

FROM CULTURAL VIOLENCE TO POSITIVE PEACE: INTEGRATING SOCIAL SCIENCE AND ISLAMIC RECONCILIATION IN TRANSFORMING MADURESE CAROK

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Abstract

Carok—a machete duel fought in defence of honour within Madurese society—is a form of violence that is culturally sanctioned and underpinned by a hegemonic masculine code of honour. This study examines how the integration of behavioural science and Islamic reconciliation can transform carok into sustainable peace, by addressing the tension between a psychological interpretation of carok as a social behaviour believed to be a moral duty to uphold dignity, and reframing it through Galtung’s concept of cultural violence and Connell’s concept of hegemonic masculinity. Based on a qualitative approach—observation, in-depth interviews and documentation—and grounded in Amin Abdullah’s paradigm of integration and interconnection, this study brings together conflict transformation (Lederach), restorative justice (Zehr) and the principle of islah (sulh/reconciliation) in Islam. This analysis develops an integrated conflict resolution model comprising three dimensions: preventive (peace education, transformative da’wah, Islamic moral guidance), curative (religious mediation, psychological counselling, islah), and rehabilitative (a bio-psycho-social-spiritual approach to trauma recovery and social reintegration). This model reframes ‘carok’ from cultural violence into positive peace, whilst illustrating the potential for faith-based, interdisciplinary conflict transformation within Muslim communities with deeply rooted cultural traditions.

Keywords: carok; social science–Islam integration; conflict transformation; hegemonic masculinity; islah

Abstrak

Carok—duel celurit pembela kehormatan dalam masyarakat Madura—kekerasan yang disahkan secara kultural dan ditopang kode kehormatan maskulin hegemonik. Penelitian ini mengkaji bagaimana integrasi ilmu perilaku dan rekonsiliasi Islam dapat mentransformasikannya menjadi perdamaian berkelanjutan, dengan menanggapi ketegangan antara pembacaan psikologis atas carok sebagai perilaku sosial yang di percaya sebagai kewajiban moral untuk menjaga martabat, serta membongkar ulang melalui konsep kekerasan kultural Galtung dan maskulinitas hegemonik Connell. Berbasis pendekatan kualitatif—observasi, wawancara mendalam, dan dokumentasi—serta berlandaskan paradigma integrasi–interkoneksi Amin Abdullah, penelitian ini mempertemukan transformasi konflik (Lederach), keadilan restoratif (Zehr), dan prinsip islah (sulh/rekonsiliasi) dalam Islam. Analisis ini mengembangkan model penyelesaian konflik terintegrasi dengan tiga dimensi: preventif (pendidikan perdamaian, dakwah transformatif, pembinaan moral Islam), kuratif (mediasi keagamaan, konseling psikologis, islah), dan rehabilitatif (pendekatan bio-psiko-sosial-spiritual untuk pemulihan trauma dan reintegrasi sosial). Model ini membongkar ulang carok dari kekerasan kultural menjadi perdamaian positif, sekaligus menggambarkan potensi transformasi konflik interdisipliner berbasis iman di komunitas Muslim yang kuat tertanam budaya.

Kata Kunci: carok; integrasi ilmu sosial–Islam; transformasi konflik; maskulinitas hegemonik; islah

INTRODUCTION

Madurese society possesses unique socio-cultural characteristics, with a system of values and norms deeply rooted for centuries. One of the most distinctive cultural practices is *carok*, a traditional mechanism for resolving conflicts through duels using sharp weapons, particularly sickles (Rokhyanto & Marsuki, 2015). This tradition has become an integral part of conflict resolution in Madurese society despite often resulting in loss of life and significant social consequences. As a conflict-resolution mechanism, *carok* is closely associated with the concepts of self-esteem and honor, both of which are highly valued within the local community (Stets & Burke, 2014; Wiyata, 2002; Arroisi & Badi', 2022). Values such as masculinity, self-esteem, shame, and honor are regarded as important social ideals and are culturally legitimized as normative standards of behavior (Aminah et al., 2022). In the Madurese worldview, *carok* is often triggered by disputes over women, property, power, and honor, and is socially legitimized as a means of maintaining family dignity. This practice is closely linked to hegemonic masculinity, representing male status as a symbol of courage, toughness, and the preservation of honor (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

However, the practice of *carok* has faced increasing criticism from both legal and humanitarian perspectives (Suyanto, 2021). From the standpoint of Indonesian positive law, *carok* clearly contradicts legal principles that prohibit violence and homicide. In this regard, criminal mediation grounded in local wisdom has been proposed as a potential strategy for addressing violent *carok* conflicts in Madurese society (Cahyono, 2019). From a humanitarian perspective, *carok* is often seen as an outdated form of conflict resolution, incompatible with contemporary values that emphasize dialogue, mediation, and peaceful coexistence. Nevertheless, the persistence of *carok* suggests that repressive legal approaches alone have been insufficient. Consequently, legal sanctions often fail to eliminate violent practices because of the legitimacy gap between state law and local cultural understandings.

The predominantly Muslim Madurese community also faces a dilemma in responding to the *carok* tradition. On the one hand, community members maintain a strong commitment to Islamic teachings that promote peace, tolerance, justice, and nonviolent conflict resolution. On the other hand, they remain deeply attached to ancestral traditions passed down through the generations. The complexity of this tension is reflected in the limited effectiveness of previous efforts to address *carok* conflicts (Mawaidi & Zuchdi, 2021). Legal and repressive approaches have not significantly reduced the incidence of *carok* because they frequently overlook the socio-cultural foundations that sustain the practice. In many cases, tradition and culture are invoked to justify actions that contradict both Islamic teachings and contemporary social-scientific understandings of violence (Takdir & Arif, 2022; Rokhyanto & Marsuki, 2015).

This study conceptualizes the integration of social science and Islam through Amin Abdullah's integration–interconnection paradigm, a framework widely developed within Indonesian Islamic higher education. The paradigm rejects the dichotomy between religious and scientific knowledge and instead promotes constructive dialogue among different disciplines in addressing complex social realities. Rather, both are interconnected sources of knowledge that can mutually enrich one another in understanding and resolving social problems. Applied to the context of *carok*, the integration–interconnection paradigm enables psychological, sociological, and conflict-transformation perspectives to interact with Islamic concepts such as *islah* (reconciliation), *sulh* (peaceful settlement), forgiveness, and social harmony (Takdir, Mushthafa, & Akmaliah, 2021). This framework provides the epistemological foundation for developing a culturally sensitive and religiously legitimate model of conflict transformation in Madurese society.

In this regard, an integrative approach that combines scientific perspectives with Islamic principles while respecting the socio-cultural realities of Madurese society is urgently needed. The integration of science and Islam offers a more comprehensive and sustainable alternative for addressing *carok* conflicts. Given that Islam is the majority religion in Madura, Islamic values emphasizing justice (*al-'adl*), reconciliation (*islah*), consultation (*shura*), and social harmony can provide a strong philosophical foundation for peacebuilding initiatives (Fathollah et al., 2023). Meanwhile, scientific approaches contribute through systematic research methodologies,

objective social analysis, and evidence-based intervention strategies. As argued by Takdir, Mushthafa, and AS (2021), social conflicts within religious communities cannot be adequately addressed through a single disciplinary perspective but require holistic approaches that engage cultural, psychological, social, and spiritual dimensions simultaneously. Therefore, integrating social-scientific and Islamic perspectives offers a promising framework for preventing the escalation of deeply rooted cultural violence and promoting sustainable peace within Madurese society.

There are several reasons why research on the integration of science and Islam in resolving *carok* conflicts remains urgent. First, conflict resolution cannot rely solely on legal mechanisms but must also incorporate approaches grounded in local wisdom and community values (R. Maulana et al., 2024). The importance of religious values in conflict transformation is also highlighted by Maulana and Manullang (2024), who argue that peacebuilding requires dialogical engagement, ethical commitment, and a reconciliation-oriented interpretation of religion. Their findings reinforce the relevance of integrating Islamic concepts such as *islah*, forgiveness, and social harmony based on local wisdom to resolve the *carok* conflict in Madurese society (A. Maulana & Manullang, 2024). Second, the dominant approach employed by law-enforcement institutions in handling *carok* cases continues to emphasize legal and security dimensions, focusing primarily on criminal prosecution and deterrence. While important, these approaches often fail to address the underlying cultural, psychological, and religious factors that sustain the conflict. Third, the complexity of *carok* requires an integrated framework that can accommodate its socio-cultural and religious dimensions. Developing such a framework requires recognizing that science and Islam are not opposing systems of knowledge but complementary sources of insight for understanding and transforming social conflict.

Several previous studies provide important foundations for this research. Studies on the integration of science and religion within Islamic education demonstrate that such integration promotes critical, inclusive, tolerant, and socially responsible understandings of knowledge and faith (Warosari et al., 2003). Other studies emphasize models in which Islam serves as the foundation for scientific inquiry and cultural development (Akhsan et al., 2021). Recent studies have also shown that local cultural traditions serve as social capital to strengthen social cohesion and peaceful coexistence in pluralistic communities (Ambarita et al., 2024).

Research conducted by Budimasnyah highlighted conflict resolution using Madurese law (Budimansyah, 2018). Equally important research concerns the role of Islamic scholars (*kyai*) in resolving the *carok* conflict in Madura (Ismail & Wardi, 2019). *Carok* conflict prevention is also achieved through the active role of Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) in suppressing all forms of violence within Madurese society (Haris, 2017a). There is also research on the role of *kiai* in conveying an attitude of forgiveness as a means of resolving *carok* conflict through spiritual and emotional approaches (Takdir, Mushthafa, & Akmaliah, 2021). Research has also examined how village *kiai* organize the community's social and religious life, including how they lead religious events and address social problems (Suryanto et al., 2023). The roles of local elites such as Bhuppa/Bhâbu, Ghuru, and Rato (parents, *Kiai* or religious leaders/Islamic teachers, and the government) have been influential in creating a culture of non-violence (Daulay et al., 2022). From a criminological perspective, *carok* continues to thrive and become a tradition in community life (Mustikajati et al., 2021). *Carok*, as a tradition, is also linked to the "*settong dara*" (female sacrifice), a symbol of strength and unity among Madurese (Baiti et al., 2023). Relevant research shows that *carok* is not only a form of culturally based violence but also a manifestation of socially inherited masculine hegemony (Aminah et al., 2022).

Although previous studies have generated valuable insights into both science–religion integration and *carok* conflict resolution, the existing literature remains fragmented. Research on the integration of science and religion has largely focused on educational, epistemological, and cultural dimensions. In contrast, studies on *carok* have primarily examined legal, criminological, cultural, or religious aspects separately. Limited attention has been paid to developing an integrated conflict-resolution framework that systematically combines social-scientific approaches with Islamic principles. As a result, there remains a significant gap in understanding

how scientific and religious perspectives can be brought together into a comprehensive model capable of addressing conflict prevention, intervention, and post-conflict recovery simultaneously within the socio-cultural context of Madurese society.

Addressing this gap, the present study develops a preventive, curative, and rehabilitative model of *carok* conflict resolution grounded in the integration of science and Islam. The study argues that sustainable conflict transformation requires not only legal intervention but also cultural legitimacy, religious authority, and evidence-based social strategies. By integrating insights from psychology, sociology, conflict studies, and Islamic teachings on *islah*, forgiveness, and social harmony, this research seeks to offer a holistic framework for resolving *carok* conflicts in Madura. Specifically, this study aims to: (1) formulate a model for integrating science and Islam in resolving *carok* conflict as a socio-cultural and religious approach in Madurese society; (2) elaborate on the implementation of the science–Islam integration model in resolving *carok* conflict; and (3) explore the impacts of implementing the model on conflict transformation and peacebuilding processes in Madura.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study employed a qualitative case-study approach to explore the integration of science and Islam in resolving *carok* conflict as a socio-cultural and religious approach within Madurese society. A qualitative design was selected because it enables an in-depth understanding of social practices, meanings, and experiences related to conflict, reconciliation, and peacebuilding. The study examined how social-scientific perspectives and Islamic principles can be integrated into a comprehensive framework for addressing *carok* conflict. Field research served as the primary strategy for data generation, allowing the researcher to engage directly with community actors involved in conflict prevention and resolution and to examine the interaction between religious values and social realities within Madurese society.

The study involved 15 informants, comprising religious leaders (*kyai*), traditional leaders, community leaders, government officials, and members of the millennial generation from Pamekasan Regency, Madura, East Java, Indonesia. All participants were considered proficient in the *carok* conflict and its resolution. These participants were selected purposively based on their involvement in community mediation, religious guidance, cultural leadership, or peacebuilding initiatives. Their experiences provide significant insights into evolving ideas of violence, reconciliation, and peaceful coexistence in modern Madurese society.

Data were collected through observation, semi-structured interviews, and documentation. Observation was conducted to examine social practices, interactions, and community responses related to *carok* conflict and conflict-resolution initiatives. Through direct observation, the researcher gained a contextual understanding of the cultural dynamics and social relations surrounding *carok*. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with religious leaders, cultural figures, community leaders, government representatives, and younger community members. These interviews explored participants' understandings of *carok*, perceptions of conflict resolution, experiences of mediation, and views regarding the integration of scientific and Islamic approaches to peacebuilding. Documentary sources were also examined to complement observational and interview data. These sources included court records, local historical accounts, religious texts, media reports, and institutional documents related to *carok*. The documents were analyzed to identify recurring themes concerning conflict triggers, mediation practices, the role of *kyai*, constructions of honor and masculinity, reconciliation processes, and broader community responses to violence.

The data were analyzed using a descriptive-analytical approach. The analytical process began with data organization and classification, followed by textualization, contextualization, and interpretation. Interview transcripts, field notes, and documentary materials were systematically coded and categorized according to themes relevant to the research objectives. Contextualization was undertaken to situate the findings within the socio-cultural and religious realities of Madurese society, while interpretation focused on identifying patterns, relationships, and meanings related to the integration of science and Islam in *carok* conflict resolution.

To enhance the credibility of the findings, data triangulation was employed by integrating observations, interviews, and documentary sources. Information obtained from different participants and sources was compared and cross-checked to ensure consistency and reliability. Given the sensitive and legally controversial nature of *carok*, ethical considerations were prioritized throughout the research process. Participation was voluntary, and all informants were informed of the study's objectives before interviews were conducted. Participants' identities and sensitive information were anonymized to ensure confidentiality and protect their safety. Particular care was taken when discussing experiences related to violence, conflict, and family involvement in *carok*. These measures were intended to maintain ethical integrity while ensuring the trustworthiness of the research findings.

RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A Social Science–Islam Integration Model for Transforming Cultural Violence into Positive Peace

This study proposes a social science–Islam integration model for resolving *carok* conflicts in Madurese society. Findings from interviews and field observations indicate that *carok* is not merely a form of interpersonal violence but a socio-cultural phenomenon rooted in notions of honor, masculinity, and collective identity. Consequently, conflict resolution cannot rely solely on legal sanctions; it must also address the cultural, psychological, social, and religious dimensions that sustain the practice.

The findings further reveal that science and Islam provide complementary resources for conflict transformation. Scientific approaches contribute analytical and therapeutic frameworks for understanding violence and managing conflict, while Islamic teachings provide ethical guidance and religious legitimacy for reconciliation through values such as *islah* (peaceful settlement), forgiveness, and social harmony. Together, these perspectives offer a culturally relevant and socially acceptable framework for reducing violence and promoting peace.

Based on the empirical findings, this study proposes a three-dimensional model of *carok* conflict resolution consisting of preventive, curative, and rehabilitative components. The preventive dimension focuses on education and awareness-building, the curative dimension emphasizes mediation and conflict intervention, and the rehabilitative dimension aims to restore social relationships and strengthen post-conflict recovery. These three dimensions work together to transform conflict while promoting sustainable peace within Madurese society. Participants and community leaders reported positive perceptions regarding the model's contribution to reconciliation processes and conflict de-escalation. Rather than treating science and Islam as separate approaches, the proposed model demonstrates how both can function synergistically to support conflict prevention, reconciliation, and long-term peacebuilding.

Preventive Model: Transformative Education and Da'wah

The preventive dimension of the science–Islam integration model focuses on preventing *carok* conflict by transforming public awareness and understanding. This model integrates critical education with the Islamic approach of *da'wah bil hikmah*, aiming to promote constructive forms of conflict resolution rooted in Islamic values. Its implementation is primarily conducted through pesantren-based conflict literacy programs that combine peace education, social-scientific perspectives, and classical Islamic teachings on reconciliation and conflict management.

A pesantren leader emphasized the importance of educational and religious approaches (interview, P1, May 12, 2025):

“When we talk about prevention, Islam emphasizes the importance of patience and reflection before making decisions. I often tell my congregation, if there's a problem, don't immediately become emotional, because the Prophet Muhammad taught us to control our anger. It aligns with science, which views emotions as psychological symptoms that can be controlled through self-awareness training.”

This statement demonstrates how Islamic teachings on emotional restraint are reinforced by

psychological perspectives that emphasize self-awareness and emotional regulation. Both perspectives contribute to preventing impulsive actions that may escalate into violent conflict.

The preventive model is also implemented through community-based dialogue and deliberation. As explained by one community leader (interview, P2, May 18, 2025):

“The preventive model we implement in the village is regular dialogue between residents. From a scientific perspective, this fosters effective communication, and from an Islamic perspective, we link it to Islamic brotherhood. So, before a *carok* (community dispute) occurs, we encourage a resolution through deliberation.”

The preventive dimension also addresses the issue of hegemonic masculinity embedded in the *carok* tradition. Following Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), masculine honor in Madurese society is associated with courage, vengeance, and a willingness to defend family dignity through violent acts. Such cultural expectations have created social pressure for men to respond aggressively when family honor is threatened. Through peace education, religious instruction, and transformative da'wah (preaching), this model has reconstructed masculine identity by emphasizing Islamic virtues such as patience (*sabr*), self-control, and moral responsibility. Within this framework, true courage is redefined not as violent retaliation but as the ability to maintain dignity through peaceful and ethical actions.

From an analytical perspective, the preventive model demonstrates that conflict prevention becomes more effective when educational and religious interventions operate simultaneously. While social-scientific approaches contribute awareness regarding the psychological and social consequences of violence, Islamic teachings provide moral legitimacy for nonviolent conflict resolution. Rather than rejecting local cultural values, the model seeks to reinterpret concepts of honor and dignity within a framework that promotes dialogue, self-control, and social harmony. The findings suggest that reducing *carok* requires not only legal deterrence but also sustained educational and religious engagement capable of transforming community perceptions of conflict and violence.

Curative Model: Science-Based Religious Mediation

The curative dimension of the science-Islam integration model focuses on resolving ongoing *carok* conflicts through science-based religious mediation. This approach combines contemporary mediation and counseling techniques with Islamic principles of *islah* (reconciliation), *ukhuwah* (brotherhood), and peaceful conflict resolution. Rather than merely bringing conflicting parties together, the model seeks to address both the emotional and relational dimensions of conflict by integrating psychological intervention with religious guidance.

One informant highlighted the importance of this approach (interview, P3, May 14, 2025):

“For the curative model, when a conflict has already erupted, we usually facilitate a meeting between the two parties. We use a scientific approach with mediation and counseling techniques, while from an Islamic perspective, we present Quranic verses about *islah* (peace) to soften their hearts and encourage reconciliation.”

This statement illustrates how scientific and religious approaches complement one another in the mediation process. While counseling techniques help participants manage emotions, identify the roots of conflict, and improve communication, Islamic teachings provide moral legitimacy and spiritual motivation for reconciliation. The integration of these elements creates a mediation process that is not only psychologically effective but also culturally and religiously acceptable within Madurese society.

The mediation model draws on transformative mediation principles (Folger & Bush, 2005) and incorporates the Islamic concepts of *sulh* and *islah* as foundations for peaceful settlement (Ab Aziz & Hussin, 2017; Maula, 2023; Muhammad et al., 2023). In practice, mediation is facilitated by a team consisting of religious leaders, traditional leaders, and conflict-resolution practitioners trained in both mediation techniques and conflict psychology.

This approach is consistent with Lederach's theory of conflict transformation, which emphasizes

the reconstruction of relationships, social trust, and community structures rather than merely the resolution of disputes (Lederach, 1997). From this perspective, mediation is not limited to reaching an agreement between conflicting parties but also involves restoring the social relationships that underlie cycles of hostility and retaliation. The integration of psychological counseling, religious mediation, and reconciliation serves as a mechanism for transforming conflict into an opportunity for reconciliation and long-term peacebuilding.

From an analytical perspective, the curative model demonstrates that mediation becomes more effective when psychological techniques are reinforced by religious authority. The involvement of *kyai* and the use of Islamic concepts such as *islah* and *ukhuwah* lend moral credibility, encouraging conflicting parties to accept reconciliation. The curative dimension reflects the Islamic concepts of *sulh* and *islah* while operationalizing Lederach's emphasis on conflict transformation centered on the restoration of relationships. These findings suggest that effective conflict intervention requires attention not only to social and emotional factors but also to the spiritual dimensions that shape community perceptions of justice, honor, and peace.

Rehabilitative Model: Restoring Social Relations

The rehabilitative dimension of the science-Islam integration model focuses on post-conflict recovery and the restoration of social relationships following *carok*-related disputes. While preventive interventions seek to reduce the likelihood of violence and curative interventions address ongoing conflicts, rehabilitation aims to overcome the long-term psychological, social, and spiritual consequences experienced by victims, perpetrators, and affected communities.

One informant emphasized the importance of post-conflict recovery (interview, P4, May 17, 2025):

“In the rehabilitative aspect, both victims and perpetrators’ families often experience deep trauma. From a scientific perspective, we provide psychological therapy, while from an Islamic perspective, we strengthen them with *dhikr* (remembrance of God) and spiritual guidance. It helps accelerate the process of mental recovery.”

This statement demonstrates that the impacts of *carok* extend beyond physical violence and frequently result in emotional trauma, social stigma, and fractured community relationships. Consequently, rehabilitation requires a multidimensional approach that integrates psychological healing with spiritual and social recovery.

The rehabilitation model adopts a bio-psycho-social-spiritual framework that combines restorative justice principles with Islamic concepts of *taubah* (repentance), *maghfirah* (forgiveness), and *islah* (reconciliation). Through counseling services, religious mentoring, *dhikr* gatherings, and community dialogue, affected individuals are encouraged to rebuild trust, restore social relationships, and reintegrate into community life. This approach recognizes that sustainable peace depends not only on resolving disputes but also on repairing the social and emotional damage left by conflict.

A particularly important finding concerns the cultural reinterpretation of masculinity within Madurese society. The traditional principle of *ango'an pote tollang, atembang pote mata* (“better to die than to live in shame”) often associates forgiveness with weakness and a loss of honor. However, religious leaders (*kyai*) actively reinterpret this understanding by emphasizing Islamic values of *sabr* (patience) and *maghfirah* (forgiveness), presenting true courage as the ability to control anger, forgive others, and restore social harmony rather than resort to violence (Abu-Nimer, 2001). This reinterpretation strengthens the cultural legitimacy of reconciliation and supports long-term social recovery.

The findings also reveal the importance of restorative mechanisms grounded in local Islamic traditions. The concept of *diyya* (compensation) is understood not merely as financial restitution but as a means of restoring dignity, facilitating social healing, and supporting community reintegration. In this regard, rehabilitation reflects the principles of restorative justice, which prioritize relationship repair and social recovery rather than punishment alone (Zehr, 2015). The rehabilitative dimension represents Zehr's restorative justice framework, which prioritizes repairing disruptions, restoring dignity, and rebuilding social relationships rather than focusing exclusively on punitive responses. Through reconciliation, compensation, forgiveness, and

community reintegration, this model restores social balance and prevents cycles of revenge. Support groups, community-based activities, and continued dialogue between victims and perpetrators further contribute to rebuilding trust and preventing cycles of revenge. These efforts are reinforced through ongoing monitoring and evaluation processes that emphasize participation, restorative measures, and long-term peacebuilding initiatives (Bunn et al., 2024).

From an analytical perspective, the rehabilitative model demonstrates that sustainable peace requires more than the cessation of violence. Effective rehabilitation addresses the psychological trauma, social fragmentation, and damaged trust that often persist after conflict has formally ended. By integrating therapeutic interventions with Islamic concepts of repentance, forgiveness, and reconciliation, the model provides a culturally legitimate framework for recovery that promotes individual healing, social reintegration, and long-term community resilience within Madurese society.

Table 1.**Model of Integration of Science and Islam in *Carok* Conflict Resolution**

Integration Model	Meaning of Integration	Purpose of Integration	Method of Integration
Preventive Model	Focus on long-term prevention by integrating educational transformation and <i>da'wah</i> .	1. Preventing the emergence of <i>carok</i> conflicts through changes in public awareness 2. Changing the community paradigm from reactive to proactive in handling <i>carok</i> conflicts. 3. Creating a sustainable culture of peace based on Islamic values 4. Integrating peace education in the pesantren and madrasah education system	1. Integration of <i>critical education</i> with <i>da'wah bil hikmah</i> 2. Pesantren-based conflict literacy
Curative Model	Handling <i>carok</i> conflicts through the integration of science-based religious mediation	1. Resolving <i>carok</i> conflicts that have occurred through peaceful mediation 2. Facilitate reconciliation and forgiveness between conflicting parties 3. Changing the cycle of revenge into a cycle of reconciliation 4. Creating sustainable and spiritually binding agreements	1. Integration of modern mediation techniques with the concepts of <i>sulh</i>, <i>islah</i>, and <i>musalaha</i> in Islam 2. Psychological and counseling approaches to Islam
Rehabilitative Model	Facilitating post-conflict <i>carok</i> recovery with a restorative justice approach	1. Restoring post-conflict social relations and preventing further escalation 2. Facilitate the healing and recovery process for all parties affected by the conflict 3. Address prolonged collective trauma in the community 4. Restoring social relations and reintegrating perpetrators-victims into the community	1. Integration of <i>restorative justice</i> with the concepts of <i>taubah nasuha</i>, <i>ukhuwah Islamiyyah</i>, <i>maghfirah</i> 2. Bio-psycho-social-spiritual approach

These findings demonstrate a coherent conflict transformation trajectory. First, *carok* is interpreted as a form of cultural violence within Galtung's framework because violence is legitimized through cultural narratives of honor and masculinity. Second, the preventive dimension seeks to challenge these narratives through educational and religious transformation, including the reconstruction of hegemonic masculinity as conceptualized by Connell. Third, the curative dimension reflects Lederach's conflict transformation approach by restoring damaged relationships through mediation, counseling, and reconciliation. Finally, the rehabilitative dimension embodies Zehr's restorative justice framework by emphasizing healing, forgiveness, social reintegration, and the restoration of dignity. These dimensions illustrate a shift from cultural violence to positive peace through the integration and interconnection of socio-scientific and Islamic approaches.

Operationalizing the Integration–Interconnection Model in *Carok* Resolution

This section examines the implementation of the social science–Islam integration model in resolving *carok* conflicts in Madura. The model represents a methodological innovation that combines empirical-rational approaches with spiritual-normative dimensions to address conflicts deeply rooted in local socio-cultural traditions. This is based on the premise that *carok* conflicts cannot be resolved effectively through a single approach—whether legal, cultural, or religious—but require an integrated and holistic framework.

This integrative approach recognizes that science contributes systematic research methods, objective social analysis, and evidence-based intervention strategies, whereas Islam provides a framework of values, ethical principles, and conflict-resolution mechanisms that have been refined throughout the history of Muslim civilization (Muslih, 2018). The effectiveness of this model depends on practitioners' ability to operationalize both paradigms in a balanced manner without subordinating one to the other. In the context of Madurese society—characterized by strong religiosity alongside a deep commitment to ancestral traditions—this framework is particularly relevant because it bridges the tension between modernity and traditionalism.

The socio-cultural dimension of the science–Islam integration model requires a thorough understanding of the values, norms, and social structures that shape Madurese responses to conflict. In Madura, *carok* is not merely an act of violence but also a mechanism for defending honor within a customary legal framework (Maulana et al., 2024). Scientific approaches contribute through sociological and anthropological analyses that explain how the *carok* tradition historically emerged as a dispute-resolution mechanism in an agrarian society characterized by hierarchical social structures and strong kinship ties. Ethnographic methods and quantitative social analyses enable researchers and practitioners to identify conflict patterns, triggering factors, and the dynamics of escalation and de-escalation associated with *carok*. From an Islamic perspective, conflict is viewed as part of *sunnatullah* (God's ordained order). It should be managed in accordance with the principles of justice, compassion, and wisdom as articulated in the Qur'an and Hadith. Concepts such as *al-'adl* (justice), *ṣulḥ* (peaceful settlement), *muṣālaḥah* (reconciliation), *ṣabr* (patience), and *akhlāq* (moral conduct) provide a normative and spiritual foundation for conflict management (Islam, 2024).

The integration of these scientific and Islamic perspectives generates a more comprehensive understanding of how local cultural values can be transformed without eroding the cultural identity of the Madurese people. Such transformation is achieved through the reinterpretation of concepts such as honor, courage, and justice within a broader Islamic framework that emphasizes human dignity and social harmony. At the same time, this approach acknowledges the importance of preserving the positive elements of local culture, including social solidarity, family loyalty, and a commitment to justice, while redirecting their expression from destructive forms of violence to constructive mechanisms of conflict resolution.

The implementation of the science–Islam integration model follows a systematic and structured process that begins with conflict identification and analysis and concludes with post-intervention monitoring and evaluation. The initial stage involves comprehensive conflict mapping using contemporary analytical tools such as conflict tree analysis, stakeholder analysis, and the *Do No Harm* framework. These methods are complemented by Islamic approaches to conflict analysis

that seek to identify the moral and spiritual roots of disputes. An intervention team comprising academics, conflict-resolution practitioners, religious scholars, and community leaders collaborates to design context-specific strategies tailored to the characteristics of individual conflict cases.

A key component of the model is its mediation mechanism, which adapts contemporary mediation techniques while incorporating Islamic values and principles relevant to peaceful and equitable conflict resolution. The mediation process begins with a pre-mediation stage that involves psychological and spiritual preparation for the parties. This preparation integrates modern counseling techniques with Islamic spiritual guidance to foster emotional readiness and openness to reconciliation. Mediators are selected based on their credibility, moral integrity, religious knowledge, and social standing within the community. Individuals recognized for their wisdom, understanding of local customs, and commitment to justice are particularly valued. Such mediation practices have deep historical roots in Islamic traditions of peacebuilding and conflict management (Zartman, 2020).

This prevention program is implemented through various channels, including formal and non-formal educational institutions (Anwar et al., 2025), mosques and Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*), community organizations, and mass media. The curriculum integrates materials on peace education, conflict transformation, human rights, and Islamic values into a holistic, mutually supportive whole (Santoso & Khisbiyah, 2021).

In addition to mediation, the science–Islam integration model emphasizes preventive strategies to reduce the likelihood of future conflicts. Prevention efforts focus on transforming public awareness and promoting constructive alternatives to violence that are consistent with Islamic teachings. These initiatives are implemented through multiple channels, including formal and non-formal educational institutions (Anwar et al., 2025), mosques, Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*), community organizations, and mass media platforms. Educational programs integrate peace education, conflict transformation, human rights awareness, and Islamic ethical values into a unified framework that encourages peaceful coexistence and mutual respect (Santoso & Khisbiyah, 2021).

The rehabilitative dimension of the model aims to facilitate recovery among individuals and communities affected by *carok* conflicts, including perpetrators, victims, and indirectly impacted community members (Takdir, Mushthafa, & Akmaliah, 2021). This component adopts a restorative justice approach that prioritizes healing and reparation rather than punishment, reflecting Islamic principles of repentance, forgiveness, and reconciliation (Darmawan et al., 2025). Rehabilitation programs are developed using a bio-psycho-social-spiritual framework that recognizes the multidimensional consequences of *carok*, including physical harm, psychological trauma, social disruption, and spiritual distress (Alam et al., 2024; Saefudin & Aminah, 2021).

Furthermore, the sustainability of rehabilitation efforts is strengthened through the establishment of support networks involving families, local communities, and socio-religious institutions. These networks function as long-term mechanisms for social reintegration and emotional support. Evidence from intervention programs indicates that participants demonstrate significant changes in attitudes and behavior, including greater engagement in peacebuilding activities and reduced acceptance of violence as a legitimate means of resolving disputes (Aravik et al., 2018). Such outcomes suggest that integrating scientific approaches and Islamic values not only addresses immediate conflict dynamics but also contributes to broader cultural transformation by fostering more peaceful, resilient, and socially cohesive communities.

Transformative Outcomes of the Integration–Interconnection Model in *Carok* Resolution

The integration of science and Islam into the resolution of *carok* conflicts in Madurese society has generated significant transformative impacts across multiple dimensions of social, cultural, religious, educational, and gender relations. These impacts extend beyond a measurable reduction in the frequency and intensity of *carok* incidents and encompass broader changes in community perceptions of conflict, violence, and social harmony. The findings demonstrate that an integrative

approach combining modern scientific methodologies with Islamic principles can create a powerful synergy capable of transforming deeply embedded social behaviors and fostering more constructive mechanisms of dispute resolution grounded in both local values and universal humanitarian principles.

Psychological Transformation and Social Healing

One of the most significant outcomes of the science–Islam integration model is its influence on the psychological well-being of individuals and communities affected by *carok* conflicts. The psycho-spiritual interventions incorporated into the model have facilitated the healing of collective trauma by integrating cognitive-behavioral therapy with Islamic-based spiritual healing practices (Nadirah & Ariff, 2025; Hanif et al., 2025). This approach addresses not only the emotional consequences of violence but also the spiritual dimensions of recovery that are particularly important within the religious context of Madurese society.

The positive psychological effects of these interventions are reflected in increased feelings of security, strengthened social trust, and a greater willingness among community members to engage in constructive social interactions. Evidence from psychological assessments indicates progress in key indicators such as life satisfaction, emotional regulation, and individual resilience, suggesting that the integration model has successfully promoted both personal recovery and collective social healing (Rasmawati, 2022).

Religious Transformation and Peacebuilding

The implementation of the science–Islam integration model has also produced profound transformations in the religious life of Madurese society. Before the intervention, religious understanding and practices often tended toward ritualistic and formalistic expressions, with limited application of Islamic ethical principles to everyday social issues, particularly conflict resolution. Through a hermeneutic approach that connects Islamic teachings to contemporary social realities, the model has fostered a deeper, more contextually grounded understanding of religion.

Transformative *da'wah* initiatives embedded within the intervention framework have reshaped community perceptions of key Islamic concepts such as *jihad*, *adl* (justice), *rahmah* (compassion), and *hikmah* (wisdom) in the context of conflict management. As a result, religious values have increasingly been interpreted as promoting peace, reconciliation, and social harmony rather than legitimizing confrontation or retaliation. This shift is reflected in increased participation in peace-oriented religious activities and a decline in support for religious interpretations that justify violence (Khoiri et al., 2025).

Another important outcome has been the revitalization of the role of religious leaders (*kiai*) as mediators and facilitators of peace. Through training that combines social scientific knowledge with strengthened religious understanding, *kiai* have expanded their traditional roles beyond issuing religious guidance to become counselors, mediators, and agents of social transformation. By integrating contemporary counseling techniques with Islamic spiritual approaches, they have gained greater legitimacy in mediation processes and have become more effective in encouraging disputing parties to accept reconciliation agreements (Rosidi et al., 2018).

Educational Transformation and Peace Education

Educational transformation is among the most strategic and sustainable outcomes of the science–Islam integration model. Traditionally, religious and secular education in Madurese society were often treated as separate domains. The implementation of the integration model has encouraged a more holistic educational paradigm that bridges this divide and equips learners with both religious values and practical skills for addressing contemporary social challenges, including conflict resolution.

Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) have played a particularly important role in this transformation (Haris, 2017; Lutfiyah, 2024). Curriculum reforms in both *pesantren* and public educational institutions have incorporated peace education, critical thinking, dialogue, conflict-resolution skills, and human rights awareness as integral components of the learning process.

These reforms aim not only to transmit knowledge but also to cultivate attitudes and behaviors that support peaceful coexistence.

The educational impact is further evident in the integration of Islamic principles, such as *islah* (peaceful reconciliation), *ukhuwah* (brotherhood), and *rahmah* (compassion), into formal and informal educational programs. Islamic educational institutions have therefore become important agents in preventing and resolving *carok* conflicts within society (Syarif, 2014). As a result, younger generations of Madurese have developed alternative perspectives on conflict management, become more critical of violence-based cultural practices, and demonstrated a stronger commitment to building a peaceful society while maintaining their Islamic identity.

Gender Transformation and Women's Peacebuilding Roles

The integration model has also contributed to significant changes in gender relations within Madurese society, although this transformation remains an ongoing process. Traditionally, masculine identity was often associated with the defense of family honor through aggressive or violent means. Through preventive interventions, peace education, and religious outreach programs, particularly within pesantren environments, these understandings of masculinity have gradually been reconstructed toward more constructive expressions of responsibility, self-control, and moral leadership.

A particularly important development has been the challenge to hegemonic masculine identities among *blater* (local strongmen), whose social status has historically been linked to bravery, retaliation, and violent defense of honor. Within the integration framework, masculinity is redefined as the moral courage to uphold justice and protect family dignity without resorting to violence. This reinterpretation draws heavily on Islamic teachings concerning *sabr* (patience), self-restraint, and reconciliation (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Consequently, a form of "negotiated masculinity" has emerged, in which traditional cultural values are preserved while violent methods of conflict resolution are increasingly rejected.

At the same time, women have assumed more active and visible roles in peacebuilding processes. Female peace advocates have become increasingly involved in conflict prevention, mediation, and reconciliation activities. The adoption of gender-sensitive approaches within the intervention model has encouraged dialogue on healthy gender relations that align with both Islamic values and contemporary human rights principles. Furthermore, women's empowerment programs that combine economic opportunities with leadership development have enhanced women's agency and increased their participation in community decision-making processes (Hadi & Soesilowati, 2018; Smeer et al., 2022).

Women in this context are not merely passive victims or symbolic supporters of reconciliation. Rather, they function as strategic peacebuilders within families and communities. Mothers, wives, and female religious leaders actively employ emotional influence, kinship networks, and religious guidance to interrupt cycles of revenge that have historically sustained the *carok* tradition across generations. Their involvement in educating children, mediating family disputes, and discouraging retaliatory violence highlights their central role in sustaining long-term peacebuilding efforts (El-Bushra, 2007).

This finding is consistent with studies emphasizing the role of women in promoting dialogue and tolerance within conflict-affected communities (Mince et al., 2024). Women also serve as informal mediators within extended family networks, helping to prevent retaliatory actions and disrupt cycles of vendetta following *carok* incidents. Their involvement in peace campaigns, mentoring programs, and community-based counseling initiatives has further strengthened their capacity as agents of social transformation. Consequently, younger generations increasingly demonstrate lower tolerance for violence and stronger commitments to peaceful conflict resolution. These developments suggest that women's peacebuilding roles constitute a critical foundation for sustainable social change and long-term peace in Madurese society.

The integration of science and Islam in *carok* conflict resolution has generated multidimensional transformations that extend beyond mere conflict reduction. By addressing psychological healing, religious understanding, educational reform, and gender relations simultaneously, the model has

fostered a more peaceful, resilient, and socially cohesive society. The findings indicate that sustainable peace is most effectively achieved when empirical knowledge and religious values are integrated into a comprehensive framework that addresses the complex realities of conflict within culturally and religiously embedded communities.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that *carok* conflict in Madurese society cannot be effectively addressed through legal, cultural, or religious approaches in isolation. As a form of culturally embedded violence closely associated with honor, masculinity, and social identity, *carok* requires a holistic conflict-resolution framework capable of engaging its social, psychological, cultural, and spiritual dimensions. The findings reveal that integrating science and Islam provides a comprehensive approach to conflict transformation by combining evidence-based intervention strategies with Islamic values of justice, reconciliation, forgiveness, and social harmony.

A key contribution of this study is the development of a three-dimensional model of *carok* conflict resolution consisting of preventive, curative, and rehabilitative components. The preventive dimension emphasizes education, awareness-building, and religious outreach to transform community perceptions of violence and promote peaceful alternatives to conflict resolution. The curative dimension focuses on science-based religious mediation that integrates counseling techniques, conflict-resolution practices, and Islamic principles of *islah* and *ukhuwah*. Meanwhile, the rehabilitative dimension addresses post-conflict recovery through psychological support, spiritual guidance, restorative justice mechanisms, and community reintegration. Together, these three dimensions form an integrated framework that not only resolves existing conflicts but also prevents future violence and promotes sustainable peace.

The study further contributes to the literature on conflict transformation by demonstrating that scientific and religious approaches should be understood as complementary rather than competing frameworks. The findings show that social-scientific interventions become more effective when supported by religious legitimacy, while Islamic peacebuilding initiatives gain greater practical relevance when informed by empirical analysis and evidence-based methods. In the context of Madurese society, this integration enables conflict-resolution efforts to remain culturally acceptable while facilitating meaningful social change. In practice, the findings highlight the importance of collaboration among religious leaders, community leaders, families, educational institutions, and government agencies to prevent and resolve *carok* conflicts. Sustainable peacebuilding requires not only mediation and legal intervention but also long-term efforts to transform cultural understandings of honor, masculinity, and justice through education, religious engagement, and community participation.

From a policy perspective, these findings demonstrate the importance of collaborative peacebuilding initiatives involving local governments, religious institutions, educational organizations, and civil society actors. Government agencies can incorporate peace education, conflict literacy, and restorative approaches into community empowerment programs, while Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) and religious leaders can strengthen transformative *da'wah* (Islamic preaching) and mediation mechanisms to promote nonviolent conflict resolution and sustainable social harmony in Madurese society.

This study is limited by its qualitative focus on selected communities in Madura and its reliance on participants directly involved in conflict-resolution processes. Future research may test the applicability of the proposed model in other cultural settings, examine its long-term effectiveness through longitudinal studies, or explore in greater depth the perspectives of women and younger generations. Such studies would further enrich understanding of how integrated science–religion approaches can contribute to conflict transformation and sustainable peacebuilding in culturally diverse societies.

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