

# The Portrait of Social Capital and Conflict Reconciliation for Peace in Sunni-Shia Relationships: Evidence from Sampang Madura, Indonesia

Maskuri<sup>1</sup>, Fita Mustafida<sup>2</sup>, M. Fahrudin Andriyansyah<sup>3</sup>

## Abstract

*The sectarian conflict between Sunni and Shia communities in Sampang led to the forced relocation of Shia residents to the Puspa Agro Jumundo Sidoarjo flats. Despite various reconciliation efforts to reintegrate displaced Shia residents into their homeland, there remains a lack of research focusing on the reconciliation process and the active participation of diverse stakeholders in fostering peace. This study addresses this gap through an ethnographic design, providing in-depth insights into the reconciliation process by immersing in the lived experiences of Sunni and Shia residents and the key participants involved in the peacebuilding efforts. Using ethnographic methods, this research examines the perspectives of critical stakeholders, including the village head (Klebun), hamlet head, Team 5, the Village Consultative Body (BPD), Islamic organizations such as the Nabdlatul Ulama' Karang Penang branch, local government officials (e.g., the Regent of Sampang), and both displaced and returning Shia residents. Through prolonged engagement and participant observation, the study captures the complex social interactions, cultural practices, and narratives that shape the reconciliation process. The findings reveal the fragmented brotherhood in Sampang caused by sectarian divisions rooted in differing fundamental values between Shia teachings and the long-standing traditions of the local Sunni community. The study highlights the critical role of Sampang's religious and social culture in shaping the reconciliation process. These cultural elements serve as vital sources of strength and social capital, facilitating dialogue and rebuilding trust. By employing an ethnographic lens, this research offers novel insights into the dynamics of peacebuilding in sectarian conflicts. It provides a deeper understanding of how local traditions, social structures, and cultural practices can be leveraged to resolve communal tensions and foster sustainable reconciliation.*

**Keywords:** *Social Capital, Conflict Reconciliation, Sunni-Shia Relationship, Peace.*

## Introduction

The Sunni-Shia sectarian conflict in Sampang Madura caused the relocation of 278 residents, consisting of 144 adults, 98 children, and 36 babies and toddlers to be relocated to the Puspa Agro flats, Jumundo, Sidoarjo Regency. The discourse on human rights (HAM) views that relocated victims due to the conflict are part of a vulnerable group whose rights must be protected and fulfilled (Kambu, 2021). Several parties have made various reconciliation efforts, but this has not succeeded in returning all Shia refugees to their hometowns in Sampang-Madura. Even though they missed their hometown, which had been abandoned for more than ten years, conflict hampers their love for their homeland and relatives. Even though the Madurese people are well known for their persistence in upholding the noble values of community traditions and their kinship ties (Mujtahidin et al., 2017a), the conflict must have been very distressing for them, like lovers who cannot see each other. They can only stare from a distance, even though their hearts long to be close and live together.

This fact also raises various arguments that consider the previous reconciliation was less than optimal, favoring the majority vote and ignoring the principle of multicultural citizenship (Zulkifli et al., 2020). An inclusive, participatory, and sustainable reconciliation approach is needed for both sides (*Sunni-Shia*) (Cárdenas, 2022). Moreover, another complexity is rebuilding fractured brotherhood relations and re-accepting the locals joining Shia to live side by side peacefully as before. Unfortunately, meager studies have inquired how the reconciliation process works and the various parties' participation in realizing peace for both parties.

This paper intends to picture the complete experiences of Sunni-Shia residents in the conflict locations (Gading Laok and Bluuran communities). The current study is about the history, personal interest in Shia

<sup>1</sup> Department of Islamic Education, Universitas Islam Malang, Indonesia, Email: masykuri@unisma.ac.id, (Corresponding Author)

<sup>2</sup> Department of Islamic Education, Universitas Islam Malang, Indonesia, Email: fita.mustafida@unisma.ac.id

<sup>3</sup> Department of Law, Universitas Islam Malang, Indonesia, Email: fahrudin@unisma.ac.id.

ideology, the spreading of teachings, the conflict, and the successful reconciliation of bringing back home the locals joining the Shia organization. This paper's multidisciplinary approach, theoretical diversity, and narrative research methods attempt to describe the actual source or character. Thus, this paper seeks to address the root of the conflict, the problems, and the social capital that plays a significant role in the peace reconciliation process of the Sampang Sunni-Shia group. The researchers wish the study could be a novel, fair, and participatory social policy and reconciliation recommendation on diversities, especially in bounding and bridging both parties, to raise a new awareness of peacebuilding between groups (Savelkoul et al., 2011). This study also explores the role of various elements as forces that can create assets or social capital in peacebuilding efforts for both (Jennings & Sanchez-Pages, 2017).

Unfortunately, social capital has not been given much attention, even ignored. Social capital has beliefs, collective values, and shared norms that cannot be separated from society (Erlandsen & Haase Svendsen, 2023). As Hanifan (1916) states, an organization requires social support accustomed to living empathy, tolerance, brotherhood, and respect for diversity to foster and develop a tolerant character because differences are valuable social capital, implying the importance of the carrying capacity of social capital in fostering a harmonious life. This study aims to: 1) analyze and explore the Sunni-Shia conflict of Sampang and its root causes, and 2) discuss social capital for reconciliation as a bridge of peace for the Sunni-Shia group of Sampang.

A qualitative research design with a narrative inquiry approach was chosen because it helps reveal this space. Especially in photographing 1) the story of the brotherhood of Sampang residents who are divided and conflicted due to sectarian identity issues, 2) The role of essential elements as a bridge of peace for Sunni-Shia groups, and social relations of the community that are thick with the essence of local cultural values, and 3) social capital that plays a role in the reconciliation process of *the Sunni-Shia* community in Sampang.

The first part of this article outlines empirical problems related to the beginning of personal interest in Shia ideology and the continued rejection of Shia teachings. Then, Sampang's social capital reconciliation will be empirically sketched. The section will also present the latest studies. Furthermore, the study also discusses Sampang's Sunni-Shia conflict from the theoretical dimension, previous research, social capital, and its role in Sampang's Shia conflict reconciliation. The third part of research methods, qualitative approaches, and narrative inquiry design are discussed to obtain and analyze the data to answer the research problem. Furthermore, the analysis and discussion end with conclusions and recommendations that can be used as a basis for social ethics in fostering harmony.

## Literature Review

### *Sunni-Shia Conflict in Sampang Madura*

In Madura, East Java, the Sunni sect is a stream widely adopted by most of society. While Shia is a "new" sect brought and taught by Tajul Muluk, son of Kiai Makmun (Sampang scholar), who was also originally a practitioner of Sunni teachings. In terms of language (etymology), Shia means follower, lover, defender, addressed to a particular thought or idea, individual, or group (Shihab, 2007). Another meaning often associated with Shia is the word *tasyayu*. The word means religiously and sincerely obeying people or leaders without hesitation (Hasim, 2012). Shia are pinned on groups that support Ali bin Abi Talib with the belief that leadership after the death of the Prophet is in Ali's hands based on the *nash* (revelation) and testament of the Prophet of Allah and acknowledge that the Imamate is not separate from the descendants of Ali (Muhammad bin Abdul Karim Al-Shahrastani, 2003). Shia is divided into several factions. Some factions become very extreme. They are *ghulat* Shia, some understand and moderate, and some liberal Shia. The most extreme group is the group that raised Ali bin Abi Talib to the degree of prophethood and even raised Ali to the degree of divinity (Slamet Untung, 2009).

There are many views on the triggers of the Sunni-Shia conflict in Sampang Madura, ranging from family problems, aggression to tradition and power struggles (Millatuz Zakiyah et al., 2022). Zattullah's (2021) research unveiled that Sunni believes that Shia teachings can disrupt social order and irrational prejudice, leading to rejection of Shia teachings and even violence. Meanwhile, family problems were triggered by a

dispute between Tajul Muluk and Roisul Hukama, who had different ideologies, muddled by the issue of Tajul Muluk attacking Roisul Hukama through his teaching method, escorting Roisul Hukama's (rumored to be all) students joining Tajul Muluk (Mujtahidin et al., 2017a).

The issue of women's feuds also includes. In the version narrated by Tajul Muluk, Roisul Hukama is known as a *kiai* who likes to divorce. Whereas in the unwritten tradition of Madurese, the widow of a *kiai* will experience a hard life because the widow of *Kiyai* (shaikh) traditionally should not be married (Millatuz Zakiyah et al., 2022). The very elementary position of *kiyai* in the life of Madurese society makes *kiyai*'s (shaikh) widows experience a hard life after divorce. Meanwhile, Roisul Hukama also tried to marry one of the female students from Tajul Muluk named, Halimah. Tajul Muluk knew that Roisul Hukama wanted to marry her. Tajul Muluk disagreed and betrothed Halimah to one of his students (Dul Azis), whom he considers appropriate to marry Halimah (Interview with Tajul Muluk, July 28, 2022).

This fact became crystal clear when the Sunni-Shia conflict arose in 2011-2012 in Sampang, Madura, East Java. The pros and cons of the *Sunni-Shia* conflict in Sampang Madura have become an indelible history of social, religious, and even human tragedies. The media also muddled the conflict, influencing reader perceptions in interpreting the Sunni-Shia Sampang conflict as a religious feud to heat religious sentiments and violence (Aida, 2017). Religious or belief conflicts with violent dimensions may become complex conflicts that become entangled (*intractable conflict/unnegotiable conflict*) and usually last a very long time (Ho-Won Jeong, 2008).

#### *The Role of Religious and Cultural Values in the Reconciliation of Sampang's Sunni-Shia Community*

Peaceful relationships have always been coveted by society. Similarly, the people of Sampang experience problems due to differences. They agreed to build a new, better relationship after a conflict a few years ago (Ismail, 2020). Islam teaches about peaceful, harmonious, and tolerant lives (Yati, 2018). The reconciliation of *Sunni-Shia* groups in Sampang Madura includes the local wisdom and Islam's religious and cultural character, strengthening the local community.

#### *Brotherhood*

A high sense of brotherhood has become the inherent identity of the Madurese people. This brotherhood became an internal force for the existence of the reconciliation of the *Sunni-Shia* conflict in Sampang. The values and wisdom of the community that uphold the high value of internal brotherhood of the tribe become the self-identity of the Madurese people even though they do not have direct descendant relations. In another sense, this tribalism binds brotherhood to Madurese (Sasongko & Wahyuni, 2015). In another opinion, the life of the Madurese people, who are known to maintain religious beliefs and ancestral traditions firmly is also a force for growth and development in creating fraternal relationships (Fathor Rachman, 2016). From various perspectives, this fraternal solidarity is formed due to ecological conditions, the ecotype of the "moor" farming area, and the geographical location of the islands, the majority of which are fishermen. Dry and less productive land is one reason Madurese people migrate to other regions to get a better life. Farming communities in Madura can only depend on rainfall, so the productivity of agricultural products is very little and inadequate (Rochana, 2012). In addition, the typology of the Fisherman community also plays an important role in shaping the character and fraternal relations of the Madurese. This can be seen from the work system, social relations and other social activities. Such as having a high collective consciousness because of the kinship system by blood ties and marriage (Abdullah, 2013).

The individualistic nature formed by the *moor* ecotype gave birth to the characteristics of Madurese people who prioritize economic rationalization: simplicity, hard work, and frugality. That economic factor is one of the motivations for Madurese people to migrate to various regions. In addition, the typology of the Fisherman community also plays an important role in shaping the character and fraternal relations of the Madurese. This can be seen from the work system, social relations and other social activities. Such as having a high collective consciousness because of the kinship system by blood ties and marriage (Abdullah, 2013). In addition to geographical and economic factors, the tradition of Madurese settlement, especially in rural areas, also has peculiarities, consisting of several houses owned by several heads of families who are bound

by blood, close positions to each other and there is a motherhouse (occupied by ancestors or parents) and *mushalla/kobung /langgar*. Usually from several families there is one kitchen to be used together. This settlement pattern is called *Tanean Lanjhang* (Madura traditional settlement), which characterizes settlements in Madurese villages (Salamet, 2018). *Tanean Lanjhang* is also a medium for instilling values for forming kinship, brotherhood, and togetherness that binds their social relations. So that it can shape the personality of individuals who show the identity of Madurese, in which it becomes the strength and character of the community itself (Wahid & Juhd, 2018).

In addition to these three things, the principle of brotherhood in Madura has become an inherent identity known to the wider community. Several things influence the principle of brotherhood in Sampang Madura. *First*, the local values and wisdom of the community uphold the high value of the internal brotherhood of the tribe. From here, the principle of brotherhood became a tradition of Madurese society, even though they did not have kinship or descent. Although the kinship system is also a strength of Madurese ethnicity in the binding brotherhood that is reciprocal and inseparable (Rochana, 2012).

### *Religious Character and Strong Islamic Culture*

Character is closely related to the appreciation of idealist-spiritualist values to create a morally oriented life in a person or group (Koesoema, 2007). Religious character is a prominent identity in Madurese. According to Siahaan in (Rochana, 2012) Madurese people respect religious institutions and scholars more than state institutions and apparatus. Religious characters are depicted from daily life patterns and cultural symbols of the Madurese people, including in Sampang. If we come to Madura, we will find women ranging from children to adults who are almost all dressed, covering their bodies and wearing hijab. Each resident's house was established as a place of activity for family worship, a center for religious value transfer activities, and receiving guests.

Since childhood, Madurese children have been introduced to religious teachings from their families and communities in madrassas (places to recite Islamic religious sciences) located in the houses of guru *ngaji* (a term for someone in the community who has higher religious knowledge and teaches children how to read Qur'an) in their villages. Usually, after graduating from elementary school, they are admitted to Islamic boarding schools. Fanaticism towards this religion then makes Madurese people very respectful of kiyai. Even they will listen and do whatever is ordered by kiyai as a form of obedience to religious orders, accommodating common interests, customs or traditions, educational institutions, religious teachings, customary institutions, and others (Abdullah, 2013).

The entry of Islam into Madura greatly influenced the traditions and beliefs of its people. Islam developed in Madura through cultural transformations carried out by the propagators of Islam. Thus, Islam developed in Madura was based on community traditions (cultural). The local traditions of Madura, which have existed since pre-Islamic times, were modified and inserted Islamic values and spirit to become an Islamic culture. This Islamic tradition continues to this day. In perpetuating tradition, kiai or religious figures also have a significant role through religious organizations and their pesantren as religious and educational institutions (Rachman, 2016).

Based on the description above, cultural values in society have a very strong role in shaping the perspective of Madurese society, including its beliefs and firm stance on the doctrine of religious teachings and traditions. Some of these aspects become internal forces for the Madurese people to reconcile with various problems that occur to create a harmonious life. These two factors are internal and generally owned by the Madurese people in Sampang.

### *Social Capital and Its Role in The Reconciliation of The Sampang Shia Conflict*

After the emergence of the *Sunni-Shia* conflict in Sampang Madura, reconciliation continues to be carried out to achieve the goal of a better life for both parties. This process cannot be separated from factors supporting smooth running from internal and external communities. Efforts to relocate *Shia* adherents to Jumundo are used to solve problems caused by burning houses of residents who have no place to live



(Munawaroh, 2014). Apart from these problems, various approaches were taken to make peace efforts. In 2020, *the Shia* who were displaced for approximately 8 years, some have returned to Sampang without coercion and awareness (Susilawati & Imran, 2021). State officials and Sampang community leaders also guarantee their security. With peace, both Sunni-Shia sides in Sampang could rebuild relations that had been fractured to divide their brotherhood, proven by the acceptance of the Shia community who return to their homeland is welcomed, not hostile and even embraced to return to their ideology as before they followed the teachings of Tajul Muluk which are considered "different" from the local traditions of the Sampang Madura community.

Moreover, how were Sampang's social capital efforts to reconcile the conflict? Various literatures revealed the importance of social capital as a bridge to peace (Susilawati & Imran, 2021). Several studies mention influential factors in reconciling conflicts to lead to peace. Social capital is important for building, maintaining, developing, and synergizing with each other as a dampening vehicle in resolving conflicts that occur. The concept of social capital arises based on the idea that people cannot face their problems independently, but good togetherness and cooperation are needed to overcome these problems. In the early 20th century, Lyda Judson Hanifan introduced the concept of social capital. Social theorist, Bourdieu, classifies social capital as aspects of valuable social relations between individuals (Syafa & Murlianti, 2020). This social relationship is central in maintaining and collaborating to fortify society and maintain unity in a community.

Studies conducted by Pierre Bourdieu (1986), Francis Fukuyama (1995, 1999), and Robert Putman (1993, 2000) show that countries that have high social capital are able and successful in solving the problems faced with better solutions than countries that have low social capital. Social capital includes three important elements: social norms, beliefs, and social networks (Santoso, 2020). Social norms that need to be built in community-government relations are trust, accountability, partnership, participation, and responsiveness, while in relations between citizens are solidarity, tolerance, trust, and cooperation. As Thomas Moore stated, trust is a gift of spirit that allows the soul to remain attached to its own development. Even Francis Fukuyama stated that trust is the capital needed to create large-scale flexible organizations that compete globally. Social networks are known in the community in the form of local groups, associations, and organizations. In public-government relations, social networks can be formal, such as DPRD, or informal, such as citizen forums. Social networks can bond *social capital* and *bridge social capital*. Social capital owned and found in one group or community is called *bonding social capital*. Meanwhile, social capital between groups is called *bridging social capital* (Thomas Santoso, 2020).

In Sunni-Shia conflicts, social networks play a role in shaping the opinions and beliefs of its components. At least when viewed from the conflicting groups, each uses its network to gain support. From the Shia group the role of network actors in this case is held by TM as the leader of the Shia group, while from the Sunni group is run by TEAM 5 consisting of a number of community leaders from 2 villages, namely TEAM 5 Karang Gayam Village and TEAM 5 Bluuran Village,

TEAM 5 again played its role in overseeing returning former Shia to their hometown. Provide socialization to the community and help convince the community to accept ex-Shia back to their hometown. In addition, TEAM 5 also emphasized to the government that housing availability precedes the process of repatriating ex-Shia. So that not all ex-Shia can directly return to their hometowns before having a place to live or house (Mahbub, 2018).

The well-received return of *Shia* refugees to their homeland shows that the role of the community is the main capital in realizing peace for conflict resolution and maintaining peace. According to Syahra (2003), the phenomenon is part of the cognitive dimension of social capital. The cognitive dimension is related to values, attitudes and beliefs that influence trust, solidarity and reciprocity that encourage cooperation in society to achieve common goals. This dimension can also be referred to as the cultural dimension because cultural values are social capital that maintain harmonious relationships among citizens internally and with people from different ethnicities. Culture becomes social capital that acts as a bridge (*bridging social capital*) because it bridges the differences between groups of people with different cultural values by prioritizing their similarities. In addition, the *structural* dimension of social capital also plays a role in encouraging

collective activities that benefit all community members, including Shia refugees in Jemundo. Economic development efforts to improve community welfare are also carried out through this structural dimension.

## Method

The current study utilized an ethnographic design to explore the Sunni-Shia conflict in Sampang. By adopting an interdisciplinary approach, the research integrated political sociology with social and religious policy frameworks to comprehensively analyze the central phenomenon. This approach facilitated a meaningful analysis of the lived experiences of Sampang Shia Muslims and the Sampang Sunni peace agency, reframing their narratives within a broader life framework.

The study was conducted in three primary locations: 1) Puspa Agro Sidoarjo flats, which house internally displaced Shia residents, 2) Karang Gayam Omben Hamlet, and 3) Blu'uren Karangpenang Village. These locations were selected as they represent the core sites of the conflict. Data collection techniques included participant observation, semi-structured and informal in-depth interviews, and documentation. The research began with identifying informants, preparing research instruments, and gathering data through interviews, participant observations, and document analysis. The study examined the evolution of the Sunni-Shia conflict across the selected sites, with interviews conducted using pseudonyms to protect the identities of key informants. These informants included:

- TM, an elite figure disseminating Shia teachings in Sampang.
- MNJ, the head of Gading Laok Hamlet.
- SYM, a member of TEAM 5 responsible for fostering social harmony and peace between Sunni and Shia groups.
- F, the head of Blu'uren Village.
- SJ, a representative of the Sampang district government.

Additionally, a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) was conducted with ex-Shia residents who had returned to Sunni Islam after leaving the Rusunawa Jemundo Sidoarjo flats. The FGDs and the narratives shared by informants were pivotal in uncovering insights and developing the research concept. This qualitative research employed a narrative inquiry approach (Creswell, 2015), with data analysis following the Miles, Huberman, and Saldana model. This model involves data collection, condensation, presentation, and conclusion drawing. Through interactional and narrative analysis, the study explored how informants interpreted their experiences, particularly regarding the Sunni-Shia conflict in Sampang. This approach provided a nuanced understanding of the conflict and its impact on the individuals and communities involved.

## Findings and Discussion

### *Personal Interest in Shia Leading to Fraternal Conflicts Among Sampang Residents*

The emergence of Shia in Sampang Madura cannot be separated from the role of several main figures (elites) interested in studying and spreading Shia. It can be said that the Sunni-Shia conflict in Sampang originated from the interest of Kiai Makmun, a religious figure in Nangkernang, Karang Gayam Village, Sampang (Hilmy, 2015). In the 1980s, Kiai Makmun received information from his friends in Iran about the success of clerics led by Ayatollah Ali Khomeini in overthrowing the Shah of Iran, Reza Pahlavi, becoming a source of inspiration for Kiai Makmun against the Shiites. Kiai Makmun's faith (teaching practice) is analogous to most Muslim scholars in the Madura region, adhering to the teaching of Imam Shafi'i in the jurisprudence (fiqh), Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari and Abu Hasan Al-Maturidi in creed, and the teachings of Imam Al-Ghazali in Sufism. However, his friend's story managed to amaze Madurese scholars,

leading to the growth of Shia understanding in Sampang. TM, one of Kiyai Makmun's sons, who was also the main figure in spreading Shia teachings in Sampang, analogously conveyed that.

*Actually, if you can say seed, it may be because of my brother's sympathy for Imam Khomeini. At that time there was a revolution in Iran. Around 1979.*

TM's confession regarding the entry of information about the story of Imam Khomeini during the Iranian revolution made Kiyai Makmun feel sympathy. Even from media data, he was revealed that Kiyai Makmun continued to study Shia secretly by reading books sent by his friend from Iran <https://nasional.tempo.co/>. TM also told this information when discussing how TM first knew Shia.

*Starting from the 80s, I have asked for many books from the Middle East, the reading made me think differently and want to study there.*

This statement indirectly illustrates that Kiyai Makmun's interest in Shia grew stronger by reading books sent by his companions to study and also his children. So that TM also, after studying and discussing also, began to know and be interested in deepening Shia.

*At that time I often got books from Iran. He respected Imam Khomeini because he felt he could fight for Islam to become a great power. But, when it's limited to sympathy.*

Although it does not directly agree to how Kiyai Makmun and TM knew Shia teachings from books sent from Iran, the fact is also the beginning of knowing Shia. He began to be more attracted to studying Shia. This interest made Kiyai Makmun decide to educate his sons and daughters by sending three of his sons: IM, TM, and RH, and his daughter (UH) to the Islamic Pesantren Foundation (YAPI) in Bangil Pasuruan which is known as Shia pesantren (Islamic boarding school) (Millatuz Zakiyah et al., 2022). In this condition, various arguments strengthened the evidence that Kiyai Makmun's attraction to Shia grew stronger. On Sunday, July 28, 2022, at the Jemundo refugee camp, Taman Sidoarjo District, TM told how he knew Shia;

*---When I was from YAPI, I started to discuss with Abah often.--- my father often tested thoughtfully and confidently. ---Then after 4 years in YAPI, my Abah was whispered by a kiai, I was asked to leave YAPI and he said someone wanted to pay tuition fees to Mecca to Abuya Sayyid Muhammad, he said the one who bore was Kiai K. Finally, I quit YAPI, but instead Kiai K raised my hand, --- my son was also emotional, because I had already taken care of the visa and bought a ticket. --- and Abah kept trying to get me to go to Saudi.*

In analyzing the story, TM did not get much Shia understanding from YAPI, but from the books. He also had discussions with his father. Nevertheless, what most influenced TM's thinking about becoming Shia was his association with Saudi Arabia, according to him. As TM conveyed, in YAPI, he only studied for 4 years and has not been introduced in person to Ustadz Husein, said TM. This statement is corroborated by the statement below.

*--- I learned Shi'a from association alone. There is a Saudi friend who studied at King Abdul Aziz University, so I actually don't know what Shia is either.*

The association referred to by TM is the environment when he is in Saudi. From this association, TM felt suitable and increasingly interested in exploring the things studied with his friends. Finally, he brought TM to study at the Sayyid Muhammad Al-Maliki Islamic Boarding School. The association, environment, and pesantren of Sayyid Muhammad Al-Maliki are where he studied and studied Shia in Saudi Arabia.

In 1999, TM returned from returning to Indonesia and settled in Karang Gayam, Sampang. He was also welcomed by Makmun's family and the local community because he was considered a young figure who 'alim graduated from Saudi Arabia. TM's opportunity to preach was wide open until he became a respected young Kiai in Karang Gayam (Hilmy, 2015). In a short time, about three years, hundreds of residents in Karang Gayam Village and in Blu'uren (neighboring villages) have become Shia followers and loyal to TM.

The development of TM's da'wah in spreading Shia finally received a response from local scholars. According to MNJ, the response occurred after three years of TM da'wah and found teachings that were considered odd;

*--- as villagers saw the content of Mr. TM's recitation for a long time, how different, and deviated from what we understood and taught in the community. Even far back since the ancestors. --- We consider the teachings of TM and his group to be "heretical" and not in accordance with the personality and soul of the majority of Madurese people.*

The story has been widely reviewed by Sunni-Shia conflict scholars who found the point that Shia is considered a wrong and heretical school in Islam (Susilawati & Imran, 2021). In further investigation, this assumption arises due to differences in 'ideological' belief substance including 'cultural' differences and procedures or traditions carried out by Shia that are different from the local culture of Sampang residents. MNJ added that;

*TM has disrupted long-standing religious traditions in Karanggayam and Bluuran. TM changed to teach the Creed which was different from Sunni teachings, TM also often questioned the worship that had long been carried out by the Community. This is considered by the community as an attempt to divide and disrupt the harmony of society that has been built for a long time (interview, 5-08-2022).*

As a result, the presence of Shia leaders and their teachings that are considered contrary to lokal culture is difficult for the community to accept, causing conflicts and divisions that are far from peaceful. Sy (member of TEAM 5) in charge of guarding and maintaining social harmony, and peace of the Sunni-Shia group stated that;

*In mid-2010, a series of rejections again occurred starting from a mob from Blu'uran village who wanted to visit Ust's residence. TM. The PAKEM (Community Trust and Flow Monitoring) Agency urged Ustad Ust. TM does not hold Shia rituals and proselytizing, Ustad Ust. TM made a statement that he would not carry out da'wah activities for the safety of the people (interview, 5-08-2022).*

This was the beginning of the eruption of conflict that led to the Sampang split incident and resulted in changes in the structure of social relations (Webster et al., 2022). The refusal of local residents who strive mightily to maintain the traditions of the Sunni faith so as not to be contaminated with the teachings brought by TM. The residents of Karang Gayam and Bluuran reject the way of da'wah and the teachings of TM because it clearly deviates from the teachings of Islam that the community believes in and impements. This is where the rejection of TM's da'wah activities which at that time had developed a lot and was followed by some people became very troubling for local ulama' who adhered to Sunni teachings. The rejection was finally carried out by all Madurese scholars who are members of the Madura Islamic Boarding School (BASSRA) and the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI). Even MUI in Madura officially issued a stance, the contents of which are as follows:

- 1) *We, MUI in Madura, declare that the Shi'a sect in Karang Gayam is heretical and misleading.*
- 2) *We, MUI in Madura, ask the government that Ust. TM was immediately relocated.*

This ultimatum from the Madurese ulama' finally reached TM. After several mediations between TM and Madurean scholars, TM signed a statement stating his willingness to temporarily leave Sampang for one year. But unfortunately, around 2011-2012 the escalation of identity conflict between *Sunnis* and *Shia* in Sampang Madura reached its boiling peak. This was triggered by the issue of Ust. TM who was accused of violating the agreement he made. The battle over the self-esteem of the elite figures of the two sides is increasingly heated. As well as the lack of mutual trust and the absence of tolerance between groups became the *root of causes* for *Sunni-Shia* followers in Sampang. This thinking is relevant to the opinion (Harolds & Wood, 2006) that differences in perception and belief in reality and issues trigger conflict. Different perceptions and views on issues ultimately make the conflict more heated and escalates the conflict. The tension that arises triggered by different perceptions and interests increasingly makes the conflict unable to be resolved.



The Sunni-Shia conflict in Sampang is a reality of the tradition of understanding religion as static and unchangeable. This point of view implies that groups outside it are heretics, heretics, *apostates* and even infidels. Thus, conflict in defense of the religious teachings he believes in becomes a way to defend and defend self-belief. This is why ideological differences are the root of the main problem in the context of Sunni-Shia Sampang Madura (Rakhmat, 2015). This problem eventually spreads to other aspects of social life of society, such as issues of power, honor and even relationships between families. This is further muddled by the issue of different versions of the root cause and the cause of the conflict itself. In addition, the role of local and national mass media makes conflicts increasingly uncertain and confusing (Ida & Dyson, 2015).

Finally, the *Sunni-Shia* conflict in Sampang Madura is increasingly widespread and has an impact on all aspects of the lives of residents and communities around the conflict area. Among others; physical aspects that resulted in the burning of residents' houses, which made Shia residents have to move or evacuate from one of the elementary school buildings in Omben District, then relocated in Sampang GOR for one year, and finally placed in Rusun Puspa Agro Jemundo Sidoarjo by the East Java Regional Government (Ida & Dyson, 2015). The good news is that in 2023, most of the residents who took refuge in Rusun Puspa Argo Jumundo Sidoarjo have mostly returned to Sampang, their homeland, leaving 27 families than the previous 278 residents outside TM. The return of ex-Shia residents to Sampang was welcomed and without any element of coercion, but it was carried out through mediation by community leaders sent regularly and by the government of Sampang to provide understanding through recitation to refugee residents. The effort, in fact, succeeded in bringing back ex-Shia residents to Sampang, even with several agreements as guarantees. Such as not being able to do religious activities independently but must blend in with the community (W.F. July 25, 2023). Even the Sampang government has made a policy to provide educational scholarships for children of conflict victims to be sent to Islamic boarding schools with pure notes Sunni. Namely, there are two large Islamic boarding schools in East Java: Tebu Ireng and Lirboyo Islamic boarding schools. Based on the results of an interview with the Regent of Sampang SJ, the selection of Islamic boarding schools was based on the consideration that both were Sunni Islamic boarding schools and even places the birth of Nahdlatul Ulama'.

#### *Efforts to Reconcile the Conflict of the Sunni-Shia Sampang Community*

Plural nations are often considered as a source of friction in conflicts with racial nuances. From the social perspective, the conflict of the Sampang community is caused by excessive distortion and a less participatory political system that can trigger conflicts in a pluralistic society, both between religions, ethnicities, and regions as well as between groups (Susilawati & Imran, 2021). The rise of the *Sunni-Shia* conflict in Sampang Madura is also the case. There are many factors behind this, and a few people even use it to achieve personal or group goals.

In fact, if studied further, the emergence of various social conflicts in society is certainly not solely caused by these differences. Based on the results of the analysis of the experiences of ex-Shia residents and Sampang residents, they agreed to build a new, better relationship after the conflict a few years ago. Reconciliation in the *Sunni-Shia* community in Sampang Madura has not escaped internal and external forces and various efforts made by all elements. One interesting thing about this case is that Sampang residents' awareness of being able to reconnect well with residents who had been relocated to Jumundo has never been interrupted. Years of peace efforts have been uneasy. However, because of the spirit of brotherhood and the culture of *retan* that is attached to the lives of both of them, the basis of the relationship needs to be repaired.

Despite the conflict, reconciliation and peace efforts on the *Sunni-Shia* issue in Sampang have been carried out. Little by little, it shows the impact of social improvement on the problems that have occurred. Both from the economic sector, and social relations of the community, especially the factor of trust (*trust*) which was tainted due to differences in principles that made it difficult for peaceful efforts taken to unite Sunni and Shia followers in Sampang Madura. Related to this issue, Ida and Dyson (2015) believe that as long as these two followers hold the perception and strong beliefs, then during that time, these two groups will continue to fight. Because belief is considered an ideology that animates their faith in the religion they

embrace. So it will be difficult to change.

This statement may not be relevant to post-conflict peace and community reconciliation. This achievement is actually influenced by various aspects and external support from outside the Sampang community in conflict. Starting from the village, sub-district, regent and governor-level governments all contributed to reducing and resolving the Sunni-Shia conflict in Madura. Even the involvement of the TNI-POLRI state security meeting in reducing and preventing the recurrence of conflicts is still being carried out. This includes the role of religious leaders and community organizations in uniting them. Among the external forces that support the reconciliation of the *Sunni-Shia* conflict in Sampang Madura include;

#### *Government and Local Support*

The government has an important role in reconciling *the Sunni-Shia* conflict in Sampang, Madura. The role of the government is natural because the state must be present to ensure the security of its citizens. Through local governments, provinces and villages synergize with each other to overcome problems for the common good. Among the efforts made by the Regional Government of Sampang Regency in handling Sunni-Shia conflicts refers to the Law on Social Conflict Handling article 36 number 7 of 2012. The government and local governments are obliged to carry out post-conflict recovery efforts in a planned, integrated, sustainable, and measurable manner. These efforts include mediation of rehabilitation and reconstruction.

#### *Mediation*

Mediation was carried out by local government representatives to conduct negotiations between the leaders of both parties, resulting in peace and agreement to take Shia residents in Jumundo to Sampang. The Sampang Regency Government handled the process directly as a sign that social conflicts related to the teachings had ended (<https://www.cnnindonesia.com>). The East Java Provincial Government formed a reconciliation team chaired by Abu A'la (Rector of IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya). This team is tasked with mediating between the two parties. With the target, Shia citizens can return to their hometowns. The efforts made are in the form of dialogue involving Sunni and Shia scholars (Hazim, 2016). As revealed by MNJ, F and also the results of the FGD with Bluuran residents who actually love their brothers very much.

*We never feel conflicted with those followers of TM, because we are brothers ---taretan tibi'. But we disagree with his teachings, TM. --- that is why before the government entered into a peace treaty we already wanted to invite peace from the heart. —according to F we are very open to their return here even though we are making a lot of effort to bring them back here.*

Based on this statement, mediation efforts were carried out from various aspects. Both from citizens, religious leaders, and also the government which finally through this mediation both parties made a peace pledge to realize peace among residents involved in violent conflicts in the region. The team that had agreed on peace then met with the President for Law and Human Rights, then met with the Chairman of the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia, to convey the development of Sampang reconciliation which entrusted security factors for Sampang Shia refugees to return to their hometowns (Hazim, 2016).

#### *Relocation of Shia Citizens*

Based on the available facts, the conflict between Shia and Sunni adherents in Sampang Madura has been going on for quite a long time since 2004 before at its peak there were clashes and acts of violence in 2011-2012. Efforts to reconcile have also been made. Through representatives of community leaders, for example, they have repeatedly negotiated, giving advice to Shia leaders to stop their da'wah which is considered troubling because it is contrary to local community traditions. Villagers are not trained to live in differences, they are accustomed to the same culture and religious tradition. Unfortunately, these efforts were unsuccessful and further made conditions worse, between Shia and Sunni sects until there was a major event in the case of civil war between Sunni and Shia followers in Sampang, Madura. As the conflict raged, the government sent several relief forces. The Pamekasan Brimob Platoon Unit also guarded the location.

To overcome the larger conflict, hundreds of followers of the Shia sect, Sunday (08/26/2012) night, were evacuated from their hometown to the Indoor GOR of Sampang city before being massively relocated to Puspa Argo Jumundo Sidoarjo.

Although this relocation has pros and cons from various parties, the government's decision still makes relocation the best solution. In Jumundo Sidoarjo, Shia residents in Puspa Agro Flats get several facilities to fulfill basic humanitarian rights. Among others;

Where to stay in Puspa Argo flats

Living expenses assistance of 700,000 per person for one month.

Teachers to fulfill children's education, and

The strategic location near public facilities, especially markets, facilitates access for displaced residents to find work, ranging from laborers, peeling coconuts, rickshaws, trading, and other service fields.

This effort was made to protect them during their evacuation, and even members of the National Police have been assigned to supervise them until now (Aziz & Matnin, 2018).

#### *Rehabilitation and Reconstruction*

The events of August 26, 2012 became the core news in various national media that cannot be forgotten. The incident of the civil war of Sampang Madura residents due to differences in ideology spread to cause the burning of houses and dozens of injured people from both groups. This event became a bloody Eid of Shia residents in Sampang Madura at that time. For children, they must experience extraordinary psychological disorders, because they have been in the vortex of conflicts that occur and repeatedly. This experience is feared to have an impact on the character of children who will be accustomed to violent conditions, so it is not impossible that they will later grow into mentally abusive and frontal children resulting from the accumulation of violent experiences experienced (Hazim, 2016). In addition, as social creatures, humans need to interact with each other in order to fulfill the needs of their lives, both physically and psychologically. The decision to relocate or move to a place together experienced by Sampang Shia followers can make some of them feel alienated from society. Especially for children who need stimulant interaction from the wider community more than just their community in refugee camps to support their development, mentally and socially. This condition has become a lot of concern for the wider community, including Komnas HAM. To avoid various negative impacts of this relocation decision, *rehabilitation and reconstruction* were carried out for the community or Shia residents after the conflict. This program aims to create an atmosphere of social harmony to realize the independence of the refugee community. In this case, the government targets that refugees will be able to improve their welfare, which is done through empowerment programs (Juhari, 2021).

The Shi'a community empowerment program in the Puspa Argo Jumundo Sidoarjo flats is a form of national program, through the Regional Government (Pemda) of East Java Province this program is considered very strategic and has a high priority. The empowerment program encourages the bureaucratic apparatus to have a high commitment to the "security" of funds and the success of the empowerment program. Before the empowerment program is implemented, the bureaucratic apparatus must first communicate about the empowerment program to the Sampang Shi'a refugee community. In addition, bureaucratic officials must establish good cooperation optimally with related agencies and NGOs, especially to help facilitate the implementation of the empowerment program activities implemented (Juhari, 2021).

Unfortunately, some data shows that such involvement is also not suitable because it is *top down*. In fact, community empowerment should be done by paying attention and listening to the wishes of the subject so that starting from the planning of the empowerment program carried out jointly between the apparatus and residents who will be empowered so that it is right on target. However, from this long process, at least it has shown the cooperation and synergy of all elements of government in efforts to reconcile the Sunni-

Shia conflict in Sampang, Madura. The reconciliation team can also work with the minister in charge of coordinating political, legal and security affairs as a coordinator by involving relevant ministers, such as the minister of religious affairs. The above rules are a form of coordination between institutions in handling post-conflict formatively (Hikmah, 2016). The aftermath of this effort has been the gradual return of some Shia to earth born in canoes. In addition, those who return home have also been well received by the surrounding community.

*Even today, many have returned to Sampang. They mingled with the residents, and followed the routine activities of tablil and yasinan, mawlid nabi and others that became local traditions of the community that former Shia believers also used to do (Interview. MNJ, July 5, 2022).*

### *The Role of Religious and Community Leaders*

In addition to government and local support, the reconciliation of the Sunni Shia conflict in Sampang Madura was also strongly influenced by religious and community leaders. These two figures played a role ranging from the process of dampening through direct dialogue with Shia leaders to taking part in peace efforts and in the process of repatriating Sampang residents from Jumundo to their areas of origin. Even according to the confession of the 5th team appointed to oversee this matter, they are still communicating and coaching ex-Shia residents and surrounding residents (affected) to maintain the values of unity and local traditions and brotherhood. *First*, religious figures. Religious leaders have a major role in the reconciliation process. Religious figures (Islam) for the Madurese people are highly respected and have the potential to have the accumulation and investment of the "masses" in Madura. The typology of society that upholds religious values is the capital and strength for the creation of a harmonious life in Madura. The research results of Mujtahidin et al. (2017b) show that this power becomes the social capital of Madurese people to exist in life, especially as tradition and culture. Social capital is friendships, networks, closer relationships that create networks and bonds; They often shape the quality of life. So it is not wrong if there is a problem and it is difficult to solve them to run to religious figures or leaders.

Religious figures have always been central in every implementation of Sampang Madura community activities, related to religious issues and local cultural traditions. Even not only as religious figures, kiyai are at the forefront of political discourse (Yani et al., 2022). This is because Islam entered Madura through the assimilation of Islamic values into the activities and traditions of the community. It can also be said without losing the tradition of the origin of the community. This is also what makes the presence of Islam easily accepted. For example, religious leaders are very influential in determining joint decisions at the event of the meeting. Likewise, every time there is a conflict between citizens, such as women's problems, inheritance problems and other social problems, the community will run to religious leaders rather than security forces. The role of religious figures is not limited to social life. Even in outgoing life, religious leaders play an important role. Problems of illness, mate, fortune, conflict between family members are resolved through the help of these religious leaders (Rachman, 2016).

A typical society that upholds local religious and cultural values makes people fanatical with whatever they say. Kiyai's position in Sampang is more influential than the government. In fact, the government will get support from the community if it gets support from the local kiyai. Similarly, community leaders, community leaders in Sampang Madura must meet the criteria in their religious knowledge, community leaders here include the head of the RT, to the Hamlet and also the Village Head or Klebun. This points to the very important role of kiyai and religious figures, including the Sunni-Shia conflict in Sampang, Madura. Because of the strong Islamic legitimacy character of Madurese, so there is an expression "chicks in Madura have been Islamic since in the womb of their mother." (Sadik, 2017: 16).

This is natural because the life of the people of Sampang from a socio-cultural perspective, generally both political and socio-religious, is dominated by local elites. Religious leaders commonly referred to as *kiai*, *blater* (jagoan or bastard) and *klebun* (village leaders) have influence in producing discourse, culture, and power networks in the community. *Kiai* acts as a religious expert in interpreting religious discourse to be able to hegemonize society in everyday life. Meanwhile, *Blater* served as a mobilizer of security guards, including the dignity of the Madurese. The participation of all these elements shows the strength of public

participation (*civic engagement*) as a form of cooperation in the community in daily and formal relations (community organizations). So that the process of reconciling the Sunni-Shia conflict significantly reduces segregation and antagonism for both opposing parties (Ali, 2019).

### *Social Capital as A Bridge to Peace*

This section reveals several things related to the ethnic culture of the Madurese, the role and important elements of social capital as a bridge of peace over the conflict of hostile Sunni-Shia community groups in Sampang Madura. This discussion is considered important because each community group has a distinctive and unique social and cultural order, this dimension is referred to as the cultural dimension, because cultural values play an important role as social capital to maintain harmonious relationships in society (Syahra, 2003).

### *Madurese Ethnic Religious Culture*

Madurese society is a devout religious community. The religion of Islam embraced by the majority of the population becomes part of dignity and self-respect. Not infrequently if there is blasphemy disorder, it will be equated with harassing Madurese self-esteem and identity which can lead to resistance or physical confrontation, such as carok. For Madurese, a sense of harassment will arise when an external stimulant causes feelings of shame for him. This feeling in Madurese is called *maloh* or *todus*, this sense of harassment is often a trigger for violence (Rachman, 2016). This can be seen in the idiom popular among Madurese, *ango'an poteya tolang etembang poteya matah* (better bone white than eye white). That is, it is better to die than to live to bear feelings of shame (Bustami, 2014).

The understanding and meaning of Madurese ethnicity in Islamic teachings go hand in hand with the concrete contextuality of its culture, which is thick with Islamic values even though it has been influenced by regional cultural locality. The practice of Madurese life has always been in contact with Islam as the religion of *rahmatan lil 'alamin*. The unity of values and cultural acculturation seems to bring to life the noble values that are the basis of their lives. This dialectic process produces a unique, distinctive, and esoteric Madurese Islam, with various Madurese traditions that have been inserted with kaffah Islamic values (Mulyadi, 2018).

Until now, kiai's efforts as Islamic religious figures in Madura have a significant role in maintaining and maintaining Madurese's Islamic traditions. As the most influential public figure, kiai can play a role in passing on traditions through lay community activities, as well as in ceremonies that are community in nature. Through *pesantren*, kiai also plays a role in teaching these Islamic traditions to their students through habituation that is carried out continuously every day. This is done so that the *santri* can replace their teachers in maintaining and preserving the tradition so that it is not immediately lost and erased by various puritan Islamic movements that are anti-local traditions. This term is in accordance with the social capital of the Sampang community who highly respect Islamic religious figures or *kiyai*. So that the reconciliation carried out on the Sunni Shia conflict has a significant role as well as at the beginning of the success of TM's *da'wah* to the people who initially had faith and respect because it is a *durriyah* of Kiyai Madura who is considered as a Wali (person close to God) this is Madurese culture which until now is well preserved. As MNJ expressly states that:

*The community's respect for TM's ancestors and extended family is a hereditary respect. Because TM and the big family are descendants of the Madurese great guardian breed who came from Batu Ampar. Batu Ampar itself is a border area of Pamekasan - Sampang which is famous because there is a tomb of a saint known as Buju' Latthong or Shaykh Abu Syamsuddin (interview with MNJ head of Gading Laok hamlet).*

Because it comes from the descendants of this great scholar, the TM family has privileges among the community. Moreover, the TM family is known as the Blu'uran and Karanaggayam regional community teachers. TM is indeed considered the brightest child of the Kiai Makmun family. In addition, he who is known to have studied in the Middle East occupies a special place in the hearts of his followers. So the presence of this family, before the community, always awaited the conflict. It can be said that everything



that this family teaches and says is always obeyed by the surrounding community. As is the belief in almost all Madurese minds, obedience to the teacher is one form of effort to be safe in the world and hereafter.

### *Social Culture of Madurese Society*

As mentioned earlier, the social culture of the Madurese - Sampang community, both political and socio-religious, is dominated by local elites, namely *kiai* (religious leaders), *blater* (jagoans or bastards) and *klebun* (village heads). *Blater*, *kiai*, and *klebun* (village head), all three have the power to produce discourses, cultures, traditions, and networks of power in the community. Among the three, *kiai* and *blater* are the most in socio-cultural control. Rozaki termed *kiai* and *blater* as *twin-regimes* in building power in society. *Blater* as the mover and manager of the movement machines, so many media and social rites are used by *blater* to hegemonize society, such as crush events and cow frequency. The *kiai* in its capacity as a religious expert plays a role in interpreting religious discourse to be able to hegemonize society from the deepest structures in the inner space, mind, and behavior of society. Between these two elites, relationships are established in many aspects of social life (Rakhmat, 2015).

This *Kiyai* family is the capital of TM to gain public sympathy as MNJ acknowledges that obedience to the TM family can be referred to the teachings of *buppa 'bhabbu' ghuru rato*. Namely a set of values of the fortitude layer which is one of the values that live in the Madura tradition. In fact, the teachings of *buppa' bhabbu'* are manifestations of the teachings of *birrul walidayn*. For Madurese, obedience to Mother and Father is absolute obedience. While *ghuru* is a manifestation of the teachings of *tariqa* and *tasawwuf* which glorify the teacher-student relationship, *salik-murshid*. Thus, obedience to the teacher is absolute. The teachings of *rato* are manifestations of the obligation to obey *ulil amri* or obedience to the legitimate government, especially *klebun* (village head). Such a setting is their tradition that not many other ethnicities have. As far as the surrounding community's observation and recognition, such conditions unite them.

*In various matters including worship and community activities. Such as deliberation, joint prayer activities, receiving guests and community activities that unite us.*

This fraternal character is one of their *bonding* factors. So it is not surprising that the solidarity of Madurese people is very strong wherever they are, even with known people. Departing from this dimension, the role of a *k* tor and the principle of noble values, wisdom, *lok al* which is attached to the brotherhood of Madurese society becomes capital in binding and bridging peace in Sampang. This is evidenced by positive changes, namely the path of peace. After an agreement on the terms of *allegiance* to return to *Sunni*, some of them were returned to Sampang. And welcomed by local residents. In confession of SYM:

*And interestingly, after the peace between the Sunni-Shia groups, the two groups were able to accept each other, the former Shia who returned to Sampangpun were also well received by relatives and the surrounding community. Even we work hand in hand. We also invite them (ex-Shia) to celebrate. Even those whose homes had been victimized were accepted by relatives to live together (interview with SYM member of TEAM 5).*

This shows the impact of leading to the social improvement of problems that have occurred. Especially community social relations, and trust factors (*trust*) which had been tainted due to differences in principles that made it difficult to attempt a peaceful path taken to unite Sunni and Shia followers in Sampang Madura (Ida & Dyson, 2015).

Many parties are involved in peace efforts and the repatriation of Shia citizens to Sampang. Starting from Brimob officials, Polresta, and regional, provincial, and central governments. Including supporting NGO institutions that advocate for Shia citizens, clerics (*kyai*), Sampang PCNU administrators, Sampang MUI, and Islamic religious institutions in Sampang. Interestingly, local residents welcomed their return to Sampang. This means that there is no rejection, even according to the confession of public figures there, it seems that nothing has ever happened. Some of them lived with relatives or relatives before living in houses that the local government had renovated. The strong sense of brotherhood seemed to erase various negative perceptions of former Shia followers when they returned to Sampang.

Based on this phenomenon, strength, togetherness, and willingness to accept back *Shia* followers by local residents and the participation of all elements of society in seeking peace between conflicting camps become the most valuable social capital. *Civic engagement* is one of the most important elements of strong social capital because people are individuals who are tied to other individuals. Through attachment, we can finally formulate a form of mutual understanding so that people can set their policies (Mujahidah, 2015). This reality is connected to Putnam's theory of Social Capital as the beginning of forming a theory of community participation because the success or failure of a regional government is in a strong social capital pattern or not (Maraffi, 1994).

## Conclusion

This study concludes that the Sunni-Shia conflict in Sampang, Madura, was originated from a scholar's personal connection to Shia ideology, which was later disseminated within the community. This spread of diverse beliefs and practices clashed with local traditions and was outlawed, leading to tensions. Early efforts to halt TM's Shia dawah were unsuccessful, resulting in escalating disputes and a breakdown of tolerance between Sunni and Shia followers. Social capital elements played a crucial role in fostering peace and reconciliation. Religious leaders (*kiai*) were instrumental in preserving Islamic traditions and promoting peace through community activities, ceremonies, and pesantren education. Local elites, scholars, hooligans, and village heads also contributed to shaping traditions, culture, and power networks within the community. Brotherhood and the noble values of local wisdom further strengthened social cohesion and peacebuilding efforts. The reconciliation process involved returning some ex-Shia followers to Sunni Islam and reintegrating them into the Sampang community, which helped restore trust and improve social relations. This long process of reconciliation became a valuable source of social capital, enabling the community to address conflicts and move toward lasting peace.

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