

CHAPTER I

Research Proposal

A. Problem Background

The collapse of Soeharto in 1998 brought many changes in Indonesia. The elements that have been fighting for the implementation of democracy in Indonesia were conducted pressure and sent their delegates to influence the transition phase where the constitutions of Indonesia were amended. These elements fight the Soeharto's regime for more than 30 years to make a better democracy and appreciation of human rights in Indonesia. The agenda of strengthening democracy and human rights that supported and promoted by these elements were mostly adopted by transitional government. The freedom of speech, freedom of expression and freedom of choose and build organization are some fundamental rights given by new transitional regime. The other change in order to strengthening democracy is the shift from centralization of governmental system to decentralization of governmental system. An effort to bring government closer to their people with letting them (region) manage their own local affairs and encourage public participation in development process are the reason why decentralization is necessary.

However, apparently the strengthening of democracy (transfer of authority to local government) doesn't assure the access of people to their rights. Novri Susan in his book "The State Failed to manage conflict: Democracy and conflict management in Indonesia" said in 2006-2012 is the critical phase of Indonesia transitional democracy

where the rate of social conflict is getting increased.¹ One of kind of the conflict that threatens the unity of Indonesia people is religion based conflict. Religion based conflict is classified as horizontal conflict where the conflict actors are between individual or group in society. But, what makes it interesting is in Indonesia state frequently be the part of the conflict that conducting violence. The National Commission of human right report in the end of 2014 said that in 2014 there are 67 cases report from society about violation on freedom of religion. This violence not only conducted by non-state actors, but also conducted by state apparatus. Two types of violence done by state according to the national commission of human right are by commission (active act) and by omission. The second type of that violence is the one that state frequently done.²

That explanation tells us that violence practices by state is happened more in local autonomy era. The practice of violence in religion based conflict always involved state and local elites in frame of local autonomy. The weaker control and law enforcement by central and local government triggering the increasing of religion based conflict in Indonesia. This is happened when democracy is being transformed to lower level of government. The strengthening of democracy (authority transfer to local government) is linked with the increasing of social conflict especially religion based conflict that threatens the unity of grass root. The researcher looks this violence politic phenomenon as the consequent of understanding democracy only by legal formal view. Democracy as a means to people to access the sources of power is not yet implemented in Indonesia. The

¹ Susan, Novri, Negara Gagal Mengelola Konflik: demokrasi dan tata kelola konflik di Indonesia, KoPi & Pustaka Pelajar: 2012, pages v (foreword)

² Quoted from Laporan akhir tahun kebebasan beragama/berkeyakinan KOMNAS HAM RI 2014

oligarchy in government is still too strong. Only the elites could access the sources of power and the space for public to participate deciding strategic issue is very limited. The Indonesia history also told us that it's state that have been maintain the violence group and even institutionalized them like in some regions in Indonesia. Furthermore, education of Pancasila, Bhineka Tunggal Ika and civic rights also still has not touch all layers in society effectively.

Religion based conflict in all over the world is not only threats the unity, but also threat one of the most fundamental right of human being, which is choosing faith. The intimidation to certain people with certain faith will automatically put stain in our democracy life. These groups that often intimidate those who are stand in different ideology have been flourished in many regions in Indonesia because of the weaknesses of law enforcement. Several religion based conflicts are happened purely because the lack of education of the people or because misunderstanding among religion groups or individuals. Another religion based conflicts are happened because and for a sake of certain individual or group to achieve a certain goal. This individual or group requires a conflict to gain some benefit. Especially in Indonesia, religion is something sensitive and using it to make a conflict is not difficult. The motive drives them create a conflict are usually economy, politic and cultural motives. Analyze the religion based conflict linked with role of elites in local level in frame of decentralization is very interesting. We will find many religion based conflicts in Indonesia is triggered by some elites and the conflict made for create or maintain a power to gain political economy and cultural benefits.

Elites that play a big role on political, economic and cultural in local government are government with its power legitimacy, rich men with its capital and those with big influence in society that can persuade people. These three actors are the most common actors in political, economic and cultural life who determine society life generally. The third kind of elite mentioned by researcher is usually different in every region in Indonesia. For an instance, in Padang, the local elite that have big influence in society are “*ninik & mamak*”. These actors are an elder and also custom leader that their opinion will be heard by people. In Madura, the actors are different. There are two non-state actors who have big influence in society culturally. They are *kiyai* and *blatter*. *Kiyai* is religious leader and public figure that morally and culturally followed by Madura people because of their charisma and religion knowledge. *Kiyai* get special place in Madura people heart because Madura society tradition that highly pay attention on religion values and consider it in every social activity. Especially in some special and sacred days, Madura people will make ‘*slametan*’ and invite *kiyai* to lead them celebrating those days. The intention of Madura people do that is to gain bless form god. They consider *kiyai* as the one with deep understanding of religion values and knowledge and therefore they consider *kiyai* as person with special proximity with God. That’s why Madura people put *kiyai* in special position. Most of Madura people also experienced study in *pesantren* or at least in *surau* (little mosque) to get religion knowledge. It means that most of Madura people have relation with *Kiyai*. It’s impossible to separate Madura people from *kiyai*.

Beside *kiyai*, there is one more important social power that culturally strong in Madura society. They are called *blatter*. *Blatter* is a hoodlum or person that lives in criminal ways and always associated with brutal life, crime, thievery and robbery. *Blatter*

is an individual actor but can't be separated from his social life. Blatter that respected in society and has an influence is blatter that has men who can work for him. Blatter also associated with those who has network in 'kerapan sapi & sabung ayam' culture where the gamble practice is held on that arena. Many cases in Madura where someone known as no-blatter turns and considered by his society as blatter because he wins a 'carok'. Carok is the way to solve a problem with violence or fighting one by one between those who are in conflict. Carok usually triggered by 4 factors; 1) Disruption to wife. Madura people are easily provoked if their wife disrupted by anyone. Another case triggering carok is when man find out his wife is doing cheating with another man. Usually the husband will challenge a man that cheating with his wife to do a carok. 2) Revenge. Madura people will not accept if one of his family members killed and he'll challenge the killer to do a carok. 3) Defending pride. 4) Defending inheritance³. Carok is becoming arena to confirm social status of blatter. It's because Madura people consider those who win carok as brave and strong man.

The intention to strengthening social status of blatter triggering them to have self-protector to ensure they can survive in their tough life. The self-protector that blatter always desired and sought after are inner power and black magic. With mastering inner power and black magic, blatter will survive and may dominate a certain region with get some men as his followers. Having black magic and inner power skills, experienced win a carok, having men following him and the last is be a member of 'remoh' (blatter network) will make one as the real blatter with big influence in society and among blatter.

³ Abdur Rozaki, In "Violence group and local boss in reformation era" book, IRE Press: Yogyakarta, 2006, chapter 4 'Social origin and Blatter power politic in Madura' page 68

Blatter as a symbol of violence and Kiyai as a symbol of religiosity & morality colored Madura people everyday life. These two opposite symbol grow and giving influence one to another. Kiyai with his religion pedagogy media and blatter with his charisma that comes from violence and gamble ways find their power and sympathy from society in different context. Both of them always try to show a charisma to gain a power, whether it is power in cultural life or power in state structure. The power they gain will get them into an economic benefit. In the practice, especially after reformation era, kiyai and blatter are tend to widen its influence with participating in political contestation. Blatter is actually has been participated in political contestation, but not always as the main actor. Blatter used to participate in head of village election. In higher hierarchy level, it's very difficult to find blatter fill government posts. On the other hand, kiyai tends to participate in practice politic since reformation era when political party highly growth and Islamic political parties have strong position in Madura. In this context, kiyai has opportunity to being supporter of a candidate, or instead being that candidate itself.

In the practice, kiyai and blatter in running their role in social life can't be avoided to build direct or indirect relation. The context may in some contexts and conditions. The kind of relation sometime is in conflict and sometime also they accommodate one to each other when they have common interest. It is interesting when we find these two opposite symbols may stand in the same side when they have common interest. In the practice, kiyai and blatter that commonly play a role as non-state actors always get in touch with state actors as one of elite in Madura (commonly called 'rato'). State elites will always need kiyai and blatter to gain or maintain a power, of course beside their need to run an effective government when state elite get in touch with people.

These three elites (kiyai, blatter, and rato) are can't be separated in Madura social life. As researcher explained in the beginning of this writing, the strengthening of democracy (authority transfer to local government) is linked with the increasing of social conflict in the region, especially religion based conflict. These religion based conflict in regions are can't be separated by elite local actors. These actors with their various intention and interest, play different role that triggering and stop the conflict.

Discussion about elite local role and motive in a certain conflict in Indonesia is very interesting study since there are many unique local politic dynamics in Indonesia. Madura is one of that interesting and unique discussion. Religion based conflict is rarely to be find in Madura since Madura people are NU follower that well known with its tolerance. But in 2011, it happened. The religion based conflict happened in Sampang, one of regency in Madura. The conflict was the attacks and expulsions of shia muslim by a group of people in two villages in Sampang, which are Blu'uran and Karanggayam. The attack to the shia muslims in Sampang happened in several times that begin in 2011 with the burning of shia followers houses. The combustion was the peak of conflict after more than 5 years the shia followers being intimidated by a few groups that some of them are from outside of the villages where the shia followers live. It's actually a conflict between groups of people from Blu'uran, Karanggayam and those from another villages and regency with Shia followers led by Tajul Muluk. The conflict is quite complicated since the actors that consist of many groups and elements and also it becoming complicated and has not finished yet because the state's response that very slow and couldn't control mass movement.

Many versions of the conflict made. Some said the conflict rooted on the Tajul muluk's dakwah activities that spreading shia's doctrines. The other said conflict rooted on the family problem which is a conflict between Tajul and Rois. Rois is Tajul's little brother. There is also a version that said the conflict rooted on the acts of a certain group that its interest being disturbed because the dakwah activity of Tajul Muluk. This conflict has took a man's life which is a shia follower that killed on August 2012 in one of attacked by a group of people. The shia followers houses has been burned and looted. Now they live on a flat, in Sidoarjo east Java after more than a year lived on sport building (Gor) in Sampang. It's a conflict that involved local elites, NGO, central government, Sampang society and some actors from outside of Madura.

Madura local elites that have been mentioned are played their role in this conflict. Kiyai, blatter and rato (bureaucrat/regent) are the main actors in this conflict. But, beside of those all local, regional, and national actors, there seems to be an involvement of international actors in this conflict. This geopolitical factor is coming from the effect of Syria civil war between rebel and government. The sectarian issue raised in this war is sunni-shia war which the sunni is represented by the rebel and shia is represented by Bashar al-Assad regime. Western and Arab mainstream media also raised this sectarian issue with saying that; Bashar al-Assad regime with its shia ideology are trying to slaughtering its people who are majority sunni. This issue was spreading around the world include in Indonesia with its local media (television, newspaper, website & social media). It triggering a bigger hatred to shia and this is very affected to Indonesia's muslims who are majority Ahlus sunnah Wal Jamaah (sunni) followers included those muslims in Sampang, Madura.

It is very interesting to discuss how cultural and structural elites relationship in this conflict linked with the dynamic of political violence practices. This thesis lifts a topic about violence practice conducted by local elites to Shia followers in Sampang, Madura. It aims to analyze two things. First, the role and motive of Sampang's elites on Shia muslims attack in Karang gayam & Blu'uran villages. Second, the impact of Syria conflict with attack and expulsion on shia muslim in Sampang. The trichotomy of power (Kiyai, Blater, Rato) in Sampang will be the central actors in this research.

B. Research Questions

1. What is the role and motive of Sampang's elites on attack and expulsion conflict of Shia followers in Karanggayam & Blu'uran villages?
2. What is the impact of a war that happening in Syria with the attack and expulsion conflict of Shia followers in Karanggayam & Blu'uran villages Sampang?

C. Research Objectives

1. To understand the dynamic and root of the problem with identifying the role and motive of the Elites local
2. To understand how strong is the impact of geopolitical factor (Syria war) toward the attack and expulsion conflict of Shia followers in Sampang, Madura.

D. Research Benefits

1. As an additional literature for understanding the pattern of violence politic in local political dynamic study in Indonesia
2. As an additional literature in understanding the pattern of power relation of trichotomy of power in Sampang, Madura

E. Literature Review

Indonesia considered entering the 'real' democracy life after reformation era. Changes in our constitution and governmental management are not only appreciating human rights of people as individual but also encourage the involvement of people in economic, politic, and cultural development. These changes are actually being interpreted with various ways by different elements in society. Freedom of speech, freedom of expression, and freedom of association practiced with various ways. Furthermore, these freedoms are given in frame of local autonomy system which each of region has their own uniqueness and history. In short, these freedoms are given to very multicultural society with different levels of welfare that have been living under the dictatorship for more than 30 years. This new Indonesia grows and develops become very interesting democracy model which have unique and different local elite in every region.

Local elites which consist of state elite and non-state elite grow and ruling democracy life in region. These elites are related one with each other in social, political economic and cultural life. Depend on those contexts, the relation driven by a certain motive. Those elites are building a power relation in certain context and motive. Indonesia local political dynamic literature can show us how the local political dynamic

with its elites is so colorful in every region. Madura is one of region with unique local political dynamic. Madura social life can't be separated from kiyai, blater, and rato (formal leader/bureaucrat). These state and non-state elites are have influence power and position in Madura social life. As this thesis topic which lift this trichotomy of power (kiyai, blater, rato) role on Shia followers attack and expulsion in Sampang and also the impact of geopolitical factor (Syria war) on that conflict, this thesis will focus on how this trichotomy of power relationship built with identify the motive of relation and the impact (role) of this relationship. This research focus will enrich the literature of the dynamic of local political studies, especially study about Sampang, Madura.

This thesis written based on field research and some references, which are books and report that collected by YLBHU (Yayasan lembaga bantuan hukum Universalia) from Sampang. YLBHU is an institution that advocates the conflict victims (Shia followers). Research about local elite of Madura has been done by many scholars from Indonesia and outside Indonesia. Researches about Kiai have done by many scholars. Several Indonesian scholars such as Lik Mansoornoor (1990) who wrote the different and influence between Kiai and bindhereh and also their social roles, Mutmainnah (1998) that wrote a conflict between kiyai and new order regime regarding the plan on build a Surabaya-Madura bridge, and several foreign scholars also done some research about Kiai such as Martin Van Bruneissen (1995) that wrote about Islamic boarding school & Tariqah, and Clifford Geertz (1960) who wrote about Kiai as Cultural Broker.⁴ There was also Kuntowijoyo (1988) that wrote book "Social change in an agrarian society: Madura

⁴ Research literature about Kiai explained by Abdur Rozaki in his book "Menabur Kharisma Menuai Kuasa", Pustaka Marwa: Yogyakarta, 2004, hlm. 32.

1850-1940” about kiyai role in Madura society social life. Research about bandit in Madura or usually called blater/bajingan specifically hasn’t done before by any scholar. It was only Anton Lukas (1989) in his book “The incident of three regions: Revolution in revolution”, explain the role of blater called Kutil which close with religion world but also close with criminal world.⁵ But, it was Abdur Rozaki the first researcher that successfully explains and describes the pattern of power relation between kiyai and blatter as twin regime with big social power. Abdur Rozaki in his book “ Menabur Kharisma Menuai Kuasa”, clearly describe how kiyai as a symbol of moral value build a relation with blater as a symbol of violence and criminal practices. He describes the context of power relations between kiyai and blater and also describes the motive of its power relationship. With providing some cases and supported by rich data, Abdur rozaki contributes a valuable academic work with show us the reality of political dynamic in Sampang, Madura. Menabur Kharisma Menuai Kuasa is the main conceptual reference of this research.

This research is attempts to describe how the main social power in Madura and Sampang particularly, build a relation in dealing with this conflit. Main social power in Sampang and Madura generally, are those who have cultural, political, and social capital. Those people are kiyai, blater and rato. Researcher calls those elites with trichotomy of power. It is tries to identify how this trichotomy of power build the power relations and through this relation play their role on Shia follower attack and expulsion conflict. Some variables that going to be identified are the motive that drive the trichotomy of power in

⁵ Research literature about Blater explained by Abdur Rozaki in his book “Menabur Kharisma Menuai Kuasa”, Pustaka Marwa: Yogyakarta, 2004, hlm. 33.

Sampang build a power relations and also their role on the conflict. Furthermore, this research also will identify the geopolitical factor (Syria war) on the conflict. Researcher considers this research giving additional literature about power relationship of trichotomy of power in Sampang because the relationship built in different context compared with some cases in Abdur rozaki's book. The motive of power relations built by kiyai and blater in Abdur rozaki's book also a bit different with the power relations motive of this trichotomy of power. Another reason why researcher interested on this research is because in Abdur rozaki's book, the role of rato as an elite and its relationship with blater and kiyai doesn't much get an attention. The last reason that reinforce the intention of researcher to keep going with this research is because there have not been any research that see the impact and influence of geopolitical factor in local political dynamic in Sampang, Madura. Geopolitical factor in this research is the Syria war that being disseminated as sectarian conflict between Sunni-Shia and the period of the conflict is suitable with the increasing of violation and intimidation to Shia followers in Sampang.

Abdur Rozaki in his book only gave three main cases that describe the power relationship built by kiyai and blatter. The first case is politicization of kiyai Syaikhona Kholil myth. In this case kiyai and blater are using the moment of commemorating the death of kiyai Syaikhona Kholil to reinforce their social status (for kiyai) and to gain or strengthen an inner power (for blater). In this case, there is no direct relation between kiyai and blater. In second case, it tells about a conflict on competition to get a control over religion school. In this case there is also no direct relationship built between kiyai and blater. It is only a conflict between kiyai and the involvement of blater doesn't caused by direct relation with kiyai. The last case is the clearest case that shows us how

kiyai and blater build a power relation in term of to reach a structural position. The power relation is built mostly driven by political economy motive. The context of the power relation is to reach and maintain a power. But, in this thesis, the power relation mostly built in facing one figure and its followers (Tajul Muluk and Shia followers) in order to maintain a hegemonic power of the trichotomy of power in Sampang. Once again, the geopolitical context in this research is the strongest distinctive with previous research.

F. Theoretical Framework

1. Power Relations

The discussion of power discourse has been coloring the dynamic of social and political studies. One of the most influence power concept introduced by Max Weber. Weber defines power as an ability to persuade and direct people to think and do in accordance with the one's desire. If weber describes power as a way to persuade people, than he explains the sources of that power as an authority. Weber classifies authority into 3 categories which are; Traditional authority, rational-legal authority, and charismatic authority.⁶

Weber's concept about sources of power helps researcher describe the social-political-cultural order in Madura in which there are three main elites who has very strong and influence power. This trichotomy of power owns the rational-legal authority (rato) and charismatic leadership (kiyai & blater). A power relation that built in the context of Shia followers attack and expulsion in Sampang is elite based power relation. These elites are build relation based on their interest to maintain their

⁶ Max Weber, 'The sociology of Religion' in Talcott Parsons's preliminary (IRCiSoD 2012)

political and economic sources of power. With an understanding of power relation that based on elite role, it will help researcher understand the role and motive of this trichotomy of power in Shia followers attack and expulsion in Sampang, Madura.

2. Violence

Violence is a term used in multidisciplinary context. Various branch of knowledge such as Criminology, political studies, political economy, development, ecology, religion, state discourse, power discourse, and especially peace & conflict studies include violence in its discipline. Violence happened as consequence, cause or trigger of something. These differences are only at the level of analytical and in reality it related one with another. If we review violence from its form (cause or consequence), one of violence form is political violence. Vincenzo Ruggiero, a professor of sociology at Middlesex University in the introduction of his book “Understanding Political Violence: A criminological analysis” quoted Derrida (1992) and Benjamin (1996) that classified political violence into two categories which are an authorized and unauthorized force; the former as violence of authority (by state or those who are in power structure) and the latter as an expression of defiance against the authority.⁷ Vincenzo call these violence types as *Institutional violence* (violence from above) to designate the authorized force and *anti-institutional violence* (violence from below) to designate unauthorized force.

⁷ Ruggiero, Vincenzo “Understanding Political Violence: A criminological analysis”, Open University press: London, 2006, page 1.

In another page of his book, Vincenzo quotes Carrabine's opinion (2002) that said a large body of work is found which associates political crime offences committed by state representatives and their partners occupying powerful social positions.⁸ This explanation told us about the using of political violence to describe a violence committed by state representatives that may cooperate with non-state actors which occupying powerful social positions (non-state elite).

Another theory about violence that embraces a broad scope (politic, culture, economy, religion etc) is violence concept promoted by Johan Galtung. Galtung is a professor in peace research & conflict studies. His masterpiece is *structural violence* theories that highly contribute and influence study about conflict, peace, violence and even political economy studies. Galtung rejected a narrow concept about violence that just designate to direct and visible violence such as killing or hurting people, burning someone's house and other direct violence or in Galtung's term is personal violence.⁹ Galtung's contribution is in broaden a violence concept that used to limited to personal or direct violence into broader scope, namely structural violence or indirect violence. Structural violence is violence that affects or prevent human to actualize its physical and mental potential into maximum rate.¹⁰

⁸ Ruggiero, Vincenzo "Understanding Political Violence: A criminological analysis", Open University press: London, 2006, page 2.

⁹ Windhu, I Marsana, "Power & Violence in accordance to Johan Galtung", Penerbit Kanisius, : Yogyakarta, 1991, pages 64-65.

¹⁰ Windhu, I Marsana, "Power & Violence in accordance to Johan Galtung", Penerbit Kanisius, : Yogyakarta, 1991, pages 64-65.

Before more seriously entering Galtung's thought about structural violence, we need to know a philosophical framework that underlying that theory/concept. The philosophical framework is Galtung's view about the essence of human being. To Galtung, every individual has right to do self-realization and grow their personality.¹¹ As explained before, the self-realization is physical and mental realization. This realization is intended to grow/improve this individual or society in broader scope. Individual personal growth in this context is involves some aspects which are; self-growth, freedom, socio-economic growth, equality and social justice. If social structure (political system & economic system) limit or prevent individual to grow or improve those aspects, so the structural violence is operate.¹²

3. Conflict

Novri Susan in his book "The State Failed to manage conflict: Democracy and conflict management in Indonesia" argues that in 2006-2012 is the critical phase in enhancing Indonesia transitional democracy towards consolidated democracy.¹³ The argument of critical phase emerges from the increasing of social conflict. Social conflict is not a new phenomenon. Especially in multi ethnic, culture, and religion country like Indonesia, sociologically is more fragile to experiencing a conflict. If we look back on classic theory about conflict, as explained by Coser in 1956 that

¹¹ Windhu, I Marsana, "Power & Violence in accordance to Johan Galtung", Penerbit Kanisius, Yogyakarta, 1991, pages 66.

¹² Windhu, I Marsana, "Power & Violence in accordance to Johan Galtung", Penerbit Kanisius, Yogyakarta, 1991, pages 16-20 & pages 66-67

¹³ Susan, Novri, Negara Gagal Mengelola Konflik: demokrasi dan tata kelola konflik di Indonesia, KoPi & Pustaka Pelajar: 2012, pages v (foreword)

“conflict is a struggle over values and claims to secure status, power, and resources, a struggle in which the main aims of opponents are to neutralize, injure, or eliminate rivals”.¹⁴

That theory considered not sufficient to explain a very complex conflict in various society in any country. That theory emphasizes the dimension of political economy as a cause of conflict. In response of the lack of conflict theory, Jacques Bertrand gave his perspective about conflict which he said that *“In general, theories of ethnic conflict have been poor at differentiating between forms of conflict and better at developing theoretical propositions about the causes of all forms of ethnic conflict”* (2004: 14).¹⁵ John Burton in his book *Conflict: Resolution and Prevention (1990)* also came up with his perspective that describe the source of conflict is basic human needs.¹⁶ These basic needs may include material things like money and food, and also immaterial things like identity and status that very complex.¹⁷

Sharpen the burton’s theory, Paul Wehr (2003) said that the complexity of those conflict sources encourage some interest groups to mobilize the conflict resource.

¹⁴ Ali-Fauzi, Ihsan, dkk, Laporan Penelitian “Pola-Pola Konflik Keagamaan di Indonesia (1990-2008)”, YWP, MPRK-UGM, The Asia Foundation: Jakarta, 2009, page 7.

¹⁵ Ali-Fauzi, Ihsan, dkk, Laporan Penelitian “Pola-Pola Konflik Keagamaan di Indonesia (1990-2008)”, YWP, MPRK-UGM, The Asia Foundation: Jakarta, 2009, page 8.

¹⁶ Susan, Novri, Negara Gagal Mengelola Konflik: demokrasi dan tata kelola konflik di Indonesia, KoPi & Pustaka Pelajar: Yogyakarta, 2012, pages 19-20.

¹⁷ Susan, Novri, Negara Gagal Mengelola Konflik: demokrasi dan tata kelola konflik di Indonesia, KoPi & Pustaka Pelajar: Yogyakarta, 2012, pages 20.

Conflict resource which is meant by Wehr is capitals owned by certain interest group to gain a victory in its conflict relation with another group.¹⁸

4. Leadership

Leadership concept is been discussed by various branch of knowledge. There is no such a sharp different among scholars explaining leadership even there are many definitions about it. Max Weber comes up as a scientist that his definition about leadership used by many scientists from various branch of knowledge. Weber's research on leadership is based on his perspective that society could be identified in terms of one of three types of authority systems: traditional, legal-rational, and charismatic. In his essay "The Three Types of Legitimate Rule" published in 1958, the influential German sociologist Max Weber introduced his theory of authority which was based on tripartite classifications of authority: Traditional authority, rational-legal authority and charismatic authority (also referred to as Charismatic leadership or domination).

Weber explores that discourse in his book "The sociology of Religion". This book is highly influence a discourse about religion and power. From Weber's classification about 3 sources of authority, a charismatic concept gets the most attention in political-social and religion discussion since it's also talking about prophecy. Let me

¹⁸ Susan, Novri, Negara Gagal Mengelola Konflik: demokrasi dan tata kelola konflik di Indonesia, KoPi & Pustaka Pelajar: Yogyakarta, 2012, pages 20.

emphasize that the prophecy term used by Weber was not only refer to ‘prophet’ but it can refer to any religious leader. Weber dichotomized this prophecy into two categories, which are, exemplary prophecy & ethical prophecy.¹⁹ The latter one is a category that relevance to describe the leadership of Kiai in Madura. Ethical prophecy means a model where the prophet/religious leader explains postulates regarding a certain category about human being with a certain way to make people do not just follow its postulate but also feel have a duty to follow it. These postulates eventually being standardized, but not in order to make people just follow its prophet/religious leader postulate, but it is more to make them obey the normative order that defined impersonally.

Another Weber’s concept that very important related with this charismatic leadership by prophet/religious leader is a concept about religious community.²⁰ This community is an aspect of organizing religion collectively in term of politic, family and another aspect in daily life. In this community requires a special role of religious leader (Kiai in Madura context) in which they operate like private practitioners in big scope of life aspects. The interesting thing is this community/collectivity doesn’t organized independently and separately from society. It’s not an independent structure within society. If the prophet/religious leader is the subject than religious community is a vessel where these prophets/religious leaders gather.

¹⁹ Explained by Talcott Parsons in the preliminary of ‘The sociology of Religion’ book, IRCiSoD: 2012, Yogyakarta pages 38-44.

²⁰ Explained by Talcott Parsons in the preliminary of ‘The sociology of Religion’ book, IRCiSoD: 2012, Yogyakarta pages 38-44

The most important thing is the relationship between these religious leaders within the religious community with their people (umat in Islamic context). In ethical prophecy concept with its order that bind all follower individual categories, its relationship with their people is so organized and institutionalized. Weber's concept of this prophecy and religious community is very relevance with how kiyai leadership in Madura and also its relationship with Madura people.

This theory is mostly used to describe how kiyai as part of trichotomy of power in Sampang exercising his leadership within the context of the attack and expulsion conflict of Shia followers in Blu'uran and Karanggayam villages.

5. Sunni-Shia Differences

A concept of Sunni and Shia as Islamic school of thought is important to be introduced in this thesis since of the root of the conflict is mazhab difference (Sunni as majority and Shia as minority). Considering the long discussion about history and differences between Shia and Sunni from many aspects, researcher will only explain the differences between Shia and Sunni based on two aspects which are Fundamentals of Islam (Ushuluddin) and Post-Muhammad Leadership.

The differences on religion principles (Rukun Iman) between Shia and Sunni are not on the core values. Prof. Dr. Quraish Shihab in the preface of "Buku Putih Mazhab Syiah" book explains that according to Syaikh Muhammad Abduh, The fundamentals of Islam that most important (core) are the believe to God and hereafter.

The rest are only the breakdown of those core values.²¹ In Shia, the breakdown from

²¹ Prof Dr. Quraish Shihab in the preface of "Buku Putih Mazhab Syiah"

Tauhid is God justice (keadilan ilahi) principle and the principle of *Imamah* borns from the breakdown of Nubuwwah principle. It shows that this two mazhab has different formulation but has common understanding on the core values (Tauhid and hereafter)²².

The next difference is the post-Muhammad leadership. Shia believes that before the death of Prophet Muhammad saw, Prophet Muhammad mandates Ali bin Abi Thalib as his successor. This belief derives from *Al-Imamah* principle that believes that it's Allah's policy to ensure this Ilahi religion still exists and pure with delegating Imam (twelve Imams in accordance to Shia) after the death of Prophet Muhammad.²³ These Imams are from Prophet Muhammad descendants via Ali-Fatima. It's different with Sunni that believes Prophet Muhammad never delegates anyone specifically to continue his leadership. Sunni trusts that the *syura* way that elected Abu Bakar as leader after Prophet Muhammad was the right and legal way.

G. Conceptual Definition

Choosing an analysis instrument in approaching a reality or research object is very necessary for researcher. Conceptual definition will define a concrete theory and approach used by researcher. These following concepts are main concepts used by researcher to understand the dynamic of research object:

1. Conflict

²² "Buku Putih Mazhab Syiah" pages 15-27

²³ Buku Putih Mazhab Syiah" pages 21-23

The grand theme of this research is actually the conflict itself which researcher tries to analyze and find some answer on the conflict. In order to approaching the conflict, researcher uses John Burton's theory that argue the source of conflict is basic human needs which he considers the basic needs may include material things like money and food, and also immaterial things like identity and status that very complex. As in Shia follower attack and expulsion conflict in Sampang regency there were a great mass mobilization, so it's important to include Paul Wehr's opinion who said that "*the complexity of those conflict sources encourage some interest groups to mobilize the conflict resource*". Conflict resource which is meant by Wehr is capitals owned by certain interest group to gain a victory in its conflict relation with another group.

Combine both Burton and Wehr concept about conflict, help researcher to analyze Shia followers attack and expulsion conflict in Bluuran & Karanggayam villages, Sampang regency.

2. Violence

In approaching and understanding violence happened to Shia follower in Sampang regency, researcher refers to Galtung's violence theory as an analysis instrument. Researcher uses personal violence concept to understand direct violence (murder, incendiarism, intimidation, expulsion) conducted by people in Sampang towards Shia followers. Not to reduce the violence happened there, researcher will use Galtung's structural violence concept to analyze if there is any structural mechanism or policy that prevent Shia followers in Bluuran village and Karanggayam

village to grow or improve their personality and limited them to actualize their potential.

3. Leadership

Leadership is become an important concept for researcher to understand the trichotomy role in this conflict. Weber's theory about leadership chose by researcher since it's very appropriate to designate it (the theory) with Kiai figure in Madura which also played a big role on the conflict. Kiai charismatic leadership is the source of Kiai's power/authority.

H. Operational Definition

Focus of this research is to analyze the role and motive of the trichotomy of power in Sampang on attack and expulsion conflict of Shia followers in Blu'uran and Karanggayam villages and also identify the impact of geopolitical factor (Syria war) toward this conflict. The content of this operational definition is some variables that going to be investigated;

F.1 A role is refers to the things done by trichotomy of power within the context of attack and expulsion conflict of Shia followers in Blu'uran and Karanggayam villages.

F.2 Motive in this research is indicate to the intention and hidden goals of trichotomy of power within a context of attack and expulsion conflict of Shia followers in Blu'uran and Karanggayam villages.

F.3 Geopolitical impact that going to be researched is the discourse that being produced by any elites or people related with war issue in Syria (sectarian issue).

The discourse may be in speech, bulletin or any other media.

I. Research Method

1. Research Type

This research uses a qualitative method of research. According to C.R Kothari (2004),²⁴ qualitative research concerned with qualitative phenomenon. For instance, when we are interested in investigating the reason of human behavior, we quite often talk about ‘motivation research’. This type of research aims at underlying motives and desires, using in depth interviews for the purpose. This qualitative research assisted with political sociology perspective. This research tries to analyze the role and motive of Sampang trichotomy of power within a context of attack and expulsion conflict of Shia followers in Blu’uran and Karanggayam villages with identify the pattern of power relations built by trichotomy of power.

2. Research location

Location of this research takes place in Blu’uran and Karanggayam villages, Sampang regency. This location is chosen because researcher interest on Madura local politic that’s very unique. The existence of some non-state elites who have powerful influence in social structure is something ‘shinning’ for those interested on

²⁴ Kothari, C.R., *Research Methodology: Methods & Techniques*, New Age International Publishers: New Delhi, 2004, page 3.

political local studies. Religious conflict happened in Sampang regency is kind of a door for any researcher that interested on the dynamic of local political studies.

3. Research object

Object of this research are those who are involves in this conflict especially the three main actors (kiyai,blater, rato). The chief of the blater that led the attack and expulsion toward the Shia followers in Blu'uran and Karanggayam villages will be the key respondent and being interviewed. The other respondents are those who want to Shia refuges back to their home and researcher classified these people as pro-reconcile side and those who against the return of Shia refuges and classified as anti-reconcile side.

4. Data resources

Data resources are data collected from various sources and required to answer the research questions. The kinds of data used in this research are as follows;

a. Primary data

Primary data is data collected directly from research field. In this research, the primary data is data obtained from research participants through conducting an interview. The data collected are regarding a pattern of power relations of trichotomy of power (role and motive) on attack and expulsion conflict of Shia followers in Blu'uran and Karanggayam villages.

b. Secondary data

Secondary data is data collected to support the primary data to help researcher answer research questions. Secondary data usually doesn't collected from the field directly. In this research, the secondary data are books, journal, websites, and YLBHU (Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Universalia) field reports. YLBHU is legal aid institution that advocates the victims of the conflict (Shia followers) for more than 3 years. From YLBHU field reports, researcher understand and can tell the chronology and the detailed problem and information about the trichotomy of power role and motive on this conflict. The main reference that help researcher to mapping the power relation of trichotomy of power in Sampang is Abdur Rozaki's book "Menabur Kharisma Menuai Kuasa".

5. Data collection technique

Data collection technique is the way of researcher used in a research to collect a data required to answer a research question. This research uses a depth-interview with some important actors

a. In-depth interview

According to Lindlof (1995 p.5,) *"in qualitative research, one interviews people to understand their perspectives on a scene, to retrieve experiences from the past, to gain expert insight or information, to obtain descriptions of events or scenes that are normally unavailable for observation, to foster trust, to understand a sensitive or intimate relationship, or to analyze certain kinds*

of discourse".²⁵ In qualitative research, there is a method called in-depth interview. In-depth interview is a deep interview to obtain a certain data. This research uses this technique to obtain primary data. The depth interview will be conducted with some important actors which are; blater *raja*h/big/powerful in Blu'uran and Karanggayam villages that involve on attack and expulsion toward Shia followers there and now he turned into an actor who tries to bring the victims back to their villages.

Other actors that going to be interviewed is local Kiai live in conflicted villages, *klebun* (head of village) and the villagers. The other actors are some members of the reconciliation team.

6. Technique of Data analysis

Bogdan (1982) in Sugiyono (2008:88)²⁶ said that data analysis is a process of searching and organize data systematically that collected from interview, field note, and other resources, so it can be easily understand and its finding may be informed to other people. There are some types of data analysis technique. This research uses descriptive method of analysis. This method is aims to explain the phenomenon that is happening. This research aims to describe the role and motive of trichotomy of power on attack and expulsion conflict of Shia followers in Blu'uran and Karanggayam villages with analyze the pattern of power relations they (kiyai, blater,

²⁵ Weare, Andrea M, "Thin is what We're Supposed to Be, Not what We're Supposed to Talk About": A Qualitative Study of Pro-eating Disorder Blogging Communities, ProQuest Information and Learning Company: 2008, page 20

²⁶ Sugiyono, "Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif Kualitatif dan R&D", Alfabeta: Bandung, 2008, page 88.

rato) built. This research also aims to describe the impact of geopolitical factor (Syria war) toward the conflict.

While the procedure to analyze qualitative data according to Miles and Huberman (1984) in Sugiyono (2008:01-99)²⁷ are as follows;

- a. Data reductions, Data reduction means summarize, sorting principal things, focuses on important things, and then find the theme and pattern. Therefore, data that has reduced will give clearer view and ease the researcher to do a next data collection.
- b. Data display, after data has been reduced, so the next step is display the data. In qualitative research, data display can be done on brief argumentation, chart, relation between category, flowchart and others with using narrative text
- c. Conclusion or verification. The third step of qualitative data analysis is drawing a conclusion and verification. Preliminary conclusion that being presented is still temporary and may change in case of the strong evidences that support the next data collection are do not found. But, if the preliminary conclusion is supported by valid evidences when researcher back to the field, so the conclusion is credible.

²⁷ Sugiyono, "Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif Kualitatif dan R&D", Alfabeta: Bandung, 2008, pages 01-99.