

SENOPATI as a Policy Innovation: Collaborative Resolution of Martial Arts Rivalry in Madiun, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

This research explores cooperation to solve the disputing and fights between martial-art groups in Madiun City, Indonesia, namely Persaudaraan Setia Hati Terate (PSHT) and Persaudaraan Setia Hati Winongo (PSHW). These wars of imagined identity and territorial dispute shake the stability of the public. Utilising qualitative case study, research applies George C. Edwards III's policy implementation theory and John Burton's human needs theory to examine how cooperation between the city government and Kodim 0803/Madiun inhibits violence. Analysis of interview data and informal observation in the field indicate that the key to successful cooperation lies in informal power, cultural awareness and careful organisation. Relevant theory is presented by the SENOPATI (Integrated Collaborative Center for Silat Conflict Resolution), which is a local prevention the study suggests. The results supply practical and theoretical implications for how to address community identity disputes in the context of cross-jurisdictional governance.

INTRODUCTION

Recent skirmishes between martial arts organizations in Indonesia have also had Indonesian authorities anxious about public order and governance. In Madiun City, East Java, brawls involving Persaudaraan Setia Hati Terate (PSHT) and Persaudaraan Setia Hati Winongo (PSHW) are not merely local rivalries, but symbolic battles over identity, space, and acknowledgment. These repeated confrontations play out in parades of groups, shows of turf, and violent eruptions that all contribute to a lack of safety and trust in officials.

The paper examines how the intersectoral co-operation between the city government of Madiun and Kodim 0803/Madiun (local military command) manages these conflicts at the community level. This study utilizes a qualitative case-study design in applying George C. Edwards III's policy implementation theory and John Burton's human needs theory in analyzing how collaboration can facilitate de-escalation and resolution of conflict.

While collaborative policing has been applied in urban safety models, it has rarely addressed identity-driven communal disputes (Syukur et al., 2025). The Madiun case reveals how informal authority, local legitimacy, and interagency coordination become critical tools in resolving social tensions. By focusing on bottom-up engagement and shared institutional ownership, this paper contributes to the discourse on effective local governance in post-conflict urban settings.

THEORETICAL REVIEW

Theoretical works that deal with cross-sector collaboration in conflict resolution underline the need to link public policy frameworks with strategies of social transformation. (Edwards III, 1980) debates that systems are influenced by communication, resources, implementer's attitude, and bureaucratic form. In a similar vein, (Burton, 1990) argues that prolonged conflict frequently rests on unsatisfied fundamental human needs of identity, security and recognition. The state-community synergy is important in responding to the identity-based conflicts as shown in the cooperation between military and civil group in Papua (Arnold & Sangari, 2024) and the implementation of collaborative policing in the Indonesian social unrest (Syukur et al., 2025). (Callens & Verhoest, 2022), further point to the relevance of interagency governance frameworks to coordinating structurally separated agencies. This research unites the two theories to answer one of the research gaps: how is the state - through the local government and the military - managing about the silat conflict (meaning symbolic and territorial) strategically and sustainably in Madiun.

Theoretical Framework

The research of this article is based on a dual model framework of George C. Edwards III's policy implementation and John Burton's human needs theory. In this regard, (Edwards III, 1980) provides a catalogue of four basic variables defining how a policy can be effectively implemented: the information system (communication), resources allocation and their availability, disposition of implementors, and bureaucratic structure. These are to understand factors of

effectiveness of collaboration between local government and Kodim 0803 Madiun to operate technically in dealing with conflict issues.

Additionally, (Burton, 1990) contends that protracted antagonisms frequently arise as a result of unfulfilled basic human needs represented in identity, security, recognition and participation. His approach, which he calls conflict prevention, focuses on redesigning social systems to mitigate the underlying sources of tension before violence ensues.

By combining Edwards' structurally oriented focus with Burton's human centered analysis, it situates policy implementation as far more than a question of administrative governance but rather as a process of social transformation. It also provides the possibility to grasp the nuances of both the institutional operations and the symbolic community processes. This concern is particularly acute in the conflict between PSHT and PSHW which most poignantly highlights the confluence of authority, identity and territory at the interface of formal governance.

METHODOLOGY

This research uses a qualitative descriptive approach by one case study that is concentrated on the attempt of conflict resolution in Madiun City. The research is directed to find out collaboration between local government and Kodim 0803/Madiun in solving the endless tensions among PSHT and PSHW. Collection of data is through key informant interview such as mayor, military commander, police chief, and field observation and document review. Data were examined with (Huberman et al., 1994) interactive model, which consists of three iterative steps of employing codes to condense and display data, and drawing conclusions. This approach enables researchers to trace the patterns of inter-agency collaboration as well as the social dynamics and the politics of symbolic power. It is a research that focuses on context, institutional stories, and interpretative insight, rather than generalization, and is thus very suited in understanding complex, localised social conflicts.

RESULTS

This section discusses the main findings of the design, patterns observed, thematic insights, and analytical reflections resulted from field notes, reviewing literature, and theoretical interpretation.

Key Observations on the Roots and Dynamics of the Conflict

The grey-PSHT against black-PSHW in Madiun is a contention of mandala identity and territorial authenticity. Historical disparities have turned into recurring clashes, as during ceremonial times such as Malam 1 Suro. Banners, chants and parades are not only cultural emblems but territory markers, once contested, now stakes in a very different kind of turf war, one that sets the stage for emotional and occasionally physical confrontations. The deep-seated, fundamental needs for recognition, security and group pride are evident in the conflict, which parallels Burton's argument that unaddressed basic human needs are often at the core of protracted conflicts. Government-led responses are mainly

comprised by hard security and do not tackle the identity dimension of radicalisation. Thus, managing the conflict, one has to look beyond control to the need to acknowledge historical grievances and concerns for symbolic legitimacy.

Implementation Dynamics and Collaborative Challenges

The partnership between Madiun City Government and Kodim 0803 is indicative of a desire to bring about intergroup stability through preventative, non-militaristic means. But the effort faces numerous structural and social challenges. Inter-agency coordination is typically hindered by bureaucratic stove pipes, vagueness of responsibilities, and limited institutional capacity to maintain peacebuilding over the long term. Even when formal commitments are in place, many of these types of connections depend upon informal paths of communication and collaboration focused on recurring meetings and cultural exchange that can easily be disrupted by new leadership. Second, community-based suspicions, in particular among PSHT and PSHW actors, are high and undermine the sustainability of interventions. These challenges indicate the necessity of integrating communication, resource structure, and local trust building, so that more meaningful collaboration could be attainable, as proposed in Edwards III's policy implementation theory.

Application of Edwards III's Implementation Components

The application of joint policy between Madiun City Government and Kodim 0803/Madiun can be analysed using Edwards III approach that is the framework of joint-action, which include four factors. "Existent communication forms -formal (letters, meetings, interagency coordination) and informal (WhatsApp groups, speaking directly with military heads to contact troops) have different answer times," according to the study. Second, resources are not sufficient. There are sufficient human resources, while the logistical and financial capacity is deficient and is usually based on "de facto". Third, actor disposition is moderately high. Even in their absence of formal structures, the personal readiness of the Mayor, Dandim, and community leaders push forms of continuity. Fourth, there is both collaboration and fragmentation within the bureaucracies. While there is synergistic effect among the Forkopimda meetings, the compartmentalizing of institutions and the lack of a unified force hinder structural cohesion. These results point to the potential, and limitations, of policy implementation within a decentralised system.

Application of John Burton's Provention Perspective

Burton's provention theory necessarily concerns the underlying human needs and identity-based grievances that underpin allegations of conflict. One tell-tale finding is the role of identity recognition in the context of Madiun. PSHT and PSHW members are asking not only for the physical safety but also the cultural legitimacy and the symbolic place in the city's public life to which they are entitled. This coincides with Burton's argument that a lasting peace can exist only when psychological and cultural needs are recognized.

There is also the need to invest in the traditional and cultural legitimacy. Leaders and charismatic older men of the silat community, with or without

formal authority over it, are able to steer conduct through the extra-judicial channels of heritage and shared values. In more recent times, symbolic reconciliation has been generated by joint declarations, prayer meetings, and public pleas by perguruan leaders asking for restraint. These bottom-up processes are prototypical expressions of prevention in action – they are processes of conflict transformation, which rework relations between groups through shared rituals and mutual recognition, as distinct from coercive imposition.

Emergence of the SENOPATI Model (Hypothetical Synthesis)

Based upon the theoretical syntheses of Edwards III and the late John Burton, the SENOPATI (*Sentra Kolaborasi Terpadu Resolusi Konflik Silat*) model is suggested as an adaptation-driven, grass roots approach to mediated conflict transformation in Madiun. The model imagines a semi-formal, institutionalised mechanism by which state authority and community wisdom can be recombined, a third space that functions as because part go-between for state apparatuses (known here as Kodim, Polres and Pemkot) and silat communities (PSHT, PSHW and other groupings).

The design of the structure consists of four pillars: coordinated civil-military actions to counter potential divisions in action; education in civic peacebuilding for youth silat members; mediation in advanced dialogues between stakeholders; and control mechanics which enforced compliance by both formal regulations and informal moral authority. This is a platform that passes some of these functions to the collaborative level, respecting symbolic identities while keeping guarantee of public security.

Power by the model, however, faces a great deal of challenges. They are political will, funding sustainability, the threat of resistance from exclusivist actors in the silat ecosystem, and the unclear mandates of institutions. Nevertheless, the SENOPATI model shows some potential as a transferrable and integrative prototype to address culturally driven conflict in identity-based functional conflict in other Indonesian communities.

DISCUSSION

Utilising Edwards III's implementation theory and Burton's human needs approach as basis, this subdiscussion analyses cross-sectoral collaboration dynamics on rehabilitation of Madiun City Government and Kodim 0803/Madiun in addressing silat-related disputes. It examines the forms and nature of this cooperation, emphasizing its institutional and structural underpinnings. It further situates the discussion in terms of the policy environment and prepares the ground for the SENOPATI model – a suggested integrative framework for dealing with complex community-based conflicts through collaborative governance.

Historical and Structural Roots of the Conflict

The bloody feud between PSHT and PSHW in Madiun is rooted in a history of common origins which later diverged ideologically as well as organizationally.

Both schools were founded by Ki Ngabehi Soerodiwiryo. But after his death, two of his disciples created two versions of the same tradition, resulting in parallel but rival identities. PSHT developed as mass-based nationalist schools, and PSHW coalesced locally with conservative elite backing, especially in Winongo.

This historical division became a symbolic battle in which identity, ritual, the control of space became areas of strife. PSHT has the upperhand in rural and outlying regions and PSHW has the upperhand in urban areas. Tensions caused by articles like Suroan and mass initiation ceremonies arise out of competing claims to public space and historical legitimacy.

This timeline traces the gradual division between the two schools, as well as sheds light on the socio-symbolic struggle that exists to this day (FM Media, 2021).



Source: Adapted from FM Media (2021)

Figure 1. Timeline of the Development and Split of SH Tradition

Identity and Group Loyalty as Conflict Drivers

The competition between PSHT and PSHW in Madiun is more than a battle for physical domination; it is a symbolic battle of identity, allegiance, and legitimacy. Whilst both trace a similar historical origins; both from the Setia Hati tradition, nearly a half century of split and dual leadership has led to varying contexts of authenticity and legitimacy. Such narratives have since become a part of the collective mindset of members, promoting strong in- and out-group sentiments.

This loyalty is inculcated through mass initiations, symbolic clothing, and territorial assertion during ritual performances such as the Suroan. As (Korostelina et al., 2025) argue, when membership of groups constitutes the core of individuals' sense of significance and security, threats, whether imaginary or real, arising from other groups prompt defensiveness.

The competitive struggle for visible recognition in public space, via parades or community flags or similar, may appear harmless, but it tends to take on symbolic provocation. These displays are used as signals of dominance and read as intrusions on territory. The hostilities that ensue are not a question of physical

conflict but one of meaning, entitlement, residency and belonging within Madiun's social order.

Table 1. Symbolic Identity and Conflict Potential Between Pencak Silat Organizations in Madiun City

Symbolic Element	PSHT (Persaudaraan Setia Hati Terate)	PSHW (Persaudaraan Setia Hati Winongo)	Conflict Potential and Interpretation
Colors and Uniform	Black-Red, lotus emblem in gold	Black-White, white heart emblem inside a circle	Visual identity rivalry and perceived symbolic dominance
Chants & Slogans	"Live with honor, die a martyr", total loyalty	"True Setia Hati, selfless", inclusive spirituality	Competition over core values and pride
Central Location	Pilangbango, training center and grave of a key figure	Winongo, historical birthplace and founder's tomb	Symbolic legitimacy and historical claims
Ritual Events	New member initiation, mass Suroan celebrations	Pilgrimage to founder's tomb, local traditional processions	Overlapping public spaces and mass mobilization
Superiority Perception	Seen as older, national and disciplined	Seen as more original, spiritual and community-rooted	Competing moral and cultural superiority claims
Physical Attributes	Stickers, large flags on major corners	Posters, banners in public spaces	Territorial signaling and visual provocation

Source: Compiled from field observation, Korem 081 Podcast (2023), and FM Media (2021)

Policy Implementation Perspective: Edwards III and the Madiun Context

Ongoing tension between martial arts organizations in Madiun are unlikely to be resolved by symbolic representation but rather an investigation of the ways of policy implementation that facilitate or prevent joint resolution. George C. Edwards III's work focuses mainly on the following four variables affecting implementation: communication, resources, attitude, and bureaucratic form (Edwards III, 1980). These variables provide a valuable analytical tool to examine how the City Government of Madiun and Kodim 0803 mobilize response to social disturbance.

In Madiun, better communication has been achieved through shared briefs, common messaging and discussions in informal settings. Yet constraints in resource use and bureaucratic redundancies continue to be barriers. There are also military-civil alliances that tend to support disposition or the inclination to act, but

are typically resisted by competing institutional cultures. The variable structure reflects the fragmented line of command between local and national actors which sometimes lead to ambiguous ways of responding. Therefore, Edwards's model assists in exposing the institutional paradox at the heart of policy-making in conflict-affected areas (Edwards III, 1980).

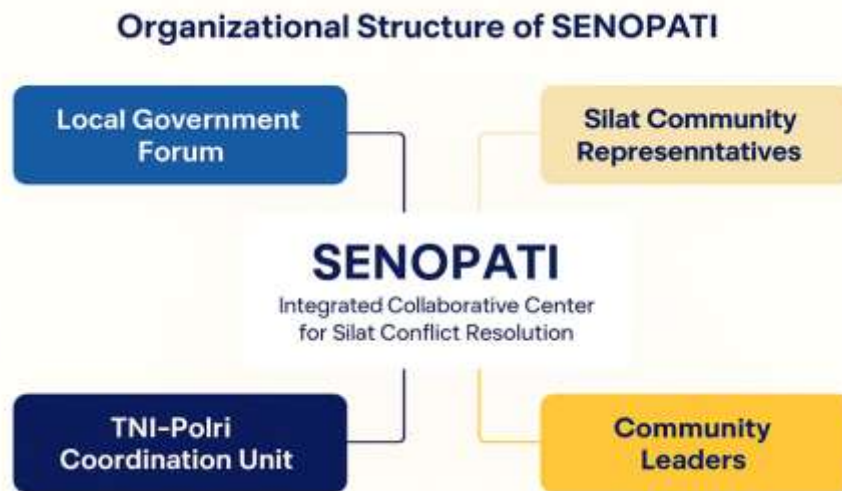
Identity-Based Conflict and Provention: A Burtonian Perspective

The enduring dispute between *Persaudaraan Setia Hati Terate (PSHT)* and *Persaudaraan Setia Hati Winongo (PSHW)* in Madiun has been a conflict of identity, in which brotherhoods vie not just for symbolic space, but for historical validation and social status. (Burton, 1990) explains them by basic human needs denial in lines of identity, recognition, security and participation. These are just needs, you see needs that are non-negotiable, that, when not met, frequently come out in bursts of social turmoil and ritualized resentment.

Public dances, flags, songs, and uniformed assemblages are not simply cultural displays but manifest acts of collective presence and make-believe, a kind of affirmation of existence. Tensions rise when contending groups think their identity is not just under threat but under attack. Burton's theory of provention underscores the necessity of challenging structural contexts and imbalances of power to prevent future acts of violence. In more recent events, peace messages from PSHT and PSHW leaders – archived in interviews and podcasts – contribute to recent attempts at symbolic reconciliation and shared civic accountability. These are indispensable gestures which help the transition from rivalry to recognition, and thus the repositioning of collective relations in the domain of inclusive and dignified encounter.

SENOPATI Model as a Local Collaborative Innovation

Finding ways to address historic community-based conflict will take more than what's achievable in temporary collaboration. To address the long-standing conflict between PSHT and PSHW in Madiun, this study is offering an alternative solution, a model called SENOPATI (*Sentra Kolaborasi Terpadu Resolusi Konflik Silat*) which views the conflict as a dynamic phenomenon which can be handled contextually. The model promotes sustained partnerships between LG, *Kodim*, CSO, particularly perguruan (martial arts organizations) which are both sustainable and culturally and contextually relevant.



Source: Author's illustration, adapted from policy implementation theory (Edwards III, 1980) and conflict prevention model (Burton, 1990)

Figure 2. Simplified SENOPATI Model - Local Collaboration for Conflict Prevention

Based on Figure 2, the SENOPATI model conceptualization is assembled from three main pillars including; (1) Institutional Anchoring by establishing conflict resolution center that was responsible under the local government; (2) Cultural Mediation through the role of community leaders who coordinated by "Suroan" (a joint ritual of Hindu and Islam communities in Surabaya) and (3) Operational Synchronization where Kodim, Pemkot (local government), and stakeholder forums were well coordinated during the high tension period where Suroan was celebrated. This model sidesteps the enterprise-focused, one-off security operation in favor of a culture built on shared responsibility. In addition, the actor roles, the collaborative process, the communication media, and the cultural protections of SENOPATI are presented in Table 2. This model combines the insights on implementation theory of Edwards III with Burton's human needs approach and provides a structured, yet flexible, framework for conflict prevention based on local needs and institutions.

Table 2. Elements of Collaboration in SENOPATI Model

Element	Description
Key Actors	Local Government, Kodim 0803, Polres, Community Leaders, Martial Arts Groups
Collaboration Format	Routine coordination, joint declarations, preventive planning
Communication Flow	Top-down facilitation, bottom-up input, lateral dialogue
Cultural Mechanism	Symbolic reconciliation, intergroup rituals, shared identity campaigns

Source: Author's elaboration based on (Edwards III, 1980) and (Burton, 1990)

Conceptual Implications and Future Policy Directions

This study posits the importance of integrated context-sensitive collaboration to solve for identity-based communal conflicts. What the Madiun case demonstrates is that mediation of silat-related conflicts is not a matter of calling in the police or engaging in symbolic peacemaking; it is a question of institutional capacity based on trust, common norms, and local legitimacy. The SENOPATI model proposed provides a potential model for long-term conflict prevention by mediating state authority and community structures in inclusive negotiations, by symbolizing reconciliation and by maintaining procedural innovations.

Future policy guidance should focus on sustainable mechanisms – like permanent joint task forces, youth deradicalization programs and legally recognized forums for conflicts resolution. Cross-regional examples from Papua (Arnold & Sangari, 2024) and Poso (Agus Kartomo, 2020) indicate that when formal authority is linked to grassroots collaboration, participatory governance can work. The insights from Madiun can therefore contribute to more general insights into conflict-sensitive governance for multi-identities societies, particularly where cultural pride, symbolic control, and institutional divisions intersect.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The longstanding rivalry between martial arts fraternities in Madiun, and between PSHT and PSHW in particular, does not tell simply the story of two groups of gangsters fighting it out but one about a series of battles for symbolic identity, territorial authority and unaddressed structural grievances. Despite many interventions, violence persists to break out, as if military and policing have not been effective. This work illustrates how sustainable approaches to addressing conflict depend on a nexus between formal policy mechanisms and grounded relational approaches to culture and identity.

This research tries to combine George C. Edwards III's policy implementation theory and a human needs theory of John Burton, and suggested SENOPATI (*Sentra Kolaborasi Terpadu Resolusi Konflik Silat*) model which contextualized the local solution. SENOPATI isn't meant to be a new bureaucracy so much as a communication hub between agents of the state and silat communities. It draws on informal authority of community leaders, and formal power from political and military actors, to provide a hybrid space for prevention and prevention.

The model is based on four practical elements: coordination, education, mediation and observation. These elements reflect real needs on the ground – strengthening early warning systems, promoting civic education in silat groups, offering channels for dialogue to defuse tension, and incorporating symbolic reconciliation into public events. SENOPATI is not an attempt at utopian idealism; instead it is an organised strategic response based on Indonesia's own laws and norms.

Importantly, this model is implementable. The town is also well-equipped institutionally and has active civil-military networks as well as a vibrant culture that can make it work. SENOPATI doesn't take huge budgets or new laws. What it requires is dedication, role clarification, and continued facilitation. Scalability

The design can be trialed through current coordination forums like Forkopimda or can be incorporated into municipal regulations.

The results of this research emphasize the fact that conflict around identity is not resolved only by policing, rather through co-construction of meanings, spaces and legitimacy. SENOPATI is a model that can be followed elsewhere in Indonesia, not only in Madiun, as other regions in the country grapple with ethno-religious tensions. It exists between state order and community peace, between policy enforcement and cultural understanding. This is what makes it not just relevant, but essential

FURTHER STUDY

Future research could explore the long-term impact of the SENOPATI policy on community cohesion and youth engagement in Madiun. Comparative studies with similar conflict-resolution initiatives in other regions of Indonesia or Southeast Asia would also provide broader insights into the scalability and adaptability of this collaborative model.

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