

## TARIQA IN INDONESIA: SOCIAL INTEGRATION OF RELIGIOUS ADHERENTS

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### ABSTRACT

*This paper seeks to shed light on how tariqas [school or order of Sufism] play an important role in the socio-religious life of Indonesian society. Furthermore, this paper intends to explore research gaps from previous research by looking at how conflict and social integration among tariqas are in the reality of religious communities. In addition, this paper also aims to explain the causative and supporting factors originating from the tariqa structural institutions and the tariqa interests in social integration among the tariqa. Based on the collected data which were analyzed using a qualitative approach, this article found that the tariqas have become the main agent in maintaining social integration among the tariqa practitioners and minimizing the gaps of conflict between the existing tariqas. However, at the same time, a tariqa needs legitimacy from its followers so that it creates space for conflicts of interest among the tariqa practitioners, especially in the fields of economics, politics, as well as among their followers. This paper is based on research conducted using in-depth library research aimed to find out how conflict and social integration occur in society.*

**Keywords:** Tariqa; Social integration; Religious Adherents

### INTRODUCTION

Religion is often placed in a paradoxical dimension. This is because religion can bind human and divine into relations as well as human-to-human relations socially (social cement) with different backgrounds in a social-human integration. On the other hand, religion is also the root of conflict between its followers due to the so-called legitimacy and justification from its followers' understanding of religious practices (Priyono, 2016; Wibisono, 2021). The

role of religion then generates logical consequences as a force that is built both constructively and destructively (Utoyo, 2016), and thus it is not uncommon for religion to receive a negative stigma even though in reality every religion has a holy divine mission and teaches values that integrate three important components, namely God, nature and humans (Fahri & Zainuri, 2019). *Das sollen* [ideally], religion aims to provide mercy to the worlds. However, *das sein* [in reality] religion often plays a role in conflicts that always occur in the social reality of religious life. Therefore, religion is not only deemed to have failed with its mission, especially in matters related to humanity, peace building and religious harmony (Bachtiar, 2020; Strasser, 2021). Thus, it is not uncommon for religion to be blamed for conflicts that occur in society. Therefore, in addition to being a way of life, religion also faces a dilemma in its practical setting between the cause of conflict on the one hand, and a unifier in society on the other.

Negative assumptions about the role of religion as a force that triggers social conflict may be understandable. Because in reality, religion and religious communities are often dragged into prolonged conflicts (Rajab, 2018). However, making religion the only factor for causing conflict can also be debated. As sacred teachings, basically every religion carries a mission of peace (Kholiludin, 2018; Sutarto, 2018). With regard to religion and religious conflict, Abdurrahman Wahid viewed that violence and conflict involving religious communities do not actually originate within the religion itself. According to him, conflicts involving religious people are due to contemporary issues that underlie the situation and conditions of its adherents (Burhani et al., 2020; Devy Habibi Muhammad, 2021) as happened in various regions in Indonesia involving the *Ahl Sunnah wa al-Jamaah* and the *Ahmadiyah* (Sujadmi, 2013) and other conflicts involving the Naqsabandiyah, Qadiriyyah, Qadiriyyah and Naqsabandiyah, Shattariyyah, etc. (Faslah, 2020; Hakim, 2010; Rosyid, 2018). Based on the typology of conflict mapping above, it can be said that conflicts involving religions are predominantly caused by the subjective interests of its followers, both politically motivated interests related to power and the economy, as well as interests dominating others in terms of ideas and ideals. Abdul Hadi (Hadi, 2022), the two forms of interests are called political and ideological interests.

This research aims to see how differences in tariqa and their institutional interests are seen as triggering social conflict, in the socio-religious reality of the followers of the Shattariyyah tariqa and the followers of the Tijaniyyah tariqa at Pondok Buntet Islamic Boarding School in Cirebon. That being said, there are three questions that can be raised in this article, including (a) what are the

potential sources of conflict among the tariqas?; (b) what are the supporting factors and causes of conflict and social integration among the tariqas?; (c) what are the implications of conflict and social integration among the tariqas? These three questions are expected to be an attempt to see the dynamics of the tariqas that interact and manage conflict in order to create harmony between the two and live side by side in the reality of life.

This article is based on the argument related to the social reality of religious communities, social problems that arise due to differences in beliefs that occur not only in the relations between people, but also within religious communities. Various factors and sources of conflict are also present in the relations between the Shattariyah and the Tijaniyah. In addition to differences in tariqa institutions, political-sociological factors such as individual differences, interests and modernization are inevitable social facts, so the potential for conflict between the two tariqas is even greater. In fact, oftentimes the internal problem of religious communities are more difficult and more complicated to solve than that between religious communities. Contemplation (*uzlah*) in order to achieve spiritual heights carried out by the early Sufis has created a negative stigma that tariqa followers are individual, exclusive and anti-social groups. The tariqa cannot avoid institutionalization and structuralization so that the differences of the tariqa also have the potential to trigger conflict. This potential is getting higher due to social change, economic factors, politics, etc. (Ngabdurahman, 2016; Zainurofieq, 2021) The reality of harmony between the Shattariyah and the Tijaniyah shows that conflicts between religious people can actually be avoided if managed properly.

The dynamics of harmony and conflict among the tariqas can be examined with qualitative research by referring to primary and secondary data which cover processes that occur directly in the community that can be observed and confirmed on site through direct observation and interviews. This research involved local religious, traditional and community leaders, historians specializing in conflict histories, rituals, religious traditions and cultural practices. The research was first carried out by collecting secondary data through various religious references previously written by several other researchers, as well as tracing the history of the Shattariyah and Tijaniyah tariqas. The second step was to conduct direct research in the community by visiting research locations and observing and interviewing key figures. Interviews and observations were recorded using voice recorders, photographs and journals, the main basis for interpreting field findings.

The data analysis process was carried out in three stages. The first was data reduction, a process of organizing data in a more systematic form, especially

thematically. The second stage was the display of data to present the research results in the form of tables and graphs as well as excerpts from interviews with the informants. The third and last was data verification to conclude the compatibility of the data with the concepts and theories used in this study in the form of descriptive and interpretive data. As for analysis techniques, they supported the three stages of the analysis. The descriptive data served as a basis for interpretation by following trends and contexts that accompany the reality under study, such as field data proposed by Clifford Geertz (Geertz, 1988) which indicate the stages and techniques of analysis expected to direct this research to findings and conclusions that explain conflict and harmony among the tariqas.

### THE TRADITION OF THE TARIQA IN ISLAM

The purpose of the tariqa is to form noble or Islamic morals, subdue and lower desires of the soul, increase the purity of the soul so that a person feels calm and peaceful, form a character that has a good mental attitude and behavior (*al-akhlāq al-karīmah*), morals, ethics and courtesy, towards oneself, other people, the environment and Allah SWT, or achieving the degree of *al-insān al-kāmil* (Syam, 2013; Thohir, 2013). Furthermore, the peak of the aim of the tariqa is to gain a direct relationship with Allah SWT (Azwar & Muliono, 2022; Erina et al., 2022; Feriyanto, 2020). The journey to reach the destination of the tariqa above is not easy. Not everyone can get to that destination. The journey to God is full of temptations, very hard and very far away; there are unlimited distances, full of thorns, difficult and long so that only a few can get to the top of the goal (Badaruddin & Mahyuddin, 2021; Miftakhur Ridlo, 2020; Nasuhi, 2020). As for the urgency and importance of following the tariqa, it is a shortcut that shortens the distance and lightens the severity of the journey based on the experience and guidance of spiritual teachers.

Based on the historical facts above, it can be said that *zuhud* [asceticism] and *tasawwuf* [mysticism] are individual spiritual practices. Meanwhile, tariqas are institutionalized spiritual teachings and practices and carried out in groups (tariqa). In addition, it can also be distinguished that the tariqa is a practical dimension in the teachings of *tasawwuf* which has received institutionalization through the continuation of the *sanad* from the chain of tariqa teachers from time to time. While Sufism itself is the intellectual dimension of its esoteric teachings (Azhari et al., 2021). The emergence of the tariqa itself was caused by three factors, namely: First, the existence of the doctrine that learning Sufism must go through a teacher. Second, Sufism is only enjoyed by certain circles, therefore to help the general public, Sufi guidance is held. Third, since the 6th

century Sufism has been mixed with philosophy which is considered to have deviated from the traditions of the Prophet and his Companions. The tariqa was founded with the aim of protecting Sufism so that it would always be in the corridors of sharia. (Mawardi, 2022; Mulyati, 2011).

It is not known for certain which tariqa emerged first, as several early tariqas were found in by figures in different places, such as Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani in Baghdad, Shaykh Sayyid Aḥmad Rifa'i in Egypt, and Jalal ad-Din ar-Rumi in Persia. Meanwhile, according to Annemarie Schimmel, the first tariqa to emerge was the Suhrawardiyah founded by 'Abd al-Qahir Abu Najib as-Suhrawardi. At the same time, the Qadiriyah Tariqa by Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani and the Rifa'iyah Tariqa by Sayyid Aḥmad Rifa'i were founded in Iraq. A century later the center of the tariqa moved to Egypt, and among the first tariqas in Egypt were the Badawīya Tariqa founded by Aḥmad al-Badawi of Tanṭha and the Shaziliyah Tariqa by Abi Ḥasan as-Syazili in Alexandria (Bhat, 2022; Suparyanto dan Rosad (2015, 2020). At least there are approximately 200 tariqa around the world (Ngabdurahman, 2016; Yuslia Styawati, 2020), while in Indonesia there are 40 *mu'tabarah* tariqas (Awaludin, 2016; Syam, 2013).

The tariqa is a practical dimension in the teachings of Sufism which is institutionalized through the continuation of the teacher chain. With respect to a tariqa as a practical dimension, every so-called tariqa means a *dhikr* tariqa (Djuhan, 2020; Sri Mulayati, 2005). In other words, the term *tariqa* is used to designate and has a distinctive connotation, which relates to the teachings and practice of *dhikr* [remembrance of God] that are carried out individually or in groups affiliated with the teacher who founded a particular tariqa. In fact, if one compares the existing tariqas, they are relatively similar: in terms of Kalam, the main reference is Asha'ariyah; in terms of Fiqh, the main reference is Imam Shafi'i; and the spiritual practices that are carried out are *wirid* and *dhikr*. The main thing that distinguishes these tariqas is the procedure for performing *wirid* and *dhikr*, especially in the recitation and its variations. The *dhikr* performed by the tariqa is divided into two types, namely specific *dhikr* and general *dhikr* (Masyhuri: 2010). Specific *dhikr* can only be practiced by students of a tariqa, while general *dhikr*, in addition to being practiced by students of a particular tariqa, can also be practiced by the general public. A specific or general specific is differentiated through recitation (*talqin*) which is accompanied by taking an oath of allegiance (*bai'at*) made by the teacher to prospective students in the teaching process.

## TARGET AND POTENTIAL CONFLICT

Tariqa is often seen as a sect or school of thought and an institution in Islamic religious teachings, in addition to being a path followed by a *salik* [a follower of Sufism] in a *suluk* [spiritual path] in order to get closer to God. Tariqa is also often associated with a spiritual order which is communally connected in spiritual and brotherly ties. (Kartanegara, 2006). Tariqa is always tied to an institution, organization and group that carries out rituals with certain practices and *dhikr*, this is confirmed by an oath (*bai'at*) that has been determined by the highest leadership or the founder of the tariqa itself. (Mulyati, 2011). Nur Syam (2013) mentioned that tariqa is not only practiced in religious doctrine but also serves a process to obtain the essence of various religious symbols which are more esoteric than exoteric in nature. Tariqa then becomes a spiritual path to achieve inner and outer peace by integrating the relationship between God, nature and creatures with certain stages.

The interpretation of the tariqa is more about the inward pattern of spirituality which is favored over the outward formality, as determined by the Sheikh al-Thariqah, the founder of the tariqa, this then becomes a teaching that must be carried out by *saliks* who have pledged allegiance to one of the tariqa (Apri, 2020; Feriyanto, 2020; Randa & Fatimah, 2019). Because tariqa is a subjective matter so that there can be differences between the *sheikhs* of al-Thariqah, it has implications for the doctrines being taught that are not the same even though they have the same goals, as are the denominations of religious teachings, schools and other institutions that have undergone structuring and institutionalization. So it is not uncommon for the logic that is built among tariqas to be very fanatical about loyalty to the *murshid* [teacher] and sheikh al-Thariqah as well as fellow members of the tariqa (Jamil, 2005). Therefore, even though the tariqa aims to elevate the spiritual level and purify the salik, it would be different when one tariqa is brought together with another tariqa which sociologically gives rise to egocentric groups that seem ethnocentric, especially regarding the claim of truth.

Relations between different tariqas have placed them in a position that is faced with institutional and structural interests related to politics, economics, and education. (Awaludin, 2016; Bruinessen, 1992; Ruslan et al., 2022). This is due to the truth claims held by each tariqa. So that in order to achieve the interests of the tariqa, the group prepares itself for a competition and sets aside the theological truth claims, because truth only belongs to the tariqa they adhere to while other tariqas are considered false (Zainu, 2013). Even though the space for dialog between tariqas is always favored, theoretically differences in views and doctrines have become the forerunners that may trigger conflict



between tariqas, especially social conflicts between followers of tariqas. (Rosyid, 2018). The long history of conflict between the Muslim ummah itself has occurred even during the time of the Prophet [p.b.u.h], this can be seen from the conflict between Anshar and Muhajirin (Pradesa, 2015), Shiites and Sunnis who have long been in theological, political, economic and educational conflicts (Fauzi, 2020; Ida & Dyson, 2015), and there are many other conflicts between groups, institutions, and doctrines of teachings in Islam. All of that happened in the name of truth.

### CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE TARIQAS IN INDONESIAN

In fact, tariqa can give rise to conflicts not only due to the doctrine of institutional truth, but also because of various interests. This can be seen from the many incidents of conflict between tariqas which involved their followers for a long period of time and some even became social conflicts. The involvement of Islamic esoteric groups is not the cause of rift between tariqas today, but the rift between followers of tariqas occurred in the early days when tariqas were established as institutions. (Danner & Lings, 1977). As the conflict that occurred among Sufism experts in the 3rd century Hijri between the Sunni school of Sufism and the Falsafi school where leaders of the Falsafi were considered false and punished with imprisonment and even death penalty because they were considered to have strayed from the teachings of Islam as experienced by al-Halaj (Syarif, 2019; Utoyo, 2016). The incident occurred as a decision that had been agreed upon by jurists in Baghdad so that the punishment for the conflict caused al-Hallaj to receive a caning, beheading and his body being burned in public. (Hamka, 2018). The dark record of the conflict, according to John Renard, placed al-Hallaj as the first martyr due to conflict between *tasawuf* experts in the historical record. (Muzairi, 2018; Renard, 2004; Reynolds, 2016).

During the developmental period after the establishment of tariqa institutions which is marked by the emergence of new tariqas and the increasingly complex social reality of community life, the space for conflict between tariqas grew wider, and it was not uncommon for conflicts between tariqas to involve more than two different tariqas. It can be seen in the conflicts between the tariqas in Indonesia, such as conflicts between followers of the Shattariyah and the Naqsabandiyah in West Sumatra (Akhimuddin, 2012); between the followers of Sheikh Hamza al-Fansuri (Qadiriyyah tariqa) and the followers of Sheikh Nur al-Din al-Raniri (Rifa'iyah tariqa) in Aceh (Rosyid, 2018); as well as the conflict between Sunni Sufism taught by Wali Nine and the Kejawen group led by Sheikh Lemah Abang and Sheikh Siti Jenal in Java (Syakur, 2014);

between the Qadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyah (TQN) and the Aboge community members who are also the followers of the Shattariyyah tariqa in Ujungmanik Cilacap Village, Central Java; between the Qadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyah and the Muhammadiyah in East Java (Ahmad Syafi'i Mufid, 2006; Latif et al., 2022); between Sammaniyah and Naqsyabandiyah tariqa in Bogor (Hakim, 2010); between the Tijaniyyah Tariqa of Pondok Buntet Islamic Boarding School and an anti-Tijaniyyah group based in the Benda Kerep Islamic Boarding School in Cirebon (Verdoorn., 1940); between the Tijaniyyah tariqa and the community in Sukabumi (Hamkah, 2020), etc., which were caused by various factors including the doctrine of truth and the institutions of the tariqa with various interest motives.

Conflicts that occur between the tariqas have shown differences in the institutional structure of the tariqa and the doctrine of truth which indicate that differences within the tariqa should not be overlooked (Febriyandi.YS, 2019). These differences should not be understood as an interpretation of esoteric dimensions and Islamic doctrines alone as different tariqa group affiliations will show differences in worship practices, *wirid*, methods of *dhikr* and of course different institutional and structural interests. (Burhani et al., 2020; Rohimat, 2012; Setiyawati, 2017). However, the differences in ideology --in addition to being the fundamental cause of conflict between the tariqa-- also serve as a way out for integration between tariqa groups and social communities (Shadiqin et al., 2020). Thus, the differences between the tariqa groups can be seen as a universal dimension for all Muslims and the followers of the tariqa so that it can give birth to an integration not only between the followers of the tariqa but also an integration in the social order of society.

## **SOCIAL INTEGRATION BETWEEN THE TARIQA**

The confluence between the tariqa and social harmony, theoretically-normatively, is actually not a complicated issue. Social processes aimed at creating peace that a better level of material and spiritual life can be achieved among Sufis can be linked to the term *al-akhlāq al-karīmah* (Perangin-angin, 2022). This understanding leads to the conclusion that harmony is not just a formal “attribute” of the tariqa, but rather the inherent substance of the tariqa itself. (Azwar, 2018). The existence of a tariqa correlation with harmony can also be understood from the tariqa teachings which are conceptualized in three ways: *takhallī*, *taḥallī* and *tajallī*. *Takhallī* is to abstain from all disgraceful actions; *taḥallī* is to do commendable deeds; while *tajallī* is to decorate oneself with commendable morals so that Allah will reveal light within him (Shadiqin et al., 2020; Taufiqur Rahman, 2019). In addition to *takhallī*, *taḥallī* and



*tajallī*, the formation of *al-akhlāq al-karīmah* in the concept of the Sufis is also associated with the doctrine of *tazkīyah an-nafs* (Hajjāj, 2011). *Tazkīyah an-nafs* is an effort of the human mind to eliminate various bad tendencies that can hinder moral development. With this effort, humans are expected to be able to overcome various conflicts in their lives, then grow as strong individuals who are capable of taking action in accordance with moral rules. (Ahmad, 2019; Hadi, 2022; Nasrullah, 2020). The process of *tazkīyah an-nafs* will certainly direct its adherents to *sidq al-qalb*, *sidq al-qawl* and *sidq al-ʿamal*.

Harmony in the religious aspect is indicated by the freedom for each individual to determine and choose a tariqa without coercion from the *kyai* or their own parents. This is evidenced by the different tariqas followed by one family, namely husband and wife, parents and children, or fellow siblings. This freedom is based on the understanding that the tariqa is an individual religious life (Masduki et al., 2017). Because of that, even though almost every boarding school takes the tariqa and teaches it, the teaching is only meant to introduce and give training. As for the students who want to take part in the tariqa seriously, they are given the freedom to choose, including choosing a tariqa that is different than the *kyai*'s. (Yuslia Styawati, 2020). Harmony is also indicated by the tolerance and freedom for each student to practice the tariqa. In fact, this can be seen from the practice in Islamic Boarding Schools. Chanting of tariqa *dhikr* is always heard before the Sunset prayer.

In the social aspect, harmony is present in various dynamic collaborations in the form of associative social actions such as mutual cooperation, community service, coalitions, accommodation and social tolerance. Mutual cooperation generally occurs in activities of the *pesantren* such as death anniversary and Qur'anic recitation activities. Community service and coalitions are carried out as institutional activities such as teaching modern schools, anniversary commemoration of Islamic boarding schools, celebrating Islamic holidays, public services for students, reciting the yellow book, language courses, computer courses and entrepreneurship training (Hidayat Siregar, 2009). Accommodation, among others, is done through the involvement of *kyai* from the existing tariqas. While tolerance and freedom can be seen in the use of the mosque to practice *hailalah*. Various forms of cooperation that are created in social relations as occurred in the Shattariyah and Tijaniyah tariqas in Buntet are very clear indicators that even though they have different religious affiliations, they are able to interact and socialize peacefully. (Faslah et al., 2017). Social cooperation is established in the form of mutual cooperation, community service, coalitions, accommodation and tolerance so as to create conducive social conditions.

In the majority of Islamic boarding schools, the development of family and kinship traditions is very common. According to Zamakhsyari Dhofier, this tradition is deliberately created and preserved to build strong cooperation and solidarity in an effort to maintain the sustainability of Islamic boarding schools. (Dhofier, 1990). One of the practical ways to build this kinship alliance is through endogamous marriages between families of *kyais*. Viewed from a sociological perspective, Ferdinand Tonnies categorizes social groups formed by blood ties as *Gemeinschaft* (association), namely the unity of human groups formed by the nature of God. (Siundiukov, 2021). The solidarity of the members of this group is bound by an inner relationship that is pure, natural and long-lasting. The basis of this relationship is a sense of love and a sense of inner unity which has been ordained by the Creator and is organic in nature (Soekanto: 2001). It seems that for them maintaining the integrity and integration of the *nasabiyah* is more important than the *tariqa* itself. In this case, ideological differences and conflicts are settled through religious interpretation that promotes integration.

The doctrine of the *tariqa* basically originates from and is an interpretation of Islamic teachings so that it can be ensured that all *tariqas* teach peace. This can be seen from the many doctrines that lead to social harmony such as *tazkiyat an-nafs*, *al-mujāhadah*, *al-akhlāq al-karimah*, *al-insān al-kāmil*, *al-futuwah*, and *al-iṣār*. According to Nur Syam (Syam, 2013), In general, the teachings of Sufism are conceptualized in the teachings of *takhallī* (abstaining from all disgraceful actions), *tahallī* (doing commendable deeds) and *tajallī* (decorating oneself with commendable morals so that God reveals light within him). At a practical level, one of the forms of applying this teaching is by practicing noble character and leaving behind disgraceful character. (Dodi & Abitolkha, 2022). Thus, peace and social harmony are in fact inherent in the teachings of the *tariqa* itself. This tendency was also shown by as-Singkili, the main character carrying the Shattariyah mission to the Malay Archipelago. As-Singkili was an evolutionary *mujaddid* (Faslah, 2020). He preferred to reconcile conflicting views rather than reject any of them. Even though he did not agree with the Wudiya doctrine, for example, he did not show it explicitly. He did not show frontal rejection as ar-Raniri did (Azra, 1995).

In the context of social integration within the *tariqa*, it can be seen from several aspects including: *first*, adaptation in the distribution of economic resources that is fair and familial. It is said to be fair because every *ṣāhibul wilāyah* cleric has the same right to build an Islamic Boarding School. While it is familial because there are efforts to help less developed boarding schools so that there is an equal distribution of the economic level of each *kyai*; *second*,

the common goals of the tariqa community are reflected in the commitment to maintaining kinship, being responsible for the tariqa institution and social solidarity. Therefore, actions taken should not be counterproductive to these goals, and a consensus is formed regarding power and the economy which is a source of conflict; *third*, levels of solidarity that unite individual tariqas are reflected in the solidarity in the implementing units, technical units, anniversary event committees, etc. In this case the authority of the tariqa, especially the chairman of the governing body, heads of departments, heads of units, regulates relations between the elements of society under them; *fourth*, the tariqa's collective values are reflected in the devotion to elders, commitment to kinship, and shared responsibility for maintaining the values. These collective values are transformed through religious activities, education in boarding schools, public schools, and household education of the *kyais*.

## CONCLUSION

This research has provided an example of exclusive and ethnocentric religious understanding that encourages conflict among religious communities. Therefore, in an effort to create religious harmony, it is necessary to develop humanist-integrative understanding that prioritizes human values such as peace, brotherhood and social solidarity. In the context of Muslims who have a tradition of tariqa practice, this humanist-integrative religious understanding can be formed through the teaching and development of the *fiqh* of tolerance (*fiqh tasāmuḥ*). In this case, ideological differences and institutional interests should be explored to find similarities and unity through the concepts of *al-maṣlahah al-'ammah*, *bid'ah ḥasanah*, *al-istihsān*, *al-ām*, *al-furū'iyah* and other concepts of collectivity. Furthermore, various cases of conflict involving religious communities show that group differences in religion or differences in religious understanding are merely the fuse factor, not the root of the conflict.

This work also shows the core of conflict which is in fact the issues of power and the economy which are considered to only take sides or be dominated by certain parties. Therefore, efforts to create religious harmony cannot be made based on religious aspects alone, but must also pay attention to sociological aspects, especially transparency and justice in the distribution of power and community's economic resources. Consensus functions as the rule of the game that serves as a common guideline. Exclusiveness hinders the process of communication and socialization in religious life. At a certain stage, the process of communication and socialization that is not conducive can lead to suspicion or misunderstanding. In an effort to create or maintain harmony, it is necessary to create a medium for socialization that integrates various elements so that tensions and social distance due to differences can be reduced

to contribute to the religious field, especially in the field of Islamic studies.

The limitation of this work is in the scope of research which was only carried out on the tariqa, so it only focuses on discussing experiences of conflict and social integration between certain tariqas and has not conducted out comprehensively to include universal tariqa communities in Indonesia. Therefore, this work recommends that it is important to look at the phenomena of conflict and social integration between tariqas in order to do comparisons with other tariqa communities in other studies, to see how conflicts between tariqas occur and how social integration between tariqas contributes to the community, the nation and the *ummah*.

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