

Jihad Against Drug Mafias: A Case Study of Community Collective Movement in Aceh

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Abstract

Collective movement for drug eradication organized by the community was proved to be more effective in stopping drug trafficking than to the security approaches organized by the state apparatus (government). Based on the case study of community's collective movement in the village of Ujoeng Pacu Lhokseumawe, this article is intended to show the complex phenomena of genealogy and the dynamics of the collective movement of the community in fighting the drug mafias. Using the Perspective of Tilly Collective Movement and the Method of Phenomenology, the study found that jihad collective movement on the drug eradication carried out by the community of Ujong Pacu was motivated by the rigging relationship among theological unrest, social and economical security, and concerns about the future generations. The consideration of the drug as the only trigger of any immoral (*ma maksiet*) activities towards Allah Almighty has made the flow of this movement not only significant to the social movement but also to theological movement (jihad). Due to its interpretation as a religious movement, the moral of the drug eradication movement was not deterred despite the various threats and the terror bombing as an act of counter-attack from the drug mafias occurred repeatedly in the Ujoeng Pacu's community.

Keywords

collective movement; drug eradication; Ujoeng Pacu; Kota Lhokseumawe

INTRODUCTION

Over the last decade, Indonesia has transformed from a merely transit country for drug trafficking into a country of international destination for the drug trading. The statistic shows that 4.9 million people of Indonesia are drug users and 50 Indonesian citizens die every month because of the drugs (liputan 6: March 4 2014). Beside the costs on lives, drugs also give serious implications on various social problems such as crimes and other destructive acts. In the medical field, drugs have a direct contribution to the development of the Aids disease. This situ-

ation encouraged the President Jokowi to "announce" the status of emergency for Indonesia regarding the drugs use. The emergency status on the drugs use for Indonesia apparently can no longer be focused only in particular province or town or village, but in the whole country, including Aceh (Calderoni 2012; Rios 2008; De-Danieli 2014).

However, unlike other regions in Indonesia, in which the drug mafia eradication

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on action is executed by the state through law enforcement personnel (police), the fight against the drug mafias in Gampong (village) Ujoeng Pacu, city of Lhokseumawe, is conducted collectively by members of the community themselves. In this village, all members of the community, without any exceptions, either men or women, the village apparatus or the public, are involved and stand collectively against the drug mafias who are considered to have caused troubles. The placement of drug businesses as a common enemy has effectively brought a community's collective movement into existence (Harian Serambi Indonesia 3-8-2015). However, as a big organized business, the drug mafias never remain silent, they maintain their existence by any means, including committing terror and directly attacking people of the village through improvised bomb explosions (Harian Serambi Indonesia 9-8-2015).

Despite the terrors, the people of Ujoeng Pacu do not step back. Efforts on combatting drug trafficking in the village are still made persistently and realized through concrete actions. This is due to the determination of the people to create Ujoeng Pacu village as a drug-free village, although admittedly, it is not easy to realize since Ujoeng Pacu has been recognized for years as one of the most productive villages in terms of drug trafficking, especially in Lhokseumawe and the surrounding area. World history notes that there is no major changes that may occur without being initiated by the community's collective movement. As a social movement, a community collective movement as mentioned by Giddens (1993) is a collective effort to pursue a shared interest or a movement to achieve common goals through collective action (collective behavior) outside the scope of the established institutions (Farro and Demirhisar 2014; Kavada 2015).

According to Tarrow (1998), the action underlying the politics of resistance is a contentious collective action. Collective action can take any forms; brief or sustained, institutionalized or quickly dispersed, dull or dramatic. Generally, collective action takes place when people join an action to achieve

common goals in the fighting against an authority or other organized and powerful group such as the drug mafias. Collective actions often face challenges when done by people who have lack of access to the institutions to file new claims that can not be accepted by the authorities or other parties being opposed. Contentious collective action is the basis of social movements since the action was the only tool owned by public to oppose other powerful parties such as a state, exploitative corporates, or organized drug mafias (Naím 2012, p.100; Wang 2010, p.11; Steinberg 2008, p.48-52; Calderoni 2011).

In line with Tarrow, Tilly (2002) states that collective action is a collective idea to fight against the offenders who are considered as undermining the system or the dregs of society. The social movements operate within the bounds of legality of a society, however, it can also move illegally or as the underground groups. This resistance mode depends on the strategic readings performed by actors on the issue and opponents being faced (Fadillah 2006, p. 2). In the case of collective action of Ujoeng Pacu, City of Lhokseumawe, the movement was initiated by the secretive actions of an individual, and after it is considered ineffective, it then become a movement that is open, massive, legal and systematic (Davis 2010, 397-413).

This study gives an important addition to the existing literatures on drugs mafia elimination by giving emphasis on community organisation and approaches. The existing works (Naím 2012; Wang 2010; Calderoni 2012) largely emphasise on legal formal approach.

This study is a phenomenological qualitative study. As a phenomenological study, the purpose of the study is to understand (*verstehen*) and grasp the meaning from the perspective and appreciation of the community as the actors of jihad collective movement against the drug mafias. The objectivity in the perspective of this method is built through the formulation of specific situations as lived by individuals or particular social group (Moleong 2000). The process is important because the appreciation of what

appears on the surface as a pattern of human action is the manifestation of what is in the human mind (Faisal 2003). Therefore, to be able to understand the subjective meaning (motive / *verstehen*) which led to the emergence of jihad collective action by the people of Ujoeng Pacu, city of Lhokseumawe, this study was conducted through several integrated steps, namely Live In, observation, in-depth interviews and document research.

The data collected were analyzed in a dialectical-critical method. This means that each data was positioned as equivalent to be contrasted through negation logic. Any data that persist from negation would be a real data while the unused data were eliminated. Thus, the data are the real reflection of not only what can be seen of the actors' actions, but also a reflection of what is inside of them. The data analysis process is not understood in an instance in a linear form, but it follows a cycle that is interactive and through back and forth process that was done since the time of data collection (Miles and Haberman 1992). Then, the final process of this analysis were; to interpret the data to retrieve the subjective meaning of the actor's action, to provide a significant meaning to the analysis, to explain the pattern of description and to look for the relationships between the dimensions of the description.

Pattern of Social Relation

Activities of the livelihoods which depend on agriculture shape the society of Ujoeng Pacu as the farming community. The togetherness formed as a result of the similarities in term of geography, diet, social interactions, livelihoods and high intensity of encounter establish the same social norms which then result in a high reciprocity on the various problems being faced. Thus, the social relations that are established are warm emotional bonds in which the cooperativeness becomes the main feature.

This reality binds emotional relationships that unite various parties. The unity of emotional connections create the principle of "*Si Droë Keu Ban Duem Ban Duem Keu Sie Droë*" (One for all and all for one). The

impact of such togetherness is intertwined in the practical action of the people who tend to look at problems faced by an individual in society as a shared problem. This fact encourages the people of Ujoeng Pacu to always be involved in maintaining, facing and solving the problems together.

The characteristics of the community solidarity that are formed in Ujoeng Pacu can be described by using Emile Durkheim's terminology known as mechanical solidarity. In the mechanical solidarity, the main bond is mutual trust, shared goals and moral commitment. It is through these shared norms that the collective consciousness was established. In this community, the individuality is minimalized and the homogeneity is highlighted (Johnson 1994, p. 183).

As a mechanical society, the people of Ujoeng Pacu tend to keep individuals to behave in the way expected by the group norms. Social pressure is violent towards members of the groups who try to threaten the existence of shared norms. Individuals who "dared" to bring different norms and behavior into the society are asked to be extra careful in order to live in harmony with others. Otherwise, a serious social sanction will threaten them. Diversity is valued to the extent where it is deemed as not threatening the general norms (mainstream) of the society. Violators will get penalties of being "excluded" from the community. Therefore, the moral commitment becomes the main requirement in order to maintain norms and solidarity of the group in the society.

Diversity Pattern of Ujong Pacu community

All of Ujoeng Pacu's people are muslim (Monograph Data of Ujoeng Pacu Village 2009). They are known to be a religious and fanatic muslim community. The Islam that is developed in this area is Ahlusunnah wal Jamaah, the majority branch of Islam. Referring to fiqh study, these people are those who claim themselves as the followers of Shafi'i and Al-Ash'ari. The strong attachment between the people of Ujoeng Pacu and Islam (especially the teachings of

Imam Shafi'i) has become one of the factors responsible for the placement of Islam not only as a religion but also a worldview in the society. Islam then becomes a source of reference in assessing all issues and attitudes, as well as in making decisions. Furthermore, Islam is also interpreted as part of the identity.

Islam as a system of a worldview is reflected in the traditional idiom (hadih Maja) of the Ujoeng Pacu's community, which goes "*Hukom Ngon Adat Han Jeeut Cree, Lagee Zat Ngon Sifeut*" (Law / Shari'a can not be separated from custom / social life, they are like a substance and its nature). Meanwhile, as an identity, Islam in this community is reflected through their characteristic of having defensive attitude when accused as 'kafir' or 'non-muslim', even though in their daily lives they do not practice the religious duties, such as prayer and fasting, as instructed in the teaching. The tight relationship between Islam and the people of Ujoeng Pacu can also be seen in their philosophy which is described as follows "*Ta Peutenteu Udep Lam Iseulam Sampo An Matee*" (We ensure ourselves to live and die in Islam).

Since Islam is taken as the only source of value in their social life, the society of Ujoeng Pacu, and Aceh in general, are not experiencing social and cultural divisions based on religion as in Java. In Java, as shown by the study conducted by Geertz, the penetration of Islam results in the three variants of cultural structure namely; Abangan, Priyayi and Pupils (santri) (Geertz 1981, p. 307). In contrast, in Ujoeng Pacu, Islam appear to be the unifying element in their cultural and social structure.

In most area of the Java Island, Islam is forced to adapt with the existing traditions that have been there for centuries and belong to the indigenous people who happened to practice Hindu-Buddhist traditions, and in the process, they lost much of their doctrinal rigidity. Consequently, as indicated by Geertz and Benda, for a long period of time, it is the religion of Java that is dominating rather than Islam, it is the custom of Java instead of the law of the Qur'an, and the Java Feudalism over urban Islamic

civilization (Benda 1985, p. 31).

In other words, it is the Javanese culture that influences Islam, not otherwise. Unlike in Java, in Ujoeng Pacu Islam affects the culture to a great extent and become a major referral source in various aspects of community's life. The cultural, ideological and structural aspect of the people of Ujoeng Pacu is in line with the customs and the religion.

The Motives of Collective Movement

The social movement has always been triggered by the compounding of two elements, namely motive and momentum. A motive is basically motivated by an encouragement from the "inside" of society, namely the existence of an upheaval as a result of the unstable values and norms that become the main contribution for social order and empirical pressures on pragmatic interest in meeting the basic life needs. While momentum is the availability of the openness of the social space to vent social pressures due to the disruption of the system of values, norms and pragmatic interests of the primary needs fulfillment.

The drug trafficking, especially heroin, in Ujoeng Pacu began around 2008. Initially it was done secretly and in a limited quantities. When the number of the consumers increases, it is done openly¹. The spread of drug is massive amongst the Ujoeng Pacu's young generations, followed by the increasing number of actions contradicted with the Islamic teachings, and the destructive activities towards the social order. Religious behavior that is deeply embedded is uprooted by these attitudes such as having less respect towards the scholars' words, not practicing the mahzah worship, either praying, fasting and or others. Respect for parents turned into the disobedience and even scolding them when not being given money to buy drugs². Such attitudes violate the order of values and social norms in the society of Ujoeng Pacu.

1 Interview with RZ, Ujong Pacu's villager, 13 June 2015

2 Interview with M. Nursyah, Ujong's villager, 10 October 2015

In a social context, they who have become addictive to the drugs would do anything in order to get money to pay a package of methamphetamine to the drug mafia. Ujoeng Pacu then changed a comfortable place into a place which is no longer liveable. Clothes, chickens, ducks, and goats of the villagers are the target of the thief³. Their actions are causing massive unrest among the people.

Actions that are contrary to the values of religion result in apprehension about the superiority of the values and norms of the society for the younger generations. Meanwhile, crimes such as theft threatens the security and the economy of the community of Ujoeng Pacu. Livestock is considered as deposit/savings for the people of Ujong Pacu that they will make money from it (read: sell) when they are faced with immediate needs such as the children's first year school equipments, Eid preparation, the harvesting celebration, or when sick⁴. Having livestock (chicken, duck / goats) stolen for the people of Ujong Pacu is a kind to having a bank account broken for the rich in the city. This situation create anger of the people that are non-negotiable.

The reality above led the anger of the people toward the drug addict and drug mafia, especially those who bring methamphetamine to Ujoeng Pacu. Thus, the drug mafia can be considered as common enemy. The concerns about the loss of values, norms and social unrest, about the loss the substitution of the economic resources (the economy that is only intended to meet the consumption needs) of the family symbiotically become a motivating force to "repel" the addicts and the drug mafia from the village. Motive as the basis for what the people call efforts to "clean up" the village has been passionately expressed by the people in the focus group discussions. They say:

"Heroin is the" mother of sinners "(*Ma Maksiet*) because it damage the aware-

3 Interview with Zakaria Berdan, Ujong Pacu's villager, 17 October 2015

4 Interview with M. Nurdin, Ujong Pacu's villager, 7 June 2015

ness of faith in Allah. As a result of the influence of the heroin, Especially on young people in Ujoeng Pacu not only ignore the obligations (prayer, fasting, etc.) but also started to perform acts that violate the norms of society such as being disrespectful to the elders, stealing and committing other crimes. The consumers of heroin caused a lot of troubles. Almost half of the young people in Ujong Pacu are addicts. This fact is very worrying for the young generation of Ujong Pacu in the future. They would do anything to be able to get money for the drugs, including clothes, ducks, chickens and goats owned by the people. Almost every day people lost their livestock. The behavior of the drug users were causing social restlessness collectively. The collective feeling of restlessness amongsts the society is what motivates them to fight the mafias together in order to cleanse the village from committing sins to Allah as well as eliminating social anxiety due to the loss of property (livestocks / economic resources of the family) "⁵

Efforts made to eliminate drugs trading which is considered as immoral activities in Ujong pacu is in line with economic interests and the need to feel comfort in living in Ujoeng Pacu. This has become a big motivation that lead the people to collectively initiate and consolidate a movement against the drugs trafficking in their village .

Strategies of the Collective Movement

The drug trafficking, especially the heroin, has been going on for a long time and has been massive in Ujong Pacu village. The news about drug trafficking in the village makes this village known as a drug village in the city of Lhokseumawe. Most of the users of the drugs in the city of Lhokseumawe go to the village to get the drugs. Ujong Pacu is not only known as a place to obtain drugs, but also as a safest area to consume them.

This stereotype creates anxiety amongsts the people of Ujong Pacu. The feeling of restlessness started from one indi-

5 Focus Group Discussion (FGD) with Razali, Zaenal, M. Nursyah, Zakaria Berdan, Hasbi and M. Nurdin, Ujoeng Pacu villagers, 13 December 2015

vidual and then become the shared feeling of the people in the village. When the restlessness is shared, there is the need to fight against it. The initial move the people do in fighting this drug mafias is to report them to the authorities (police). However, this also received unsatisfying results.

The people does not feel that their reports on drug abuse were being taken seriously by the authorities. This makes them frustrated. Due to the complaints and reports of the people who began to feel desperate in fighting the drug mafias, and the effect of sociological pathology such as the loss of the feeling of comfort and secured, the authorities of the village started to take action to eliminate the problems from the village. Under the leadership of Geuchik (Head of Village) Abu Bakar, the village's apparatus began to try a persuasive approach to the addicts and their family to stop consuming drugs or distributing drugs in the area.

Geuchiek Abu Bakar, said: "Before the movement against drugs involving the villagers as a whole, we initially called the parents of drug users in this area then asked them for information. As we already know the users of the drugs in this village, from the information we get, we learned that parents are not guilty, the children can not be told by them"⁶.

Persuasive actions have been done repeatedly by the head of the village (geuchik) and village apparatus, but those actions are proven to be not effective in stopping the drug consumption and distribution in the village. An addiction to drugs can not be stopped easily even with warnings from the people. They made them promise not to use them anymore, yet they broke the promise by consuming the drugs again. Similarly, the distributor promised again and again, "We will stop distributing the drugs"⁷, yet, the drug circulations and the addicts increase in number. Moreover, the level of restlessness amongst the people in the village has also increased. RZ, one of the villagers

said, "Since the methamphetamine was consumed and widely circulated in our village, we often lost our property and possessions, in the past it is even safe to put our motorcycle outside the house, no one would take it"⁸

The promises made by the addicts and the drug dealers to stop supplying and using drugs have been repeatedly broken. This ultimately diminish the limit of patience of village apparatus. In 2011, the village apparatus began to move more forcefully against those who are considered to have tarnished the prestige of the apparatus in the eyes of the public. However, the movement which is initiated by the village authorities was not successful. Without the participation of the people of the village, the movement was not effective in threatening dealers and the addicts. The prevention and eradication done by this village authorities was taken as merely a light threat⁹.

The failure of the first movement caused anxiety to the village apparatus as it increases the confidence of dealers and drug addicts that Ujoeng Pacu is a "paradise" for drug users. Likewise, the anxiety of the people on drug trafficking increases gradually from day to day because their property keep missing. The accumulation of anxieties of the village apparatus due to the damage of the image of the Ujong Pacu village as a religious village, and the damage of the authorities image in the eyes of the public, judged as lacking the competence to manage the village, and anxiety of people who continue to lose their possessions motivates the apparatus and villagers to integratedly fight against the drugs mafias.

Volume II of the movement began in 2013. Under the control of the geuchiek, village apparatus re-initiated this movement. People were starting to participate but has not been massive yet. In this second movement, every suspected "strangers" who entered the village both during the day and night were interrogated. Those believed to

6 Interview with Geuchiek Ujoeng Pacu, 14 October 2015

7 Interview with Geuchiek Ujoeng Pacu, 15 August 2015

8 Interview with RZ, Ujoeng Pacu villager, 15 July 2015

9 Interview with Geuchiek Ujoeng Pacu, 15 September 2015

be drug users were in the ultimatum and should sign the agreement to no longer dare to visit Ujoeng Pacu to obtain drugs. If this agreement was not obeyed, they will be reported to law enforcement officials. Parents whose children were involved with drugs both as consumers and dealers were called and asked to be able to change the behavior of their children or the village apparatus will send them to law enforcers¹⁰.

The pace of the second movement was also still less effective. In reality, the drugs distribution was still ongoing although it was not as free as earlier. Drug users from outside of the village still secretly went into Ujoeng Pacu and might be associated with the drug mafia. Even more sadly, parents at Ujoeng Pacu whose children were the victims of drug abuse were not able to change or stop their children's behavior.

Amid anxiety about the worse, stronger and more organized drug trafficking, *geuchiek* of Ujoeng Pacu continued to seek effective strategies so that the drug trafficking can be stopped. *Geuchiek*, then joined and become cadre of the National Narcotics Agency (BNN) Lhokseumawe. For the *Geuchiek*, joining BNN has two strategic interests. Firstly, to add knowledge about the dangers of drugs and the second was to be a strategic partner in combating trafficking and drug abuse, especially in Ujoeng Pacu¹¹.

The *Geuchiek* stated that lack of citizen participation in drug eradication movements in Ujoeng Pacu has become main contributor to the failure of these movements. Other factors in the failure of the movements is the lack of people's awareness fueled by the lack of knowledge and insight about the dangers of drug abuse for the individual and social life. In fact, villagers should aware that various social disasters which occurred in Ujoeng Pacu in the last decade were caused by drug abuse.

Based on this understanding, *Geuchiek* then took BNN to perform the transformation on the dangers of drug abu-

se to Ujoeng Pacu villagers, especially the dangers of drugs both for individuals and civil society. Hopefully, the better understanding of people about dangers of drug abuse can significantly raise their participation in the eradication of drugs in Ujoeng Pacu¹².

Then, village apparatus invited BNN to hold several seminars and discussions on drug abuse in Ujoeng Pacu. Seminars and formal discussions were held in *meunasah* (Small Mosque) in Ujoeng Pacu for the purposes to shed light on drug abuse as well as to bring this drug to be part of the theological resistance issue¹³. The success of the transformation of the dangers of drugs is proved after intensive seminars, discussions and dialogues at coffee shop as well as during Friday sermons. Talks at coffee shop changed from main theme of work to be about the behavior of drug users. Theme of Friday sermons about dangers of drugs as the root of disobedience to God becomes central and attracts the attention of villagers.

The women in the village also started to show interest in the topic of the danger of drug abuse. Gossiping as one way to release tiredness after the hectic activity that was usually associated with random topics, was changed with the talks about dangers of drugs¹⁴. The involvement of women was the sign that drug issue is not exclusively men's or village apparatus business.

Talks about drugs finally have given good understanding to the people that drugs must be eradicated together through a collective movement. The *geuchiek* viewed this reality as a strategic and effective opportunity to completely eliminate drugs from Ujoeng Pacu. Even more important thing is to change the stigma of Ujoeng Pacu as drug village in Lhokseumawe to become anti-drug village based on good and forgivingful *Shari'ah*¹⁵.

12 Interview with *Geuchiek* Ujoeng Pacu, 10 October 2015

13 Focus Group Discussion, Razali, Zaenal, M. Nursyah, Zakaria Berdan, Hasbi dan M. Nurdin village figures and villagers of Ujoeng Pacu, 13 November 2015

14 Interview with Mrs. War, a housewife at Ujoeng Pacu, 8 September 2015

15 Interview with *Geuchiek* Ujoeng Pacu, 12 October

10 Interview with ND, Tuha Peut Gampoeng Ujoeng Pacu, 10 October 2015

11 Interview with *Geuchiek* Ujoeng Pacu, 15 November 2015

The growing massive awareness that drugs are social “poisons” not only as source of immoral actions to Allah but also can give rise to various social disasters both today and for future generations underly spirit of the people of Ujoeng Pacu to move with the movement of volume III drug eradication in the year 2015¹⁶. This third volume movement though initiated by Geuchiek and village apparatus but growing participation of all citizens, from men, women and youth was an important record of a collective movement.

The procession of drug eradication movement began with joint consultation between the officials and the entire community in *meunasah* of Ujoeng Pacu. During the meeting, some crucial conclusions were made, one of which is that this movement to be a planned and systematic movement. This action was done by Geuchiek and village apparatus based on the learning from the failure of the movement in the first and second stages. Some important points from the meeting were:

- 1) in order that the movement earn the good pleasure of Allah and there is no deviation, the ulama should be invited as well.
- 2) In order that the arrested dealers and drug takers be guaranteed with legal process, in addition to cooperation with the Police Resort of Lhokseumawe , cooperation is also made with the military, especially with *Denrudal* (guided missile detachment)
- 3) Although the Mafia, dealers and drug users are known by the villagers, the resistance process began with a search of “strangers” who entered into Ujoeng Pacu. Then in sequence, it will be targeted to the mafias, dealers and drug users in Ujoeng Pacu¹⁷.

After the establishment of political “manifesto” of Ujoeng Pacu villagers of this drug eradication movement, right on the 9th of June 2015 the movement began. The

procession of the collective movement of villagers of Ujoeng Pacu began by inviting 3 charismatic ulamas (Islamic Scholars) aiming to lead the strengthening of spiritual and moral movement. These three scholars were Abu Hasballah Nisam, Abati Aba Buloh sawang and Teungku Muslim of FPI. These three scholars are very honored and charismatic for people of Ujoeng Pacu. Through the reciting of Surah Yasin, prayers, and speeches performed by these three scholars, community movements of Ujoeng Pacu shifted from just a social movement into a religious movement.

The reciting of Surah Yasin, zikir, prayers and speeches was conducted over three consecutive nights over the Napai hillin Gampoeng Ujoeng Pacu in June 2015. The internalization of religious moral appeal permeated the souls of Ujoeng Pacu villagers. The strength of the religious appeal of the scholars consolidate heart and emotions of the people of Ujoeng Pacu. Internalization of religious values in drug eradication efforts made people label this movement as Anti-Immorality Movement (GAN)¹⁸.

Then, after religious rituals led by the charismatic scholars, villagers went down from the top of the hill. They did a convoy around the village. This was done to “strengthen unity and increase the fighting spirit of the people because they recognize that combating drugs means against an organized group, lives are at stake from this movement”¹⁹.

The next day, the massive and collective movement of drug eradication in Ujoeng Pacu was conducted. Action began with ambushes and sweeping of all “strangers” coming into Ujoeng Pacu. Villagers started interrogating them with the questions about their purposes and who they want to meet in Ujoeng Pacu. Those identified as having drug were immediately arrested and handed over to the authorities. Those who wanted to buy the drug from dealers brought to meet the dealers, then, both parties were arrested

²⁰¹⁵

16 Focus Group Discussion, a village figure of Ujoeng Pacu, 11 November 2015

17 Focus Group Discussion, Razali, Zaenal, M. Nursyah, Zakaria Berdan, Hasbi and M. Nurdin, village figures of Ujoeng Pacu, 13 October 2015

18 Interview with RZ, a figure of the movement at Ujoeng Pacu, 15 October 2015

19 Interview with Zaenal a village figure of Ujoeng Pacu, 13 October 2015

and handed over to the police.

Users and drug dealers coming from Ujoeng Pacu were also arrested and handed to the police. There was even a drug mafia who got away. After his wife and children were evacuated, his home was destroyed by the people. It was only the main mafia who fled to Medan which could not be arrested by the collective action of people of Ujoeng Pacu.

Five big drug mafia men were successfully arrested by the villagers, four others were arrested by police including F the big mafia who fled to Medan. So in total there were 9 people arrested. To ensure all drug mafias who were arrested and handed over to the police go through legal process, people monitored the process and always coordinated with the military, especially with *Denrudal* of Pulo Rungkom²⁰.

Cooperation with the military is significant for the movement. In addition to giving a sense of safety, comfort and moral strength coordination with *Denrudal* also to ensure that the legal process against drug conspiracy really be done according to procedure. The problem was, Ujoeng Pacu villagers had bad experiences that the drug dealer after being handed to the police, he was out of jail easily²¹. So the dialectical relationship between the community of Ujoeng Pacu and *Denrudal* becomes chain of supervision of the implementation of procedural legal process against the drug mafia.

Ujoeng pacu village is free from drug trafficking. No more drug users and dealers seen in Ujong Pacu as it was before. Based on data from BNN, the number of dealers / drug users in the subdistrict of Muara Satu immediately decreased by 50%. This indicated that the number of transactions, dealers / drug users was large in Gampoeng Ujoeng Pacu²².

Solid relationship between the villagers and the ulamas is managed to foster a collective movement to eradicate drugs in

Ujoeng Pacu. This success provides strategic contribution to the world, because drug in actual reality is a global issue but there are always constraints in its eradication and the mafias are always backed up by authorities. Because of that, people of Ujoeng Pacu realized that struggle and collective movement against drugs are never over. They should not be careless and should always be able to maintain a relation and consistency of the collective movement.

Strategies to Maintain Consistency

After the arrest of drug mafias in Ujong pacu, the drug mafia in Lhokseumawe did not stay silent. They counter-attacked. The attacks began from threats and terror by telephone, short message service (SMS) to physical action through homemade bombs terror. Terrors via phone and text messages were often received by the leaders of the movement, especially the *Geuchiek*. Homemade bomb terrors were carried out sporadically addressed to the villagers. The main purpose was to show the existence of the drug mafia and they also wanted to do the demoralization of the villagers to weaken the movement so they can resume operations in Ujoeng Pacu.

There were three bombings carried out by the drug mafia between July and August 2015. In the first action, pipe bombs planted on the east side and below guard post. The first bomb blast in the east side of the post made people shocked. Then, people went to see the location of the bombing on the Napai hill. However, because it was placed on the east side there was no victim in this first explosion. Then, the crowd talked about the drug mafia counterattack. Some were sitting in groups away from the guardpost and some others were sitting in the post.

An hour later, a second bomb placed just below the guard post exploded and destroyed the guard post. 8 (eight) villagers were injured on August 8, 2015. They were Sulaiman, Sulaiman Lidan, Tarmizi, M. Yunus, Rahmadi, Khaidir, Khaidir and Sulaiman Rani. All of the victims were injured as a result of the pipe bomb splinters. In order to obtain medical treatment, the victims

20 Interview with M. Nurdin a village figure at Ujoeng Pacu, 15 November 2015

21 Interview with Hasbi a figure of the movement at Ujoeng Pacu, 17 November 2015

22 Interview with Geuchiek Ujoeng Pacu, 14 December 2015

were referred to the hospital of PT. Arun. NGL.Co.

The second bomb was put in the villagers' pond. The bomb exploded with no casualties. This action was done intentionally as a terror. Then, the third bombing was carried out in September 2015. The bomb exploded without injuring people too. The drug mafia did the bombing as a shock therapy for the villagers as a media to inform their existence and to create a massive fear. The other bombs were planted on the embankment of the catfish ponds, Geuchik's pond and villager's farm. All of the bombs did not explode and were found by the villagers²³.

Various terrors and counter-attacks carried out by the drug mafia are fundamentally aimed at creating demoralization to anti-drug movement carried out collectively by the Ujoeng Pacu villagers. However, the actions did not successfully affect the fighting spirit of the community at all. Instead, various terrors precisely strengthen the spirit of the community to be more aggressive in the fight against drug mafias in Ujoeng Pacu. Terror reinforces society's belief that the drugs and the mafias are social diseases that had to be diminished. Various times they terrorized us and even threatened to kill, too many times I said: "we are waiting for you here soon"²⁴.

There is no fear there. There is only the courage and the conviction that the fight against the drug mafia or immoral activities is a form of worship to Allah. Appeal against drugs as part of worship performed by the scholars responded by the villagers as an act strive in the way of Allah. So, no more fear and there is a belief that victory will immediately be obtained because, Allah surely helps anyone struggling on His way²⁵.

Rope of God became the first heart strap in the consistency of the movement so as not deterred by the various threats and terror in any form by the drug mafias. In another context, to maintain consistency

23 Interview with RZ, a figure of Anti-Drug Movement at Ujoeng Pacu, 13 November 2015

24 Interview with Geuchiek Ujoeng Pacu, 13 December 2015

25 Interview with Zakaria Berdan, 23 October 2015

of the movement, villagers need to maintain intimate relation that has existed so far. The fact that the villagers of Ujung Pacu genealogically bound in the blood ties, become traditional relationship bonding between them. The villagers often do social activities collectively. Similarly, in their everyday lives, they communicate openly with each other about anything like about employment, education, religion, health, etc. This forms close relationship and mutual trust among villagers. Besides, the intensive communication is a conscious form of social networking among villagers. Norms, beliefs and social networking are social capitals that contributes linear in achieving security and comfort for the villagers (Handoyo 2013, p. 263).

During the implementation of Anti-Drugs Movement and counter-attacks from the mafias, the central issue discussed by the villagers is related to drugs. Similarly, the various other problems faced daily. Communicating complaints and threats and future expectations after they are free from drugs creates the better spiritual bond among the villagers. In addition, to provide safety, comfort and add a Free Public Sphere, they also do night patrols.

Nightly patrols routinely performed every night involves all villagers. The most important meaning of this night patrol is besides ensuring security and free from threats from the drug mafia, it is also done to increase the intensity of the meeting among villagers. This means the social and psychological care and mutual help between people encourage the strengthening of the consistency of the movement. So as mentioned by Wafa (2003) that experience of mutual help from day to day among citizens slowly turned into a trust and the trust will return to strengthen that bonds of helping. As a result, almost there is no complaints and fears that go unnoticed. Interaction, dialect and transformation among villagers that occur in a string of dynamics battle against the drug mafia have become valuable social capitals of Ujoeng Pacu villagers to be united in facing the resistance challenge and counterattack of the drug mafia.

Strengthening and maintaining the

consistency of the movement are also done through the establishment of Qanun Gampoeng Ujoeng Pacu No. 10 of 2015, confirming that all the issues regarding the patterns of social relations prevailing in Ujung Pacu community. The most important thing from the existence of this Qanun is the affirmation of how to maintain good security so Ujoeng Pacu can be a safe and comfortable village which is free from drug trafficking²⁶. The transformation of the movement as a religious movement (*jihad*) strengthened the intensity of communication between villagers. Nightly patrols reinforces emotional, social and psychological bonds. village *qanun* constitute precious social capital that bind and maintain the consistency of collective movement of Ujoeng Pacu villagers in combating drugs.

CONCLUSION

Ujoeng Pacu community collective movement in the fight against drug trafficking is an action triggered by a deep anxiety to the comfort of their living in the reality of the present and future. Moral decadence of the addicts and loss of property stolen by them became the basis for the birth of collective unrest of Ujoeng Pacu villagers against the drug mafia. The presence of charismatic scholars in the movement that then internalize the values of religion show the growth of the moral movement as a *jihad* movement to eradicate the immoral actions. Triadic relationship between social unrest, rescue of future generations and worship to God are the basic motivation of the birth of collective movement of Ujoeng Pacu community in combating drugs.

In addition to involving charismatic scholars to strengthen the moral consolidation movement, sending the drug mafia and his followers to the police is also coordinated with the *Denrudal* Pulo Rungkom, North Aceh. This is done as part of the strategies to put pressure on the authorities to treat the drug mafia in accordance with legal procedures. There were 6 drug mafias

²⁶ Qanun Gampoeng Ujoeng Pacu No. 10, Year of 2015, p. 1-9

brought to the police and three others were arrested by the police. After the arrest of those nine drug mafias, Ujoeng Pacu village is free from drugs while before that, Ujoeng Pacu was known as a hotbed of drugs in Lhokseumawe.

It turns out that behind the bars, the drug mafias could still move their men, mainly to do the counterattack against the Ujoeng Pacu villagers. Terror threats via sms and the phone are often received and are aimed at the leaders of movement, especially the Geuchiek. However, the main concern is the bombings. Of the three bombings carried out by the drug mafias, two of which exploded which injured 8 people. Counterattacks conducted by the drug mafias were aimed at disrupting the collective movement of people of Ujoeng Pacu.

However, terror bombings committed by the drug mafias even strengthen collective movement of Ujong Pacu villagers. A convergence of social relations based on blood relationships among villagers, intensive communication among villagers after counterattacks by the drug mafias, night patrols which are not only done to maintain security but also as a free public sphere between villagers, and the establishment of *qanun Gampoeng* have become the valuable social capital in maintaining the consistency of the movement.

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