

# The Model of Sunni-Shi'a Conflict Resolution Based on Social Modal Theory at Sampang Madura

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**Abstract.** The study aimed to figure out details about the conflict of Sunni-Syi'ah that happened at Sampang Madura. The conflict was raised when Tajul Muluk (Shi'a leader) began to influence Sunni teachings, which were ingrained in Madurese society. Tajul Muluk Also criticized the traditions and culture in his environment. This includes his lawsuit against the *maulidan* tradition, the marriages of the *kiai* who are often polygamous or marry and divorce. Moreover, criticism of the government can potentially shift the socio-political position of several currently stable and comfortable parties. A qualitative approach was used to study this case. The data was compiled through deep interviews, participant observation, and documentation. Miles Hubbermant's model was used to analyze the data. In the end, The Result showed that to solve the conflict based on social modal theory, Sunni-Shi'a's internal and external power, Islamic values, the Practice of Islamic environment, political and social approach, and pragmatic interest in peace of life.

**Keywords:** Conflict Resolution, Sunni-Shi'a, Social Modal Theory.

## 1 Introduction

The conflict between the Sunni-Shia elite of Sampang can be described as a tree originating from the same root. The same religious roots also come from ancestral roots [1]. For example, between Kiai Makmun, Tajul Muluk's parents, and Kiai Ali Karrar Shinhadji, who supported the expulsion of Shiites from Sampang. Kiai Abuya Ali Karrar Shinhaji and Kiai Makmun have blood ties as uncles and nephews. But they chose different plays. Kiai Ali Karrar Shinhaji lives in Lenteng, a village in Pamekasan Regency that borders Sampang Regency. Kiai Ali Karrar built a very large educational institution named Darut Tauhid.

As previously stated, Kiai Makmun and Kiai Ali Karrar are descendants of Buju' Batu Ampar. Several things caused the division between the uncle and nephew. However, it should be suspected that the split occurred, especially when Kiai Makmun sent his sons and daughters to YAPI Bangil. In fact, in Madurese tradition, there is an unwritten rule that every time they send their children to a boarding school, they are always in a boarding school around Madura. They usually send their children outside Madura to Islamic boarding schools or kiai, which have a sanad in Madura. For example, at the Tebu Ireng Islamic Boarding School, which Hadratus

Syaikh Hasyim Asy'ari, students from Syaikhona Kholil Bangkalan, Sukorejo-Situbondo and Sidogiri-Pasuruan founded.

These traditions are carried out by the Madurese community, especially in maintaining traditions and standard understandings of Sunni Madurese Islam. This understanding is Sunni Islam, which adheres to the Shafi'i school of jurisprudence while still recognizing the validity of the three other schools of Sunni jurisprudence, namely Hanafi, Maliki, and Hanbali [2]. However, their faith adheres to Asy'ariyah and Maturidiyah's thoughts. In the field of Sufism, they adopted the Sufi thoughts of Al-Ghazali and Junayd Al-Baghdadi. It is this grip that Madurese wants to maintain.

So Kiai Makmun's choice to place his children at the YAPI Bangil Islamic boarding school was clearly a challenge for the Madurese community because YAPI is known as the center of the spread of Shia teachings. Teachings that are seen as contrary to the beliefs of most Madurese Muslims. At that time, Tajul Muluk, who was in junior high school, and Roisul Hukama, who was still in elementary school, were sent by Kiai Makmun to YAPI Bangil.

If we look at the details of this story. So we find that this split comes from a large family which is under the same roof. They each chose a different path in interpreting their religion. Unfortunately, these differences did not end at the family table; instead, they escalated into sectarian riots that claimed lives, property, and the future of many human children.

We can also observe the hot and cold Sunni-Shiite relationship in the global world. For example, the relationship between Saudi Arabia and Iran has not improved, even though there has not been any armed contact. The heat and chill of global political tension have clearly had an effect on Sunni-Shia relations in other parts of the world [3]. Although Iran also cannot fully represent Shia as a whole. Likewise, Saudi Arabia also does not represent Sunnis as a whole.

Social relations themselves are relationships between reciprocal people [4]. The stages of occurrence are multilevel. As stated by [5] and quoted by [6].

- a. Starting from the first level, zero contact. At this stage, the two parties have not made contact at all.
- b. The next stage is the awareness stage. At this stage, a person begins to be aware of the presence of others around him. Because of this awareness, it continues to the next stage.
- c. The surface contact stage is the next in social relations. At this stage, the parties are aware of activities carried out by other parties. So, at that time, the next stage will occur.
- d. Mutuality is the establishment of social relations between two parties who previously felt strangers to each other. This stage is the stage where the final social ties occur.

Social relations, often referred to as social relations, always depart and necessitate reciprocal interactions. Referring to [7] opinion in Ramadhan, social relations or relationships between individuals that last relatively long will form a pattern. This relationship pattern is also referred to as a pattern of social relations [8].

Social relations are "alive" and dynamic [9]. If social relations exist because of mutuality, on the other hand, social relations are likely to be fractured because of differences in interests. The

slogan of unity in diversity is scattered as mere slogans because differences can only be interpreted as grace and beauty by those who maturely accept differences as mere nature.

The Sunni-Shia conflict in Sampang is the reality of such a tradition of understanding [10]. The "attacks" on Sunni teachings that Tajul Muluk often carries out in each of his lectures will be considered by Sunni groups as attacks on religious teachings [11]. As he believed. So, conflict in order to defend the religious teachings that one believes in becomes a form of self-defense. For religious believers, religion is intrinsic to humans. Not beyond human, let alone human interpretation.

## **2 Method**

To describe the phenomenon and gain accurate data to explain conflict resolution between Sunni-Shi'a, the study conducted the research naturally, genuinely, and with its real condition [10]. So, the research approach is qualitative. The approach is suitable for its characters. The characters are as follows: 1) Qualitative research appears to be a new theory and develops understanding. It also explains complex reality, 2) using the inductive descriptive approach. 3) need long term, 4) the data can be in the form of descriptions, documents, field notes, photos, and pictures, 5) maximum variety, 6) process-oriented, 7) Macro context. The research design used is field research with multi-site case studies.

## **3 Result and Discussion**

### **3.1 Coalition Frame Work Modal Penyelesaian Konflik Sunni-Syiah Sampang Madura**

There are several types of policy networks: iron triangles, issue networks, subgovernments, and advocacy coalitions. The Iron Triangle is the oldest example of a policy network developed in the United States [12]. The iron triangle is based on observations of the mutually beneficial relationship between interest groups, congressional committees, and government agencies in America and the legislature in forming legislation. The existence of the Iron Triangle makes sub-governments outside the Iron Triangle less powerful but independent. They form a coalition to control government programs that affect the economic interests of each alliance and try to balance the power of the iron triangle.

[13]developed a policy network similar to that of the sub-government, called the Advocacy Coalition, a group of policymakers in the policy subsystem. According to Jenkin-Smith and Sabatier, the Advocacy Coalition consists of actors from a number of private and government institutions at all levels of government organizations who relate based on belief in achieving goals by drafting regulations, budgets, and personnel of government institutions [12]. Advocacy coalition is a type of policy, a hybrid model of policy subsystems within a policy network framework. Advocacy coalitions can emerge at all national, sub-national, and local policy levels.

The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), or what is usually called the "Advocacy Coalition Network" as developed by Jenkin-Smith and Sabatier (in [12, 14]), is a group of policymakers in the subsystem policy, which consists of actors from a number of private and government

institutions at all levels of government organizations who relate based on trust in achieving goals by developing regulations, budgets, and personnel of government institutions. ACF is a hybrid policy subsystem model within a policy network framework and is an important concept in understanding policy change. ACF is a popular approach to studying political processes and helps answer questions about coalitions, learning processes, and policy change.

The ACF framework explains how various actors with various perspectives on a policy interact and then how these interactions produce policy change. ACF can appear at all national, sub-national, and local policy levels. Policy networks in a policy sub-system can be studied through the Advocacy Coalition Framework, which consists of several advocacy coalitions that can be distinguished from each other based on their beliefs and resources [15]. Sabatier expressed this opinion in [15] with the assumption that agenda-setting and other stages in the policy process are dominated by elite opinion. The impact of public opinion is only modest.

According to Sabatier, the reasons underlying the coalition of actors in policy networks relate to the belief in achieving goals. The emergence of the value of trust between private and public actors at all levels of government organizations appears when the government compiles regulations, budgets, and personnel of government institutions. The trust system that underlies relationships between actors consists of 3 levels of trust [12], namely:

#### 1. Common belief or Deep/Normative Core

Namely, it is a belief in and common perception of policy goals based on shared knowledge of public issues that interest these actors. These beliefs are often related to basic human nature as individuals and collectively. Beliefs that originate from basic human nature are, in reality, very difficult to change.

#### 2. Core of Belief System

Namely, a belief system based on the same view of the nature of humanity and several conditions that humans desire. Coalitions based on this belief system are very stable, and their unity is difficult to change.

#### 3. External Factors

Includes money, expertise, population, legal authority, public opinion, technology, inflation rate, and cultural values. Belief systems formed from external factors are relatively easy to change.

Based on this belief, the advocacy coalition will make efforts to realize its goal of getting government institutions to behave in accordance with the core of their policies. The policy beliefs of a coalition will compete with other coalitions with various strategies to influence policy with their various resources. The resources in question include:

1. Access to policy-making authority
2. Public opinion
3. Information
4. Mobilization troops
5. Financial resources
6. Leadership

The coalitions that are formed often face political conflicts on policy-making issues. So, the policy broker is present as a mediator who tries to provide a way to reach an agreement between the pros and cons of the coalition.

Meanwhile, the belief system is formed by 5 sources of values, namely:

#### 1. Individual values

Individual values compete with each other and have many differences, but if a country has individual interests and values that can be united, then integrity is achieved, which strengthens the country through the formulation of state policies that are labeled public.

#### 2. Professional Values

Public bureaucracy is often considered indisciplined and unprofessional. Professional organizations can provide training and become examples of professionalism for public organizations. The weakness of professional organizations is that they often emphasize public organizations. Similar to what interest groups do.

#### 3. Organizational Values

Organizational interest in policy reflects two forces: organizational structure and organizational culture. Changing or maintaining these two powers can lead to conflicts with integrating individuals and interest groups into the law. Organizational values can strengthen policies so that they rely on the public interest, which is greatly influenced by style leadership, strong determination to lead to implement Total Quality Management (TQM), and management revolution.

##### A. Legal Values

These values are reflected in the constitution of a country. Changes to the constitution will change various state regulations and policies. Procedurally, the Constitution regulates various policies so as not to conflict with the Constitution. Therefore, the constitution must reflect the public interest.

##### B. Public Interest Values.

Public interest values are values that must underlie public policy networks.

The actors must uphold the value of the public interest, especially in formulating policies, leaving tyranny and turning to the public. The value of public interest is often strongly influenced by political factors, so public interest becomes vague, full of conflict, and silent. Any change in a policy formulation is unwise if it deviates from the public interest. The interaction of actors in the policy network, even though it is full of the interests of the interest groups it represents and the advice of 'who gets what,' the policy network should still prioritize the public interest. There is no other alternative for public policy actors except to become a community value system formed in policy networks as a guide in every public policy process. [16]) reveal that the bureaucracy can no longer ignore the importance of human values, both in theory and practice.

The policy network formed from the iron triangle, issue network, and advocacy coalition includes:

1. Bureaucratic Network

The relationship between government and society is dominated by government guidance and instructions, with the government acting as an agency.

2. Clientelistic Network

Where the relationship between government and society is dominated by government guidance and instructions in collaboration with one majority community group

3. Triadic Network

Government guidance and instructions in collaboration with two community groups dominate the relationship between government and society.

4. Pluralistic Network

Where the relationship between government and society is dominated by government guidance and instructions in collaboration with three or more majority community groups.

If society dominates the relationship between government and society, four types of networks will be formed, namely:

1. Participatory Staits Network

That is, society dominates the relationship between society and government, with society acting as an agency

2. Captured Network

Society dominates the relationship between society and government under the influence of one majority community group

3. Corporate Network

Society dominates the relationship between society and government under the influence of the two majority community groups.

4. Issue Network

Society dominates the relationship between society and government under the influence of three or more majority community groups.

Although the interaction of actors in policy networks is full of the interests of the interest groups represented and full of orders about 'who gets what', the network should prioritize the public interest. There is no other alternative for actors except to use the community value system formed in policy networks to guide every public policy process. [16] stated that bureaucracy can no longer ignore the importance of human dignity, both in theory and practice.

The formation of a policy network begins with the emergence of policy actors with various values or interests. The conflicting interests of the actors form the conflict. Then, the conflict was exacerbated by the emergence of trigger tools and opinionated elites to defend their interests. Coalitions will be formed from each conflict group that has common interests. The

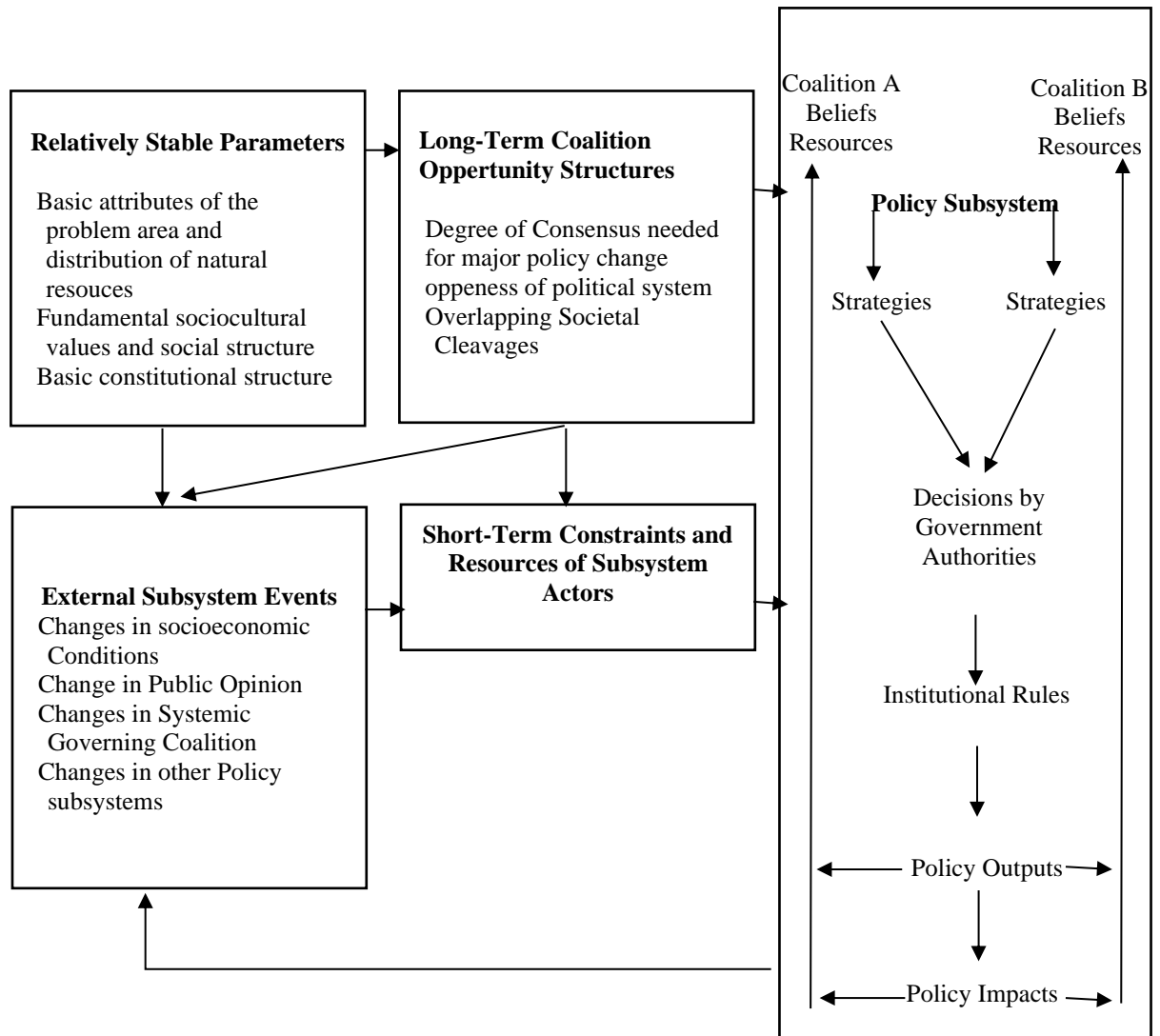
more actor interests are involved in a policy network, the greater the coalition will be, both in quality and quantity. Coalitions that are not constrained are likely to occur in the policy arena. This condition can only be overcome by the emergence of policy brokers so that a deliberative policy is issued.

The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) is formed from important actors and emphasis, together with the provocateurs or triggering devices, to form an intermediary group [17]. The mediators put pressure on the authorities to issue policies, shape changes to policy subsystems, or change policy objectives. The authorities also play a role in implementing policy learning regarding the ACF [18, 19]. In the Indonesian context, the emerging role of mediator is the government. The role of an intermediary can make policy changes and goals and carry out policy learning to actors back as feedback. The mediators are tasked with dispatching coalitions, consisting of a number of public and private institutions at all levels of government that have a number of fundamental beliefs and are used to formulate regulations in order to achieve the goals desired by the public. Trigger devices such as mass media, society, and NGOs are tasked with facilitating the role of mediators. The impact if policy networks are not heeded in the public policy process is a change in goals and can be exacerbated by following changes in policy subsystems that are not labeled as public interest.

The main concepts used in ACF are advocacy coalitions and policy subsystems to explain learning and policy change. Exploration of the main context of the policy process, such as how actors mobilize and manage themselves in advocacy coalitions, the level of policy learning, especially from friends and foes, as well as other factors that influence policy change [13].

ACF consists of 4 fundamental premises: time perspective, policy subsystem, decentralization mechanism, and ideology of policy actors [14]. First, the process and policy dynamics that lead to policy learning proceed from a time perspective. It will usually span at least a decade or even more in various empirical studies. This is based on the idea of an enlightenment function that will occur after the implementation of the policy is in a mature condition. One indicator of the maturity of a policy is the visible impact (outcome), not just output. Second, the policy analysis unit must focus on where policy stakeholders from various representatives of the organization's policy subsystem can interact with each other to exert influence on public decisions. [13] wrote, "Various institutional configurations certainly shape subsystems, the specifics of these arrangements become most apparent in the venues (interpreted as a type of action situation) in which coalitions seek to influence the subsystem...". Third, all levels of government must be intensely involved in the policy process. This requires a decentralization mechanism that gives local-level government the authority to make decisions. Fourth, many public policy processes are characterized by collective behavior. In this case, collectivity refers to the meaning of public as stakeholder interaction.

Structured belief systems drive stakeholders' idea of collective behavior. This premise's main theory is based on the elite belief hierarchy system in the classic organizational literature from [20], which places a system of values and beliefs in an organization. This view is still relevant in analyzing organizational and societal dynamics. In public administration science, policy implementation theory [21], which is still widely used as a reference, assumes that policy actors' values and belief systems are one of the central themes and a dimension that cannot be eliminated in public policy. The system of values and beliefs will be manifested in the strategies of the actors to influence decisions.



**Fig. 1** Framework of Diagram Flow Advocacy Coalition

### 3.2 Advocacy Coalition in the Sampang Sunni-Shia Conflict

Advocacy coalitions are a group or coalition of policy actors who share almost the same values and belief system. They collaborate and coordinate with each other so that their thoughts and ideas can be translated into policy output. Several advocacy coalitions dominate the policy process. The coalition of actors formed in the cement case in the Rembang district can be identified into two groups. The first coalition is a coalition of actors who agree with the Shia group (pro-Shia). The second coalition is a coalition of actors who disagree with the Shia group (contra-Shia).



**Table 1.** The Relationship between Pro, Contra, and Middle Coalitions

No	Pro Coalition	Contra coalition	Middle Coalition
1.	<i>Ikatan Jamaah Ahlul Bait</i> (IJABI)	<i>Badan Silaturahmi Ulama Pesantren Madura</i> (BASSRA)	Police of Indonesian Republic (Polda Jatim and Polres Sampang)
2.	Cmars	<i>Forum Musyawarah Ulama (FMU) Pamekasan</i>	Religious Affairs
3.	<i>KontraS Surabaya</i>	<i>ANNAS (Aliansi Nasional Anti Syiah)</i>	East Java Province
4.	Institution of Law of a certain university	TIM 5 Bluuran	Government of Sampang District
5.	LBH Jakarta	TIM 5 Karang Gayam	State Islamic University of Sunan Ampel
6.	AMAN Indonesia		Komnas HAM cs

### 3.3 Belief System of Coalition in the Conflict Sunni-Syiah Sampang

The belief system is the basis of each coalition. This belief system fundamentally influences perspective, thought patterns, and decision-making. This belief system is also called the ideology of policy actors [22]. This difference in values then creates conflict in society.

**Table 2.** The following will describe the belief system in each coalition

Belief System	Pro Coalition	Contra Coalition
<i>Common belief or Deep/Normative Core</i>	The belief that the State must protect religious freedom.	The belief that Shia is a heretical teaching that has tarnished Islam.
<i>The core of Belief System</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The state must be present to ensure that Shia followers can practice their teachings with a sense of security</li> <li>Shia followers are legal Indonesian citizens; therefore, the state must guarantee their survival and return them to their hometowns</li> <li>Forced conversion to Sunniism is a violation of the law</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Shia must be eliminated from Madura and Indonesia</li> <li>Shia followers must leave their hometowns</li> <li>If you want to return to your hometown, you must return to Sunni teachings</li> </ul>
<i>External Factors</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Feelings of homesickness</li> <li>Continuous economic pressure</li> <li>The child's future is unclear</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fellow Madurese</li> <li>Shia followers are a family</li> </ul>

## Conclusion

In the context of Shia-Sunni relations and the conflict in Sampang. Networks of relations must exist and support shared values and interests in the formed networks. The Sunni network forms forces with certain values to maintain the existence of the "self" and its teachings. On the other hand, Shiites also form their networks to defend themselves, expand their influence, and within the framework of making issues about how they are seen as "victims" on the other side. Surely, the values of each party are values that will be defended desperately. However, in some instances, it was found that there are things in the respective networks that are worth meeting. Sunni networks, on the one hand, and Shiite networks, on the other hand, will certainly meet in an interest that must touch each other.

Conflicts arise when there is no binding and bridging effort between the two parties, bound by their respective social networks. The Sunni and Shiite networks only carry out internal bonding among themselves. Meanwhile, the respective elites gain privileges from each of these ties to gain power. Meanwhile, efforts to bridge the differences that have arisen have never been made. Therefore, conflict resolution must continue to be built to create conditions and conditions for peaceful coexistence between Sunnis and Shiites. Moreover, further researchers can develop a model to solve conflict in another place with different contexts.

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