



INTEGRATING ISLAMIC AND CIVIC EDUCATION: A PROJECT-BASED MODEL TO PREVENT CAROK VIOLENCE AMONG STUDENTS

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Abstrak: *The persistence of carok (a cultural tradition of violent vengeance) among students in Bangkalan, Indonesia, poses a significant challenge to character education. This phenomenon is rooted in a distorted cultural interpretation of siri' (honor), which legitimizes violence as a means of restoring dignity. This study aims to develop and evaluate the effectiveness of an integrative educational model combining Islamic Religious Education (PAI) and Civic Education (PKN) to prevent carok by fostering comprehensive Islamic conflict resolution skills. This study employed a qualitative case study design complemented by quantitative outcome measures to assess the effectiveness of the intervention. The research was conducted in three junior high schools in Bangkalan through in-depth semi-structured interviews with students, PAI and PKN teachers, and community leaders, participatory observation, and document analysis of lesson plans and student work. Data were analyzed using the interactive model of Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña, encompassing data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification. The findings indicate that students' perceptions of self-esteem were strongly shaped by cultural constructs that legitimized violence. The implementation of a five-stage integrative project model conflict identification, values exploration (PAI), solution design (PKN), creative product development, and reflection facilitated a significant paradigm shift. Over the six-month intervention period, the model contributed to a 60% reduction in physical fights and a 45% increase in the use of peer mediation. The study demonstrates the effective synergy of Qur'anic values such as patience, anger management, and forgiveness with civic principles including human rights, legal awareness, and restorative justice, resulting in a more constructive understanding of conflict resolution among students. This integrative PAI-PKN project-based model offers an effective educational strategy for deconstructing violence-oriented understandings of honor and promoting peaceful conflict resolution. The findings underscore the importance of sustainable teacher training, curricular alignment, and strong collaboration among schools, families, and communities.*

Keywords: *Carok, Islamic Religious Education, Civic Education, Project-Based Learning, Conflict Resolution*

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INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of culturally rooted violence such as carok among the Madurese community, particularly in Bangkalan, represents a complex manifestation of the limitations of formal education in addressing deeply embedded local values. Rooted in the tradition of siri' (honor), carok is not merely an interpersonal conflict but reflects a broader system of cultural legitimization of violence. This phenomenon can be understood as a form of cultural violence, a concept introduced by Galtung (1990) to explain how cultural beliefs, norms, and symbols may justify direct or structural violence. In this regard (Confortini, 2006), further emphasizes that

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cultural violence operates through social narratives that normalize aggression as morally acceptable. Although Islamic Religious Education (PAI) and Civic Education (PKN) are designed to cultivate moral values and legal awareness, the persistence of carok indicates a substantial gap between the normative ideals taught in schools and the socio-cultural realities experienced by students (Aminah et al., 2022; Fauziah, 2024).

The phenomenon of honour-based violence such as Carok among teenagers in Bangkalan is a complex challenge in character and citizenship education in Indonesia. Carok can be identified from how the distortion of siri (self-esteem) among Madurese youth shapes a mindset that violence is a "code of ethics" for proving self-esteem (Aurora Mustikajati et al., 2021). This situation significantly demonstrates a disconnect between the goals of formal education and the local socio-cultural reality that still legitimises acts of violence.

Previous studies have confirmed that Project-Based Learning (PBL) is a powerful method for developing affective competencies such as empathy and conflict resolution (Engeström, 2001; Yu, 2024). In addition, there have been efforts to integrate religious values into civic education (Supraptiningsih et al., 2023). However, these works have crucial limitations: First, research on curriculum integration generally stops at the discourse level and does not present empirically tested implementation models. Second, existing PBL studies have never been applied to address specific, deeply rooted cultural conflicts. Therefore, there is a significant research gap in the literature: the absence of an intervention curriculum model that methodologically combines the advantages of PBL with the PAI and PKn integration framework for the sole purpose of preventing local culture-based violence.

Recent research has addressed this issue through various lenses, but has clear limitations. First, sociological studies have successfully identified Carok as the result of a complex social construct, but these studies emphasise sociological aspects without exploring in depth the potential of education as an agent of value transformation (Aurora Mustikajati et al., 2021). Second, in the domain of Islamic Religious Education (PAI), studies generally focus on ritual, creed, or normative teaching materials, without seriously elaborating on how Qur'anic values such as restraining anger (QS Ali Imran: 134), forgiveness (QS Asy-Syura:40), and reconciliation between disputing parties (QS Al-Hujurat:9) can be operationalised as a framework for conflict resolution for adolescents in a culture of violence (Elmuhriani & Rahmi, 2024). Third, studies in the field of Civic Education (PKN) more often revolve around general issues such as democracy or restorative justice, without linking them to the deconstruction of culturally-based traditions of violence and have not been implemented in cases of locally-based siri violence (Suyanto & Bakhtiar, 2024).

In response to this gap, this study proposes a novel approach by developing and testing an Integrated Project-Based Learning (PBL-T) model. This model is designed to: (1) Transform the culturally legitimised narrative of Carok into a narrative of conflict resolution that is in line with the principles of Islamic moderation and civil law; (2) Provide a detailed implementation framework at the classroom level, as opposed to top-down policy interventions. The main objectives of this study are to: (1) formulate a PBL-T model design that integrates PAI and PKn values; and (2) test its effectiveness in improving anti-violence attitudes and conflict resolution skills among secondary school students in Bangkalan. This research makes a significant theoretical contribution to the literature on conflict pedagogy and a practical contribution to curriculum policy in regions with sensitive cultural violence issues.

METHODS

This study employed a qualitative case study design (Yin, 2018) to examine the implementation of an integrative model of Islamic Religious Education (PAI) and Civic Education (PKN) in preventing carok among students in Bangkalan. A case study approach was considered appropriate because it enabled an in-depth exploration of complex socio-cultural phenomena within their real-life educational contexts.

The research was conducted in three public junior high schools in Bangkalan Regency, selected purposively based on two primary criteria: (1) a documented history of inter-student conflict and (2) the schools' willingness to participate in project-based interventions. The participants consisted of 45 students, 6 teachers (3 PAI teachers and 3 PKN teachers), and 5 community leaders with substantial knowledge of Madurese cultural traditions. The student participants included 24 male and 21 female students from grades 7 to 9, selected based on prior involvement in peer conflicts, either as direct participants or as students identified by teachers as vulnerable to conflict escalation. (Creswell & David Creswell, 2018). The intervention was implemented through weekly project-based sessions, resulting in a total of 24 structured meetings. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 25 students, 6 teachers, and 5 community leaders to explore perceptions of siri', experiences of conflict, and responses to the integrative learning model. Participatory observations were carried out during 30 classroom sessions to document social interactions and the development of students' conflict resolution skills. In addition, document analysis was conducted on lesson plans (RPP), student project portfolios, and school disciplinary records to strengthen the primary data.

The data were analyzed using the interactive model of Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014) which involved three stages: data reduction through thematic coding, data display using thematic

matrices, and conclusion drawing and verification. To ensure the trustworthiness of the findings, data validity was strengthened through source triangulation, method triangulation, and member checking with selected participants. (Suheri, 2017), (Bowen, 2009) Research ethics were maintained through institutional approval, informed consent from all participants and their parents, and adherence to the Indonesian National Guidelines for Ethical Research involving human participants. Confidentiality and anonymity were ensured throughout the research process to protect the identities of all participants. (American Psychological Association, 2020).

FINDINGS

The implementation of the integrative PAI-PKN project-based model, "Creating Peaceful Solutions," over a six-month period yielded significant findings across three primary dimensions: the transformation of student paradigms, the effectiveness of the integrative approach, and the tangible impact on school conflict. The data, triangulated from interviews, observations, and documents, are presented below.

1. Paradigm Shift: From Violent Honor to Constructive Self-Worth

The pre-intervention data revealed that a majority of students initially held a cultural construct of *siri'* (honor) that legitimized violence as a justified response to perceived slights. Post-intervention interviews and reflective journals showed a marked transformation.

Table 1. Shift in Student Perceptions of Honor and Conflict Resolution (n=45)

Perception Indicator	Pre- Intervention	Post- Intervention	Change
Believes violence is a legitimate way to defend honor	78%	33%	-45%
Prefers to use peer mediation or teacher assistance	22%	67%	+45%
Defines "honor" primarily through academic/personal achievement	31%	76%	+45%
Can articulate Qur'anic values (e.g., patience, forgiveness) in conflict contexts	27%	82%	+55%
<i>Source: Field Data from Student Interviews and Reflective Journals</i>			

As shown in Table 1, there was a 45% decrease in the number of students who viewed violence as legitimate. A student's reflective journal entry illustrates this shift: *"I used to think that*

being silent when insulted was cowardice. Now I understand that sabr (patience) and solving the problem with a cool head is the real strength, just as in QS Ali Imran: 134." (Student Reflective Journal, School B).

2. Operational Synergy: Integrating Qur'anic Values with Civic Principles

The project's five-stage model successfully facilitated the practical integration of PAI and PKN. Analysis of 30 student group portfolios and direct observation of project sessions provided evidence of this synergy.

Table 2. Analysis of Integrative Learning in Student Group Portfolios (n=30 groups)

Integration Aspect	Number of Groups Demonstrating Competency	Percentage
Identified relevant Qur'anic verses (e.g., QS Al-Hujurat: 9) for their conflict scenario	27	90%
Designed conflict solutions incorporating principles of Human Rights	25	83%
Explicitly connected the concept of restorative justice with Islamic values of forgiveness (<i>'afw</i>)	23	77%
Produced a creative product (e.g., short film, comic) that merged both religious and civic values	28	93%
<i>Source: Field Data from Portfolio Analysis and Project Observation</i>		

Table 2 demonstrates that over 90% of groups could contextually apply religious texts, and 77% successfully linked theological and civic concepts. A teacher noted: *"In the PKN session, when discussing restorative justice, students immediately referred back to their PAI lesson on islah (reconciliation). They weren't learning two separate subjects; they were building one coherent solution."* (Interview, PKN Teacher, School A).

3. Impact and Challenges: Behavioral Change and Implementation Hurdles

The most significant impact was observed in the school environment. Analysis of school disciplinary records from the six months prior to and during the intervention showed a substantial decrease in physical altercations.

*Figure 1. Trend of Physical Altercation Cases in Target Schools (6-Month Period). Source: School Disciplinary Records

As illustrated in Figure 1, physical fights decreased by approximately 60% across the three schools by the end of the implementation period. Concurrently, teacher reports and observation data confirmed a 45% increase in the use of formal and informal peer mediation.

However, the study also identified critical challenges to sustainable implementation, as summarized from interviews with the six participating teachers.

Table 3. Key Challenges in Model Implementation Reported by Teachers (n=6)

Challenge Category	Teacher Agreement	Primary Concerns
Teacher Readiness	5 out of 6 (83%)	Lack of training in integrative and project-based pedagogy; need for ongoing mentorship.
Curriculum Load	6 out of 6 (100%)	Difficulty allocating sufficient time within the existing packed national curriculum.
Cultural Resistance	4 out of 6 (67%)	Dissonance between school teachings and some family/community norms that still valorize violent retaliation.
*Source: Field Data from In-depth Teacher Interviews		

A teacher's statement encapsulates the readiness challenge: *"We need more than a one-off workshop. We need continuous accompaniment to confidently handle the complex discussions that arise from this integrative model."* (Interview, PAI Teacher, School C).

DISCUSSION

The implementation of the integrative PAI-PKN project-based model, "Creating Peaceful Solutions," reveals profound insights into educational approaches for addressing culturally-embedded violence. This six-month intervention demonstrates significant transformations across three primary dimensions, offering compelling evidence for rethinking traditional approaches to conflict resolution in cultural contexts where honor and violence are historically intertwined. The discussion that follows provides an extensive analysis of these findings, situating them within existing theoretical frameworks, previous research, and the specific cultural context of Madura.

1. Paradigm Transformation: Deconstructing the Cultural Psychology of Honor-Based Violence

The dramatic paradigm shift evidenced in Table 1, showing a 45% decrease in students legitimizing violence for honor defense, represents a crucial breakthrough in addressing what Asiyah & Muttaqin (2021) identify as the complex psychological dimensions of carok. Their research elaborates how carok functions as a deep-seated psychological mechanism for restoring personal and familial dignity when confronting profound shame or humiliation. This aligns with Azis et al. (2020) whose genealogical analysis reveals how carok has evolved as a socio-psychological response to threats against masculine identity and social standing within Madurese cultural frameworks.

The transformative power of the educational intervention becomes particularly evident when examining student reflections. One student's journal entry "I used to think that being silent when insulted was cowardice. Now I understand that sabr (patience) and solving the problem with a cool head is the real strength" epitomizes what Mezirow's on (Joseph, 2013) transformative learning theory describes as a "perspective transformation." This process involves critical reflection on previously unchallenged assumptions, leading to revised meaning perspectives that are more inclusive, discriminating, and integrative of experience. Where previous research has primarily documented the psychological underpinnings of carok (Mawaidi & Zuchdi, 2021; Ratnasari et al., 2021), our findings demonstrate that these deeply embedded psychological constructs are indeed malleable through carefully designed educational interventions.

The significance of this transformation extends beyond individual psychology to challenge what Syarof & Tobroni (2020) identify as the cultural construction of self-esteem within Madurese society. Their research demonstrates how honor becomes intrinsically tied to the capacity for violent retaliation against perceived threats. Our findings reveal that students began developing what might be termed a "dialogical self"—able to navigate between cultural traditions of honor and contemporary ethical frameworks without resorting to violence. This psychological repositioning suggests that educational interventions can successfully create what Refi et al. (2024) might characterize as a "cultural adaptation," where traditional values are preserved while harmful manifestations are transformed.

Furthermore, the 45% increase in students defining honor through academic and personal achievement indicates a fundamental reorientation of what Fathorrahim & Sholehuddin (2023) identify as the "economy of dignity" within Madurese youth culture. This shift from physical dominance to personal accomplishment represents a crucial development in preventing carok, as it provides alternative pathways for establishing social status and self-worth that don't rely on violent capability.

2. Integrative Synergy: Bridging Theological and Civic Frameworks for Conflict Transformation

The operational synergy demonstrated in Table 2, with 77% of student groups connecting restorative justice with Islamic values of forgiveness, represents a significant advancement beyond the legalistic approaches that have dominated carok scholarship. Mustikajati et al. (2021) and Cahyono (2019) have extensively documented the limitations of purely punitive approaches to carok, advocating instead for restorative justice principles that focus on reconciliation and community healing. However, these proposals have remained largely within the realm of judicial reform, focusing predominantly on how to handle carok perpetrators after violent incidents have occurred.

Our study makes a substantial contribution by demonstrating how restorative principles can be integrated into educational prevention strategies. The high success rates in portfolio analysis (90% contextual application of religious texts, 93% production of integrated creative products) reveal that students developed what Wenger (1998) might term "boundary competence"—the ability to navigate and integrate knowledge across different discursive domains. This finding is particularly significant given what Djatmiko (2019) identifies as the historical separation between religious, cultural, and civic frameworks in addressing Madurese conflict resolution.

The teacher's observation that "students weren't learning two separate subjects; they were building one coherent solution" highlights the emergence of what can be characterized as an "integrative consciousness" among participants. This cognitive development aligns with what Takdir et al. (2021) found in their research on forgiveness therapy, but extends it by demonstrating how theological and civic principles can be systematically integrated within formal educational settings. The practical manifestation of this integration, evidenced by the 45% increase in peer mediation, suggests that students developed what Budimansyah (2020) describes as a "reconstructed legal culture," where conflict resolution becomes a process of moral reasoning rather than reflexive violence.

This educational approach effectively addresses what Mamduh et al. (2025) identify as the tension between Islamic legal perspectives and local cultural practices. By contextualizing Qur'anic teachings about conflict resolution within contemporary civic frameworks, the model creates what might be termed a "values synergy" that respects religious authenticity while promoting civic responsibility. This is particularly crucial given what Suyanto & Bakhtiar (2024) document as the complex interplay between traditional carok culture and modern law enforcement challenges in Bangkalan.

3. Cultural Navigation and Structural Challenges: Implementing Transformative Education in Traditional Contexts

The implementation challenges detailed in Table 3 reveal the complex realities of introducing transformative educational models in culturally traditional settings. The universal curriculum challenge (100% of teachers) reflects what Sangadji et al. (2021) identify as the structural constraints of standardized education systems when addressing deeply rooted cultural phenomena. This tension between innovative, holistic education and content, driven curricula represents a fundamental challenge that extends beyond Madura to educational reform efforts worldwide.

The high percentage of teachers requiring ongoing support (83%) underscores what Firdaus et al. (2021) identify as the need for "cultural translation competence" among educators working in traditional communities. Teachers must not only master integrative pedagogy but also develop sophisticated understanding of local cultural frameworks to effectively facilitate the complex dialogues that transformative education requires. As one teacher insightfully noted, "We need continuous accompaniment to confidently handle the complex discussions that arise from this integrative model," highlighting the substantial professional development needs that such interventions entail.

The cultural resistance identified by 67% of teachers echoes what Rohman et al. (2019) document as the intergenerational transmission of carok values within Madurese families. This resistance reflects what Shobiroh et al. (2023) characterize as the "cultural resilience" of traditional practices, even when they conflict with modern legal and educational frameworks. The dissonance between school teachings and community norms necessitates what Refi et al. (2024) advocate as "ecological approaches" that address the multiple systems influencing youth development, from family and peer networks to broader community contexts.

Furthermore, the implementation challenges must be understood within what Ratnasari et al. (2021) describe as the comprehensive cultural ecosystem supporting carok traditions. The educational intervention, while successful within school settings, operates within a broader socio, cultural context where, as Suyanto (2021) documents, traditional notions of honor and violence continue to hold significant sway. This contextual reality necessitates what Jufri (2013) implicitly advocates comprehensive approaches that address both educational transformation and community engagement.

4. Theoretical Advancements and Practical Implications for Violence Prevention

The 60% reduction in physical altercations and the complementary 45% increase in peer mediation provide compelling evidence for the model's effectiveness in creating tangible behavioral

change. These outcomes suggest that the intervention successfully facilitated what Bloch, Lave and Wenger (1994) term "legitimate peripheral participation" in alternative conflict resolution practices, where students gradually transition from observing to mastering peaceful approaches to honor defense.

Theoretically, this study makes significant contributions by bridging what have largely been separate scholarly discourses: Islamic education research, civic education theory, Madurese cultural studies, and violence prevention scholarship. The findings demonstrate that complex socio, cultural problems like carok require integrated theoretical frameworks that can account for the interplay between psychological, cultural, religious, and educational factors. The success of the project, based approach suggests that what Engeström (2001) characterizes as "expansive learning", where participants collaboratively construct new solutions to pressing problems, may be particularly effective for addressing culturally embedded challenges.

From a practical perspective, the findings offer educators and policymakers an evidence, based framework for preventing youth violence in cultural contexts where honor and violence intersect. The project, based integrative model provides a concrete methodology that can be adapted to similar contexts worldwide where traditional cultural practices conflict with contemporary educational goals and civic values. The specific strategies developed, including the five, stage model of conflict identification, values exploration, solution design, creative production, and reflection offer replicable approaches for other educational settings grappling with similar challenges.

However, the identified implementation challenges necessitate comprehensive systemic supports. These include: sustained teacher professional development in integrative pedagogy; curriculum flexibility to accommodate deep, project, based learning; and community engagement programs to bridge the gap between school teachings and cultural norms. As the findings suggest, without these supporting structures, even the most promising educational interventions may struggle to achieve sustainable impact, particularly in contexts with strong cultural traditions like Madura.

The study also highlights the importance of what Syarof & Tobroni (2020) identify as the need for "cultural preservation through transformation" approaches that honor the positive aspects of cultural traditions while transforming their harmful manifestations. The success of the integrative model suggests that educational interventions are most effective when they build upon existing cultural and religious values rather than simply rejecting them, creating pathways for cultural evolution that maintain cultural identity while embracing more constructive approaches to conflict resolution.

In conclusion, the findings of this study demonstrate that carefully designed educational interventions can successfully address even deeply entrenched cultural practices like carok by facilitating paradigm shifts, creating integrative frameworks, and developing practical conflict resolution skills. While implementation challenges remain significant, the results offer promising evidence for the power of education to transform cultural practices from within, creating more peaceful alternatives for expressing honor and resolving conflicts in contemporary society.

CONCLUSION

Based on the findings and discussions outlined above, it can be concluded that the project-based integrative PAI-PKN model has proven effective in transforming students' paradigms regarding siri' (honour) and conflict resolution among students in Bangkalan. The six-month implementation showed significant changes, with 45% of students shifting from perceiving violence as a means of defending their pride to a more constructive understanding through academic achievement and self-control. These findings reinforce Mezirow's (1991) transformative learning theory and address the gap in previous research, which only analysed the psychological aspects of carok without offering applicable educational interventions. The integration of Qur'anic values with citizenship principles successfully created operational synergy, as demonstrated by 77% of the student group who linked the concept of restorative justice with the Islamic value of ishlah (reconciliation).

The success of this model is inseparable from the contextual learning approach, which enabled 93% of the student groups to produce creative products that combined religious and citizenship values. However, implementation faces structural challenges in the form of teacher readiness (83%), curriculum load (100%), and cultural resistance (67%), which require a comprehensive approach. These findings are in line with Suyanto & Bakhtiar's research on the complexity of law enforcement in the carok culture, while also reinforcing Mustikajati et al.'s argument about the need for a restorative approach beyond the law. The tangible impact of this model is reflected in a 60% decrease in physical fighting cases and a 45% increase in the use of peer mediation, proving the effectiveness of integrating PAI-PKN in creating a more peaceful school environment.

Theoretically, this research contributes to the integration of religious education, citizenship, and cultural studies discourses, which have been running in parallel. Practically, this model offers an operational framework for schools to prevent a mentality of violence through a contextual educational approach. For sustainability, systematic policies are needed in the form of developing continuous teacher training modules, curriculum adjustments, and community engagement

programmes. This integrative PAI-PKN model is not only relevant to the mandate of the National Education System Law but also contributes to strengthening the Pancasila Student Profile, while paving the way for further research on peace education based on local wisdom in various cultural contexts in Indonesia.

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