. It's not because they know that the ideology in question is radical or dangerous. It's not as complex as the general public might think. Because they are unaware, they do not become radical.

c. Role of Government

This condition does not necessarily occur in a vacuum, there are trigger factors that make a person exposed to radical ideas, one of which is socio-political, sociological, and economic factors, which can be understood from the following brief table (Siti Aminah, 2016);

No	Study Perspectives	Triggers of Radicalism	Assumptions of Radicalism
1	Social Politics	There is a domination of groups that have political and economic power in an order. This triggers a sense of injustice and unfreedom.	The ability of a group to understand the existence of domination that has an impact on social structures and socio-political systems that tend to be unfair and suppress freedom

2	Sociological	Identity crisis among young people	This condition results in young people experiencing cognitive opening (accepting new understandings or teachings), this is considered natural and considered a mechanism of self-correction which ultimately leads to a view that life is not in vain
3	Economics	Poverty and economic inequality fuel social jealousy	This condition has prompted someone to act and carry out social protests against the conditions faced

In this condition, the government executes its role as the state administrator that also must preserve the nation's integrity. As previously mentioned, technological advancements have had a significant impact. Thus far, radical groups have largely propagated their ideologies through social media. The National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) as the Leading Sector has established several platforms to conduct counter-radicalization efforts. For instance, there's a website like aku.dutadamai.id that provides counter-radicalization content. In its implementation, this is stipulated in Article 43C paragraph (3), essentially stating that counter-radicalization is carried out through counter-narratives, counter-propaganda, and counter-ideologies.

Furthermore, the collaboration between the government and community groups, especially religious organizations, has amplified the efforts in counter-radicalization. In the Pakong district itself, there are at least three active community organizations, namely NU, Muhammadiyah, and Daruh Hadist. These organizations tend to understand the concept of tolerance in differences more than radical groups, which consider themselves as the sole correct authority. What has been the government's duties and obligations, as regulated in anti-terrorism laws, in the effort to combat radical ideologies by working alongside these community organizations, has effectively managed to suppress and counter the infiltration of radical ideologies.

IV. CONCLUSION

Based on the religious obedience of the Madurese community, they are known as a "Santri" community, emphasizing their adherence to Islamic teachings. The influential role of religious leaders, known as "kiyai," holds significant influence and respect in Madurese society, surpassing formal leaders. Madura is known for its association with Islamic education, with numerous pesantrens established by the Muslim community, where kiyai play a respected role guiding Madurese in both religious and worldly matters, upholding the cultural traditions passed down through generations. However, this condition doesn't entirely immunize Madura from radical ideologies. Some individuals from Madura have been involved in radical activities, including attacks on police stations and government officials, often stemming from the transformative nature of radicalism within the existing system compared to revolutionary movements that aim to overthrow and change the political, socio-economic, and cultural structures entirely.

Nevertheless, with its rich culture and embedded norms, the Madurese community, particularly in Pamekasan regency, has its unique ways to counteract radical ideologies. There are at least three strong reasons acting as inhibitors. (1) Communal strength: Madurese people possess a strong sense of brotherhood, using encouraging language such as "Settong Dhere" and "Tretan Dhibi'" that further tighten communal bonds, not only within their own region but beyond. (2) Ignorance: This reason might sound discriminatory, but it's a reality. They lack an understanding of radicalism, deradicalization, or counter-radicalization concepts; what they believe is that no religious teaching justifies violent means to achieve a goal. (3) Government participation: The government's role in combating radicalism involves utilizing technology and collaborating with community groups, especially religious organizations. The National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) as the Leading Sector has established online platforms like aku.dutadamai.id to implement counter-radicalization efforts through counter-narratives, counter-propaganda, and counter-ideologies. Moreover, partnerships between the government and community groups like NU, Muhammadiyah, and Daruh Hadist contribute to successfully combatting radical ideologies by promoting tolerance and collaborating against radical influences.

V. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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