

Counter-Hegemony against Radicalism through Local Wisdom: The Kenduri Sko Tradition in the Kerinci Community of Jambi

Priazki Hajri * 

* Universitas Jambi, Indonesia
priazkihajri@unja.ac.id

Andre Mustofa Meihan 

Universitas Jambi, Indonesia
andremustofameihan@unja.ac.id

Reka Seprina 

Universitas Jambi, Indonesia
reka.seprina@unja.ac.id

Dimas Aditia 

University Of Sussex, United Kingdom
da516@sussex.ac.uk

Hafiful Hadi Sunliensyar 

Universitas Jambi, Indonesia
hafiful.hadi@unja.ac.id

*Corresponding Author

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Abstract

This study examines the Kenduri Sko tradition of the Kerinci people in Jambi as a form of counter-hegemony against radical ideologies, drawing on an ethnographic qualitative approach conducted in Tarutung Village through in-depth interviews, participant observation, and documentation with traditional leaders, religious figures, and community members. Kenduri Sko, a ceremonial practice embodying cooperation, solidarity, tolerance, and spirituality, serves as a medium for transmitting cultural values across generations. Through collective participation, traditional leaders, religious figures, and community elders integrate messages of peace, deliberation, and anti-violence into ritual activities, reinforcing social cohesion and early detection of deviant behaviours. Analysis of the Tarutung Village Customary Book, particularly Law Nan 12, reveals codified norms opposing acts of extremism, reflecting the harmony of custom and religion as tools of resistance. The findings indicate that Kenduri Sko strengthens communal resilience, fosters critical awareness, and safeguards local identity against ideological infiltration. Moreover, its principles can be integrated into higher education curricula—such as Pancasila and Civic Education—to promote inclusive, moderate, and nationally oriented character formation. By positioning local wisdom as both a cultural preservation strategy and a pedagogical resource, this research underscores the role of indigenous traditions in fostering social harmony and countering radicalisation.

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Introduction

Radicalism in the name of religion is a serious threat to social stability and security in Indonesia, especially among the younger generation. Radical ideologies often enter through narrow religious narratives that undermine the values of diversity underpinning the state (Nafsiyah & Wardan, 2024). Radical groups are more likely to influence people with weak cultural literacy who do not understand the values of local wisdom. This condition is



exacerbated by the weak implementation of character education rooted in local wisdom, which plays an important role in strengthening social resilience and preventing the spread of radical ideologies (Mahmuddin, 2017; Ari et al., 2024). In this context, cultural approaches offer an important alternative for reducing the influence of radical ideologies, which are often hegemonic. One relevant concept is counter-hegemony, a form of resistance to the domination of certain ideologies through alternative value systems within society (Firdaus & Hikmat, 2021).

According to Gramsci, hegemony operates not only through political society represented by the state and coercive institutions, but also through civil society where values, culture, traditions, and social norms are reproduced through public consent. In this context, the Kenduri Sko tradition functions within civil society as a form of local cultural resistance against radical ideology. Through customary values, collective participation, and the authority of traditional leaders, Kenduri Sko becomes a counter-hegemonic instrument that strengthens social cohesion and reinforces moderate cultural identity within the Kerinci community (Humphrys, 2024; Borja, 2024).

One form of local wisdom the community still maintains is the Kenduri Sko tradition in Kerinci, Jambi. The Kenduri Sko tradition is a traditional ceremony of the Kerinci people that reflects collective values such as cooperation (*gotong royong*), freedom, solidarity, and spirituality (Vornika & Pitri, 2024; Helida, 2016; Manik, 2022). This ceremony functions as a medium for transmitting cultural values and strengthening collective identity within the community. Through participatory practices, deliberation, and mutual cooperation, Kenduri Sko reinforces social cohesion and serves as a form of cultural resistance against radical values that conflict with local traditions and social harmony.

Kenduri Sko is also a cross-generational informal education space that allows people, especially the younger generation, to learn about the values of tolerance, obedience to customary norms, and social responsibility. Through this process, the collective values and moderation of life are maintained and passed down. Local wisdom values play an important role in suppressing extremism because they are closely integrated with social habits and norms in people's daily lives. This means that deradicalisation efforts must not only rely on a legal approach but also revive cultural value systems that have long been marginalised (Isnawan, 2018).

Unfortunately, national policies still pay little attention to this cultural approach. Deradicalisation efforts need a multidisciplinary approach and cultural dimensions to address radicalising thinking more effectively. When people feel strongly connected to their local culture and identity, they are more resistant to outside ideological propaganda that seeks to undermine the social order. The Kenduri Sko highlights the value of integration and togetherness, which plays an important role in maintaining social harmony. Implementing this ritual involves active community participation, strengthening belonging and mutual respect among citizens and, in turn, creating a fortress against the spread of radical ideologies that grow from division and opposition.

Beyond being a social and cultural effort, local wisdom can also support character education. Local culture can serve as a tool in multicultural education to instil tolerance and reject violence from an early age. Therefore, integrating the values of Kenduri Sko into the local education curriculum or culture-based learning activities will concretely strengthen local identity and serve as a preventive effort against radicalism (Suradi et al., 2022).

Several previous studies have examined the Kenduri Sko tradition from cultural, anthropological, and social perspectives. Earlier research generally focused on Kenduri Sko as a ceremonial tradition, a form of cultural preservation, and a medium for strengthening social solidarity within the Kerinci community. Other studies also discussed its role in maintaining customary values and local identity amid modernisations. However, studies that specifically

analyse Kenduri Sko within the framework of Gramsci's counter-hegemony theory and its relevance in resisting radical ideologies remain limited. Research remains limited on how the values embedded in Kenduri Sko can function as a cultural strategy for strengthening social resilience, character education, and moderate identity formation in contemporary society. This gap matters because existing studies have tended to treat Kenduri Sko as a static object of cultural documentation rather than an active, theoretically grounded mechanism of ideological resistance. The novelty of this study therefore lies in its dual contribution: theoretically, it advances a Gramscian reading of Kenduri Sko that positions traditional leaders as organic intellectuals who produce counter-hegemonic consciousness within civil society; and practically, it demonstrates how the codified customary norms of the Tarutung Village Customary Book, particularly Law Nan 12, together with the ritual practices of Kenduri Sko, can be systematically translated into character-based pedagogical content for Pancasila and Civic Education in higher education. By integrating ethnographic evidence with counter-hegemony theory and curricular application, this research offers an original framework not addressed in prior studies on Kenduri Sko or on local-wisdom-based deradicalisation more broadly.

Based on this explanation, it is important to examine more deeply how the values in the Kenduri Sko tradition can serve as a form of counter-hegemony against radical ideologies. This research will analyse how the people of Kerinci build cultural resilience through preserving Kenduri Sko, as well as how these values can be used in character education and to strengthen national identity. It is hoped that local traditions will not only be preserved ceremonially but also reinterpreted as a strategic resource for building a moderate and tolerant society.

Method

The study uses a qualitative, ethnographic approach. Ethnography is a qualitative research method that aims to understand the lifestyle, experiences, emotions, and behaviours of individuals within the culture in which they live (Elimanafe et al., 2023, p. 312; De Souza Vieira & Barroso, 2001). This approach is the most relevant for this study because it examines the tradition and culture of Kenduri Sko as a form of counter-hegemony against radicalism. In ethnographic studies, the traditions studied are explained in detail from various existing aspects. After examining the data and facts, the researcher conducts an in-depth analysis based on the findings from the field. From this process, the researcher will draw main conclusions about how the Kenduri Sko tradition is preserved, as well as the efforts made by various parties to maintain the tradition's sustainability.

Location selection is an important aspect of this study. The researcher selected Tarutung Village in Kerinci Regency as the research location because the community strongly maintains local cultural values, social solidarity, and moderate religious traditions. These sociocultural conditions make the village relevant for examining how local community structures and cultural values function as counter-hegemonic forms against radicalism. In addition, this village still has well-preserved heirlooms related to the Kenduri Sko tradition, which local traditional institutions care for. The village also has an active customary structure, and based on initial observations, the *Tengganai* elders and *Ninik Mamak* have sufficient knowledge, so the researcher hopes they will support the smooth process of data collection in the field.

The data collection techniques used include interviews, observations, and documentation. To ensure data validity, the researcher used source triangulation by comparing information from traditional leaders, religious leaders, community members, and observations during the Kenduri Sko ceremony. The researcher also cross-checked the interview findings with relevant documents and literature on Kerinci local traditions.

In analysing the data, the researcher used the qualitative data analysis approach developed by Miles and Huberman, which involves data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing (Woiceshyn & Daellenbach, 2018). This model allows researchers to process data not only after collection is complete, but also to analyse it from the beginning of the collection to

the end of the study, comprising three stages: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing.

Results and Discussion

Countering Hegemony Against Radicalism

The Kenduri Sko event involves all levels of society in its implementation, beginning with joint prayers led by religious leaders, the slaughter of animals, and the distribution of feast food, and extending to *gotong royong* activities to prepare ceremonial equipment. This was confirmed in an interview with Luthan Guntur, a former traditional leader in Tarutung Village, conducted on 4 August 2025, who explained that Kenduri Sko fosters a spirit of mutual cooperation and reinforces steadfast faith through joint prayer activities that symbolise the strength of Muslim belief.

"Sko Kenduri is one of the traditional activities that strengthens the spirit of mutual cooperation among community members. Through collective prayers, this tradition also reinforces religious faith and reflects the steadfastness of Muslims in maintaining their beliefs." (Luthan Guntur, personal communication, August 4, 2025).

Indirectly, the above segment shows that religious values are clearly reflected in the activities of the Sko feast, which serves as a bulwark against radicalism; the tradition and culture of Kerinci oppose the teachings of radicalism, which is considered to lack wisdom. The author concludes that the Kenduri Sko tradition is a vehicle for fostering positive values in each segment of its activities, which will also strengthen unity among the indigenous people of Kerinci Jambi.

Furthermore, the values of togetherness, solidarity, and collective responsibility embedded in the Kenduri Sko tradition significantly strengthen social cohesion within the indigenous community. The active involvement of community members from different age groups, social backgrounds, and customary statuses creates an inclusive social space where interaction, communication, and cooperation can develop naturally. These conditions encourage mutual understanding, respect, and a sense of shared belonging among community members. In this context, Kenduri Sko serves not only as a cultural ceremony but also as a social institution that continuously reproduces communal values and reinforces collective identity. The spirit of *gotong royong* demonstrated throughout the preparation and implementation of the ceremony reflects the importance of cooperation and mutual assistance in maintaining social harmony. At the same time, the religious elements manifested through collective prayers strengthen the community's spiritual foundation and promote values of peace, compassion, and moral responsibility. These values stand in direct opposition to radical ideologies, which often emphasise exclusivism, intolerance, and social division. Therefore, the continuity of Kenduri Sko plays an important role in preserving local cultural values while simultaneously functioning as a community-based mechanism for fostering moderation, strengthening social resilience, and preventing the spread of radical ideas that may threaten the unity and stability of indigenous society in Kerinci.

The role of Kerinci traditional leaders in the Kenduri Sko event is a social legitimacy to create moderate anti-radicalism customs and traditions

In fact, traditional leaders hold social legitimacy to create counter-narratives to radical ideas through communication in indigenous languages and religious discourse. By positioning customs and religion in harmony, traditional leaders are able to reduce rigid and exclusive religious beliefs, while affirming that radicalism is contrary to the local culture of Kerinci. The researcher explored traditional documents, namely the traditional book of Kerinci village, which also shows the role of traditional leaders in teaching that is not in accordance with Kerinci culture and tradition, such as the value of radicalism.

The Tarutung Village Customary Book, particularly Law Nan 12, contains a customary rule that directly opposes the doctrine of radicalism, namely the prohibition of inflicting extreme bodily harm upon another person. This offence is classified into three degrees of *luko* (bodily injury), each accompanied by a corresponding sanction for violators. This codification shows that practices surrounding Kenduri Sko, including the appointment of traditional leaders, constitute an indirect yet substantive form of resistance to radicalism.

Another form of cultural resistance to radicalism appears in the strategic role played by traditional leaders such as *depati*, *ninik mamak*, religious leaders, youth figures, and respected community elders within the Kenduri Sko tradition. These actors are not merely ceremonial participants; they are key cultural agents who maintain social order, transmit collective values, and preserve the continuity of local wisdom across generations. In Kenduri Sko, they hold an influential position because the community deeply recognises their cultural authority and social legitimacy. Their involvement in every stage of the ritual, from preparation and deliberation to the implementation of customary ceremonies, demonstrates their role as guardians of communal values. Through their leadership, the tradition becomes more than a cultural celebration; it transforms into a social institution that continually reinforces ethical norms, communal responsibility, mutual respect, and social solidarity. As a result, Kenduri Sko functions as an important cultural space where community members reproduce and internalise local values collectively and meaningfully.

From Gramsci's perspective, these customary elites can be understood as organic intellectuals who emerge from within society and can formulate, disseminate, and reproduce counter-hegemonic consciousness. Unlike traditional intellectuals, who often operate within formal educational or bureaucratic structures, organic intellectuals draw their influence from their close connection to the community's lived experiences and cultural realities. In the Kenduri Sko tradition, traditional leaders mediate between inherited cultural values and contemporary social challenges, including the threat posed by radical ideologies. Through traditional channels such as *petatah-petitih*, customary speeches, moral advice, prayers, oral narratives, and symbolic ritual practices, they communicate messages that encourage social harmony, collective responsibility, and respect for diversity. These forms of communication are particularly effective because they are embedded within cultural practices that are already familiar and meaningful to community members. Consequently, people do not see the values as external doctrines imposed from above but as integral parts of the community's cultural identity. Through this process, traditional leaders help build a collective worldview that emphasises peace, moderation, dialogue, and social cohesion while rejecting violence, intolerance, and extremist interpretations of religion or culture.

This role is clear in various moments throughout Kenduri Sko activities. During customary speeches, prayers, and ceremonial gatherings, traditional elders consistently insert messages concerning the importance of deliberation, consensus-building, tolerance, mutual cooperation, and peaceful coexistence among different social groups. Traditional stories and oral histories shared during the ceremony often contain moral lessons that highlight the consequences of conflict and the benefits of unity and social solidarity. These narratives serve not only as cultural entertainment but also as educational instruments through which community values are transmitted to younger generations. Because these messages come from respected figures with long-established authority within the social structure, community members are more likely to accept and internalise them as legitimate guidelines for everyday behaviour. Furthermore, the repeated reinforcement of these values through ritual practices strengthens their influence over time, allowing them to become deeply embedded in the community's collective consciousness. In this way, Kenduri Sko operates as a cultural mechanism for strengthening social resilience against radical influences by fostering a shared moral framework grounded in local wisdom and communal harmony. The authoritative position of traditional leaders therefore enables them to function not only as cultural custodians but also as agents of social transformation who actively shape community attitudes

and behaviours. Their ability to integrate cultural traditions, religious teachings, and social values into a coherent moral discourse helps prevent the spread of radical ideologies and maintain social stability. Through their ongoing efforts, Kenduri Sko continues to serve as an effective medium for promoting peace, strengthening collective identity, and preserving the values of moderation and tolerance within contemporary society.

Indigenous peoples as social control over deviant behaviour in Kenduri Sko activities

Socio-politically, implementing this tradition also strengthens the community's social control system. Collective participation in the Sko Kenduri shows how an inherent pattern of supervision among residents allows deviant behaviour, including tendencies toward radicalism, to be identified early. In addition, local government support that makes Kenduri Sko part of the cultural preservation agenda strengthens this tradition's role as a cultural strategy for reducing the potential for radicalism.

This finding is corroborated by an interview conducted on 3 August 2025 with a traditional leader bearing the title Depati Mendaro Udo, who explained that the community assumes a strategic role within the Kenduri Sko tradition as an informal agent of social control over deviant behaviour. Should acts or activities indicative of radicalism arise, community members are expected to report and monitor such conduct so that its spread does not become widespread. The author regards this pattern not merely as a preventive measure against radicalism but also as resistance to negative values that could otherwise undermine the customary order of life among the indigenous people of Tarutung Kerinci.

Furthermore, the social control mechanism within the Kenduri Sko tradition is not merely repressive but predominantly preventive and educative. Community members exercise social control through collective awareness, mutual supervision, and moral responsibility rather than coercive sanctions. In this context, every member of the indigenous community becomes part of a social network that actively maintains social harmony and communal values. The strong kinship system that characterises the Tarutung Kerinci indigenous community creates close social relationships among individuals, making it easier to identify behavioural changes, social isolation, or ideological tendencies that may threaten community cohesion. Through daily interactions and participation in communal activities, community members can monitor and guide one another in accordance with prevailing customary norms and values.

From a sociological perspective, this condition reflects strong social capital within the indigenous community. The values of trust, reciprocity, cooperation, and collective responsibility, continuously reinforced through Kenduri Sko, help create a resilient social environment. Such social capital serves as an important protective factor against the penetration of radical ideologies, which often exploit social fragmentation, alienation, and weakened communal ties. Individuals actively involved in social and cultural networks tend to have a stronger sense of belonging and collective identity, reducing their vulnerability to radical narratives that challenge existing social structures. Therefore, Kenduri Sko functions not only as a cultural ceremony but also as a medium for strengthening social bonds that enhance community resilience against various forms of social deviation.

Indigenous communities' role as agents of social control can also be understood through Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony. According to Gramsci, social order is maintained not only through formal authority and legal institutions but also through the acceptance and internalisation of shared cultural values. In the context of Kenduri Sko, customary norms and collective values become hegemonic forces that guide individual behaviour and shape social expectations. Community members voluntarily comply with these values because they are perceived as legitimate and beneficial for maintaining communal harmony. Consequently, when radical ideas emerge and attempt to introduce alternative values that contradict local cultural principles, the community possesses the cultural capacity to reject and resist such influences. This resistance does not necessarily take the form of direct confrontation but often

occurs through subtle processes of social exclusion, moral persuasion, dialogue, and cultural reinforcement.

Moreover, local government involvement in supporting and institutionalising Kenduri Sko as part of cultural preservation programmes further strengthens this social control mechanism. Government support broadens recognition of local culture's role in promoting social stability and preventing radicalisation. Through collaboration between traditional leaders, community organisations, educational institutions, and local authorities, Kenduri Sko can function as a strategic platform for disseminating values of moderation, tolerance, social responsibility, and peaceful coexistence. Such collaboration demonstrates that efforts to prevent radicalism should not rely solely on security-based approaches but should also incorporate cultural and community-based strategies that address the social and ideological roots of radicalisation.

The author therefore argues that the role of indigenous communities in Kenduri Sko extends beyond preserving cultural heritage. More importantly, it represents a form of collective social resilience that enables communities to respond effectively to contemporary social challenges. Through the continuous reproduction of local values, the strengthening of communal solidarity, and the implementation of informal social control mechanisms, the indigenous people of Tarutung Kerinci actively safeguard their social and cultural order from influences that may threaten community harmony. In this regard, Kenduri Sko serves as an important example of how local wisdom can function as a cultural resource for promoting social cohesion, preventing radicalism, and sustaining indigenous values in an era of rapid social change and globalisation.

The Potential of Counter-Hegemony Against Radicalism through the Tradition of Sko Kenduri as a Basis for Character Learning in Higher Education.

The tradition of Kenduri Sko, as the cultural heritage of the indigenous people of Kerinci, possesses not only historical and spiritual value but also embodies noble principles that are highly relevant for character learning in higher education. It can be integrated into national Character Education courses, including Pancasila Education and Civic Education, through values such as mutual cooperation, deliberation, tolerance, respect for differences, and adherence to customary and religious norms, all of which are important elements in shaping students who are inclusive, moderate, and nationally minded.

By employing the values of Kenduri Sko as teaching material and a pedagogical approach, students are invited not only to understand these values theoretically, but also to experience and practise them directly in real social interactions. This mechanism can be implemented through discussion-based learning, reflective dialogue, case studies, and collaborative projects that integrate the values of deliberation, mutual cooperation, tolerance, and social harmony found in Kenduri Sko. For example, lecturers may encourage students to analyse social conflicts from the perspective of local wisdom, conduct field observations of traditional ceremonies, or engage in group discussions that emphasise inclusive and non-violent approaches to social differences. Through these learning practices, students are trained to critically evaluate radical ideas while strengthening moderate and culturally grounded perspectives. The findings of this study further indicate that this tradition also functions as a medium of counter-hegemony against the currents of radicalism and intolerance that occasionally infiltrate the campus environment, as it instils critical awareness and a commitment to social harmony. This positions the tradition as an important resource for integrating local wisdom into research and learning.

Conclusion

The Kenduri Sko festival is not merely a cultural heritage or an annual ceremonial activity of the indigenous people of Kerinci; it also performs a strategic socio-cultural function as an instrument of counter-hegemony against the infiltration of radical ideology. Within a context in

which radicalism frequently disseminates narratives of exclusivism, violence, and the rejection of difference, Kenduri Sko exists as a cultural practice that reinforces the values of peace, unity, togetherness, and deliberation through a polite, persuasive, and dialogical approach. Moreover, the form of resistance documented in the Tarutung Village Customary Book, particularly in Law Nan 12, constitutes one of the customary rules that directly opposes the rigid character of radicalism. This tradition has cultivated an inclusive social space in which all members of society, irrespective of economic background, ideology, social status, or religious affiliation, participate in every ritual procession, including joint prayers, mutual cooperation, and the inauguration of new traditional leaders. This observation is corroborated by an interview with one of the traditional leaders, who explained that the community assumes a strategic role within the Kenduri Sko tradition as an informal agent of social control over deviant behaviour. This collective involvement not only fosters social cohesion but also builds the community's cultural capacity to recognise and reject any form of radical ideology that contradicts local values.

The author also concludes that the power of Kenduri Sko as a counter hegemony tool lies in the ability of this tradition to reproduce and internalise the values of peace generatively between generations. *Depati, ninik mamak*, traditional leaders, and religious leaders play a central role as agents of cultural change. Through the symbols and customary languages they use, they continuously socialise the values of coexistence, mutual respect, and problem-solving through deliberation within the community. Thus, Kenduri Sko serves as an effective informal education channel and builds the community's collective awareness of the dangers of radical transnational ideologies that can damage the traditional order and social harmony built over a long time.

Therefore, this study recommends that the values embedded in Kenduri Sko be integrated more systematically and sustainably into educational, cultural, and community development policies. As a cultural tradition that embodies collective wisdom, social solidarity, deliberation, mutual respect, and spiritual values, Kenduri Sko offers important lessons that remain highly relevant in contemporary society. The integration of these values should not be limited to symbolic recognition but should be reflected in concrete educational and cultural initiatives that enable communities, especially younger generations, to understand, appreciate, and practise these values in their daily lives. By positioning Kenduri Sko as a living source of local wisdom, educational institutions and policymakers can contribute to strengthening cultural identity while fostering social cohesion in an increasingly diverse and dynamic social environment.

In higher education, universities are encouraged to incorporate local wisdom-based learning from Kenduri Sko into academic programmes, particularly civic education, multicultural education, character education, social studies, and community engagement courses. This integration can be implemented through contextual, participatory, and experiential learning approaches that connect theoretical knowledge with the realities of local culture and social life. Students may be encouraged to engage directly with local communities, traditional leaders, and cultural practitioners through field studies, collaborative projects, and reflective learning activities. Such learning experiences not only enrich students' understanding of cultural diversity and democratic values but also strengthen critical thinking, social responsibility, and intercultural competence. Furthermore, incorporating Kenduri Sko values

In addition, local governments, cultural institutions, and community organisations should strengthen efforts to preserve, revitalise, and promote Kenduri Sko as an important component of cultural heritage and social education. These efforts may include cultural literacy programmes, intergenerational learning activities, cultural festivals, digital documentation initiatives, and community-based educational projects that actively involve traditional leaders, educators, youth groups, and civil society organisations. The active participation of younger

generations is particularly important to ensure the continuity and relevance of cultural traditions amid globalisation, technological change, and shifting social values. Through collaborative and inclusive preservation strategies, Kenduri Sko can continue to function as a medium for transmitting moral values, fostering social harmony, and strengthening community resilience. Ultimately, these initiatives are expected to reinforce cultural resilience, promote moderation, tolerance, and mutual understanding, and serve as an effective preventive measure against the spread of radical ideologies that may threaten social cohesion and national unity.

Competing interests

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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Ethics Approval

The authors confirm that they observed ethical considerations throughout this research. Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengabdian Masyarakat (LPPM) Universitas Jambi gave ethical approval on 11 August 2025.

Consent to Participate

The authors obtained informed consent from all individual participants involved in the study. Participants were informed about the purpose and nature of the research, their voluntary participation, and their right to withdraw from the study where applicable. The researchers respected participants' confidentiality and privacy throughout the research and reporting process.

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