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MULTICULTURAL ISLAMIC EDUCATION AND POST-CONFLICT RECONCILIATION: THE 2006 MASS CAROK IN BUJUR TENGAH, MADURA

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ABSTRACT
This qualitative case study examines how Islamic religious leadership and multicultural educational practices contributed to reconciliation following the 2006 mass carok conflict in Bujur Tengah, Madura. Drawing on interviews, community observations, and reported focus-group discussions, it identifies two related practices: peace-oriented moral education through kiai-led religious gatherings and the rebuilding of relationships through schooling and inter-faction family ties. The findings are interpreted through a provisional Integrative Multicultural Resolution (IMR) framework comprising religious moral education, educational reconstruction, and kinship-based rapprochement. Rather than establishing a causal or universally replicable model, the study illustrates how local Islamic authority may provide a socially legitimate setting for dialogue, forgiveness, and non-violent coexistence. These findings contribute to Islamic Studies by showing how religious ethics and pesantren-linked educational networks can operate as resources for community reconciliation. Further longitudinal evidence is required to establish the durability and wider transferability of these practices.
Keywords: Islamic multicultural education; carok; reconciliation; kiai; Madura

ABSTRAK
Penelitian studi kasus kualitatif ini mengkaji kontribusi kepemimpinan keagamaan Islam dan praktik pendidikan multikultural terhadap rekonsiliasi pascakonflik carok massal tahun 2006 di Desa Bujur Tengah, Madura. Berdasarkan wawancara, observasi komunitas, dan diskusi kelompok terfokus yang dilaporkan dalam naskah, penelitian ini menemukan dua praktik yang saling berkaitan: pendidikan moral perdamaian melalui pertemuan keagamaan yang dipimpin kiai serta pemulihan hubungan sosial melalui pendidikan dan ikatan keluarga lintas kelompok. Temuan tersebut ditafsirkan melalui kerangka tentatif Resolusi Multikultural Integratif (RMI) yang mencakup pendidikan moral keagamaan, rekonstruksi pendidikan, dan pendekatan kekerabatan. Penelitian ini tidak mengklaim telah membuktikan hubungan kausal maupun keberlakuan universal model tersebut. Kontribusinya terhadap Studi Islam terletak pada penjelasan mengenai etika keagamaan dan jaringan pendidikan pesantren sebagai sumber dialog, pemaafan, serta hidup berdampingan tanpa kekerasan. Bukti longitudinal tambahan dibutuhkan untuk menguji keberlanjutan dan penerapannya di konteks lain.
Keywords: Islamic multicultural education; carok; reconciliation; kiai; Madura

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Introduction

Social conflict is an inevitable part of community life, yet its form and resolution are largely determined by the local cultural context.[1] Amidst the tide of modernisation in the Society 5.0 era, conflict is triggered not only by differences in economic or political interests, but also by clashes of values, social jealousy, group fanaticism, and claims to a single truth that disregard heterogeneity.[2] If not managed wisely, this phenomenon will give rise to collective violence that threatens social cohesion.[3] In the context of Madurese society, social conflict manifests itself in the tradition of carok, a form of both symbolic and physical resistance aimed at restoring the dignity of those who have been discriminated against.[4] *Carok* is not merely violence, but a cultural expression steeped in the value of honour, as encapsulated in the local proverb: *Lebbi Bagus Pote Tollang atembang Pote Mata* (better to die than to live in shame).[5] This tradition demonstrates that conflict in Madura has ontological roots distinct from those of other societies, meaning that universal and technocratic approaches to conflict resolution are often ineffective.

The mass carok case in Bujur Tengah Village, Batu Marmar District, Pamekasan Regency in 2006 marked the culmination of the most severe horizontal conflict in Madura.[6] Originating from political rivalry following the village head election that produced two opposing factions, this conflict rapidly shifted into a struggle over the management rights of *percaton* land, then escalated into a contest of collective honor. Consequently, 13 people were killed, 7 severely injured, and an inconsistently reported number of minor injuries (27 or 47 in the source manuscript; verification required).[7] Critically, although this conflict briefly became a global issue and reinforced the negative image of Madura as a violent society, within several years after

[1] Dexin Wang dan Shijun Li, "Social conflicts and their resolution paths in the commercialized renewal of old urban communities in China under the perspective of public value," *Journal of Urban Management* 14, no. 2 (Juni 2025): 402–17, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jum.2024.11.007.
[2] James K. Mitchell dan UN University, ed., *Crucibles of Hazard: Mega-Cities and Disasters in Transition* (Tokyo ; New York ; Paris: UN University Press, 1999), https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/445021.
[3] Deborah Oluwaseun Shomuyiwa dan Don-Eliseo Lucero-Prisno, "Climate change trauma and collective dissociation: Unraveling the impact on mental health and advocating for collective action," *Cambridge Prisms: Global Mental Health* 12 (Januari 2025): e5, https://doi.org/10.1017/gmh.2024.119.
[4] Rizki Bagus Hidayatulloh, Deden Najmudin, dan Opik Rozikin, "THE TRADITION OF CAROK IN MADURA ACCORDING TO POSITIVE LAW AND ISLAMIC CRIMINAL LAW," *EKSEKUSI* 7, no. 2 (Desember 2025): 359–71, https://doi.org/10.24014/je.v7i2.38548.
[5] Siti Aminah dkk., "Carok And The Cultural Hegemony Of Masculinity On Ethnic Madura, East Java-Indonesia," *Journal of Positive School Psychology* 6, no. 10 (Oktober 2022): 636–53, https://journalppw.com/index.php/jpsp/article/view/13145.
[6] "Tragedi Klebun Berebut Percaton | tempo.co," Tempo, 24 Juli 2006, https://www.tempo.co/hukum/tragedi-klebun-berebut-percaton-974312.
[7] Marzuki, interview, Mass Carok in Bujur Tengah Village, 20 Januari 2025.

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the tragedy, the Bujur Tengah community managed to rebuild peace. Remarkably, there are seven married couples whose respective partners come from factions that had previously killed one another.[8] This fact demonstrates the existence of an endogenous conflict resolution mechanism working effectively, yet unfortunately, it has not been extensively revealed in academic research.

Earlier scholarship has examined carok largely through the lenses of honour, criminal justice, local political competition, and the anthropology of violence. Such work provides essential insight into the origins and social meanings of violent confrontation, but leaves room for closer investigation of how educational and religious practices are understood by communities attempting to rebuild relationships after violence. The present case addresses this narrower analytical gap. It does not assume that all conflict resolution in Madura operates in the same manner or that a single intervention fully explains subsequent peace.

The study's contribution is its case-specific analysis of multicultural education beyond the classroom: religious instruction in community gatherings, educational opportunities for younger generations, and interaction across former factional lines. Drawing conceptually on multicultural education and peacebuilding, it examines how these practices can work together within Islamic moral and institutional settings. The proposed Integrative Multicultural Resolution (IMR) framework is therefore an interpretive synthesis of reported practices, not an independently tested causal model.

Against this background, the study asks: (1) how were religious and educational practices used to support reconciliation after the 2006 mass carok in Bujur Tengah; and (2) how did the authority of kiai, Islamic ethical teachings, and local kinship arrangements shape cross-faction relationships? The investigation uses a qualitative case-study orientation and interprets interviews, observations, and community discussions as situated evidence rather than definitive proof of program effectiveness. Its aim is to contribute a context-sensitive account of reconciliation at the intersection of Islamic Studies, multicultural education, and local peacebuilding.

This study employed a qualitative approach with a retrospective single-case study design to examine multicultural education and Islamic religious practices in post-conflict reconciliation in Bujur Tengah Village, Batu Marmar, Pamekasan, following the 2006 mass *carok* conflict.

[8] Suda'i, interview, Mass Carok in Bujur Tengah Village, 9 Januari 2025.

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The case study design enabled an in-depth examination of reconciliation within its historical, sociocultural, and religious contexts.[9] The investigation focused on the involvement of religious authorities, educational institutions, and local kinship networks in rebuilding relationships between formerly opposing groups.

Research participants included community members affected by the conflict, religious leaders (*kiai*), educators, pesantren representatives, and local figures knowledgeable about the reconciliation process. Data were collected through in-depth interviews, field observations, and focus group discussions (FGDs). Interviews explored the causes and consequences of the conflict and the contribution of religious education, community deliberation, and cross-faction relationships to reconciliation. Observations and FGDs provided complementary perspectives on educational practices, religious gatherings, and community interactions.

Data were analyzed using the interactive analytical framework of Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña, comprising data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification.[10] The analysis examined two interconnected dimensions of multicultural education: the contribution approach, emphasizing the transmission of Islamic ethical values, and social transformation, focusing on educational reconstruction and intergroup relationships. These dimensions informed the proposed Integrative Multicultural Resolution (IMR) framework, which integrates religious moral education, educational reconstruction, and kinship formation. The interpretations were considered in relation to the available interview, observation, and discussion evidence, without assuming a direct causal relationship between these practices and the absence of renewed violence.

Research ethics were addressed through careful treatment of sensitive conflict-related narratives and the use of anonymized informant identifiers to protect participants' identities. Particular attention was given to confidentiality, respectful representation, and the potential social consequences of disclosing personal information.[11] Given the retrospective nature of the research, participants' recollections were interpreted critically, acknowledging possible differences in personal memory and perspectives. Accordingly, the findings offer a context-specific interpretation of reconciliation practices rather than definitive evidence of their long-term effectiveness.

[9] Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research and Applications: Design and Methods* (SAGE Publications, 2017).
[10] Matthew B. Miles, A. Michael Huberman, dan Johnny Saldana, *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook* (SAGE Publications, 2013).
[11] "Bsa Statement of Ethical Practice," *Sociology* 26, no. 4 (1992): 703–7.

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Results

Historical Background: The 2006 Mass Carok in Bujur Tengah

The carok conflict that occurred en masse in the village of Bujur Tengah began with a dispute over and not accepting the defeat of the former village head (former village-head faction leader) in the election of the village head who was duet with the new village head (elected village-head faction leader) in 2006. The dispute continued on the management rights of the Percaton land owned by the Bujur Tengah village government. participant P5 said that even though the leadership of the village head had been won by elected village-head faction leader, the management rights of each village plot were still controlled and managed by former village-head faction leader through his success team, which on average had a Belatir background. The dispute continued at the trial which continued in a tough and repeated trials were held.

participant P4 explained that after it was decided by the Pamekasan district court that all management rights had to be handed over to the new village head, then elected village-head faction leader intended to visit former village-head faction leader's residence who left with his mother and was followed by some of the village head's supporters carrying sickles and other sharp weapons in preparation for the something unexpected happened. However, in the middle of the trip, they were intercepted by a group of people complete with sharp weapons and sickles which were ordered by former village-head faction leader, that's where a terrible fight ensued so that bloodshed was inevitable. participant P3 stated that the bloodshed tragedy known as mass *carok* took a lot of lives, a total of 13 people died, 7 people were seriously injured and the number of minor injuries requires verification (27 or 47 reported in different manuscript sections).

Mass *carok* as above, by the Madurese community is categorized as a conflict resolution concerning issues of honor or self-esteem of each of the supporters of the elected village head and the former village head. This incident, in a theoretical perspective, is categorized as *carok* conflict which includes elements of acts or attempted murder, harassment of self-esteem, especially related to group honor, feelings of shame (*malo*), encouragement, support, social approval accompanied by feelings of satisfaction, and feelings of pride for the winner. According to the researcher's opinion, *carok* as a cultural medium to show masculinity with physical violence becomes unclear if it is associated with *nyelep* (attacking the enemy from

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behind or sideways when the enemy is off guard). *Carok* as a defense against humiliated self-esteem becomes 'meaningless' if it is only associated with women's honor. *Carok* is not only upholding honor related to humiliation of wives, but also related to harassment of divorced ex-wives, water, grass, and religious harassment. *Carok* is seen by some of the perpetrators as a tool to gain power. And the tragedy of the mass *carok* conflict that occurred in the village of Bujur Tengah was triggered by a power struggle in the village.

participant P6 explained that the mass carok tragedy that occurred in the people of Bujur Tengah was purely due to excessive panataism in supporting one of the candidates in the village head election that was taking place at that time, the local community was classified as a lay majority with indicators of very low levels of education. Because of this, the seeds of mass *carok* have actually grown since the vote counting process was underway. Supporters of the village head candidates have denounced and provoked each other.. participant P2 added that the outbreak of mass *carok* could not be separated from attempts to provoke each other which then resulted in the losing opponent always finding fault with the opponent who was declared victorious in the village head election contestation.

Participant P3 said that this mass carok was a dark tragedy which since then has been regretted by many people, including the perpetrators of the mass carok themselves who are still alive and the grandchildren of the perpetrators, both those who are still alive and those who have died after the mass carok. participant P4 added that regret over the mass carok tragedy was quite felt by many groups, not only that at that time we experienced that all the residents had thought to get out of the village that was born in Bujur Tengah, because the conditions at that time were really very scary that a carok incident would occur. This can happen again and again, because in many stories the carok incident will continue due to grudges between each other.

From the statements of the informants above, it can be explained that the mass carok incident occurred due to greed in the power struggle after the election of the village head of the Bujur Tengah, the losing opponent deliberately provoked and even took away the rights that should have been managed by the elected village head at that time, such as as well as the management of land taxes, market taxes and management of percaton (government-owned tanak) land in Bujur Tengah village. The mass carok incident left deep regret and fear (trauma) for every resident in the village of Bujur Tengah. religious leader R1 explained that it was because of the anxiety, fear and trauma experienced by the village community that community

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leaders, Kiai such as the caretaker of the Mambaul Ulum Bata-bata Islamic boarding school and the caretaker of the Darul Ulum Banyuanyar Islamic boarding school in particular visited almost once a week after the mass carok tragedy. the people of Bujur Tengah by providing guidance and tausiyah-tausiyah until in the end the people really make peace with the environment and the surrounding community.



Figure 1. Focus Group Discussion with villager

Educational and Religious Practices in Post-Conflict Reconciliation

The education referred to in this study is the efforts of local community leaders and caretakers of the Pamekasan Islamic boarding school such as the Mambaul Ulum Bata-bata Islamic boarding schools, Darul Ulum Banyuanyar, Mitahul Ulum Panyepen, and the caretakers of the Al-Mujtamak Plakpak Islamic boarding school in order to provide awareness and the importance of peace in the context of solving mass *carok* conflicts that have the potential to be sustainable by reciprocating each other, through family methods by prioritizing the principle of deliberation, prioritizing dialogue, and fostering all relatives, families and supporters of the two village head contestants from both parties who are involved in mass *carok* inclusive and democratic.

A religious leader interviewed in the case described multicultural education after the conflict as a deliberate effort to cultivate mutual respect, patience, forgiveness, and peaceful responses to social differences. These values were reportedly communicated both through formal educational institutions and through koloman (local religious study gatherings or majelis taklim). In this account, religious learning was not confined to the transmission of doctrine; it also offered a public setting in which neighbours could reconsider the moral legitimacy of

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retaliation and renew everyday relationships. The testimony indicates an educational intention, although the study did not directly measure changes in individual attitudes.

Participant P1 explained that after the mass *carok* conflict, the people of Bujur Tengah village were given an understanding through various kinds of community activities such as *koloman* activities, religious activities at mosques, prayer rooms, and even in coffee shops, which almost every hamlet in the local village has, about the importance of prioritizing manners, tolerance or respect between people, be fair, and so on so that people are able to understand that every difference does not need to be opposed and resolved by means of violence such as carok. The community is able to understand and implement tolerance, moderation, fairness, humility (*tawadlu'*), in society so that it is expected to prevent *carok* conflicts from arising.

Educator E1 explained that multicultural education is not only taught to the public openly through various religious activities such as koloman (majlis ta'lim), but multicultural education is also taught in various educational institutions such as early childhood education, kindergarten, MI/SD up to the junior high level such as MTs. and upper middle level such as MA and Islamic education institutions such as pesantren in the village of Bujur Tengah. educator E2 stated that multicultural education was taught in educational institutions in Bujur Tengah village after the mass *carok* conflict occurred with an emphasis on uniting the community through children who were directly involved in the mass *carok* conflict and to instill justice, equality, peace, security, tolerance, harmony, humanist and mutual respect among one another in Bujur Tengah society in particular, and society at large in general.

Therefore multicultural education in educational institutions or in the community through various religious activities until now remains a necessity to be taught by educators in schools/madrasas and practiced by all students or the wider community in the village of Bujur Tengah, in order to create conditions that are peaceful, safe , harmonious, orderly while still demonstrating the characters of inclusiveness, moderation, religion, tolerance, balance, fairness, istiqamah, *andhep asor* (*tawadlu'*), and preserving culture based on local wisdom, mutual respect, mutual love and respect among the people of the Bujur Tengah village , full of love, without negative feelings in it.

Apart from this, as stated by educator E3 that one of the efforts to reduce the aftershocked carok conflict would be reciprocity in the carok tradition in Madura, especially for opponents who were victims at that time, so community leaders and Kiai invited their children to continue their education in various Islamic boarding schools such as Islamic boarding schools.

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Mambaul Ulum Bata-bata, Darul Ulum Banyuanyar Islamic boarding school, Miftahul Ulum Panyepen Islamic boarding school, Al-Mujtamak Palakpak Islamic boarding school and higher education institutions in Pamekasan at that time. educator E4 added that one of the efforts made by community leaders and Kiai at that time was that there were many children of mass carok perpetrators, both from the side of the elected village head and from the side of the unelected village head candidate who were arranged and married off peacefully and even facilitated with all their needs. needed in the wedding ceremony by the local community, community leaders and even by the Kiai.

Participant P4 explained that one of the efforts to reduce the occurrence of subsequent *carok* conflicts due to an element of revenge between the two parties was to send their children to various Islamic boarding schools which provided voluntary guidance after the mass *carok* tragedy to the people of Bujur Tengah Village at that time, even Islamic boarding schools. it provides special scholarships to children whose parents are victims of the mass *carok* tragedy. Ust. Nursaleh also explained that the invitation of the Islamic boarding school kiai who were providing guidance to the people of Bujur Tengah village after the mass carok tragedy was welcomed by the local community, including by the youths who wanted to change the way of life from a conservative and extreme society to be inclusive and tolerant. and justice in treading life in difference.

Participant P3 explained that the invitation of Islamic boarding school kiai such as the Darul Ulum Banyuanyar Islamic boarding school and the Mambaul Ulum Bata-bata Islamic boarding school to continue their education at various Islamic boarding schools was so that there would be no more reciprocity in the *carok* tradition in Madura, as often happens in this Bujur Tengah village. religious leader R1 confirmed that the efforts made by community leaders and Kyai who had provided guidance to the people of Bujur Tengah village after the mass *carok* at that time included sending the children of victims and perpetrators of mass *carok* to school, then also marrying off the children of the victims. and the perpetrators of this mass *carok*, this is very effective considering that until now there has never been and will never be another *carok* conflict after the mass *carok* incident in 2006.

We can understand that the resolution of the mass *carok* conflict in Bujur Tengah village is not only through giving punishment to the perpetrators of the victims, but community leaders and Kiai who provide voluntary guidance after the mass *carok* tragedy through formal education in Islamic boarding schools and informal education. such as *koloman, urun rembuk* and giving

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tausiyah after every prayer at the mosque and prayer room in the village of Bujur Tengah. It is not enough just through education, community leaders and Islamic boarding school kiai marry children between the children of the elected village head and the opponent of the unelected village head candidate, both of whom and their followers become perpetrators of mass *carok*.



Figure 2. Interview with one of Carok Mass Victim Family

Table 1. Multicultural Islamic Education Strategies as a Resolution for the Mass Carok Conflict

No	Strategy	Actors	Target	Outcomes
1	Intensive Guidance and Tausiyah	Community leaders, Kiai (caretakers of Pesantren Mambaul Ulum Bata-bata, Darul Ulum Banyuanyar)	Entire community of Bujur Tengah Village	Conducted almost once a week post-tragedy. Provides awareness about peace, unity, mutual respect, and the importance of resolving differences without violence.
2	Non-Formal Education (Majlis Ta'lim)	Religious leaders (Kiai) through *koloman* (majlis ta'lim)	General public	Teaches patience, forgiveness, intelligence in facing social problems, manners, tolerance, justice, humility (*tawadlu'*), and moderate attitudes.

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				Implemented in mosques, prayer rooms, and even coffee shops.
3	Multicultural-Based Formal Education	Educators in PAUD, TK, MI/SD, MTs, MA, and Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*)	Students and young generation	Instills values of justice, equality, peace, security, tolerance, harmony, humanism, and mutual respect. Shapes inclusive, moderate, religious, balanced, just, steadfast (*istiqamah*), and humble (*andhep asor*) character.
4	Sending Children to Islamic Boarding Schools	Community leaders and Kiai (Pesantren Mambaul Ulum, Darul Ulum, Miftahul Ulum, Al-Mujtamak)	Children from both factions of perpetrators and victims of mass carok	An effort to reduce the potential for revenge. Islamic boarding schools provide voluntary guidance and special scholarships for children whose parents were victims of the tragedy.
5	Cross-Faction Matchmaking and Marriage	Community leaders, Kiai, and local community	Children of the elected village head faction and the defeated candidate faction (both were perpetrators of mass carok)	Children from both sides are betrothed and married peacefully. All wedding needs are collectively facilitated by the community, community leaders, and Kiai.
6	Deliberation and Family Approach	Community leaders and pesantren caretakers	Relatives, families, and supporters of both contestants	Prioritizes dialogue, the principle of deliberation (*musyawarah*), and inclusive, democratic guidance to prevent

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	ongoing conflict.

The table summarizes the reported activities through which Islamic multicultural education was connected with reconciliation in Bujur Tengah. It should be read as an analytical organization of interview and observational material, rather than as a measurement of the independent effect of each intervention. Religious gatherings, educational access, and family ties appear to have operated in overlapping settings and cannot be isolated as separate causal treatments.

Discussion

The Bujur Tengah case illustrates how a local political dispute over village leadership and management of percaton land became entangled with group honour, retaliatory expectations, and social insecurity. In the aftermath, religious and educational practices were reported as ways of reopening communication between families and reducing the acceptability of renewed violence. The evidence supports a reading of reconciliation as a gradual social and moral process; it does not demonstrate that educational activities alone produced or guaranteed peace.

Contribution Approach: Value Internalization as Peace Infrastructure

The contribution approach is used here to describe the inclusion of peace-related Islamic moral teachings within existing communal learning settings. Kiai affiliated with pesantren were described as encouraging forgiveness, consultation (*musyawarah*), fairness, humility (*tawadhu*), and restraint during religious talks and community meetings. In the terms of multicultural education, this resembles a contribution-level strategy insofar as it introduces values and exemplary figures through familiar educational activities. Yet it should not be confused with Banks's full transformative approach: sharing values is a starting point, whereas transforming relationships requires sustained changes in interaction and opportunity.

Critically, this approach aligns with Eric Weil's[12] philosophy of peace as articulated by Noemi Sanches,[13] which emphasizes four pillars: (1) tangible contributions by individuals and

[12] William Kluback, *Eric Weil: A Fresh Look at Philosophy* (Bloomsbury Academic, 1987).
[13] Noemi Sanches, "Reading and Performing: Interpreting Reality According to Simone Weil and Luigi Pareyson," *Religions* 16, no. 10 (Oktober 2025), https://doi.org/10.3390/rel16101280.

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groups to ensure social peace; (2) universal ethical adherence irrespective of context; (3) inclusiveness, creativity, and dynamism; and (4) a perpetual orientation toward positive and wise responses to life's problems. However, this study argues that Weil's framework must be localized: in Bujur Tengah, the contribution approach succeeded not merely because of normative content, but because the kiai embodied *andhep asor* (humble, tawadlu') and directly facilitated inter-group marriages and educational scholarships. As Mustamir and Tang[14] and Sayyi et al.[15] note, such integration of knowledge, religion, and local wisdom fosters a sense of shared nationalism and learning. The novelty here is that contribution was not a top-down program but an endogenous, faith-driven social movement.

Social Transformation Approach: Reconstructing Relational and Structural Orders

The social transformation approach refers to changes in actual relationships and institutional pathways across the former factions. Informants described supporting children's schooling and pesantren participation and facilitating marriages between families previously divided by the conflict. These accounts suggest opportunities for repeated contact and shared obligations, which may weaken rigid boundaries between opposing groups. Such practices are analytically distinct from moral exhortation: they create settings in which peaceful norms can be enacted, negotiated, and potentially sustained. The voluntary nature of marriages and the perspectives of those involved, however, need explicit verification before these arrangements can be presented as unqualified evidence of reconciliation.

In Banks's framework, the transformative orientation invites learners to reconsider events through multiple social perspectives and to question entrenched assumptions. Applied cautiously to the Bujur Tengah case, the movement from religious advice to renewed contact across families may be interpreted as a transformation of social relations rather than a direct application of a school curriculum model.[16] This distinction is important: contribution and transformation are analytical lenses on community practices, not experimentally verified stages of a uniform programme.

[14] Mustamir Mustamir dan Muhammad Tang, "Integrating Multicultural Values in Islamic Religious Education: A Case Study in Junior High Schools," *AL-ISHLAH: Jurnal Pendidikan* 17, no. 1 (Januari 2025): 105–15, https://doi.org/10.35445/alishlah.v17i1.6296.
[15] Ach Sayyi dkk., *Bridging Tradition and Multiculturalism in Islamic Jurisprudence Education*, 2025, https://ejournal.insuriponorogo.ac.id/index.php/scaffolding/article/view/8002.
[16] Ted Fleming, Alexis Kokkos, dan Fergal Finnegan, *European Perspectives on Transformation Theory* (Springer, 2019).

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This study offers a critical refinement to Nismara et al., five-step multicultural conflict resolution model (compromising/negotiating, accommodating/smoothing/obliging, collaborating/confronting, avoiding, and competing/dominating/forcing).[17] Nismara model is useful for descriptive typology, the Bujur Tengah case demonstrates that effective transformation requires simultaneous rather than sequential application of these strategies, mediated by local religious authority. Moreover, the transformative approach here fundamentally reoriented essential monocultural perspectives characterized by negative prejudice (*su'uddhan*),[18] extremism, vindictiveness, difficulty accepting defeat, and discrimination toward a multiculturalist[19] perspective that is inclusive, tolerant, forgiving, respectful of differences, humble (*andhep asor*), harmonious, and dialogical.

Three mechanisms help explain the plausibility of this account. First, kiai occupied a position of moral authority and social credibility that enabled religious messages to reach beyond factional divisions. Second, the Islamic ethical vocabulary of forgiveness, justice, consultation, and mutual respect provided locally intelligible reasons for rejecting retaliation; such teaching must be distinguished from merely invoking religious affiliation. Third, pesantren and community religious gatherings constituted relational institutions through which people could encounter one another repeatedly. In this interpretation, Islamic authority mattered not because it replaced legal institutions but because it could complement them through ethical persuasion, social mediation, and educational continuity.[20] These are mechanisms suggested by the case, not separately measured effects.[21]

Taken together, these findings situate community-oriented multicultural education within everyday Islamic social institutions. They also raise questions about whose voices were represented in the reconciliation narrative, whether affected women and young people

[17] Clarintha Aulia Nismara dkk., "Conflict Resolution Based on Local Wisdom in Multicultural Communities in Indonesia," *International Journal of Geography, Social, and Multicultural Education* 3, no. 2 (Oktober 2025): 27–36, https://doi.org/10.26740/ijgsme.v3n2.p27-36.
[18] FatmaWati FatmaWati, Nurul Azmy Rustan, dan Gustia Haryati, "Analyzing Revitalization of Multicultural Education on Higher Education to Reduce Negative Stereotypes in Indonesia," *Qubahan Academic Journal* 3, no. 4 (November 2023): 306–13, https://doi.org/10.48161/qaj.v3n4a184.
[19] Amanuel Elias dan Fethi Mansouri, "Towards a critical transformative approach to inclusive intercultural education," *Journal of Multicultural Discourses* 18, no. 1 (Januari 2023): 4–21, https://doi.org/10.1080/17447143.2023.2211568.
[20] Georgeta Rață, *Multicultural Education: From Theory to Practice* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013).
[21] Cherry A. McGee Banks dan James A. Banks, "Equity pedagogy: An essential component of multicultural education," *Theory Into Practice* 34, no. 3 (Juni 1995): 152–58, https://doi.org/10.1080/00405849509543674.

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experienced the initiatives in the same way, and how structural grievances over land and political power were addressed. These questions are essential for avoiding an overly harmonious account of a complex and painful event.

The Integrative Multicultural Resolution (IMR) Model

The core finding of this study is the emergence of what can be termed the Integrative Multicultural Resolution (IMR) Model, a hybrid conflict resolution framework uniquely developed by the Bujur Tengah community. Unlike Western-centric models that separate legal, educational, and cultural interventions, the IMR model integrates three inseparable dimensions: religious moral authority (kiai), educational transformation (pesantren and formal schools), and kinship engineering (inter-group marriage).[22] This integration creates a self-reinforcing system where each dimension strengthens the others. Banks emphasize that effective multicultural education must extend beyond curriculum into social structures.[23] The IMR model operationalizes this by embedding multicultural values into the very fabric of community relations, not merely into classroom instruction.

The first pillar of the IMR model is religious moral rearmament, wherein kiai function as both peace educators and conflict mediators. Post-tragedy, kiai from Pesantren Mambaul Ulum, Darul Ulum, and Miftahul Ulum conducted weekly tausiyah emphasizing forgiveness (*maaf*), humility (*tawadlu'*), and the Islamic imperative of peace (*islah*). This religious framing was critical because carok itself is culturally legitimized as a defense of honor. By reinterpreting honor not as violent retaliation but as patient forbearance, kiai effectively delegitimized revenge cycles. Lederach[24] and Gebeyehu Genbezo et al.,[25] argues that sustainable peace requires moral imagination rooted in local cultural-religious resources.[26] The IMR model confirms this, showing that religious authority can successfully reframe honor-based violence.

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[22] Ach Sayyi dkk., "Child-Friendly Education Model for Violence Prevention in Islamic Boarding Schools," *Al-Hayat: Journal of Islamic Education* 9, no. 4 (November 2025): 800–820, https://doi.org/10.35723/ajie.v9i4.187.
[23] Banks, *An Introduction to Multicultural Education*.
[24] John Paul Lederach, *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace* (Oxford University Press, 2005).
[25] Dubale Gebeyehu Genbezo, Mellese Mada Gatiso, dan Misrak Tenna Adafre, "The cultural roots of peace: peace formation, everyday peace practices, and institutional frameworks for sustainable peace in Dawuro society, Southwest Ethiopia," *Cogent Social Sciences* 12, no. 1 (Desember 2025): 2605722, https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2025.2605722.
[26] Athik Hidayatul Ummah dan Subhan Abdullah Acim, "A Peace Communication As Learning Process: A Socio-Religious Conflict Resolution Model In Lombok," *Edukasi Islami: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 13, no. 04 (Desember 2024), https://doi.org/10.30868/ei.v13i04.9899.

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The second pillar is educational reconstruction, which operated at two levels simultaneously. First, formal education (PAUD to MA) and pesantren curricula were infused with multicultural values: tolerance, respect for differences, and non-violent conflict resolution. Second, non-formal forums like *koloman* and *majlis ta'lim* reached adults who never attended formal schooling. This dual-track approach ensured intergenerational transmission of peace values. According to Amadei[27] and Galtung[28] positive peace requires the transformation of violent cultural structures. The IMR model demonstrates that educational reconstruction, when delivered through both school-based and community-based channels, can systematically dismantle the cultural grammar of violence over time.

The third and most distinctive pillar is kinship engineering through cross-faction marriage. Community leaders actively facilitated marriages between children of opposing kubu, with all expenses collectively borne. This strategy transformed abstract reconciliation into embodied, daily-lived solidarity. No coercion was involved; rather, it created new kinship networks that made future violence unthinkable because former enemies became in-laws. Hatoss[29] and Buitron[30] notes that in collectivist societies, marriage alliances are the most powerful mechanism for terminating feuds. The IMR model innovates by placing kinship engineering not as an afterthought but as a core resolution strategy, explaining why Bujur Tengah has experienced zero recurrent carok incidents since 2006.

Conclusion

This case study indicates that post-conflict reconciliation in Bujur Tengah was supported, in local participants' accounts, by kiai-led moral education, continued access to schools and pesantren, and rebuilding relationships between formerly opposed families. The contribution approach helps explain how religious values entered everyday communal learning, while the transformation approach illuminates changes in social contact and family relationships.

[27] Bernard Amadei, "Revisiting positive peace using systems tools," *Technological Forecasting and Social Change* 158 (September 2020): 120149, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techfore.2020.120149.
[28] Johan Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research," *Journal of Peace Research* 6, no. 3 (September 1969): 167–91, https://doi.org/10.1177/002234336900600301.
[29] Anikó Hatoss, "That word 'abuse' is a big problem for us: South Sudanese parents' positioning and agency *vis-à-vis* parenting conflicts in Australia," *Linguistics and Education* 67 (Februari 2022): 101002, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.linged.2021.101002.
[30] Natalia Buitron, "Autonomy, productiveness, and community: the rise of inequality in an Amazonian society," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 26, no. 1 (2020): 48–66, https://www.jstor.org/stable/45379294.

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Together, these practices inform a provisional Integrative Multicultural Resolution (IMR) framework.

The contribution to Islamic Studies lies in showing how Islamic ethics, the social authority of kiai, and pesantren-linked institutions can become resources for public reconciliation beyond formal religious classrooms. The findings are limited by the single-case retrospective design, incomplete reporting of participant and fieldwork procedures, and the absence of independent longitudinal measures of conflict recurrence or programme effects. The framework should therefore guide further inquiry rather than be treated as a proven, universally replicable model.

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