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Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin

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Classical and Contemporary Perspectives**

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Habituation of Local Culture in Order to Prevent Religious Radicalism in Sukoharjo, Central Java

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Abstract

This article is intended to see the response of a group of Sukoharjo people related to their effort in prevention of radicalism through local cultural habituation. A group of people who joined into Sanggar Sekar Jagad in Bakalan Sukoharjo Village try to find a way out by way of rejuvenate local culture and traditional art that began to be abandoned by society. Using case study method through empirical investigation by means of data collecting through interview, observation, and documentation, it is expected to be able to answer how the practice of local cultural habituation developed by Sanggar Sekar Jagad society in order to prevent religious radicalism in the region was, and what factors which underlied the practice.

Keywords: *Habituation, Religious Radicalism, Local Culture*

Abstrak

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk melihat respons sekelompok masyarakat Sukoharjo berkaitan dengan upaya mereka dalam mencegah radikalisme melalui habituasi budaya lokal. Sekelompok masyarakat yang tergabung dalam Sanggar Sekar Jagad di Desa Bakalan Sukoharjo mencoba mencari jalan keluar dengan cara menghidupkan kembali budaya lokal dan kesenian tradisional yang mulai ditinggalkan oleh masyarakat. Dengan menggunakan metode studi kasus, melalui penyelidikan empiris, dengan cara mengumpulkan data wawancara, observasi, dan dokumentasi, diharapkan mampu memberi jawaban tentang bagaimanakah praktik habituasi budaya lokal yang dikembangkan masyarakat Sanggar Sekar Jagad dalam rangka mencegah radikalisme agama di wilayah itu, dan faktor apa sajakah yang melatari praktik tersebut.

Keywords: *Habitulasi, radikalisme agama, budaya lokal*

Preface

Hard-line or radical Islamic groups that have contributed violence have sprung up in various parts of Indonesia. Among the cities in Indonesia, Sukoharjo and Surakarta Central Java have become “headquarters” for these groups. These cities are widely regarded as the basis for various radical Islamic movements, such as MMI (Indonesian Mujahidin Council), HTI (Hizbut-Tahrir Indonesia), MTA (Tafsir Qur’an Assembly), FPIS (Islamic Defenders Front), Laskar Jundullah (Jundullah Troops), Hizbullah, FKM, and other troops.¹ So, no wonder if Surakarta and its adjacent areas, such as Sukoharjo, are also affected by the emergence of religious radicalism movements.

In Sukoharjo, a radical movement emerged with various forms. Abu Bakar Ba’asyir with Abdullah Sungkar founded Pesantren Almu’min Ngruki on March 10, 1972. By several parties, this pesantren was suspected as the basis of religious radicalism movement, although the founder rejects the truth.² In this pesantren, Abu Bakar Ba’asyir also forbade his students to honor the red-white flag because according to him, it is a “syirik” act.

The movement of religious radicalism in Sukoharjo which is a suburb of Surakarta and in some areas of Indonesia, in general have a common understanding, that is to enforce Islamic law in the earth of Indonesia. This view is at least based on three main factors: theological, demographic, and socio-political. The first factor emphasizes that Islam is a religion that offers guidance and solutions for all aspects of social, cultural, economic, political, and other life. The second factor refers to the fact that the majority of Indonesians are Muslim (87%). For them, this is the fact that Islam must function as socio-cultural and political legitimacy and the

state base, or at least recognize the Syariat of Islam as the core matter or an integral part of the constitution. A third factor shows that secular law does not lead to socio-cultural, economic, legal, and political reforms for Muslims.³

Seeing the rise of radical movements mentioned above, especially in Sukoharjo and its surroundings, the group of community that is incorporated in Sanggar Sekar Jagad in Kotakan Village Sukoharjo is trying to find a way out by rejuvenate local culture and traditional art that began to be abandoned by society.⁴ The local culture in the form of art that is developed includes the art of gamelan, lesung (mortar), rampak kenthongan, ketoprak, tayuban, and so forth. All of these art types are part of the objective culture that is the legacy of the predecessors. This culture is also renewed by incorporating new cultural elements in order to be accepted by modern society, such as the use of the internet and digital media as a way of introducing local culture.

From the explanation above, there are some interesting things to be known as the main problem; how was the practice of local cultural habituation developed by Sekar Jagad community in order to prevent religious radicalism in Kotakan Sukoharjo Central Java? So, what did underlie the practice of local cultural habituation community developed Sanggar Sekar Jagad in order to prevent religious radicalism?

This paper will explore the main issues above by using case study method through empirical investigation by way of data collecting through interview, observation, and documentation. The researcher will use three data analysis techniques in the case study, i.e pattern matching, pattern making, and time

¹ Zainudin Fanani, *Radikalisme Keagamaan dan Perubahan Sosial* (Surakarta: Muhammadiyah University Press and Asian Foundation, 2002), 5.

² Afadal, dkk, *Islam dan Radikalisme di Indonesia* (Jakarta: LIPI Press, 2005), 176.

³ Bahtiar Efendi, *Islam and The State in Indonesia* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2003), 218–19.

⁴ Summarized from an interview with Joko Ngadimin, founder of Sanggar Sekar Jagad, in 2016.

series analysis.⁵ Data analysis also uses three patterns proposed by Miles and Huber with data reduction, data presentation, conclusion, and verification.

Data analysis begins with review of field data that has been obtained either from the results of field observations, interviews, or the results of the study of the documents. The entire data is summarized and categorized according to the problem and research objectives. After that, the classification and interpretation of the data were done to produce conclusions.

Seeking the Roots of Religious Radicalism

The recent phenomenon of radicalism has come back to life, often with the rise of violence and anarchism under the pretext of defending religion, such as terrorism. Terrorist actions give stigma to radical movements attached to religion. The movement of radicalism seems to be part of a particular religion because frequently its followers perform anarchist movements in the name of a particular religion. As a result, radical movements are always identified with violence and anarchism from certain religious groups.

In the context of religious life, according to Djaka Sutapa, religious radicalism is a movement that seeks completely to overhaul a social order/existing political order by echoing violence.⁶ The meaning of the radical movement referred to this research is a radical movement, as the concept of Djaka Sutapa, which leads to acts of violence and anarchism in the name of a particular religion.

Radicalism is a phenomenon that exists in every religion, not just in Islam, but also in Christianity, Hinduism, Judaism, and Buddhism. For Nurcholis Madjid, radical terrorist movement is not only happening

in Islam. From historical facts, radicalism sees these religions as either violent or not. Radical movements also occur in Christianity in the United States and other parts of Europe. Similarly in Islam, there is religious violence, such as the occurrence of various terror either directly or indirectly harm others.⁷

The origins of radical-based religious movements are quite diverse. According to Scott Appleby, religious-based radical gangs are triggered by 'Sacred rage' against racial, ethnic and religious discrimination; the injustices of economic policy, corruption and hypocrisy within the government; state or private policy, systematic violence and security.⁸

Similar opinion was also raised by Ahmad Asroni (2008)⁹ and Afif Muhammad (2004)¹⁰ which mentions that the cause of religious-based radicalism movement is as follows; *First*, a narrow and literal understanding of religious texts. Radical groups have a tendency to reject the critical study of religious texts, where the text of the religion must be understood, interpreted, translated and dialogued in order to interpret social reality.¹¹ They read religious texts according to their names, such as verses about jihad which are always identical as holy wars (holywar), as in Surah al-Baqarah: 154 and Surah Ali Imron: 169-171;

Second, socio-political injustice due to the modernization flows. Modernization that mostly coexists with secularization does place religion and religious interpretation into marginalized places. Due to the modernization, many elites

⁷ Hasan M. Noor, "Islam Terorisme dan Agenda Global," *Perta* Vol. V/No. 02/202 (t.t.): 4-5.

⁸ R. Scott Appleby, *The Ambivalence of The Sacred: Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publisher, 2002), 6-7.

⁹ Ahmad Asroni, "Radikalisme Islam di Indonesia," *Journal of Religi*, 7 (t.t.): 18.

¹⁰ Afif Muhammad, "Radikalisme Agama-agama Abad 21," *Journal of Islamic Studies: Al-Jami'ah*, 2006, 25.

¹¹ Kamarudin Hidayat, *Memahami Bahasa Agama: Sebuah Kajian Hermeneutika* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1996), 137.

⁵ Robert K. Yin, *Studi Kasus: Desain dan Metode Terjemah Indonesia* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2006).

⁶ Djaka Sutapa, "Radikalisme dan Masa Depan Bangsa" (17 Juni 2014).

are not paying attention to the interests of society and eliminating local wisdom held by society, resulting in the communication gap between the elite and the community. Consequently, many people are dissatisfied and disappointed at the policy of the authorities, because only concerned with the modernization wrapped with secularization; *Third*, the economic gap caused by the act of capitalism. Capitalism, as quoted by Ahmad Asroni, produces many winners as well as generates many losers and presents a serious threat to traditional social values, beliefs and institutions, even the economic system.¹² Economic disparities in stimulating the emergence of Islamic radicalism can not be denied.

Capitalism with free competition mechanisms in the market spawns two camps. Stronghold of the rich people and stronghold of the poor. Exploitative capitalist economic system will only benefit some people and will cause jealousy, let alone no equitable distribution. It is undeniable that Muslims in Indonesia are the majority, living on average in poverty, while Christians who are a minority, live on average in moderation. This gap has the potential for jealousy and at the end will ignite a radical movement of a particular group, if not anticipated.

Seeing the rise of the religious radicalism movement in Indonesia, it needs a constructive effort to stop the movement from becoming a latent danger. One effort that can be done is to regenerate local culture. By borrowing Pierre Bourdieu's theory, social action (the practice of local culture) is the result of dialectics between

habitus,¹³ capital,¹⁴ and domain.¹⁵

In the context of dialectics between habitus, capital and the realm form the production and reproduction of culture, including local culture. Simply, the culture contains the understanding of the ways, habits, or all the results of human effort to process the mind. Culture is not born in a vacuum, but because of its history or context. The context can be a political context, cultural context or social context.

Culture, broadly divided into two, namely subjective and objective culture. The relationship of both is not parallel, but correlative mutual require and influence each other. Although the priority lies in the inner power, it also requires correlative influence and results.

This research will focus on local objective cultural practices which are the result of dialectics between habitus, capital and domains in order to prevent the movement of religious radicalism.

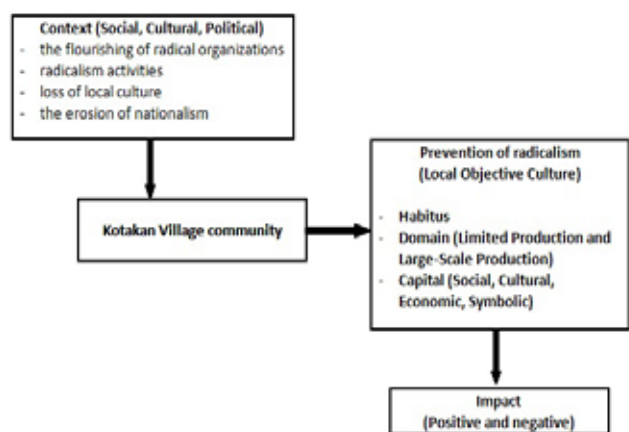
Below is the mind frame of the study:

¹³ Habitus is a long-lasting, changeable disposition system that serves as a generative base for objectively structured and integrated practices. In this sense, habitus can be defined as the social values that are lived by humans, and created through the process of socialization of values that lasted long, so that settles into a way of thinking and patterns of behavior that persists in the human. See Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, translated Richard Nice, Stanford University Press, USA. 1990. p. 53. See also Reza A.A. Wattimena, *Berfikir Kritis Bersama Pierre Bourdieu*, Fakultas Filsafat UNIKA Widaya Mandala Surabaya.

¹⁴ According to Bourdieu, capital is a social energy that exists only and produces results in the arena of struggle in which it is capable of producing and reproducing. Lihat Hariyatmoko, "Menyingkap Kepalsuan Budaya Penguasa" in *Basis* Nomor 11-12 Tahun ke 52 Yogyakarta November-Desember 2003, p. 11

¹⁵ The domain by Bourdieu is defined as a network of relations between objective positions in a social order that is present separately from the consciousness and will of the individual. See Richard Harker (ed), (Habitus X Capital) + Domain = practice, Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2005, p. xviii. The realm of structured and unconscious relationships governs the positions of individuals and groups in spontaneously formed societies, such as education, business, religion, culture, arts, politics and so on.

¹² Peter L. Berger, *The Capitalism Revolution* (New York: Basic inc. Publisher, 1986), 201.



Habituation of Local Culture: An Attempt to Ban Radicalism in Sukoharjo

Starting from the thrill of the people who thirst for entertainment as well as to accommodate the interest of the citizens of the arts, plus support of parents who are also artists, Joko Ngadimin, a graduate of the College of Arts Surakarta (STSI Surakarta) determined to establish a community of art. He also thought to juggle his furniture warehouse into a simple pendopo. So, since September 2004, pendopo with asbestos roof with a cement floor became a shelter to revive the souls of local community art. In that place stands a community of art named "Sanggar Sekar Jagad". Precisely in the Village Kotakan, Village Bakalan, District Polokerto, Sukoharjo, Central Java.

Besides Sekar Jagad, there is another studio that also partnered in developing local art and culture, namely Sanggar Parikesit. Sanggar Seni Sekar Jagad applies and prioritizes activities in accordance with the vision of the clever people and the exercise activities carried out every day. While Sanggar Parikesit is a container or a place used to educate and train members, and if already proficient after being educated and trained, the members are released out to work or make money from back to back like, in the ceremony or circumcision, Sanggar Parikesit can be categorized as studio education.¹⁶

¹⁶ Dyah Mardani, "Strategi Pengembangan Potensi Seni Pertunjukan Sanggar Seni Sekar Jagad Dusun

On the way, at first Sanggar Sekar Jagad only has a set of gamelan. With the capital of a set of musical instruments, almost every night the residents can play and practice karawitan with the typical tunes of Javanese music. After a while, they start designing the arrangements ready for display. However, again the constraints of funds to buy costumes performances. They also collect the coffers in a joint venture as the first time to buy the gamelan. Finally, a set of hatching costumes can be bought. In this way, they love and feel they have their own studio.¹⁷ With the seriousness and diligence of this sanggar, people start asking to fill events in some areas around. Then, the result of the invitation they set aside to complete the needs of the studio such as musical instruments, puppets, make-up, and costumes performances.

As is commonly known that the flows of radicalism is a movement that undermines the unity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia and the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila. The movements are so real and felt by Joko Ngadimin and Sanggar Sekar Jagad, which is not infrequently they experience intimidation and threat of dissolution at cultural events. For this reason, he and his group never tired of voicing and building a cultural movement. Because, according to him, only with that society will have the power of antibodies to ward them.

This is in accordance with the motto of Sekar Jagad, ie *kudu diuri-uri lan ayo podo dibudoyo* (must be preserved and let us keep), then the studio is committed to continue to live and preserve the culture, mainly Javanese culture as an ancestral heritage. One of them routinely conduct training and activities, both related to arts and culture and other activities of a social nature.

Kotakan Desa Bakalan Kecamatan Polokarto Kabupaten Sukoharjo," *Final Repot (D III)* Faculty of Literature and Fine Arts, Surakarta State University, 2013, p. 24

¹⁷ Interview with Joko Ngadimin, Thursday, November 9, 2017

In addition to facilitating the citizens of art activists, this studio is also destined for other studios that do not have gamelan facilities. Of course, by adjusting the schedule and policies set by the owner of the studio. In addition to art, Sekar Jagad studio also performs other activities such as tree planting daluang, cultural gatherings, art workshops with government officials, and actively reviving traditions in the community such as Kondangan, Rasulan and Hajatan, and so forth. As is commonly known, the performing arts in Sanggar Sekar Jagad are quite complete and varied, ranging from dimples (lesung), karawitan, bamboo music or rampak kenthongan, wayang beber, and wayang padi.

The rise of the religious radicalism movement in Indonesia makes people restless because these movements often perform anarchist acts that lead to conflict, under the pretext of incompatibility with Islamic traditions and so on. Therefore, it needs a constructive effort to dispel the movement so as not to become a latent danger. One effort that can be done is to regenerate local culture.

In relation to Sanggar Sekar Jagad, habituation of local culture has been rooted from the time of the ancestors. Evidenced by the rise of art dimension as part of the relic of tradition in Sukoharjo region which incidentally as agrarian area. In the village of Kotakan, art of dimples is a tradition that has been hereditary. However, this art began to recede and replaced with the busyness of the community to seek non-traditional entertainment as presented on television screens, or other entertainment that does not even describe the tradition of Indonesian-ness. This invites the anxiety of a Joko Ngadimin to build an arts civilization by setting up an art studio.

Habituation to counter radical movements is concretely by inviting citizens and make them understanding the importance of loving culture

as an ancestral heritage. This is evidenced by the many activities conducted in the studio and in the village of Kotakan. Their activities are well organized in Sanggar Seni Sekar Jagad. Lots of activities are routinely implemented by Sanggar Seni Sekar Jagad. Activities that are routinely held include children's karawitan, youth karawitan (for teenagers), musical gentlemen, and musical gamers. In addition, there are also 9 groups of art activities that involve elderly residents, wayang beber, wayang kulit, wayang padi, dance, kentongan, etc. even held also other activities of literary and macapat surgery. These activities are routinely conducted every night.

Within a span of 14 years, they have produced a variety of art explorations and cultural discourses that, arguably have been habituated, so that they no longer need to frown the daily practice routine. In a sense, as if art can not be separated from the habits of citizens, and therefore there is or no staging they still gather for just sharing and practice of gamelan and gending Java and so forth. Moreover, staging material has been so far mastered outside the head, then they just train themselves a few days before the performance.

As a result, until now the art-creative exploration of Sanggar Sekar Jagad is still a leading studio in Sukoharjo area. One of the mainstay of the staging is "Kebo Kinul", a staging theme of Dewi Sri and agriculture. This material is fairly classic, but in the hands of Sanggar Sekar Jagad group this staging becomes rich in color, by combining dance, puppet, song, and musical form. Evidently, Kebo Kinul theme has been staged in various regions in Indonesia, has even traveled around Europe.

There are at least 4 Capital that encourages activities in the studio, i.e: First, the capital of the economy. At first, Joko Ngadimin was alone to think about reviving the cultural activities that now live in Kotakan Village. Then he had been helped by some others to think about it,

and agreed to set aside his work to realize his dream.

Joko Ngadimin juggle his furniture warehouse into a studio that is used for practice. Together with some colleagues to raise money to collect around Rp 25,000,000; and used to buy a gamelan set. As a result, from one gamelan with perseverance, he pioneered the arts to be able to bring the donors to fund a number of performances. He and his group also utilize various networks, especially economic coffers, Joko Ngadimin began to move in the economic sector populist by conducting CSR guerrilla in several state-owned enterprises (BUMN).

In addition, according to Joko Ngadimin, "With his greatness, Sanggar Seni Sekar Jagad is not only doing art and culture work. However, in practice it will be innovative in the future to follow the era, then we improve the populist economy. So that work and movement in the field can cooperate with the coffers of capital, SMEs, and so forth."

Therefore, it is not surprising if the Art Studio Sekar Jagad able to attract the attention of the prestigious event on MetroTV in Kick Andy twice, in a long duration, which is one hour. Not even a member of Sekar Jagad who came to Jakarta, but the Kick Andy team who came here. 1) Because Sekar Jagad has a cultural movement in order to anticipate radicalism; 2) Sekar Jagad cultural movement to improve people's economy. And this is a rarely targeted person, combining cultural and economic missions. The result, until now this studio has been in synergy with Pertamina and Bank Rakyat Indonesia (BRI) for 4 years.

Second, Cultural capital. Admittedly or not, Joko Ngadimin is an artist graduated from Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Seni (STSI Surakarta) majoring in Karawitan. In addition, the blood of the artist also flows from his father who is also an artist. Similarly, ever since he took music majors, he has also done cultural mapping in

Sukoharjo, so in a way he has mastered the cultural field.

Similarly, Joko Ngadimin is seen as a man who has had artistic inheritance, in addition to innovation of ability in his artwork. Meanwhile, which is no less interesting is Joko Ngadimin is happy and chose to walk in the cultural line. He is very happy to move in the realm of community-related social. He is also very confident that activities and work in the region will be endless, and almost no pension.

Furthermore, from the cultural activities, he and his group have gained the estuary in many ways, including the increase of fraternity, and they would be happy because the artistic hobby can be channeled, even though no one to finance. Then, the realm of culture can be a land of self-service in the community directly, while strengthening the family economy, because of the many programs that exist in it.

In addition to the cultural capital that has been brought, basically Kotakan Village community has a good DNA art. It is as stated above that habituation can be easily accepted because they have the same social roots; farmers who pound rice using dimples, and never been a race event dimples in the past.¹⁸

Departure from the same anxiety that dispels the movement of radicalism, then Joko Ngadimin together with the arts network in various regions began to establish studio with the same vision and mission. You could say these sanggar is a branch of Sekar Jagad. Some use the first name "Sekar" or not at all, but still always coordinate and have the same spirit. All this is the work of Sanggar Sekar Jagad community in taking care of various local cultural practices through coordination with various communities and other networks either in Sukoharjo or outside the region.

Third, Social capital. As a cultural activist, Joko Ngadimin can be regarded as "veteran" in

¹⁸ Interview with Joko Ngadimin, Thursday, November 9, 2017

the wild art and culture in Sukoharjo region. He began to plunge into the arts since his college graduation in 1988-1989. He also has long mapped the direction of culture and how culture can synergize in the region. Journey through the universe of art makes it known as a figure of art activist, plus personal characteristics that "entengan" make it more and more relations, especially in building a network of art.

Not surprisingly, Joko Ngadimin was widely shown as a coach in several art pockets in the Sukoharjo region, such as being a coach for the Sukoharjo Artists Association (Gabungan Artis dan Seniman Sukoharjo [GANAS]), as well as fostering several art studios in Mojopolo and Mojolaban villages in Sukoharjo. His work was even more radiant when Sekar Jagad was invited to many outside the Sukoharjo area, especially after appearing on the Kick Andy program.

He also partnered with government networks such as the Republic of Indonesia Nationality and Defense Association (IKABANA RI), and in 2010, Joko Ngadimin and Sanggar Sekar Jagad began partnering with the TNI. In Sukoharjo, he became a conceptualizer of the TNI Manunggal Budaya, which is not just a slogan, but the TNI that truly integrates with culture. So that he had routine activities in the studio which was followed by DANRAMIL in all district Sukoharjo which studied culture, and he was as the driver until now.

Fourth, symbolic capital. Seeing the intensity in art and culture, it is no wonder that this studio has bargaining power in various lines, both private and government agencies. In addition, as the founder and supervisor of the studio, Joko Ngadimin was very happy with the art activities, especially the gamelan. And the genealogy of parents is also coloring, where the father is also an artist and gamelan player. Likewise, the historical aspect of Kotakan village has always been a Pramuli musical arts group

that became the forerunner of the group that helped raise karawitan groups outside Kotakan. For this reason, this group is considered as a "guru", in which many communities of karawitan arts learn in this village.

From this long journey, almost all art groups, especially those in the Sukoharjo region, have been in contact and partnering with Sekar Jagad. Carved achievements were not half-hearted, for example in 2005 the studio had traveled around Europe for one performance number with the title "Kebo Kinul". From here, the studio's name is soaring. Moreover, the exploration of creativity is not only in the arts, but also drives the people's economy and environmental activists with daluang tree planting activities. So this studio has been a pilot studio and several times covered by Kick Andy Program.

As the leader of the studio, Joko Ngadimin has always been active in developing his wings through being active in various social organizations. Even in Kotakan village he still took the time to become the chairman of RW Kotakan Village. He also became the coach of the Sukoharjo Artists Association (GANAS); between 2006-2007 became a member of the State Intelligence Agency (BIN); since 2010 partnered with the TNI, he was also believed to conceptualize the TNI Manunggal Budaya. So that, since that he trained art for the DANRAMIL members throughout Sukoharjo Regency. Thus, with this movement the personal and studio prestige began to be lifted, and this at the same time consecrated this studio to become a studio full of achievements in the realm of art, culture, environment and society.

Conclusion

Local cultural practices carried out by the Sanggar Sekar Jagad community were not born in a vacuum. In other words, local cultural practices arise because there are several contexts underlying them.

1. Social

Since 1993, Joko Ngadimin, the founder of Sekar Jagad Studio has realized that the symptoms of religious extremism have begun to emerge in Sukoharjo in general, and especially in Sub-District Polokerto. Because the radical movement was increasingly widespread, in 2004 Joko Ngadimin founded the Sekar Jagad Studio as an attempt to *nguri-nguri* Javanese culture and drive away the radical movement. Radical movements emerged in the form of Arabization practices by radical groups. They tried to suppress Javanese culture, so the Javanese people were feared by the Javanese lack of interest. This can be seen from several strategies carried out by radical groups (MTA, HTI, Salafi).

First, they expanded and began to crush Javanese culture through groups of mothers and general recitation. Through these recitations, the teachings that are extreme and radical are introduced to citizens. Cultures that are not clearly guided are considered idolatrous and heretical (*bid'ah*). And then, so many citizens are ultimately affected by the doctrine. In addition, the doctrine of the importance of achieving "heaven" became the main weapon in their missionary strategy. So no wonder many citizens began to abandon Javanese cultural practices in order to achieve "heaven".

Second, radical groups try to control the "mosque" in the dukuh. This action creates contradictions or conflicts between citizens who are pros and cons. Initial control was evident when radical groups provided 350 million for mosque renovations. Now, the mosque in the village stands majestically and in a clean condition. After renovating the mosque, radical groups changed the name of the mosque originally named "Nurul Huda" to "Ummu Mohamad." In fact, the management of the mosque began to involve and include groups of donors.

Third, radical groups still their ideology through educational channels, such as Early Childhood Education (PAUD), Kindergarten (TK), and Integrated Islamic Primary School (SDIT). The children have been introduced to religious teachings in accordance with the ideology.

Another social context is the weak real movement of moderate Islamic organizations (such as NU) in dispelling radical movements. NU in Sukoharjo region was invited to collaborate with Sekar Jagad Studio, but it has not been maximized. Even cadres have been invited to cultural movements. The NU movement in dispelling radical movements is far less than the real movements carried out by radical groups, such as through religious recitations, economics, and so on.

2. Politic

In addition to the social context, the political context also encourages the Sekar Jagad Studio community to carry out local cultural movements to dispel radical movements. In the context of the Subdistrict of Polokerto Sukoharjo, the rulers seemed to give freedom to radical groups. They seem to give freedom to radical groups to move freely, because the rulers are afraid not to be chosen again. The rulers seemed afraid of being disliked by the public because it was against the radical groups in the community.

FKDM (Community Awareness Forum) which consists of Dandim, Police, Prosecutor's Office, and Civilians themselves also seem to have no guts. This forum aims to overcome threats, challenges, obstacles and disturbances that exist in the community. Even worse, there are a number of government officials who are also included in the radical movement group. They make policies that favor radical groups. On behalf of their country they often wrap their movements. So it's no wonder many people are

fooled by this precise strategy. Some are in the realm of education, social, and others.

3. Economy

In addition to the social and political context, another context that also underlies local cultural practices carried out by the Sanggar Sekar Jagad community is economic motivation. According to Joko Ngadimin, besides caring for Javanese culture, the cultural movement carried out by the Sanggar Sekar Jagad community is collecting economic coffers. With a steady and consistent culture, automatically the economic coffers will continue to flow.

The economic coffers not only flooded the founders of the studio, but also members of the studio. Individually, the founder of the studio felt the economic benefits of the cultural movement he did. He is often invited to be a speaker at cultural forums, both locally and internationally through television or other media.

For the sanggar community, they also feel the spill of economic coffers. Because some government agencies, BUMNs, and companies also poured funds into their arts and livelihood activities. BRI loans hundreds of millions of rupiah over a period of three years in the form of interest-free soft loans. Pertamina also poured funds into Sekar Jagad Studio to fund people's economic activities through culture. Similarly, Pertamina also provides capital loans to the group and community groups to grow spanish onions. Not to forget, the automotive company Astra International also distributed thirty million rupiah funds for daluang tree planting activities.

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