

**SUNNI-SHIA CONFLICT RESOLUTION STRATEGY AND ITS IMPACT ON
HARMONIZING THE SOCIETY: EVIDENCE FROM SAMPANG, MADURA**

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Abstract

Various approaches to resolving the Sampang Shia ideological identity conflict have been profoundly delved into. Although the government has successfully brought the expelled ex-Shia residents back, the deciphering of the problem has yet to be ascertained for ten years. Through a narrative approach, this study portrayed the divergence of Sampang's brotherhood due to sectarian identity issues. An interdisciplinary approach was employed to comprehensively analyse the problems by combining compatible political sociology and social policy. The research was conducted in Karang Gayam Omben (Sampang) and the Puspa Agro Jemundo Sidoarjo Flats. Observation, semi-structured and informal in-depth interviews, and documentation were plotted to collect the data and explore reconciliation efforts and Sunni-Shia conflict resolution strategies. In addition, the social relations of ex-Shia residents after being repatriated to their area of origin were also investigated. The study directed the Milles Huberman Saldana model in data collection, condensation, presentation, and conclusions as the data analysis. Moreover, the study successfully mapped out a strategy for deciphering the conflict, comprising mediation, reconciliation, relocation, rehabilitation, and reconstruction. This strategy may impact the social relations of Sampang residents (the victims and the local community), leading to stronger brotherhood, independence, open-mindedness, forgiveness, and rebuilding the lost trust.

Keywords: Resolution, Conflict, Sunni-Shia, Harmonization, Society.

INTRODUCTION

The reconciliation process of Sampang's brotherhood, which was divided due to the issue of Shia ideological sectarian identity, is currently unveiling advanced progress. The Head of Sampang Regency has successfully brought back fifty-three ex-Shia believers, willing to revert to Sunni beliefs, from the Puspa Agro Jemundo Sidoarjo flats in April 2022. In May 2023, 265 people will be repatriated in Phase II. Reuniting for approximately ten years with their relatives was touching for both parties. Although pros and cons escorted the Sampang government's policy to repatriate the ex-Shia, the Sampang residents, especially Gading Laok Hamlet and Bluuran Karang Penang, appreciate and welcome back ex-Shia to live together and forgive each other (Ida & Dyson, 2015). Even they did not hesitate to accommodate ex-Syiah believers, who did not have a house, to live with them while waiting for the Sampang Regional Government program to rebuild their houses.

The fortuitous moment is not easy. The head of Sampang Regency admitted that picking up residents was a tortuous process and required sufficient time and hard work from both parties for the reconciliation process. Forkopimda, ulema (scholars), and

community leaders were all involved. A religious organization leader from the Nahdatul Ulama analogously admitted that they had been trying to improve the situation over the years. Various approaches were taken to Shia believers in Jemundo, from mediation and rehabilitation to reverting them to Sunni teachings. Besides, Madurese fraternal ties became an external vigor to repatriate them home (Susilawati & Imran, 2021). One of the refugees, P, admitted that he missed his hometown. This long separation brought a deep longing to reunite with his family and relatives in Sampang (Detik, n.d).

This study successfully maps various efforts to unravel Sunni-Shia conflicts in Sampang. The current study unpacked myriad conflict resolution strategies: mediation, reconciliation, relocation, rehabilitation, and reconstruction. Apart from repatriating the remaining residents, the Sampang Regency Regional Government also focuses on building several houses in stages, planning training for ex-shia believers, and providing business capital for rehabilitation and reconstruction. However, based on the confessions of several ex-Shia believers, they still face economic and social problems. They need help building houses, job skills training, and capital because they don't have jobs, leading to some ex-Shia declining to return to Sampang or being nomadic for work reasons. Based on the latest data and confirmation with the Sampang government, twenty-seven residents, including Tajul Muluk and his brothers, are still receiving rejection from the Sampangs' community leaders and religious leaders for the shake of the community. Therefore, phase 3 repatriation is likely possible to occur.

Thereby, the current study investigates significant updates on Sunni-Shia conflict resolution strategies to portray their repatriation and peace, which can be accepted with open arms by the people of Sampang after a significant conflict uprooted their brotherhood due to differences in sectarian ideology (Sunni-Shia). Moreover, the study has not been widely discussed by other researchers. Exploring the reconciliation impact on the lives of Sampang residents and the hopes of ex-Shia residents after being repatriated with all the new problems they experienced is also significant to investigate.

METHODOLOGY

A narrative inquiry approach was plotted because it could depict the divergence of the Madurese brotherhood story due to sectarian identity issues. By understanding the participants' voices and identities, the researchers attempted to exploit an interdisciplinary approach to comprehensively analyze the problem by combining Political sociology and social policy. The research was conducted in Karang Gayam Omben Hamlet, Blu'uren Karangpenang Village, and the Puspa Agro Jemundo Sidoarjo Flats. The researchers employed observations, semi-structured interviews, informal in-depth interviews, and documentation to collect the data. The data collection focused on exploring reconciliation efforts, Sunni-Shia conflict resolution strategies, and ex-Shia residents' social relations after being returned to their area of origin. Interviews were conducted with key figures. Pseudonyms were applied to the participants' identities. Furthermore, Focus Group Discussions (FGD) with ex-Syiah believers were undertaken to verify and confirm their experiences and hopes after returning to Sampang because data exploration and stories told by informants were the primary key to discovering the concepts (Creswell, 2015). In addition, the current study geared Milles Huberman Saldana's data analysis model in the data collection, condensation, presentation, and conclusions.

RESULTS AND DISCUSION

1. The Strategy for Resolving the Sunni-Shia Conflict in Sampang, Madura

The long Sampang conflict in 2011 impacted the relocation of Sidoarjo residents, draining various parties' energies and thoughts to carry out peaceful conflict resolution strategies. Summarizing several sources and analyzing data in the field, several strategies for resolving the Sunni-Shia Sampang Madura conflict were discovered.

a. Mediation

Mediation in the Sampang Sunni-Shia case was the first strategy carried out by the regional government in collaboration with elements of society such as Forkopimda (regional leadership communication forum), ulema, and community leaders. Mediation is considered essential and influential in resolving conflicts. Mediation is a medium for resolving conflicts between elite Shia groups and the local residents. The locals felt that Shia believers "disturbed" their local ideology and culture due to the development of Shia teachings in Sampang. Faisal (2022) states that mediation is employed in legal and political environments. Even non-litigation conflict resolution in various cases, such as business, the environment, etc., to get a resolution quickly, precisely, and efficiently (Rizal, 2022). Furthermore, mediation is effective because it can expand the parties' access to sit together and produce an agreement. Indeed, an agreement will be obtained by considering the principles of justice (Rachmatulloh, 2021).

Mediation is carried out involving many parties. Forming a force team may mediate the two parties. Before the Task Force TEAM's formation, the local community mediated by visiting TM directly to negotiate and dialogue so that this ideological problem did not spread further. After being carried out several times, this mediation finally brought hope that Shia residents could return to their hometowns (Hazim, 2016). The regional government appointed Prof. Dr. Abu A'la (Rector of IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya) as a mediator for both parties. Prof. A'la was selected, taking into account his expertise and figure, also known as a kiyai (sheikh) from Madura. He is expected to be able to facilitate the negotiation and dialogue process between both parties in conflict. Mediation aims to obtain a peaceful agreement despite differences in views (Hazim, 2016).

Mediation may create a peace agreement. The team that had agreed on peace then met with the Wantimpres for Law and Human Rights and then met with the Chairman of the Indonesian People's Consultative Assembly to convey the progress of Sampang reconciliation, which necessitated security factors for Sampang Shia refugees to return to their hometowns (Hazim, 2016). The mediation results were: agreement: (1) make an agreement to stop spreading Shia teachings and (2) Make a sincere Repentance Pledge.

The agreement to terminate Shia teachings was addressed to Tajul Muluk because the Shia ideology did not follow Sampang's Islamic culture. Moreover, Kyai (Sheikh) admitted that Tajul had committed blasphemy by saying that the current al-Quran was not authentic. Meanwhile, the pledge of repentance was addressed to all Shia followers if they wanted to return to Sampang. The contents of the pledge were renewing the testimony of faith by testifying shahada; confirming that the true religion is Islam which was brought by the Prophet Muhammad SAW, spread by shahabah (the prophets companions), including Khulafa' Rasyidin (the four chaliphs), continued by the ulema ahlu sunnah wal jamaah; declaring that the truth and holiness of the Qur'an is currently original or has not been changed; the companions of the Prophet were God's chosen people; the legitimate leaders of Islam after the Prophet were Khulafa Rasyidin (Abu Bakr, Umar Bin Khattab, Usman Bin Affan, and Ali bin Abi Talib); all the Prophet's wives were women chosen by Allah and purified from significant sins; the sect adhered to and taught by Tajul Muluk is heretical and misleading; the East Java MUI fatwa regarding the heresy of Shi'a teachings is truly a heresy; Shia reference books were wicked and deceptive; and finally closed with the statement "with full consciousness I return to the Ahlussunah wal Jamaah and acknowledge the 9 pledges that I have mentioned above, witnessed by Allah and the Messenger of Allah, the ulema, community leaders and government officials who were present at this pledge assembly (Adawiyah & Arif, 2022). Religious leaders and the local community at Pendapa Trunojoyo Sampang witnessed the pledge.

b. Shia Believers Relocation

Even though the relocation of Shia believers was escorted with pros and cons from various parties, this decision was still the best solution. The relocation was carried out twice. Initially, Shia residents were located in the Sampang sports center for approximately 9-10

months. After coordinating with the East Java provincial government, they were moved to Rusunawa Jemundo Sidoarjo because the Sports Center's condition was unsuitable for the refugee camp, requiring them to sleep on the floor, and other facilities were very inadequate. After moving to Rusunawa Jemundo Sidoarjo Flats, they received better facilities, including more decent housing, assistance with living expenses of approximately IDR 700,000, and teachers for children (Hazim, 2016).

The location of the flats, which are close to public facilities, especially markets, provides benefits and eases Shia believers to find work. Most of them work in the market to meet their necessities due to minimum assistance (Juhari, 2021). Thus, most Shia believers work as unskilled laborers, such as coconut peelers and cold storage fish processing facilities. They work in locations that do not require administrative requirements such as diplomas, etc. After the riots, some lost essential data due to the fire, and some did not have time to complete their education due to the conflict.

Even though they were in a better place (The Sidoarjo Flat), the refugees faced a difficult situation because they had to restart their lives from rock bottom. For example, some of them may previously have gathered and gone to the fields in the morning with their families, but suddenly and drastically changed in refugee camps. Not to mention that children who used to go to school and play with their friends in the village must adapt to a place they were unfamiliar with. In fact, according to the testimony of the Shia believer, Mr. P, the children's school is quite far away. Therefore, those who can afford to rent a house leave the flat because by renting, they may start a business such as repairing tires, selling, etc. Many people regret this scene because it is considered a violation of human rights, and the government cannot protect its citizens from being expelled from the community. Durkheimian analogously stated that the desire to expel a person or group as social punishment is considered dysfunctional, even damaging social relations based on togetherness and cooperation values (Latif, 2017).

The government assigned POLRI members to monitor and maintain the flat's security (Aziz & Matnin, 2018). The police officers shiftly guard the place every day. This effort is part of the government's strategy to overcome the Sunni-Shia conflict in Sampang because if they remained in Sampang at that time, it would be fretting, and the conflict could transmute even more enormous spreading to other districts such as Bangkalan, Pamekasan, and even Sumenep considering Madurese strong culture and character in maintaining their local wisdom, values, and religious beliefs. Therefore, relocation is pivotal to prevent further conflict with several paucities: the fundamental rights unavailability of Shia believers, guaranteed education for refugee children, employment, health, and other social security (Aziz & Matnin, 2018; Zakiyah et al., 2022).

c. Rehabilitation and Reconstruction

Notwithstanding, the Sampang Sunni-Shia dispute left abysmal trauma behind. The victims experienced extraordinary trauma, especially children. Unfortunately, The severe experience may relinquish a negative impact on the children's character because they have witnessed and experienced the dispute, which may potentially lead to a harsh and frontal mentality (Hazim, 2016). Thus, a persuasive approach was plotted to eliminate trauma and provide understanding and a friendlier life experience because trauma leaves mental and physical wounds, leading to severe consequences. After all, the effects of trauma will remain for an extended period in human life (Natar, 2019). Unfortunately, Trauma healing for victims (Shia children) is not optimal. Nevertheless, psychological trauma healing may facilitate their growth (Natar, 2019).

In addition, as social beings, humans need interaction to fulfill their physical and psychological needs. The decision to relocate or move to a place collectively experienced by Sampang's Shia believers can make some of them feel like they are a group of society's alienation. However, relocation, decision, rehabilitation, and reconstruction were carried out after the conflict for the Shia believers to avoid negative impacts.

Rehabilitation and reconstruction aim to build social harmony and independence in refugee communities through empowerment programs; however, due to the lack of synergy, communication, cooperation, and supervision between bureaucratic officials, related agencies, NGOs, and active participation of target groups in planning, making decisions, and program evaluation, the process and final goal of the empowerment program to improve the welfare of refugees is not optimal (Juhari, 2021). However, in this program in 2022 related to the education of ex-Shia children, the Regional Government of Sampang Regency has facilitated education for sixty ex-Shia children placed at the Tebu Ireng Jombang Islamic Boarding School and the Lirboyo Kediri Islamic Boarding School. Based on an interview with the regent of Sampang, the choice of the two Islamic boarding schools was not without reason, but because it was from Tebu Ireng that the Nahdlatul Ulama' was born and religious figures who adhered firmly to Ahlul Sunnah wal Jamaah were born from Lirboyo and Tebu Ireng. In other aspects, the construction of several houses has been carried out in stages and is still in progress. The government is also planning training for returning residents and providing business capital for rehabilitation and reconstruction.

2. The impact of reconciliation on the residents' lives

The Sunni-Shia conflict in Sampang Madura has become a history of social, religious, and humanism tragedy that cannot be eradicated. The appropriate reconciliation approach is taken to overcome this problem. This approach emphasizes taking sides with the interests of the right to equality of identity, including religion, ideology, race, ethnicity, and gender, for the two groups in conflict (Anifatul Kiftiyah, 2019). The conflict resolution strategy and reconciliation process carried out in the case of Sunni-Shia peace has at least impacted the social relations of Sampang residents, both the Shia believers (victims) and the local community, encompassing:

a. Stronger Solidarity

After the relocation of Shia believers to the Puspa Agro Sidoarjo flats, there seems to be a new psychological response for Sampang residents and refugees. The sense of empathy of Sampang residents who were previously rejected and expelled began to grow, which impacted the spirit of solidarity to invite and encourage displaced Shiite residents to return to Sampang. The Bluuran village head (F) assured the Bluuran residents were open to their ex-Shia brothers returning to Sampang because Sampang residents thought this conflict was happening. It is not that we don't want to or reject the person, but the teachings that tarnish Islam, Ahlul Sunnah wal Jamaah, that we oppose. Therefore, our effort is to return them to the actual teaching of Islam. One of the residents also stated that while they were being evacuated, several Sunni families often came to visit because they were not happy if they had to see relatives from the same tribe who were usually together being separated.

The bonds of brotherhood are getting stronger, as evidenced by the concern of all elements of Sampang society to fight for the refugees to return in a good way for several reasons. First, if Sunni believers hate Shia believers, the problem is considered resolved when they are evicted. However, in this conflict, this is not the case. The evictions provide more awareness to maintain their brotherhood. Therefore, the government tried its best to make peace and bring the refugees home, even though it took a long time. Second, if these two communities hate each other, no Sunni believers will continue to establish communication and try to provide an understanding of the actual teachings of Islam to revert the Shia believers to the correct teachings of their ancestors. Third, Shia citizens are willing to return to Sunni allegiance with their conscience without coercion from any parties.

b. Creating Independence

The resolution stages of the Sunni-Shia conflict, prioritizing reconciliation for both parties, brought several benefits: strengthening solidarity and independence. Reconciliation impacted ex-Shia believers' independence. Independence may directly or indirectly

influence the resolution stages in connection with the training and empowerment program while in the Puspa Agro flats (Juhari, 2021). Through training and empowerment, refugee residents receive facilities to develop potential human resources according to their interests and skills.

Furthermore, the refugee location camp selection close to the market and industrial areas provides easy access to work that can support the lives and economy of Shia residents in Jemundo. Most Shia believers work in factories, manual laborers, and construction workers around Sidoarjo. As time passed, some refugees started working as sellers, entrepreneurs, and services, such as motorbike/car repair shops, welding workshops, taxis, and trishaws, to survive due to awareness and development of the potential resources.

An independent society is growing through various economic activities carried out by the community, which have gradually gained livelihoods in multiple sectors, starting from agriculture, construction, production/factories, trade, etc. Some of the Shia residents who have not returned admitted that they have found good jobs in Jemundo, and if they return to Sampang, they worry about the difficulties of finding a job due to the horror of conflict they experienced.

c. Open-Minded, Forgiving, and Building the Lost Trust

The Sampang Sunni-Shia resolution conflict ultimately led to peace and mutual forgiveness. The life of the people in these two conflict villages seems to have no significant turmoil. Currently, the ex-Shia believers can carry out their activities as before. Residents and community leaders were open to their arrival. Even after arriving in Sampang, community and religious leaders always guided ex-Shia believers. TEAM 5 approached former Shia believers to participate in religious activities such as tahlilan (an agenda to praise the mighty of God together), celebrate the Prophet's birthday, etc.

The mutual forgiving awareness is also proven by the attitude of the Sampang Sunni believers towards several people whose houses burned down by allowing them to stay with their relatives. They also participate in religious and social activities of the community. This condition would not arise if the decision to forgive did not exist. For them, making peace is an actual teaching of Islam because Islam teaches that disputing parties should make peace (islah) (Karmawan, 2017). From the confession of one of the residents who is also the Chairman of MWC Karang Penang, the participation in social and religious activities of ex-Shia believers is not a problem, and we are delighted they can participate and come back. Likewise, ex-Shia residents are prohibited from practicing divergent religious and social activities to avoid conflict and maintain the cultural and spiritual values in the community because the outbreak of conflict between Sunni-Shia commenced from ideological, cultural, and practical differences (Handrini Ardiyanti, 2022).

Furthermore, building trust between the Sunni and Shia communities requires rebuilding the broken relationship. The importance of mutual trust between groups needs to be implemented for new and better relationships. Islam teaches the concept of mutual trust based on the principle of cooperation and an attitude of trust (Achmad Uzaimi, 2017). This trust can also become social capital for society. As Putnam (1993) argues, social capital refers to the features of social organizations, and in the first place is trust, followed by norms and networks (Field, 2008). In addition, Madurese people's typology is firm and trustworthy. Thus, mutual trust is prominent. Through this long reconciliation process, the ending fostered trust and optimism among Sunni believers towards ex-Shia believers towards welcome the former Shia repatriated to their hometowns. The positive step may ensure security for former Shia believers in Sampang. The return of ex-Shia to Sunni is not due to coercion and pressure but because of awareness of Shia teachings, which are deemed to have deviated from the actual teachings of Islam, and they missed their relatives in their hometown.

CONCLUSION

Based on the discussions related to Sunni-Shia conflict resolution strategies and their impact on harmonizing the lives of Sampang Madurese residents, the Sunni-Shia Sampang Madura conflict was resolved through several strategies. The first was mediation, which resulted in a peace agreement. The second was the relocation of Shia residents to Puspa Agro flats to avoid a more significant conflict. Rehabilitation and reconstruction was the final strategy to build harmony. Rehabilitation was carried out for Shia residents by providing guidance and empowerment, including their religious formation. The Sampang Regency Regional Government has facilitated sixty education provisions for ex-Shia children at Tebu Ireng Jombang Islamic Boarding School and Lirboyo Kediri Islamic Boarding School. Moreover, the government also planned to train the repatriated ex-Shia believers and provide business capital for rehabilitation and reconstruction. Meanwhile, the impact of reconciliation on residents' lives comprises stronger solidarity, more independence, more open-mindedness, more forgiving, and restarting the lost trust due to different ideologies. Eventually, the long reconciliation process leads to both groups' peace. However, there is still hope that the promised government program will soon be implemented.

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