



RURAL MUSLIM SOCIAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION MECHANISM (Study on the Phenomenology of Religiosity, Local Wisdom and Rural Islamic Education)

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to describe the social segregation conflicts of rural Muslim communities and their resolution mechanisms based on religiosity/religiousness, local wisdom, and rural Islamic education. This study uses a qualitative method with the type of phenomenology. While the data collection instruments use Observation, Documentation, and Depth-Interview. And the data analysis instrument uses data reduction, data presentation, and data heuristics. While the validity of the data test uses triangulation. And the research locus is villages in the Bondowoso-Situbondo area. The results of this study are; 1) Variants of social segregation conflicts that occur in the community are caused by: identity politics, political preferences, socio-religious groups, education level and intensity of awareness of local wisdom values, 2) Rural Muslim communities have conflict resolution mechanisms based on moderate attitudes, thoughts, and actions that are based on traditional religiosity, local wisdom of mutual cooperation and togetherness and also rural Islamic education whose patron is kyai langgar who becomes the central figure or benga-seppo in the social aspect of village society.

Keywords : *Conflict Resolution, Social Segregation, Rural Muslims, Religiosity, Local Wisdom and Rural Islamic Education.*

INTRODUCTION

That rural society is a traditional society, it is a basic characteristic that makes the village attached to cultural identity and confirms its position as the womb of urban civilization. Historically, the development of villages in Indonesia has come a long way, even longer than the Republic of Indonesia. Before the colonial period, community associations in an area were known based on kinship and kinship (Jamaluddin, 2015 : 4) . With this, of course, there are still many rural communities who hold fast to the traditions of their ancestors and there are also some - not to mention - village communities who have transformed following the trend of technological and information development. Modernization has permeated all the world's territorial spaces in this century so that human development has become a global phenomenon . and no one can escape from this situation. However, the village with its rural features is a phenomenon that can still be traced socio-culturally, although it is a bit difficult if it is limited by geographical space.

Socio-culturally, rural communities are people who are still strong in maintaining their traditional communal identity , groups of people living in remote areas and experiencing less change or influence from urban community life (Jamaluddin, 2015: 307) , both based on ethnic identity, religious groups. or traditions that are upheld collectively. This is certainly caused by primordial conditions that control social cohesion and social integration inherently in their living system. Although it is still recognized that modernization continues to enter the crevices of the life of rural communities.

As a collectivity or communality, the village community is known to have a high level of kinship, togetherness and community. This makes the main factor in building their high social cohesion. In addition, rural communities relatively have primordial ties of ethnicity, religion and social groups that are uniform so that they are able to stem the occurrence of social segregation between their communities. As a result, the socio-cultural life of rural communities is relatively uniform.

In the context of the Bondowoso-Situbondo community, a horseshoe eastern area of East Java, rural communities are the majority population because geographically, both consist of more villages than cities. Based on data from the Central Bureau of Statistics, Bondowo Regency consists of 11 sub-districts and 208 villages (Central Bureau of Statistics , 2022 : 27) . This shows that rural areas are the dominant area in geographical distribution in Bondowoso. In addition, this area is an area where the urban community is still in a village feel. This means that the level of traditional life is still relatively high and dominant. So that socio-culturally, the countryside in this area is a village that is relatively well preserved by the diversity of its people, local wisdom and collective cultural activities of the community.

Ethnographically, the rural community of Bondowoso-Situbondo consists of the Madurese pandhalungan community The cultural area of pandhalungan (pandalungan) refers to an area in the northern and eastern coastal areas of East Java Province where the majority of the population has a Madurese cultural background. Ayu Sutarto. Overview of the Pandhalungan Community . Cultural Exploration Paper 2006. Center for the Study of History and Traditional Values. This means a society that is within the boundaries of the Javanese-

Maduran mixed culture. In a study by the Ministry of Religion, this society is a synthetic society socio-culturally between Javanese culture and Madura culture. However, specifically for the rural areas of Bondowoso-Situbondo, the community is dominated by the Madura Pandhalungan ethnic group.

In this rural community of Madura Pandhalungan, the level of cohesion and social integration is relatively high because socio-culturally, people's lives are still the same. This means that the existing differences do not have a significant potential in creating social segregation conflicts. The main support for the socio-cultural dimension in the Madura Pandhalungan community is religion and local wisdom. The traditionalist Islamic diversity and Javanese-Madurese local wisdom are the foundation of this rural community's social integration.

However, historically, this conflict of social segregation of the rural people of Madura Pandhalungan still occurs and is inevitable. The variations of the social segregation conflict of the Pandhalungan rural community are in the form of conflicts between religions, ethnicities and social groups. Some were even followed by acts of violence and destruction of public facilities. This of course needs to be discussed further in depth, especially regarding the mechanism of conflict resolution of social segregation of rural communities in the context of Bondowoso-Situbondo.

Based on the research that has been carried out, in the last 10 years, the Bondowoso-Situbondo Community conflict has been discussed by several people. To mention some important research, namely; first, Retnowati's research entitled Religion, Conflict and Social Integration (Post-conflict social integration in Situbondo) (Retnowati , 2014) ; Second, M. Khusna Amal's research entitled Sunni-Shi'a Conflict in Contemporary Indonesia (Polarization, Discrimination and Religious Violence) (Khusna & Shodiq , 2019) ; Third, Abdul Halim Soebahar's research entitled Patterns of Religious Conflict and Analysis of Stakeholder Roles (Multi Case Study in Jember and Bondowoso Regencies) (Halim & Karim, 2020) ; Fourth, Amyana's research entitled Development and Social Conflict in Village Communities (Ethnographic Study of Implementation of Special Programs to Increase Rice, Corn and Soybean Production in Bondowoso Regency) (Romadi, 2017) .

In the description of the research results above, there have been studies of social conflicts in the locus of rural communities in Situbondo-Bondowoso, but the four studies mentioned above describe more about the occurrence of conflicts and do not examine the resolution of conflicts that occur. In Retnowati's research which alludes to social integration, it is more directed to the role of interfaith leaders who bridge the occurrence of reconciliation in building social integration.

In contrast to the research mentioned above, this study attempts to focus on examining the conflict resolution mechanisms of rural Muslims in Bondowoso-Situbondo based on studies of phenomenology of religiosity, local wisdom and Islamic education for rural communities in the two regions. In the context of this conflict resolution mechanism, as far as research goes, no one has explored it in depth, especially in uncovering the phenomenon of religiosity, local wisdom and rural Islamic education as the basis for conflict resolution.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study uses a qualitative approach to the type of field research or field research. The research paradigm used is phenomenology. While the data collection instruments use Observation, Documentation and Depth-Interview . And the data analysis instrument uses data reduction, data display and data hereuistics. While the validity of the data test uses triangulation. The research locus are villages in the Bondowoso-Situbondo area. While the people who are the object of this research are the Madurese Pandalungan people.

CONCEPTUAL STUDY

a. Rural Muslim Community

In the context of life, the village is a territorial term in the politics of space which is distinguished from the city. A dichotomous geographical boundary between the modern *urban* and the traditional *rural* . This geographical category dualism applies everywhere in the territorial division on earth, even with different languages. Especially this limitation becomes clear in the midst of the development of human life in the information and technology revolution in this millennium century in all its aspects which are not the same from one geographical space to another.

The village is an interior space that is still natural and protected from the effects of modernization (The village was the forerunner of the formation of a political society and government long before the Indonesian state was formed. As a womb from today's modern civilization which is manifested in urban conditions as the main mirror, the village still persists with its traditionality so as to keep a distance from modernization (Jamaluddin, 2015: 4 Rural matters are conditions that are protected from the currents of development that are destructive to old traditions or cultures. That is, the countryside with its traditionality, both people and conditions, is a characteristic that is aesthetically valuable in today's life which is full of modernization in all fields. as a category can be seen from the aspect of this unspoiled traditionality.

While the city with urban matters is the center of modernization. Lively urban people who are attached to modernization with the main aspects of technology and speed of access to information. This matter touches all corners of the world with the globalization trend in this millennium. The main marker of this modernization is information technology which in turn changes other dimensions, both economic, political, social and cultural. In this regard, the city is the epicenter of the object of the development of modern civilization, especially the lifestyle of its people.

Characteristically, villages are distinguished from cities in several ways, including: livelihoods, community size, population density, environment, social differentiation, social stratification, social contacts and social solidarity (Nasrullah, 2018:21-22).

In terms of livelihood, rural communities generally have agrarian-based livelihoods, either agriculture or plantations. And this is homogeneous and dominant in rural communities. In addition, the village community works in a collective effort as a

feature in fulfilling their daily needs. While the urban community, they work more in the field of services and manufacturing to fulfill their daily needs.

In terms of social community, rural communities have a relatively small number of communities because the existing land and areas are mostly used for agriculture and planting crops. Meanwhile, urban communities have a large number of communities because the service and manufacturing sectors do not require large areas of land but require a large quantity of workers. This in turn has an impact on the population density of both, if the population density is low in the village and the city is the opposite.

In the environmental aspect, the village is distinguished from the city in the interaction of the community with environmental conditions. The village environment, both inorganic, organic and socio-cultural, is very closely related to the community because it is lived and faced directly in the daily life of the community, especially their work environment which is indeed agriculture. Meanwhile, urban communities are more distant or not in direct contact with their environment, even the urban environment is identical with bacteria. In the socio-cultural environment, rural communities have high homogeneity both in terms of the form of settlement buildings, and ethnic and psychosocial variations that are built between communities. In contrast to urban communities, the level of heterogeneity is in the form of settlements, ethnic and psychosocial variations of the community.

From the aspect of the difference in the socio-cultural environment between rural and urban conditions, this in turn has an impact on social differentiation, social stratification, social contacts and social solidarity that differ between villages and cities. Due to high homogeneity, villages have low social differentiation, simple social stratification, low social contacts and high social solidarity. While the city is the opposite.

In addition, in the aspect of social control, rural communities have customs and traditions that become local wisdom in regulating and limiting people's attitudes and behavior patterns, while urban communities rely more on law as an entity that regulates and limits attitudes and behavior patterns of their people. Also, the nature of rural communities is cooperative and mutual cooperation and the nature of urban communities is individual.

In addition, social mobility. The social mobility of the rural community is very low because of the house. their families and workplaces are not far away, while urban communities have high social mobility because their workplaces and families are not close.

From some of the characteristics described above, the village and rural matters find a little light as one of the important variables in the discussion of this research, because the village is the geographical context in this study.

b. Social Segregation Conflict

Basically - existentially - conflict is an absolute because life moves dynamically between stable and unstable pendulum, especially the community. Society as a communal unit consists of various people who are different from one another. Furthermore, differences are the first point in the emergence of social conflicts in society. Every social conflict arises from points of difference that lead to a clash as the climax of the culmination of these differences.

Anatomically, conflict does not occur because of amicable disagreements. However, structurally, conflict occurs because of the meeting of four conflict elements, namely; Supporting Context, Conflict Roots, Conflict Axis and Conflict Triggers (Mudhar, 2018: 112-113). If these four elements meet in one moment, then the conflict will break out.

Supporting context is an aspect that supports a conflict to occur, such as settlement complexes, types of work and so on. That is, this supporting context is an aspect that supports the occurrence of the exclusivity of a community or a group that indirectly accommodates or precedes the occurrence of community social conflicts. Usually some conflicts occur when a group limits its mukim space or associates only with its group, and this strengthens the sectoral ego of a community and clarifies its exclusivity.

The root of conflict is the effect of suffering that is felt because there is diversification or discrimination from differences. That is, conflicts that start from differences that lead to clashes or clashes. This of course in the process results in discomfort or suffering felt by the parties involved in the social conflict. So, suffering because of this discriminatory difference in turn becomes the root of social conflict.

The axis of conflict is the tip of the difference that clarifies the occurrence of a clash. However, this is still at the surface stage which has not yet triggered social conflict, but social segregation has been seen with the sentiments in the community. The examples of this axis of conflict are anti-Chinese sentiments, anti-Shi'a sentiments and other sentiments that emerge as the end of differences that lead to conflict.

The trigger for conflict is the momentum that causes the explosion of conflict to occur. This can be in the form of a fight, murder or *show-force* of a group to show its identity which other groups cannot accept freely . The trigger for this conflict is a point where extreme differences meet in a destructive clash.

Of the four elements, each structural conflict can usually be mapped out and find a way out of the things that accommodate the conflict and how to find loopholes so that conflict can be resolved from the anatomical elements of the conflict.

DISCUSSION

In the context of the discussion of the mechanism for the resolution of the social segregation conflict of rural Muslims, there are two main discussions, namely the social segregation conflict which was traced to have occurred in the lives of the Situbondo-Bondowoso rural community and the resolution mechanism was based on the religion of the village community, rural local wisdom and Islamic education carried out in the village. .

a. Rural Community Social Conflict

Based on literature traces, several conflicts between the Situbondo-Bondowoso rural communities occurred in various forms. However, broadly speaking, it can be classified into identity political conflicts, electoral political conflicts, inter-religious conflicts, and conflicts between socio-religious groups in society. These conflicts occurred no more than two decades ago.

First, the conflict of identity politics. Identity politics in Indonesia is more related to issues of ethnicity, religion, ideology, local interests represented by the elites with their respective articulations. (Ma'arif, et al. 2010:3). Since identity politics has emerged and gone viral in the social-media realm since the 2017 DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election and has entered the collective consciousness of many people, it has become a term that historically can be used as a category in several conflicts that have occurred longer than the moment when the terminology emerged. In the Bondowoso-Situbondo area, identity politics occurs between the Madurese Pandhalungan ethnicity and the Chinese ethnicity (Halim, 2019 : 20). A conflict that occurred because the ethnic Chinese dominated the trading field in the Besuki area. This triggers the occurrence of exclusivity in the Madurese Pandhalungan community to build anti-Chinese sentiment in shopping and other related economic aspects. However, this conflict did not explode into a movement, only stopped at the construction of anti-foreign sentiments which of course included in the social restrictions of society or social segregation.

Second, the electoral political conflict. Electoral political conflicts are conflicts based on political preferences at the district or village level. Meanwhile, at the governor and president level, differences in choice preferences do not become sharp and form social segregation conflicts. This electoral political conflict occurs regularly in a 5-year

period. Especially in the election of regents and village heads, sharp differences are prone to occur and can even transcend and break kinship ties. Several clashes occurred, especially the 2015 Situbondo regent's choice between supporters of Hafass and supporters of Dadang which escalated with beatings and fights that triggered almost complete social segregation of the community in the Situbondo district. In addition, the Pilkades conflict, Cermee Bondowoso, also noted that there were fights caused by the high tension of differences in electoral political preferences.

Third, inter-religious conflict. Conflicts between religions have occurred in Situbondo, namely Islam and Christianity. This conflict was triggered by a community member who abused the kyai who was a big figure in the Situbondo community. As it is understood that the kyai are role models for the community and the rural community of Situbondo has a high fanaticism towards the kyai in all aspects of their life. This then triggered a big riot that spread to the destruction of public facilities, especially churches at several points in Situbondo.

Fourth, conflicts between socio-religious groups. This conflict has occurred in Bondowoso between the Sunni Muslim group and the Shiite Muslim group and even the social segregation is still embedded today. This happened because there were figures who built the Shi'a community in the midst of the Sunni community. This did not initially trigger social conflict, only as the number of the Shia community grew, of course there was social resistance from the community because in the ideological view of Sunni religion, the Shia group has an understanding that degrades the values that are considered noble by the Sunnis, More than that, actually the existence of the Shia campaign is a deviant group from mainstream Islam, and the 'deviant Shia' campaign is that the stigma of 'heretical' that is attached to Shia followers and their sympathizers has been embedded in the minds of the majority of Indonesian ulemas and ordinary people so that they are reluctant or afraid to study Shia from a Shia perspective so that dialogue to bridge these two schools of Islam cannot be carried out. Worse still, ordinary Sunnis are easily provoked to commit acts of violence against Shia groups. (Muhammad , 2016 : 3).

This discrepancy was exacerbated by the burning of the house of a Shi'ite figure and the termination of the Shiite community's regular recitations. This anti-Shi'a sentiment even extends to almost all areas of Bondowoso district.

Fifth, socio-economic conflicts. This conflict occurs because of the basis of the economic interests of a community. This happened between *slerek* fishermen and *axle* fishermen in Panarukan. The first case is because the *axle* fishermen take the territory and cultivation of *slerek* fishermen, which triggers social conflict.

From the several conflicts that researchers can trace in the literature, the strong social cohesion among rural communities still has its own internal problems which at any time have the potential to become large social conflicts and trigger social segregation on a large scale. In general, some of the social segregation conflicts in rural communities were triggered by community identity politics, differences in political preferences, differences in religious ideologies and differences in economic interests.

b. Rural Community Social Conflict Resolution

In rural Muslim communities, there are several constructions of togetherness and kinship that are routinely built without being formally institutionalized. This is phenomenologically, a space for conflict resolution mechanisms for rural Muslim social segregation. In detail, the researcher divides into 3 main domains as the social capital of the community in building community integrity and their social integration.

1. Traditional Religiosity

Religion is the main basis for considering the attitudes of rural Muslim communities, even though they do not fully have in-depth knowledge of religion. For them, religion is non-negotiable, especially since they have a traditional Islamic religious base based on Islamic boarding schools. In this case, the diversity of the village community is Islam that is inclusive and accommodative to tradition and friendly to differences. The most important thing for them is that their religious principles are not disturbed.

In this kind of Islam, rural Muslim communities prefer to maintain *ukhuwah Islamiyah* as the main foundation of peace among their communities. The important thing is fellow Muslims, then their social cohesion will be high. The proof is that in Jambisari there are actually some traditionalist Islamic figures who do not make an issue of the existence of the Shi'a community because they think they are still in one big umbrella of Islam. This group then suppressed the conflict so that it would not prolong and preferred an accommodative path but remained resistant to the Shia

group. Because when it comes to ideological-based conflicts, including conflicts between Sunni-Shi'a groups, the reconciliation that occurs is rather difficult. However, this cultural reconciliation effort then reduces the conflict so that it does not spread into a movement and is sufficient in sentiment.

In addition, the existence of Nusantara Islam as a platform for traditional Islam today, increases the awareness of the rural Muslim community about the existence of *ukhuwah wathaniyah*, brotherhood of the nation and the homeland. Even though this concept is actually a crystallization of the experience of the Nahdliyyin Muslim community based in rural areas. In Situbodo, it is common for togetherness to be built between the Madurese Pandhalungan community and the Chinese ethnicity in working matters. Because ethnographically, the Chinese people control the shopping area in the markets and the Madurese Pandhalungan people work and shop. The mutualistic interaction that was built like this actually existed before the formulation of Islam Nusantara at the Jombang Congress yesterday.

In a higher awareness than that, but still in the concept of diversity in the traditionalist Muslim community is *ukhuwah basyariyah*, human brotherhood. This *ukhuwah* builds brotherly awareness that goes beyond the primordial differences that are embedded in the human soul. It is a brotherhood based on humanity.

In one researcher's interview about the position of religion in interactions with other people of different religions and groups, Rusydi, a rural Muslim respondent stated that religion is essentially not *fighting*. That is, maintaining brotherhood as has been taught by the *kyai* of the *pesantren*. For him, the *kyai* of the Islamic boarding school who has knowledge and understanding of his religion only respects differences, moreover he is a layman.

In contrast to *kyai Qusyairi*, a village *kyai* and caretaker of the prayer room stated that:

"Difference in society is a necessity, *sunnatullah*. So there is no choice but to respect each other. Because the matter of guidance is the almighty right "

In this case, the diversity of rural communities is inclusive diversity and in itself becomes social capital in the mechanism of conflict resolution of social segregation among the rural Muslim communities.

2. Local Guyub Wisdom

Every society as a social community certainly has guidelines resulting from the feeling of its communal experience. This of course is social capital in the collectivity that is built in a society, including the rural Muslim community of Bondowoso-Situbondo. This guideline is the local wisdom of the community.

The rural Muslim community of Bondowoso-Situbondo which *in fact* consists of the majority of the Madurese Pandhalungan community and leans towards the An-Nahdliyah Sunni Islamic religious ideology and upholds the Kyai as a *rule-model* in all aspects of life. They have local wisdom, namely regular weekly meetings in the form of *Yasinan, Arisan or Donatiran, Sarwa'an, Tuesday'an* and so on. The format of the terms may vary and vary, but the substance is routine community meetings or regular meetings. This is a local obligation for rural Muslim communities. There are even respondents who interpret that the existence of community groups in a hamlet or village is a deterrent to problems for these communities.

In the context of local wisdom like this, social segregation conflicts find a resolution mechanism because the shared momentum in the routine community is a process of building social cohesion and social integration in rural communities.

3. *Langgher*- Based Islamic Education

Non-formal education in rural communities is education that is cared for by village clerics and based on non-formal institutions in the form of *langgher*. *In general, every rural generation has received this langgheren education*. The reason is the cult of the village kyai as consultants in all aspects of the problem.

As is well known, the village kyai in a rural Muslim community is the initial solution to every problem. Want to get married, want *slametan*, want treatment, want to treat fussy children and want to plant and so on. The village kyai is present as a consultant for the community. Under these conditions, rural Islamic education with the village kyai as the *patron* is the resolution of the social segregation conflict of the rural Muslim community.

CONCLUSION

The results of the research on the mechanism of social segregation conflict resolution in rural Muslim communities by studying the phenomenology of religiosity, local wisdom and rural Islamic education are as follows:

- a. The factors that cause the social segregation conflict variants of the Bondowoso-Situbondo rural Muslim community are identity politics, differences in political preferences, differences in religious ideology, differences in economic interests.
- b. The process of resolving social segregation conflicts in rural Muslim communities is based on social capital in the form of; Inclusive Traditionalist Islamic Diversity, Local Guyub Wisdom and *Langgher-Based Islamic Education*.

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