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Sunni-Syiah Conflict in Sampang, Madura: The Politics of Identity

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Abstract

The dominance of religious groups that occurred in Sampang, Madura, has caused prolonged conflict in 2012. Differences in beliefs related to the conception of religious practices in Islam make each group believe in their respective sect. This conflict led to riots between relatives and the community and resulted in the displacement of the Shiite group from their homes in Sampang Madura. Efforts to resolve the government by mediation with the aim of seeking peace are also not over. Various studies have revealed that the Sunni-Syiah conflict that occurred in Sampang is not only limited to theological differences but many factors that influence and are interrelated. The problem is, how can a group's identity dominate in the area so that it can kill minority groups? Qualitative research through in-depth interviews, observation, and document search through literature studies with analysis of the inner and outer ring of the chronology of conflict, actors, victims, motives, and networks have at least found a dominant group that shapes identity politics. Identity politics that emerged in Sampang, refers to the political mechanism of organizing identity, where political identity and social identity are sources and political means for a group. The Syiah conflict also leads to negative identity politics, it is seen that there is resistance to a new identity that appears in the community.

Keywords: Sunni-Syiah Sect, Sampang Madura, Conflict, Identity Politics

Abstrak

Dominasi kelompok keagamaan yang terjadi di Sampang Madura telah menimbulkan konflik yang berkepanjangan di tahun 2012 silam. Perbedaan keyakinan terkait konsepsi praktik agama dalam Islam membuat masing-masing kelompok mempercayai mazhab masing-masing. Konflik ini menimbulkan kerusuhan antar saudara dan masyarakat, serta mengakibatkan terusnya kelompok Syiah dari Kampung Halaman Sampang Madura. Upaya penyelesaian yang dilakukan pemerintah dengan jalan mediasi dengan tujuan mencari kedamaian juga tidak kunjung selesai. Berbagai studi sudah mengungkapkan bahwa konflik Sunni-Syiah yang terjadi di Sampang bukan hanya sebatas faktor perbedaan teologis, melainkan banyak faktor yang mempengaruhi dan saling berkaitan. Permasalahannya, bagaimana suatu identitas kelompok mampu mendominasi di daerah sehingga dapat membunuh kelompok minoritas? Penelitian Kualitatif melalui wawancara mendalam, observasi, dan penelusuran dokumen melalui studi literatur dengan analisis lingkaran dalam dan lingkaran luar terhadap kronologi konflik, pelaku, korban, motif dan jaringan setidaknya telah menemukan adanya suatu kelompok dominan yang membentuk politik identitas. Politik identitas yang muncul di Sampang, mengacu pada mekanisme politik pengorganisasian identitas, dimana identitas politik maupun identitas sosial merupakan sumber dan sarana politik bagi suatu kelompok. Konflik Syiah pun mengarah pada politik identitas negative, terlihat adanya perlawanan terhadap suatu identitas baru yang muncul di masyarakat.

Kata Kunci: Mazhab Sunni-Syiah, Sampang, Konflik dan Politik Identitas

INTRODUCTION

Identity politics has gained a special place in the last few years. The term identity politics first appeared in the 1970s (Ryan, 2001). In identity politics refers to the political mechanism of

organizing identity (both political identity and social identity) as a source and means of politics. The meaning that identity politics as a source and means of politics in the struggle for political power is very possible and increasingly prominent in everyday political practice. Bikhu Parekh also explained that the understanding of identity can be categorized into 3 (three) dimensions: First, Personal dimension, second, is the social dimension and the third is the dimension of humanity (Habibi, 2017). The concept of Identity Politics only emerged in the study of political science after it was discussed at the international meeting of the International Political Science Association in Vienna in 1994. It was referred to as a pattern of biopolitics or political differences, which Agnes Haller then focused on becoming Political Identity (Habibi, 2017). As Stuart Hall said, identity is better understood not as something attached, but a process that continues (Woodward, 1997). Politics of recognition, is the focus of identity politics according to Heller, which originated from individual awareness to explore specific identities.

Identity politics can be interpreted in a positive or negative sense. Identity politics that emerged as a movement to fight for the right to self-determination by entities marginalized by the authorities was a positive identity politics. Whereas identity politics that gives rise to conflicts between ethnicities, violence, intolerance, rejection of differences, and racism is a negative identity politics. The use of the term political identity then expanded, not only around issues of gender, feminism, race, ethnicity and groups of the persecuted, but also targeted the problem of religion, beliefs and diverse cultural ties (Maarif, et al, 2010).

Identity politics provides a clear line to determine who will be included and who will be rejected (Morowitz, 1998). Identity politics for Klaus Von Boyme, can be divided into three stages namely the first stage is the pre-modern political movement (Abdilah, 2002). This stage is characterized by divisions between ethnic groups and nationalities that trigger social mobilization and movement. The leader of each group has a central role for the birth of the balance of social movements. The second stage is the modern political movement, marked by the reduced role of the leader in mobilizing the movement. This is caused by the birth of balance through participation from the lower classes so that mobilization is not solely driven by the presence of leaders. The division of roles and power is a characteristic that marks this modern stage. In the third stage, the postmodernism stage. At this stage there is no dominant group, but the movement actually comes from the existence of individual opportunities, and the dynamics of the movement itself.

Conflicts that occur in Sampang Madura are basically conflicts that occur between two groups, namely Sunni and Syiah, which begin with the lack of trust towards people who have different characteristics in religion. The conflict originated from the differences in the beliefs of the leaders of each religious group. Syiah are often confronted with their understanding of Sunnis (Ahlussunnah wal-Jamaah) which is held by most Muslims with their four sects, namely Syafii, Hambali, Hanafi and Maliki. In addition, it was also strengthened by the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) which stated that Syiah teachings were heretical sects that were contrary to Islamic teachings in general in Sampang, Madura.

The Sunni-Syiah conflict occurred between 2011 and 2012, during which a bitter and painful incident occurred for the Syiah sect. There was violence, burning houses to forced evictions from hometowns that supported the Syiah sect. In that conflict, many suffered serious injuries, even two people lost their lives due to sharp weapons attacks. The dark incident which received wide attention occurred in Karang Gayam Village and Blu'uran Village, Omben District, Sampang Regency, Madura.

During the conflict hundreds of mobs attacked violently and threatened every life. With limited circumstances and on their own initiative, the Syiah sect saved itself from the rampage of the masses at the SDN Gayam school building without being accompanied by security forces. Assistance from the police only arrived 8 hours after the attack, and they were taken to the police station. Several hours later they were evacuated to GOR Sampang which according to the police and the Sampang Government was only temporary to restore their situation.

Based on the agreement of the local government and the existence of coercion under the pretext of public safety, the Syiah sect was moved to Rusunawa Puspa Agro located at the Puspa Agro Central Market complex, which is administratively located at Jl. Sawunggaling 177-183, Jemundo, Taman, Sidoarjo. For almost eight years the Syiah sect has been displaced by the Rusunawa since 2013 when there was an incident of arson and expulsion, the Syiah sect really had to leave their home with a burning state. Until now, the Regional Government of

Sampang, Madura and the Provincial Government of East Java have not been able to find a peaceful way to the Sunni-Syiah conflict in Sampang Madura. The rights of the Syiah sect in Sampang are also not clear, including the rights to obtain an identity in Sampang. Syiah is one of the religious sects in Islam that emphasizes respect for Ahlul Bait, the family of the Prophet Muhammad from the daughter of Fatimah and her son-in-law (Ali bin Abi Talib) who later had Hasan and Husain's descendants. The tribute was realized with the name Ahlul Bait in the pronunciation of shahada, tawasul and daily prayers. The difference in beliefs between Syiah and Sunni which are the sect of almost all Muslims has led to the assumption that the Syiah are heretics. Syiah sect do not believe in the nature of the trust (trustworthy) and siddiq (true) of the Companions of the Prophet, especially Abu Bakr ash-Shiddiq, Umar bin Khattab and Uthman bin Affan who are involved in the transfer of leadership after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, commemorating the events of Ghodur Khum and the killing of Husayn in Karbala with various religious rituals that refer to certain sect of thought; and the existence of different teachings with a large group of Muslims (Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaah) in terms of views of the Koran (muharrar [changed] or not), the ma'sum nature of the Companions of the Prophet and especially Ali bin Abi Talib, marrying Mut'ah (marital contract), taqiyah (concealment of identity), and so forth (Al-Kaf, 2012).

The difference in religious beliefs between Sunni and Syiah is part of local wisdom, where the Madurese people believe that the teachings of their ancestors are teachings that need to be emulated. Local wisdom can be said to be the way of life of the Madurese coastal community, or a set of knowledge and life strategies carried out by local people in responding to problems experienced in community life. A view of life that contains norms is used as guidance and guidance in other societies (Widayati, et al, 2018). This is what makes Sunnis and Syiah insist on living in the teachings of their respective religions.

The emergence of Identity Politics is marked by the dominance of religious groups in Sampang Madura. Domination groups try to form identity and power. Aside from family factors, the Sunni-Syiah conflict is also motivated by the politics of identity which is one of the political tools of a religious group to achieve certain goals. The Witness and Victim Protection Agency found five causes of the SARA conflict that occurred between Sunni and Syiah. First, there is the MUI Fatwa of East Java, East Java PWNU which states that the Syiah are heretical so followers must be pledged to be Sunni. This fatwa is in accordance with decision No. 01 / SKF-MUI / JTM / 2012 East Java. The Governor also issued Decree number 55 of 2012 concerning the Coaching of Religious Activities and Monitoring of Heretical Sects in East Java. Secondly, there was a statement from the former Sampang Regent, who rejected the existence of Syiah followers in the Sampang Regency. Third, the decision of the Sampang District Court and the High Court which stated that Tajul Muluk was a Sunni figure and was considered to have committed religious defamation. Fourth, personal conflicts between Ro'is who are Syiah religious leaders and Tajul Muluk are followed by each follower for a long time. Fifth, the existence of the Sampang regent election which raised the time and voice of the Sunni community.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a qualitative approach, according to Jalaludin Rahmat, the data used is qualitative data (data that does not consist of numbers) but in the form of pictures and words (Rahmat, 2000). To look for essential reality, researchers choose to use qualitative methods by means of investigative research, especially those related to the realm of inquiry into the realms of social life in the wider community. Investigative research was forced to do because there was a strong tendency for local parties to lock in the actual information and then simplify two simple issues, namely identity politics. Investigative research was conducted in June 2018, by means of in-depth interviews with victims of the conflict.

Sources of data in the form of primary data and secondary data, where primary data comes from interviews with informants during the study. While secondary data sources use literature. The literature used is books, journals related to the object of research. Data collection techniques used three methods namely 1) Observation Method; 2) Interview Method; and 3) Documentation Method. While the data analysis in this study is descriptive analysis and is explained systematically. There are three steps taken in the analysis of qualitative data, namely data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions.

In-depth interviews were conducted with Syiah sect actors such as the Syiah leader Tajul Muluk, refugees who belong to the Syiah sect. As well as volunteers who accompany refugees, and government representatives from the Regional Disaster Planning Agency (BPD) and the Kesbangpol of East Java Province.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Origin of the Syiah Sect in Sampang, Madura

Beginning in the 1980s, Kiai Makmun, a cleric who was originally a Sunni follower in Nangkernang, Karang Gayam Village, Sampang, Madura got word from his best friend in Iran about the Iranian revolution. The success of the Iranian clerics led by Ayatollah Ali Khomeini uprooted Syah Iran Reza Pahlavi (a regime that was considered a monarchy) became a source of inspiration for Kiai Makmun. Because the majority of scholars and Muslims in the Madura region are fanatical Sunni followers, Kiai Makmun studied Syiah secretly by reading books sent by friends from Iran.

In 1983, interest in Syiah teachings led Kiai Makmun to send three of his sons, Iklil al Milal; Tajul Muluk; Rois Hukama; and his daughter Umami Hani went to the Islamic Boarding School Foundation (YAPI) in Bangil, Pasuruan, East Java. YAPI is known as a boarding school that tends to be Syiah sect. After graduating from YAPI Middle School in 1991, Tajul Muluk returned to Sampang Madura. In 1993, Tajul Muluk left for Saudi Arabia to study at Sayyid Muhammad Al-Maliki Islamic Boarding School. Because of financial constraints, Tajul Muluk, whose real name is Ali Murtadha, continued to work in Arabia.

Tajul Muluk returned from Arabia and settled back in Karang Gayam, Sampang in 1999. Kiai Makmun family and the local community welcomed him happily. In 2004 a sevelar villagers who also include Kiai Makmun gave a plot of land to develop a boarding school with the Syiah sect. This small boarding school was named "Misbahul Huda Boarding School". The teacher who teaches at this boarding school is Tajul Muluk with all his brothers in Karang Gayam. Within three years, many residents in Karang Gayam and Blu'uren village had become Syiah followers.

In early 2004, the development of Tajul Muluk campaign in spreading Syiah knowledge has received a response from local scholars. Among them Ali Karrar Shinhaji (a close relative of Kiai Makmun) leader of Darut Tauhid Islamic Boarding School in Lenteng, Pamekasan. In a meeting with Tajul Muluk and his brother, according to Karrar did not approve of Tajul Muluk preaching activities that teach Syiah because it is considered a school of wrong and misguided in Islam. Not only Karrar, the scholars in Sampang also behaved in the same manner related to Tajul Muluk's activities.

Then, Kiai Makmun died after being sick in June 2004. After Kiai Makmun died, local clerics strongly opposed the Syiah spread by Kiai Makmun's children. There began to be intimidation and violence against the Syiah Sampang minority which was considered heretical. Some public discussion also mentioned that the Sunni-Syiah conflict was also triggered due to family problems between Tajul Muluk and Rois which caused Rois to leave Syiah teachings and enter Sunni, thus exacerbating the conflict problem in Sampang.

Syiah Conflict in Sampang, Madura

The Syiah conflict came to the attention of all Indonesian people in 2012 which occurred in Sampang, Madura, which actually has been around since 2003. The conflict began when Tajul Muluk was active in spreading Syiah even though it was only among certain groups. Tajul Muluk's teachings began to get a response in 2004-2005 by the people of Karang Gayam and Blu'uran, so that Tajul Muluk's teachings began to rise on the surface. The community considers that the teachings of Tajul Muluk and his followers have strange ways in the practice of religion in general in Madura.

In 2006-2008, threats, terror and intimidation began to occur frequently against Tajul Muluk and his followers in Karang Gayam. Various criticisms and dialogues were carried out with Tajul Muluk to stop his preaching activities. In 2010 a number of residents reported Tajul Muluk's activities to MUI, they considered the Syiah activities taught by Tajul Muluk to be unsettling to the community. This is the reason for the bad Sunni-Syiah relationship in Sampang Madura.

The climax of the problem occurred at the beginning of 2011, when there began conflicts and violence by Sunni-Syiah groups in Sampang, Madura. Syiah pesantren were set on fire by mobs in the name of the Sunni. This event is the second case after the first in April 2011. Sampang scholars and government officials held a closed meeting with Tajul Muluk by giving options to: 1) stop all activities and return to the teachings of Islam / Sunni ideology; 2) leave the Sampang area without any compensation for existing assets / assets; and 3) if these two options are not fulfilled, the Syiah Sampang congregation must die (CRCS UGM, 2012). The Sunni-Syiah conflict that occurred in Sampang Madura caused the Syiah group led by Tajul Muluk to be driven out of their hometowns and received intimidation and hatred from the majority of Sunni since 2003-2012.

The conflict in 2012 occurred 7 (seven) days after the Eid al-Fitr. Signs of an attack and arson by a large group of masses were clearly seen at the level of the people of Omben, Karangpeunang and Robatal. With the threat of attack one week before Eid. During the month of Ramadhan, a number of meetings conducted by ulama and kiai across boarding school intensely discussed the follow-up of the heretical fatwa on Syiah by MUI Sampang and East Java. Kyai were accommodated in an organization of the Madura Islamic Boarding School Ulama Gathering Board (Bassra); messages that spread one night before the time of the attack, spread the Sunni sect to be vigilant during the attack later; a large and unreasonable mass has jammed the highway. Seeing the signs of the attack, there is an implied question whether the security apparatuses and the local government are not able to see signs of the movement that will be carried out by the masses or if there really is an omission and blindfold for this mass action process.

On the day of the attack there was a mass of people who rode in vehicles of various kinds, not necessarily dressed in white or wearing turban or with unique identities, such as beards. According to the results of an interview with Iklil Ulama, the mass was divided into three groups. The first group headed to the village where Tajul Muluk's house, mosque and boarding school were; The second group headed for the house of Syiah followers in the eastern part of Nangkernang Hamlet; and third group was broken down again into three small groups leading to other places namely: scattered houses in Nangkernang; houses in Bluran; and Syiah homes in the Selong region, both East Selong and West Selong, especially with Siful's specific target.

All these mass activities were carried out quickly and on target, because the attack and arson of 47 (fourty seven) houses lasted no more than four hours, namely from 10:00 to 14:00 and all the attacks that occurred on target. All the houses that were burned down were actually owned by Syiah group of followers of Tajul Muluk. Neighbors who have a Sunni sect also do not forbid or defend their Syiah neighbors. It can be concluded that the attacks that occurred on the Syiah group of Tajul Muluk had been carefully planned. Sub-district and district level police only came to the scene at 15:00.

It can almost be said that when the police arrived the mass was not there. They have disbanded and returned to their villages. At that time the police and army only secured and evacuated wounded Syiah. Houses that are still burning are also just left. After two hours later a group of Brimob members from East Java came to the scene. Like the first police group, they only combed the scene to evacuate and secure Syiah. With full care, the Syiah were then evacuated to the Sampang Regency Sports Hall.

Dilemma of Followers of Syiah Sect in Evacuation

Unusual life makes Karang Gayam people who are Syiah followers feel something that was never imagined before. After a prolonged conflict resulting in incidents of arson and expulsion of Syiah followers allegedly carried out by Sunni followers. This is because the Syiah differs from the teachings of Islam in general and is considered heretical. They had never thought before that they would be expelled from their own hometown. Even when the eviction they had not had time to pack their valuables.

Since the hundreds of mobs that attacked Syiah followers, with limited circumstances they rescued themselves from the crowd's rage in the Gayam Elementary School building without being accompanied by security forces. Assistance from the government came eight hours after the attack, which was then evacuated to the Sampang GOR. Almost all of the Syiah followers were at the Sampang Sports Hall for ten months. Life in Gor Sampang is also very

alarming, not a few of them who later fell ill and malnutrition. In a state of urgency, helpless and with coercion of Syiah followers led by Iklil Ulama were relocated to Rusunawa. Until now they had never thought that they would live in Rusunawa for many years.

After being evacuated to Rusunawa, located in Puspa Agro, Pasar Induk Puspa Agro Complex, Jl. Sawunggaling 177-183, Jemundo, Taman, Sidoarjo City in 2013, Syiah followers restarted their lives and adapted to their surroundings. Since the transfer of Syiah followers to the city of Sidoarjo, the life of refugees has continued to be a concern of the East Java government in accordance with the East Java Governor's Decree Number 188/539 / KPTS / 013/2013 concerning the Emergency Management of Rescuing and Protecting Social Conflict of Refugees in Sampang Regency to the Recovery Transition.

In their first year of residence in Rusunawa, Syiah refugees received rice assistance from the East Java Provincial Government. However, over time the assistance was no longer effective so the East Java provincial government provided assistance in the form of Life Benefits of Rp. 709,000.00. Suwisyono, Head of the Conflict Prevention Section of the East Java Provincial Unity and Politics, said that the aid allocation was taken from the Regional Revenues and Expenditures Budget of the East Java Province.

The limited education available in Rusunawa caused the Syiah refugees to send their children to the Islamic boarding school to study. In addition to education, Syiah refugees also have difficulty finding work to survive because they are accustomed to working in the fields. Other activities besides work and study are worship. They do all daily activities only in Rusunawa. High Rusunawa building makes parents feel worried about the safety of their young children. Being accustomed to living in a village that has a large area and is free from threats, makes them restless for their children against external threats.

The difference in treatment received by the refugees is evident when there is a holiday celebration. The East Java Provincial Government has deployed the police to guard the Rusunawa and urge refugees not to return for security reasons. On nine years ago they lived in a state of uncertainty, resigned to their fate and future while in Rusunawa. The hope that continues to ignite in every Syiah follower to return to Sampang and move as usual. There is great hope for Syiah followers to build friendships with families in Sampang, as well as to get a higher education without any trauma or fear.

In addition to the fear that another conflict will take place, one of the things that makes it difficult for Syiah followers to return to Sampang is that Sunni followers assume that Syiah followers will retaliate if allowed to return to Sampang. So that some of the Sampang scholars gave conditions that they had to repent or return to the Sunni sect. This is disputed by Syiah followers, they assume that the conditions given include acts of discrimination committed by either the Sampang government or some Sampang Ulama to Syiah followers.

For Non-Syiah followers, interpreting different teachings, in which some people consider it not part of Islam even some people consider Syiah not to be a religion. This is the background of Syiah followers in Rusunawa, who hold fast to the teachings or beliefs of the Syiah sect. Syiah followers feel that their teachers and scholars have not taught deviant religious schools. That is why Syiah followers are unwilling if they are forced to "convert" or do repentance by converting to Sunni Islam. For them, the Shia they live is an Islamic religion. They have the believe that the most righteous are the Syiah sect, so that even if they are asked to return to the Sunni sect still face strong resistance from the Syiah followers. They have a commitment that belief cannot be changed just like that let alone only for certain interests.

The difference principle between two sides also made it difficult for the Provincial Government of East Java to find a peaceful way to unite Sunni and Syiah followers. Sunni and Syiah followers still maintain their respective beliefs. In the interview data for 2017, the Provincial Government of East Java has attempted to mediate by conducting dialogues and discussions regarding this case, but the decision remains with the Sampang Government. This shows that there is no peaceful way between Sunni followers and Syiah followers. Volunteer Gusdurian Haris Teguh, said that the Syiah Case was deliberately cared for in the interests of certain parties, this case would be positioned the same as the Ahmadiyah case which was localized in Lombok.

Political Religious Identity

The discussion of identity in a more complex range of thinking, was initiated by Bikhu Parekh, who explained that the understanding of identity can be identified into three dimension, first, is the personal dimension, which is a personal identity as a unique individual, which has a different body, consciousness and subjectivity. Second, is the social dimension, which is social identity as a member of a particular group that is connected with other groups in formal or informal relations (Parekh, 2008). Community groups at this stage each define and distinguish themselves from other groups. According to Klandermas, the understanding to identify groups is an awareness of similarities, the same fate groups and other group members in one category (Klandermas, 2014). The sense of belonging, sense of common, sense of identity become certain characteristics of an identity group that encourages unity, solidarity, and other socio-cultural ties among its members. Third is the dimension of humanity as the identity of members of the human community as a whole, which can distinguish it from other creatures outside the human species.

Through the three-dimensional division of identity, Bikhu Parekh explained his thoughts related to the conflict, violence, resistance and oppression experienced by many groups, especially minority groups in various parts of the world. The same thing also happened in Sampang, where the Syiah Conflict is the result of a group movement that has the same goal in shaping identity politics. Sunni domination in Sampang is the result of the formation of identity through close family ties bound by the cultural traditions of the people. Identity politics that emerged in Sampang, refers to the political mechanism of organizing identity, where political identity and social identity are sources and political means for a group. The vast network of Sunni sect in Sampang has led to the emergence of a group identity force. So that in all cases both government and non-government always associated with a group identity.

In the case of Sunni-Syiah identity politics that emerged was interpreted as negative identity politics because of opposition, violence and rejection of differences. Opposition occurs because of differences in the sect or beliefs of the community, so that the majority and minority groups who believe in each other's beliefs in accordance with their beliefs. Each group forms an identity which then influences various interests including political interests. The existence of a significant difference in beliefs that makes a rejection that causes violence to minority groups in this case is the Syiah followers.

Essentially, people everywhere have local wisdom in overcoming issues of conflict that are latent and open, not to mention conflicts related to religious differences (Abdullah, 2008). Likewise, the Madurese who believe that the family (kinship network) and teachers are the people who must be taken care of, and obeyed all the speech. Therefore, each of the Shiite and Sunni groups believe in the teachings of the religion that they learned from both the teacher and hereditary from known ancestors as a form of solidarity or kinship.

In the formation of identity, there are three approaches, namely First, **primordialism**; where identity is obtained naturally or hereditary. The Sunni identity is obtained from the scholars who are role models by the community. The firmness of a religious teaching for the people of Sampang makes them uphold the knowledge and nature of their teacher. Second, **Constructivism**; Identity as something formed and the result of complex social processes. Identity can be formed through structural ties in society. The spread of Sunni sect in Madura, made people believe that there are only Sunni sect of teachings in Islamic teachings. So that people's mindset about religion changes, religion that is not in accordance with the Sunni is considered heretical. This argument continues to develop and become social and cultural in society. Third, **Instrumentalism**; identity is something that is constructed in the interests of the elite and emphasizes the aspect of power.

CONCLUSION

Sunni-Syiah conflict that occurred in Sampang was not only a factor of theological differences, but also many influencing and interrelated factors. One of them is the existence of identity politics which has colored the thinking of the ulama, kyai and the people of Sampang. The belief between networks and kinship makes people form groups to believe in the religious teachings they learn, both from teachers and from generation to generation. This network will form the minority and majority groups. The local kerifan is also still attached to the culture of the Sampang people. The strength of the Sunni sect in Madura led to the Shi'a teachings being

seen as misleading. then basically the culture of the people of Sampang itself has not been able to accept differences in religious teachings. They only believe in one sect as a reference, namely the Sunni sect.

The differences that emerged between Sunni and Syiah led to conflict, violence and oppression. Identity politics that emerged in Sampang, refers to the political mechanism of organizing identity, where political identity and social identity are the source and means of politics for a group. The Syiah conflict also leads to negative identity politics, it can be seen that there is resistance to a new identity that has emerged in society. This identity is what causes divisions within Muslims. There are three dimensions in the division of identity, namely the personal dimension, the social dimension and the human dimension. The understanding to identify groups is an awareness of the same group, the same fate and other group members in one category.

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