

RELIGION OF COMMON PEOPLE AND THE POTENTIAL OF RADICALISM AMONG HINTERLAND AND COASTAL COMMUNITIES IN EAST JAVA

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Abstract: This study aims to identify community religious traditions and opportunities for radicalization in inland and coastal communities of East Java. The method uses mixed methods and a qualitative model to describe the community's religious traditions and the potential for radicalization. Meanwhile, data was collected by semi-open interviews with 110 informants, analyzed using a flow model and calculated using descriptive statistics. According to the study's findings, East Java's religious practices in both inland and coastal communities are manifested in the traditions of aqīdah, *muā'malah*, and worship rituals. Traditions of aqīdah are carried out with the understanding *abl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah* that was developed by Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah. *Mu'āmalah* (social) tradition is based on the teachings of Kiai, teachers, and parents and is based on local wisdom. Ritual worship follows the understanding of *Abl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah*, which means performing maḥḍah worship in a disciplined fashion: prayer, zakat, fasting during Ramadan and performing hajj for those who can afford it. Additionally, the map shows the chance of being radical and moderate in both the inland and coastal communities in East Java; the chance of radicalism is

21.60%, of being uncertain is 13.13%, and of being moderate is 65.28%.

Keywords: Religious traditions; inland communities; coastal communities; radicalism; moderatism;

Introduction

The community's religious practice is always interesting to study as a form of externalization of the individual in various patterns of community life. Islamic teachings contain socio-cultural values and do not eliminate values that already exist in society, such as aspects of humanity, brotherhood, tolerance, mutual help, cooperation, and equality. The principle of Islamic civilization is universal and does not threaten the strength of existing culture.¹ Islam entered Indonesia when the community was already Hindus. Islamic values socialized in the community seem to align with Javanese mysticism. The paternalistic culture of society also facilitates the entry of Islam into Indonesia. In local traditions, syncretism is widespread in inland communities (farmers) and coastal ones (fishermen). Still, the content and meaning are oriented to Allah as a sign of gratitude or a sense of community happiness.

Looking at the history of the peaceful entry of Islam into Indonesia and how Islam has recently been associated with the issue of religious radicalism in the country raises an academic question: what is going on with the diversity of Indonesian society today? The representation of religion in individual thinking basically suppresses egocentric attitudes and is a capital to face external reality. Therefore, religious actions participate positively in social life, especially to overcome the tendency of individuals to run away from social life.² However, in the current global communication era, religious knowledge that is widely obtained through internet media displays various styles or streams, some of which are suspected of having caused radical religious movements, such as, in this case, "radical Islam." Such a movement fought for

¹ Nasaruddin Umar, *Islam Nusantara: Jalan Panjang Moderasi Beragama di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2019), 13.

² Robert N. Bellah, *Beyond Belief: Esei-Esei tentang Agama di Dunia Modern Menemukan Kembali Agama* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2000), 11.

Islam not as a mere religious concept but as a total ideology following what was practised at the time of the Prophet.³

The radical movement had political nuances which later penetrated into the socio-religious realm. People with 'rigid' applied beliefs and ideologies can be called radicals. Radical people tend to commit acts of violence and even justify the blood of people who disagree with them.⁴ This repressive action at its peak can be in the form of terror that damages and creates panic in the community.

Previous research has described the phenomenon of community diversity in the dimensions of a peaceful, safe, and calm life and anger and revenge. These two dimensions of life faces encourage whether peace or violence in religious life.⁵ Indonesian society has a peaceful nature, but along with the flow of globalization and the development of information technology, the community experiences socio-religious changes due to radical ideological and political consequences.⁶ The penetration of various religious understandings, such as Salafi, Wahabi, Tablighi Jamaat, Ikhwanul Muslimin and Hizbut Tahrir, has a role in colouring the religious life of the Indonesian people who have the ideology of Pancasila.⁷ The phenomenon of intolerance and radicalism in Indonesian society is rooted in the Wahhabi and Salafi movements.⁸ The increase in acts of discrimination in society is

³ Zuly Qodir, *Radikalisme Agama di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2014), 8.

⁴ Syahrin Harahap, *Upaya Kolektif Mencegah Radikalisme dan Terorisme* (Jakarta: Siraja, 2017), 5.

⁵ Masykur Arif, "Islam dan Persaudaraan Antaragama: Dari Kesadaran Individu Menuju Kesadaran Sosial," *Anil Islam: Jurnal Kebudayaan dan Ilmu Keislaman*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (2015), 269.

⁶ Alwi Shihab, "The Root of Islamic Radicalism," *Leimena Institute and Fieldstead and Company* (2017), available at <https://religiousfreedom.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/Alwi%20Shihab%20%20The%20Root%20of%20Islamic%20Radicalism.pdf>, 1.

⁷ Sudjito, Hendro Muhaimin, and Agung Saras Sri Widodo, "Pancasila and Radicalism: Pancasila Enculturation Strategies as Radical Movement Preventions," *Jurnal Dinamika Hukum*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (2018), 69.

⁸ Alwi Shihab, "The Root of Islamic Radicalism", 7.

correlated with the existence of extreme religious understanding,⁹ and stirs up conflict and intolerance.¹⁰

Acts of religious intolerance give birth to terrorist groups that can be present in every open space,¹¹ which significantly increased after the New Order.¹² Researchers consider that this reality requires treatment in the form of a deradicalization strategy through Islamic religious education programs to shape the positive character of society,¹³ character building based on religious humanism education,¹⁴ and the delivery of moderate Islamic thought in *da'wah* and human interaction.¹⁵ The novelty of this research is to unravel the religious traditions of the community and to describe the portrait of opportunities for radicalism to occur in inland and coastal communities of East Java.

The common people's religion exists amid the phenomenon of religious radicalism in Indonesia. This kind of religion exists to the extent of people's religious knowledge with the demands of work traditions. Religion is used as a fundamental belief to guide to God.¹⁶ It is present in the lives of inland people with a traditional,

⁹ M. Imdadun Rahmat, "Jaminan Kebebasan Beragama dan Berkeyakinan di Indonesia," *Jurnal HLAM*, Vol. 11 (2014), 26.

¹⁰ Moh Rosyid, "Keselarasan Hidup Beda Agama dan Aliran: Interaksi Nahdliyin, Kristiani, Buddhis, dan Ahmadi di Kudus," *Fikrah*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2014), 76.

¹¹ Jimly Asshiddiqie, "Toleransi dan Intoleransi Beragama di Indonesia Pasca Reformasi," presented on Dialog Kebangsaan tentang Toleransi Beragama, held by Gerakan Masyarakat Penerus Bung Karno, at Borobudur Hotel, Jakarta (2014), 2-3.

¹² Abdil Mughis Mudhoffir, "Political Islam and Religious Violence in Post-New Order Indonesia," *Masyarakat: Jurnal Sosiologi* (2015), 1.

¹³ Syamsul Arifin, "Islamic Religious Education and Radicalism in Indonesia: Strategy of de-Radicalization through Strengthening the Living Values Education," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (2016), 94, 118.

¹⁴ Imam Mukhyidin, Junanah Junanah, and Mohamad Joko Susilo, "Analisis Konsep Pendidikan Islam Humanisme Religius Menurut Abdurrahman Mas'ud," *Millab: Jurnal Studi Agama*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (2020), 55.

¹⁵ Khairan Muhammad Arif, "Konsep Moderasi Islam dalam Pemikiran," *Millab: Jurnal Studi Agama*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (2020), 340.

¹⁶ Umaruddin Masdar, *Agama Orang Biasa* (Yogyakarta: Yayasan Kajian dan Layanan Informasi Untuk Kedaulatan Rakyat, 2001), 7.

closed, and “soft” character and coastal communities with easy-to-change, cosmopolitan, open-minded, and strict personalities.¹⁷

The phenomenon of common people’s religion in East Java’s hinterland and coastal communities is interesting to study to answer the problem of the prevalence of religion as the basis for acts of violence that have been developing so far. However, the phenomenon cannot separate from incidents of terror and violence in the name of religion in Indonesia which often involve the people of East Java. Among the events is the arrest of a family by Densus 88 in the coastal area of Brondong, Lamongan, for being suspected terrorists.¹⁸ The family is linked to the Jama’ah Ansharut Daulah (JAD) network, which conducted the Thamrin bombing in Central Jakarta¹⁹ and the Sampang bombing.²⁰ In addition, the vandal of a police post in the Paciran sub-district is suspected of being involved in a terrorist network;²¹ the alleged perpetrator of the Sarinah bombing is a Lamongan resident,²² and even ISIS agents allegedly from Lamongan.²³ Cases of violence on behalf of religion or terrorist cases in the Lamongan district began to be revealed for the first time when the Bali Bombing I incident

¹⁷ Nur Syam, *Islam Pesisir* (Yogyakarta: LKiS Pelangi Aksara, 2005), 95-96

¹⁸ Hamzah Arfah and Khairina, “Tim Densus 88 Amankan Terduga Teroris di Lamongan,” *KOMPAS.com* (August 23, 2019), <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2019/08/23/07591761/tim-densus-88-amankan-terduga-teroris-di-lamongan>.

¹⁹ CNN Indonesia, “Terduga Teroris Di Lamongan Masuk Jaringan Bom Thamrin,” <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20190823164643-12-424132/terduga-teroris-di-lamongan-masuk-jaringan-bom-thamrin> (accessed on August 2, 2021).

²⁰ Chandra Iswinarno and Stephanus Aranditio, “Terduga Teroris di Lamongan dan Sampang Satu Jaringan Pelaku Bom Thamrin,” *Suara.com* (August 23, 2019), <https://www.suara.com/news/2019/08/23/195958/terduga-teroris-di-lamongan-dan-sampang-satu-jaringan-pelaku-bom-thamrin>.

²¹ Adi Suhendi, “Hasil Pemeriksaan, Penyerang Polisi di Lamongan diduga Terlibat Kelompok Teroris,” *Tribunnews.com*, <https://www.tribunnews.com/regional/2018/11/21/hasil-pemeriksaan-penyerang-polisi-di-lamongan-diduga-terlibat-kelompok-teroris> (accessed on August 2, 2021).

²² Rappler.com, “Polri: Tiga Terduga Teroris Lamongan Terkait Aksi Teror Bom Sarinah,” <https://www.rappler.com/world/bahasa-indonesia/densus-88-tangkap-tiga-terduga-teroris-lamongan> (accessed on August 2, 2021).

²³ Hakim Mohammad, “Diduga Agen ISIS, Terduga Teroris Lamongan yang Ditangkap Tiga Orang,” *Duta.co* (April 7, 2017), <https://redaksi.duta.co/diduga-agen-isis-terduga-teroris-lamongan-yang-ditangkap-tiga-orang/>.

occurred in 2002, and the perpetrators were Lamongan residents.²⁴ After that, the Bali Bombing II appeared in 2005, and the perpetrators were also residents of Lamongan.²⁵ Terrorist events in Indonesia, especially in Lamongan, East Java province, made Lamongan's image as a terrorist hotbed undeniable.²⁶

Based on the above phenomena, this study aims to describe the religious traditions of inland and coastal communities as a model of the 'common people's religion'; and to explain the opportunities for radicalism to occur in the 'common people's religion' in inland and coastal communities in East Java province including the districts of Gresik, Bangkalan, Mojokerto, Surabaya, Sidoarjo, and Lamongan which are known as religious communities.

This study uses a mixed methods model to describe and explain data on religious traditions and opportunities for radicalism in inland and coastal communities in Gresik, Bangkalan, Mojokerto, Surabaya, Sidoarjo, and Lamongan. The perspective of the sociology of communication is used to analyze research phenomena related to social interaction and the meaning of communication symbols used by inland and coastal communities. In particular, this research is examined in the perspective of social construction theory and conflict theory. Social construction theory is used to understand the way people construct religious understanding, and conflict theory is used to understand the process of emerging consensus and creating conflict in society.

Qualitative research is used to describe descriptive data, both oral and written from the research target,²⁷ by interpreting the

²⁴ Rosiana Haryanti and Resa Eka Ayu Sartika, "Hari Ini dalam Sejarah: Tragedi Bom Bali I Renggut 202 Nyawa," *Kompas.Com*, <https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2019/10/12/063000665/hari-ini-dalam-sejarah--tragedi-bom-bali-i-renggut-202-nyawa?page=all> (accessed on August 2, 2021).

²⁵ Mela Arnani and Sari Hardiyanto, "Hari Ini dalam Sejarah: Tragedi Bom Bali II, 23 Orang Meninggal," *Kompas.Com* (September 30, 2019), <https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2019/10/01/061000565/hari-ini-dalam-sejarah-tragedi-bom-bali-ii-23-orang-meninggal>.

²⁶ Rinaldy Sofwan, "Lamongan, Penelur 'Pejihad' JI Hingga ISIS," CNN Indonesia, <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20170116095817-20-186545/lamongan-penelur-pejihad-ji-hingga-isis> (accessed on August 2, 2021).

²⁷ Lexy J. Moleong, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya, 2008), 5.

natural setting using various methods.²⁸ Quantitative analysis is used to explain the chances of radicalism occurring by calculating valid numbers and analysing with descriptive statistics to illustrate the possibilities of radicalism happening in inland and coastal communities.

Data were collected using in-depth interviews, observation, and document review techniques. Researchers conducted interviews with semi-open questions to the public at random and strengthened by conducting observations. The number of informants is 110, consisting of 60 inland community informants and 50 coastal community informants. The data from the semi-open interviews were analyzed by conducting an integrative review²⁹ through literature, reference books, and documents relevant to the research topic.

The data analysis technique is carried out with a flow model³⁰ that begins by examining all the data found, reducing it by classifying data that can describe the religious pattern of “common people,” and presenting, verifying and making research conclusions. Then, quantitative data analysis was carried out by tabulating, coding, and calculating the percentage level using descriptive statistics and producing the percentage of opportunities for radicalism in inland and coastal communities in East Java province.

“Common People’s Religion”

The “common people’s religion” is a religion made as a real belief in life that guides humans towards good deeds towards their fellow human beings and their God.³¹ The “common people’s religion” in this study is the daily Islamic practices of the rural and coastal communities of East Java Province, who have simple knowledge and low-income as farmers and fishermen. The rural community is an agricultural community divided based on the category of agricultural work, namely rainfed farmers and pond

²⁸ Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (USA: Sage, 2001), 75.

²⁹ Engkus Kuswarno, *Fenomenologi: Konsep, Pedoman, Dan Contoh Penelitiannya* (Bandung: Widya Padjadjaran, 2009), 62-63.

³⁰ Matthew B. Miles and A. Michael Huberman, *Analisis Data Kualitatif* (Jakarta: UI Press, 1992), 18.

³¹ Masdar, *Agama Orang Biasa*, 7.

farmers. Coastal communities are people who work as fishermen and live on coastal beaches.

Radicalism has various understandings. The first is the radicalism of thoughts, values, and ideas in which a person perceives his views, values and beliefs as correct while others are wrong. The second is the radicalism of actions or movements, namely extreme steps someone takes to change a situation as desired. The third is ideological radicalism, activities related to the acceptance of development, change and the concept of progress possible through revolution.³² The opportunity for radicalism in this study means an open space that allows inland and coastal communities to accept radical ideas, carry out extreme movements because of their ideology and thoughts, and create dynamics of social change in religious and social life.

Religious Traditions of Inland and Coastal Communities of East Java Province

The sources of religious teachings (Islam) referenced by the Muslim community have similarities, but their implementation in religious and social life, called “religious traditions,” always shows differences. Religious practices carried out by the community form a unique transcendental experience in the life of each community group, as demonstrated by Muslim communities in remote and coastal areas.³³

In general, the religious traditions practised by the people in Java are heavily influenced by Javanese culture’s variants inherent in their daily lives. Clifford Geertz mapped the rules of Javanese society into three variants: Abangan, Santri, and Priyayi. *Slametan* activities characterize Abangan culture to mark the belief in mystical/magical things, spirits, medicinal practices, and magic. Santri culture is characterized by routine activities in prayer, fasting, and pilgrimage, as well as activities of a religious nature. Finally, priyayi culture is characterized by an elite Javanese culture of behaviour with refined manners, high artistic power, and

³² Ahmad Jainuri, *Radikalisme dan Akar Ideologi dan Tuntutan Aksi* (Malang: Intrans Publishing, 2016), 4-5.

³³ Ali Nurdin, “Budaya Islam Nelayan Pesisir Utara Lamongan Jawa Timur,” *IBDA: Jurnal Kajian Islam Dan Budaya*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (2020), 119.

mysticism-intuitive solid thinking.³⁴ The three variants are typologies of religious behaviour carried out by Muslims in Java.

Religious traditions in the inland and coastal communities of Gresik, Bangkalan, Mojokerto, Surabaya, Sidoarjo, and Lamongan are implemented in three traditions, namely the tradition of *aqīdah*, social, and worship. The *aqīdah* tradition is shown by how people implement their beliefs in God through perspectives, attitudes, and behaviour. Social traditions are related to the development of faith in God's existence, which is implemented in everyday life. Finally, the worship tradition is implemented in the form of particular worship practices (*mahḍah*) as well as social worship other than special worship (*ghayr mahḍah*).³⁵

Aqīdah is a solid belief that includes the belief in Allah. This belief must be balanced between what is said and what is done. The utterance of the *shahādah* must be followed by action without any doubt. The *aqīdah* tradition in rural communities reflects the implementation of the belief system in Islam. People's belief in the existence of God (*tawḥīd*) is reflected in their daily lives. This tradition was acknowledged by an informants who said; "Yes, stating the existence of this nature is the existence of God,"³⁶ "greatfully,"³⁷ "entirely sure, so when I pray, sooner or later, it is always answered,"³⁸ "and by carrying out Allah's commands and avoiding His prohibitions,"³⁹ or said "it is implemented by carrying out all the commands of Allah and staying away from all His prohibitions, always praying five times a day, trusting Allah, the Most Helper and determining everything."⁴⁰

All informants agreed that only humans could ask God for help. Most inland and coastal communities in East Java practice this belief by obediently carrying out the obligation to pray five times a day and other sunnah prayers. The *aqīdah* tradition that is

³⁴ Clifford Geertz, *Agama Jawa, Abangan, Santri, Priyayi dalam Masyarakat Jawa*, trans. Aswab Mahasin (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1983), 6-8.

³⁵ Fatekhul Mujib, *Islam Samin; Ajaran Sinkretis* (Surabaya: Dakwah Digital Press, 2009), 76-85.

³⁶ Interview with Informan11, Gresik, June 6, 2021.

³⁷ Interview with Informan12, Gresik, June 5, 2021.

³⁸ Interview with Informan14, Gresik, June 6, 2021.

³⁹ Interview with Informan16, Gresik, June 6, 2021.

⁴⁰ Interview with Informan01, Gresik, June 5, 2021.

carried out tends to follow the notions of *ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah* and Muhammadiyah.

Social traditions (*mu'āmalah*) are activities carried out by inland and coastal communities of East Java in implementing religious teachings in everyday life. They are disciplined to carry out the obligatory worship ordered by Allah and stay away from all His prohibitions. They learn the core teachings of this religion from parents, kyai/ulama, teachers, and even from discussions with their group friends. The social tradition model is carried out in the form of wise and democratic leadership in dealing with all the life problems in society. One informant said;

...by carrying out the obligatory worship ordered by Allah ...taught by parents, teachers, and clerics and shared with colleagues at home, prayer rooms, schools and cottages. If there is a problem, it is enough to respond politely and politely decline. Make an effort, and ask God for help. If you still cannot find a solution, then ask for help from family or relatives.⁴¹

Other informants shared a similar expression that the belief one has must be able to be implemented in social traditions to form a harmonious Islamic environment. The informant said; "Always worship [pray] according to what parents, teachers, and schools teach, by a congregation in the mosque for one entire month. If someone invites you to something negative, say no, because I am who I am. We turn to Allah for help to solve the problem;"⁴² "The tradition of praying is learned from parents, teachers, and schools and is practised to lead the practice of tahlil in high school. If there is a problem, find a solution and solve it."⁴³

Based on the data above, East Java's inland and coastal communities practice social traditions based on religious teachings implemented in community leadership to form a religious society.

The worship tradition in the rural and coastal communities of East Java is centred on special worship behaviour (*mahḍah*) and is developed on non-special worship (*ghayr mahḍah*) in the form of religious activities that have religious values and add to the symbols of Islam. *Mahḍah* worship is carried out by carrying out the obligations contained in the pillars of Islam. Meanwhile, the

⁴¹ Interview with Informan05, Gresik, June 6, 2021.

⁴² Interview with Informan01.

⁴³ Interview with Informan02, Gresik, June 5, 2021.

ghayr mahḍab worship tradition was developed in the form of *tahlilan*, *salawatan*, *Yasinan*, and the commemoration of Islamic holidays. One informant said; “Here, what is thickest besides prayer, is prayer and tahlilan, which are held in mosques, and are usually major Islamic holidays. However, they are still not held because of the COVID-19 pandemic and complying with government regulations not to do crowd activities.”⁴⁴

Another tradition is to carry out activities to commemorate Islamic holidays and sholawatan as an increase in the symbols of Islamic teachings, as said by other informants; “Commemoration of *Isrā’ Mi’raj*, by holding public recitations, is used to be taught by teachers and parents from generation to generation,”⁴⁵ and “*Salawatan* and *tahlilan* gatherings are still running here, in people’s homes.”⁴⁶

The worship traditions of the inland and coastal communities of East Java are carried out by carrying out the obligations contained in the pillars of Islam. Following Islamic teachings, Prayers are performed to prove a Muslim’s obedience.

The religious model of inland and coastal communities tends to be implemented in an elitist and populist religious model. The application of ‘common people’ religious traditions in an elitist form is carried out by carrying out Allah’s commands and avoiding all His prohibitions. For example, carry out the pillars of Islam that have been ordered with strong and believed foundations, both textually and contextually. In comparison, the religious tradition of ‘common people’ in a populist form is implemented in people’s lives by looking at the substance of applicable teachings for social interests. For example, the value of religious teachings is used as the basis for carrying out humanitarian actions for the benefit of the people.

The Opportunities for Radicalism in East Java’s Inland and Coastal Communities

Radicalism is a term to describe a militant group that has an extreme and rigid understanding and does not hesitate to use

⁴⁴ Interview with Informan22, Bangkalan, June 13, 2021.

⁴⁵ Interview with Informan21, Bangkalan, June 13, 2021.

⁴⁶ Interview with Informan25, Bangkalan, June 13, 2021.

violence to defend its ideology.⁴⁷ Radicalism is divided into two models: the model of radical thinking and the model of radical action. Extreme thinking models are generally still in the form of discourses, concepts and ideas that are still being discussed but support the use of violent means to achieve the goals of a group. On the other hand, radical actions can be conducted by opposing the prevailing value order that is considered wrong and trying to fight for values that are considered correct.⁴⁸ Radical actions are generally in the socio-political and religious domains. In the political realm, it can be seen from the existence of coercion of opinions by disobeying the law; it can even take the form of mass mobilization for particular political interests and lead to social conflicts.⁴⁹

Likewise, moderatism can also happen to everyone, including people who live in the interior and the coast with low socio-economic strata, farm labourers and fishermen. Being moderate means being fair in all actions, thoughts, and words.⁵⁰ However, many people always understand the term “moderate” subjectively, causing controversy and subjective biases. Moreover, the word is never neutral to various economic and political interests. So, because of the different meanings of moderate, it can also make someone less understand correctly what and how moderate Islam is.⁵¹

Radicalism and moderatism can occur in the religion of ‘common people’ in East Java’s inland and coastal areas. As many as 26 questions were asked about the possibility of radicalism in the inland and coastal communities. The total number of respondents is 110, with details of 60 respondents from inland

⁴⁷ Muhammad Imarah, *Fundamentalisme Dalam Perspektif Barat dan Islam, Terjemahan Abdul Hayyie al-Kattani* (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1999), 22.

⁴⁸ Ministry of Religious Affairs, *Radikalisme Agama dan Tantangan Kebangsaan* (Jakarta: Dirjen Bimbingan Masyarakat Islam, 2014), 3.

⁴⁹ Nurul Faiqah and Toni Pransiska, “Radikalisme Islam Vs Moderasi Islam: Upaya Membangun Wajah Islam Indonesia yang Damai,” *Al-Fikra: Jurnal Ilmiah Keislaman*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (2018), 38.

⁵⁰ Achmad Yusuf, “Moderasi Islam dalam Dimensi Trilogi Islam (Akidah, Syariah, Dan Tasawuf),” *Jurnal Al-Murabbi*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (2018), 203.

⁵¹ Masdar Hilmy, “Quo-Vadis Islam Moderat Indonesia? Menimbang Kembali Modernisme Nahdlatul Ulama Dan Muhammadiyah,” *MIQOT: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (2012), 263.

communities and 50 respondents from coastal communities. All of them answered those 26 questions with the sub-themes of the relationship between Islam and the state, Muslim with non-Muslims, Islam with culture, Islam with social inequality, and Islam with thought. Every question answered “Yes” by the respondent has a value of 1 to describe the opportunity for radicalism to occur. The answer “Sometimes” has a score of 2 to represent the level of doubt of the respondent. The answer “No” points to a value of 3 to describe the chance of moderating.

Based on the data, there are differences in character between inland and coastal communities related to the opportunities for radicalism in everyday life. Coastal communities are more open to changes that occur than inland communities. Questions in the sub-theme of relations between Muslims and non-Muslims and Islam and culture indicate that the chances of radicalism happening are more remarkable in rural communities than in coastal communities.

The difference in the chances of radicalism occurring in inland and coastal communities is insignificant. However, the results of this study illustrate that the chances of radicalism occurring in inland communities are at a percentage of 27.18% and in coastal communities at 25.23%. People who are still hesitant to determine their attitude shows 10.45% in the inland community and 17.23% in the coastal community. This data provides opportunities for changes to moderate or radical perspectives. However, most people still tend to be more moderate, namely 62.37% in inland communities and 57.54% in coastal communities. It can be described in detail below.

Tabel 1: Comparison of Radicalism Opportunities in Inland and Coastal Communities in East Java

Score			Total Score	Score			Total Score
Inland Communities				Coastal Communities			
1	2	3		1	2	3	
Questions no. 1- 26				Questions no. 1- 26			
424	163	973	1560	328	224	748	1300
Inland Communities				Coastal Communities			
1	2	3		1	2	3	
27,18%	10,45%	62,37%	100%	25,23%	17,23%	57,54%	100%
Information: Percentage of the possibility for being radical (1), doubtful (2), moderate (3)							

In general, the map of opportunities for radicalism and moderatism can be seen on a wider scale, namely the overall data recapitulation at the East Java provincial level. In this case, the map of opportunities for radicalism and moderatism in the rural and coastal communities of East Java can be described as follows: the probability of radicalism is 21.60%, and respondents who answered in doubt are 13.13%. However, it provides opportunities for changes to radicalism or moderatism that are currently taking place. Meanwhile, the chance of a moderate attitude is 65.28%. In detail, it can be seen in table 2 as follows:

Table 2: The Map of Opportunities for Radicalism and Moderatism in Inland and Coastal Communities in East Java

Score			Total Score & Percentage
Inland and Coastal Communities of East Java			
1	2	3	
Questions no. 1-26			
617	375	1865	2857
21,60%	13,13%	65,28%	100%
Information: Percentage of the possibility for being radical (1), doubtful (2), moderate (3)			

Based on the table above, radicalism and moderatism occur in rural and coastal communities of East Java in the dominant thought concept model. In matters relating to the relationship between Islam and religious beliefs, inland and coastal communities are more likely to show their role in defending their religious beliefs. Hence, they are more likely to have radical thoughts. On the other hand, if radicalism and moderatism are associated with human social relations, inland and coastal communities tend to move to moderation in their thinking models and attitudes and actions.

This is very clearly seen on the map of opportunities for radicalism to occur in rural and coastal communities in East Java when viewed in detail in each sub-theme. First, in the relationship between Islam and the state, the probability of radicalism occurring is 21.64%, respondents who answered in doubt are 14.00%, and provide opportunities for changes to radicalism or moderatism that are currently taking place. At the same time, the chance of a moderate attitude is 64.36%. Second, in the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims, the probability of radicalism is 34.09%, and respondents who are doubtful are 18.05%; and also provides opportunities for changes to radicalism

or moderatism currently taking place. In comparison, the chance of a moderate attitude is 47.86%. Third, regarding the relationship between Islam and culture, the probability of radicalism occurring is 56.67%, respondents who answer doubt are 19.09%, and provide opportunities for changes to radicalism or moderatism that are currently taking place; the chance of a moderate attitude is 24.24%. Fourth, the map of opportunities for radicalism and moderatism in the sub-themes of Islam and social inequality shows; that the chance of radicalism is 4.85%, and respondents who answered in doubt are 3.94%, providing an opportunity for a change to radicalism or moderatism that is currently happening. The chance of a moderate attitude is 91.21%. Fifth, concerning Islam and thought, the probability of radicalism occurring is 5.09%. Respondents who are doubtful are 4.36%, providing an opportunity for a change to radicalism or moderatism to occur. At the same time, the chance of a moderate attitude is 90.55%. This data shows a striking difference between the sub-themes concerning religious beliefs or relations with God, in which inland and coastal communities tend to be radical. In contrast, regarding human concerns, people tend to be moderate.

The Common People's Religion and the Opportunities for Radicalism in the Perspective of Social Science Theory

In this section, the common people's religion is described from the perspective of the sociology of communication as an elitist and populist form of religiosity. Elitist religiosity refers to how a person adheres to the teachings that have been regulated in religion formally and textually. Populist religiosity refers to how a religious person sees substantially from religious teachings for the benefit of the people. Religion is used to achieve horizontal prosperity and vertical happiness. This populist form of religiosity is practised by ordinary people or is referred to as common people's religion.⁵² It in this study is the daily practice or practice of Islam in rural and coastal communities in Gresik, Bangkalan, Mojokerto, Surabaya, Sidoarjo, and Lamongan districts in East Java Province. They have simple knowledge and conduct allegedly low-income jobs as farmers and fishermen.

⁵² Masdar, *Agama Orang Biasa*, 7.

Seeing the characteristics of Islam as common people's religion, the study of the sociology of communication is more focused on aspects of social contact or interactions that occur in rural and coastal communities of East Java. The study of the sociology of communication is based on social interaction in which there is social contact and communication that contains meaning for the interpretation of particular objects.⁵³ The core of the sociology of communication is the process of human interaction using meaningful symbols involving systems.⁵⁴

Social contact in the inland and coastal communities of East Java is characterized by the presence of physical and non-physical touches between residents of inland and coastal communities. This touch involves all levels of society and carries out conversations (talking to each other). Conversations also characterize social contact through communication technology, such as telephone, television, internet, social media, etc.⁵⁵ In this case, inland and coastal communities talk about the themes of everyday life and the transfer of religious knowledge from the ulama, kyai, teachers, and parents in their environment.

The community communicates by building social contacts, which then gives birth to a process of meaning carried out by the community.⁵⁶ The meaning is carried out on the information conveyed by clerics, teachers, parents, and the people around them, mainly related to attitudes and behaviour in interacting with each other. The knowledge possessed affects the meaning given in response to the information received. Knowledge and information obtained through social media, television, the internet, and others also affect the process of meaning carried out on a message.

Social contact and communication are the main categories in the sociology of communication. In this respect, there are social contact and communication and meaning given. For example, inland and coastal communities of East Java make social contact and communication in religious learning through their environment; kyai, teachers, parents, and other portrayed people.

⁵³ Burhan Bungin, *Sosiologi Komunikasi; Teori, Paradigma, dan Diskursus Teknologi Komunikasi di Masyarakat* (Jakarta: Kencana Prenadamedia Group, 2014), 20.

⁵⁴ Nina Winangsih Syam, *Sosiologi Komunikasi* (Bandung: Humaniora, 2009), 16.

⁵⁵ Bungin, *Sosiologi Komunikasi*, 55.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 57.

People receive information or messages which then need to be interpreted. The process of interpreting the message gave birth to different perceptions. These different perceptions give birth to different thoughts, attitudes, and behaviours.

Opportunities for radicalism and moderatism in the perspective of communication sociology lie in the process of interpreting messages in social contact and communication that occurs. Interpreting the message can produce a radical thought, attitude and action. But on the other hand, the process of meaning can also create opportunities for moderate beliefs, attitudes, and activities. Populist religious thinking prioritizes the benefit of the people. Therefore, coastal and inland communities appear radical when it comes to religious beliefs. Still, they become very moderate when it comes to the *maṣlahah* (benefit) of the people or to develop social interests.

The religious traditions carried out by the inland and coastal communities of East Java are implemented through three traditions that are the basis and values of religion, namely the *aqidah* tradition, the social tradition, and the worship tradition. Religious traditions are included in intrinsic religiosity, where a person lives based on religion. However, if religion is used for other purposes, the condition is included in the category of extrinsic religiosity.⁵⁷

Social construction theory sees the religious traditions of inland and coastal communities occurring in three stages.⁵⁸ The first is externalization, which describes the process of self-expression of a person in his life. The religious tradition of the community begins by expressing itself in the reality of life with the source of religious teachings or faith. Faith is a strong belief in a person constructed from religious teachings. The second is objectivation, which results from humans' externalization in their lives. This externalization results in a strong belief (firm faith), implemented by showing obedience and submission to Allah by obeying and carrying out all orders and avoiding all His prohibitions. The third is internalization, the re-absorption of the

⁵⁷ Jalaluddin Rakhmat, *Psikologi Agama: Sebuah Pengantar* (Bandung: Mizan Pustaka, 2013), xv.

⁵⁸ Ali Nurdin, *Komunikasi Magis; Fenomena Dukun di Pedesaan* (Yogyakarta: LKiS Pelangi Aksara, 2015), 79.

objective world in the individual's consciousness. Belief and trust in Allah form self-awareness that there is no God but Allah, only Allah must be worshipped, and only Allah is the place to ask for all help. Implementing this belief is practically done by believing in the pillars of faith and practising the pillars of Islam; say the shahada, establish prayers, pay zakat, perform the obligations of fasting in Ramadan, and go for Hajj who are able.

Social construction theory sees socio-religious traditions as existing realities. However, the existence of this socio-religious tradition is also heavily influenced by the surrounding environment, which plays an important role (significant other). Socio-religious traditions shape the social reality based on the dialectic communication between local communities. They interact with each other to form the world around them, which is based on a solid basis of religious values. The community carries out a process of reciprocally negotiating roles in society and producing daily realities. The negotiations carried out gave birth to influential individuals in their environment, such as kyai, teachers, and parents (*sesepeuh*), who are responsible for caring for their community environment.⁵⁹

Thus, religious traditions in the form of *aqidah*, social relations, and worship are objective realities that are formed by society and become social products.⁶⁰ The formation of the reality of this religious tradition requires a dialectical process through externalization, objectivation, and internalization.

In addition, conflict theory sees a map of opportunities for radicalism and moderatism in East Java's inland and coastal communities as a form of submission and deviations in changes and conflicts in people's thoughts, attitudes, and actions. Every element in society provides equal opportunities for change and conflict. There is a decisive role of religious or community leaders or even local leaders to emphasize order and order in social life.⁶¹ Kiai and local community religious leaders have a role in creating

⁵⁹ Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *Tafsir Sosial Atas Kenyataan: Sebuah Istilah Tentang Sosiologi Pengetahuan, The Social Construction of Reality*, trans. Hasan Basari (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1990), 68.

⁶⁰ Craig Calhoun et al., *Contemporary Sociological Theory* (USA: Balckwell Publishing Ltd, 2007), 48.

⁶¹ George Ritzer and Douglas J. Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi Modern*, 6th Edition (Jakarta: Kencana Prenadamedia Group, 2008), 153.

opportunities for radicalism and moderatism in people's thoughts, attitudes, and actions.

In conflict theory, community radicalism is referred to as the character of the face of conflict,⁶² namely the discrepancy between the delivery of messages given by Kiai or religious leaders with the meaning of information received by the community. There is a discrepancy between the messages conveyed and the meaning given, so it gives birth to views or thoughts, attitudes, and actions that are different from those desired by a Kiai or local religious figure and creates the face of conflict in society. Meanwhile, moderate thoughts, attitudes, and actions tend to appear with the character of a consensus face, namely a community with a character that focuses on the value of integration, social relations, and the benefit of the people. The character of the face of conflict and consensus is always inherent in the existence of society. Both are interrelated in the social system. Conflicts in society will always arise when existing social institutions and structures are deemed inadequate. Conflict in society is needed so that there is a balance in achieving the desired progress.⁶³

The conflict theory in this study provides an analytical perspective of inland and coastal communities that practice the 'religion of ordinary people with two faces, namely the face of consensus and that of conflict. The first face gives birth to order and integration in society. In this face, people's thoughts, attitudes, and actions tend to be moderate. At the same time, the second face is a splinter from the consensus that causes changes in people's thoughts, attitudes, and actions in a more radical direction.

Conclusion

The practice of religious traditions in the inland and coastal communities of Gresik, Bangkalan, Mojokerto, Surabaya, Sidoarjo, and Lamongan, East Java Provinces, is implemented in three traditions, namely the aqidah tradition, the social tradition, and the worship tradition. In terms of the aqidah tradition, inland and

⁶² George Ritzer, *Teori Sosiologi; Dari Sosiologi Klasik Sampai Perkembangan Terakhir Postmodern*, Vol. 8 (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2014), 450.

⁶³ Nina Winangsih Syam, *Sosiologi sebagai Akar Ilmu Komunikasi* (Bandung: Simbiosis Rekatama Media, 2012), 143.

coastal communities carry out the *aqidah* tradition or carry out their beliefs based on Allah the Almighty. People believe in God's power by carrying out the obligatory (*wājib*) and *sunnah* worship, fulfilling all commands and staying away from God's prohibitions. The religion adopted by the majority of the community or 'common people' follows the understanding of the Muhammadiyah religious organization and the understanding of *abl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah* developed by the Nahdlatul Ulama organization. In the social tradition, the inland and coastal communities carry out social traditions (*mu'āmalah*) based on teachings that have been passed down from generation to generation. They learned the traditions from kyai, teachers and parents by practising religious teachings through obedience in worship which is implemented in daily life in the form of, for example, patient behaviour. If there is a dispute between residents, the resolution is more using a family-based deliberation method. Meanwhile, East Java's inland and coastal communities carry out worship traditions by following the notion of *abl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah*, practising *mahḍah* worship; diligently praying, paying zakat, fasting Ramadan, and performing Hajj for those who can afford it.

The map of opportunities for radicalism in East Java's inland and coastal communities can be described as follows; the chance of radicalism is 21.60%, respondents who answered in doubt are 13.13% and provide opportunities for changes to radicalism or moderatism that are happening. Meanwhile, the probability of a moderate/moderate attitude is 65.28%.

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