

The Role of Religious Leaders Amid Conflict of Public Resistance to Industrial Activities in Gresik

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Abstract

The research constitutes an analysis on the conflict between community in Ujungpangkah, Gresik, East Java and a gas company, PT Aramada Hess (now PGN Saka Energy Indonesia). The research aims at finding a conflict resolution model that is distinctive, appropriate, and successful. To support the qualitative research, data collection methods use purposive sampling, participatory observation techniques, in-depth interviews and document reviews. The collected data are analysed with the theory of mapping C.R. SIPPABIO. The theory under which the researcher applying to understand the role of Ujungpangkah religious



leaders in resolving conflicts between the community and PGN Saka Energy Indonesia. As a result, it is found that: 1) public leaders are derived from various groups (fishermen, fishpond entrepreneurs and Islamic boarding school leaders) who positively resolve the conflict; 2) the intervention method is used as conflict resolution with a negotiation model; 3) Ujungpangkah religious leaders become social cohesion in this open conflict.

[Penelitian ini merupakan analisis tentang konflik antara masyarakat di Ujungpangkah, Gresik, Jawa Timur dengan perusahaan gas PT Aramada Hess (sekarang PGN Saka Energy Indonesia). Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menemukan model resolusi konflik yang khas, sesuai, dan berhasil. Untuk mendukung penelitian kualitatif ini, metode pengumpulan data menggunakan purposive sampling, Teknik observasi partisipatif, wawancara mendalam dan telaah dokumen. Data yang terkumpul dianalisis dengan teori pemetaan C. R. SIPPABIO. Teori yang digunakan peneliti untuk memahami peran tokoh keagamaan Ujungpangkah dalam menyelesaikan konflik antara masyarakat dengan PGN Saka Energy Indonesia. Hasilnya, ditemukan bahwa: 1) tokoh masyarakat yang berasal dari berbagai kalangan (nelayan, pengusaha tambak dan pimpinan pondok pesantren) yang positif menyelesaikan konflik; 2) digunakan metode intervensi sebagai resolusi konflik dengan model negosiasi; 3) Tokoh keagamaan Ujungpangkah menjadi kohesi sosial dalam konflik terbuka ini.]

Keywords: conflict resolution; company; religious leaders

Introduction

Ujungpangkah Sub-district is one of the sub-districts in northern coastal area of Gresik Regency. The sub-district is directly adjacent to the Java Sea in the north, to Sidayu sub-district in the south and east, and to Panceng sub-district in the west. The sub-district is very close to the sea in which people's main activities are fishermen and pond farmers. As coastal communities who daily work in the sea, Ujungpangkah people are known as a community who is typically turmoil, emotional, resolute, and rough.

PT. Aramada Hess, now PT. Saka Energy Indonesia, is a subsidiary company of PT. Perusahaan Gas Negara Tbk. (PGN) as the owner of 100 percent of oil shares in the Ujungpangkah block. The company operates in oil and gas drilling in the eastern Java Sea, close to



DOI: 10.19105/karsa.v28i2.4069

Madura island. Before the station of PT. Aremada Hess, -now PT. PGN Saka Energy Indonesia, has moved to Manyar Sub-district, the station is in Ujungpangkah Sub district. The Ujung-pangkah community whose religious leaders organized demonstrated on July 7, 2002 by demanding PT. Aremada Hess give up to operate. While demonstrating, the people were destructing and burning a number of physical facilities and industrial equipment owned by PT. Aremada Hess.

Demonstration is a form of public reaction on activities of PT. Aremada Hess station. The people consider that the activities disturb fishermen's works in the sea. To fishermen, the sea is the main economic source. In addition, they consider that PT. Aremada Hess disturbs the surrounding ecosystem in which the most crucial thing is to damage mangrove plants around shoreline of the sea. In establishing and operating the PT. Aremada Hess station in the marine environment around the Ujungpangkah sub-district, the company also does not communicate and socialize it with the local community. As a result of the demonstration, there are four Ujungpangkah people whom are detained by Resort Police of Gresik; they are Amirullah, Imron, Hotib, and Chairul Anam. Some of them are Banser members (multipurpose agency), PAC GP. Ansor, Ujungpangkah Sub-district.

Based on the events, i.e. demonstrations and the burning, the PT. PGN Saka Energy Indonesia is currently reluctant to accept any employee from the Ujungpangkah area. According to Ilman Zuhri, there are a number of human resources who are qualified as skilful workers for PT. PGN Saka Energy Indonesia. A view Ujungpangkah youth studies at university on oil management program, however most of the workers at the PT. PGN Saka Energy Indonesia come from outside Ujungpangkah. Blue-collar workers are largely derived from Manyar Sub-district, while skilled workers are from Bandung, Jakarta, and so on. According to some people, Ujungpangkah residents should be prioritized as workers at PT. PGN Saka Energy Indonesia. Although the office is now located in Manyar, the operation and oil and natural gas sources are located in Ujungpangkah territorial waters, and also affected to Ujungpangkah fishermen, not Manyar fishermen. Until now, Ujungpangkah fishermen are still worried of PT. PGN Saka Energy Indonesia activities in Ujungpangkah marine waters. In addition, oil leaks



still occur in Ujungpangkah waters which impact on fishermen to be difficult to find fish amid the sea. There is also the problem that large ships from outside Ujungpangkah use the trolls which damage the land in the sea.

Methods

The qualitative research is to describe and interpret socio-religious phenomenon in depth, especially the coastal Muslim resistance against industrial activities of PT. PGN Saka Energy Indonesia in Ujungpangkah village, Ujungpangkah, Gresik. The data are mainly derived from words and actions, and additionally documents and on The words and actions are examined and directly involved in such phenomena. Meanwhile, documents and others become secondary or supporting sources. The documents are directly related to the theme of the work of writing the results of the research is as a support in the conflict describe the coastal Muslim community resistance against industrial activities of PT. PGN Saka Energy Indonesia. Data sources are primarily collected from representative informants by using purposive sampling technique, by considering the depth of understanding and experience of informant consciousness involved in the conflict of public resistance.¹ The process is known as the snowball sampling technique, which is a samp-ling technique that is carried out in a chain, starting from a few informants who then keep rolling until the researchers obtain in-depth, intact and holistic data.²

Data collecting techniques are participatory observation, in depth interview and document review.³ The reason why the researchers use participatory observation technique is based on *first*, that the observation is based on the informant's direct experience in the conflict of the coastal Muslim community resistance to the industrial activities of PT. PGN Saka Energy Indonesia. *Second*, the observation allows

¹ Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Pendidikan: Pendekatan Kualitatif, Kualitatif Dan R&D*, 301.

² Sugiyono, 218.

³ Sugiyono, 309.



researchers to see and observe, and then record people behaviour and events which occur in actual situations. Finally, researchers can narrow down their research by making selective observations. In addition, researchers continue to make descriptive observations until the end of data collection.

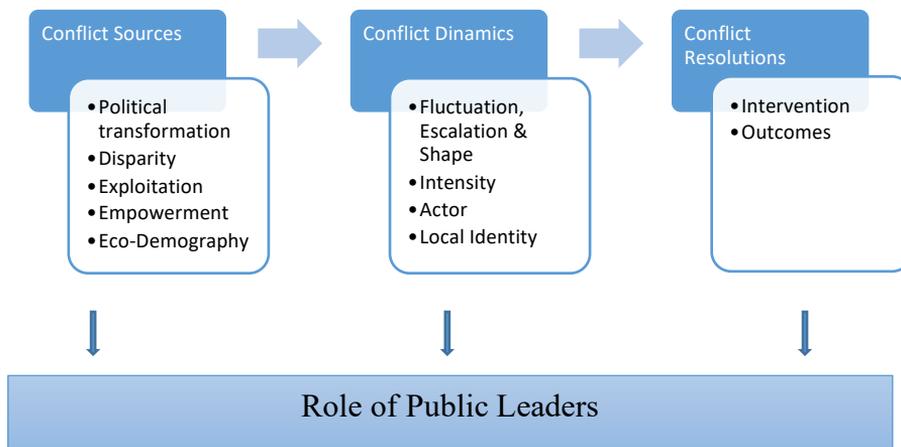
Document review technique is also used to collect data from non-human sources. This source consists of documents and records. "Record" means any writing or statement prepared by or for an individual or organization with the aim at proving the event. Meanwhile, "document" except recordings is not specially prepared for a specific purpose, such as letters, diaries, special notes, photographs, and so on.⁴

To analyse collected data, researchers use Miles & Huberman's qualitative analysis model in which the stage in qualitative data analysis is carried out interactively and continuously at each stage of the research, so that data are complete. The stage in data analysis are data reduction, data display and conclusion. Data reduction in this context is to summarize and selects the main things, to focus on something important and to make categories. Thus, the reduced data provide a clearer picture and make researchers easier to carry out further data accumulation. After the data has been reduced, the next step is to display the data or present the data in a pattern which is carried out in the form of brief descriptions, charts, graphs, matrices, networks and charts. If the patterns are supported by data during the research, they become standard patterns which will be displayed in the final report of research. The last step in qualitative data analysis is to draw conclusions and verification.⁵ Data analysis is described in research design as follow:

⁴ Sugiyono, 161.

⁵ Miles, Huberman, and Rohidi, *Analisis Data Kualitatif: Buku Sumber Tentang Metode-Metode Baru*, 16-19.





Result

Description of Conflict

A series of conflict theories can be aligned to see the problems that occur between the people of Ujungpangkah Gresik and PGN Saka Energy. However, the conflict in Ujungpangkah could be said to be a conflict that was not easily resolved and involved many elements in a complex manner. Apart from the escalation of the conflict, it has ended, but also because of the closure of the residents in discussing the conflict. This is evidenced by the discovery of several essential elements which are not single. Therefore, the results of this study will be described in detail using the C.R. SIPPABIO theory.

The homogeneous condition of the Ujungpangkah community becomes the main picture when entering their scope of life. The homogeneity of citizens is not only reflected in ethnic backgrounds, but also from the background of livelihood patterns or value of life, education and religion. With the majority of fishermen and Muslims, the relationship between residents and religious leaders is very close. Religious leaders not only act as figures who play a role in the religious area, but also play a role in the social life of society, including in decision-making steps, when conflicts or disputes occur.



If the description of the social conditions of the community is homogeneous, it is different from the existing elements of conflict. What is reflected in the conflict that occurs is the complexity of the elements that trigger the conflict. the complexity of this element presents a somewhat different characteristic of the C.R. SIPPABIO theory, each of which has a single element. In the description of the theory, the singular nature of each element is emphasized, so it is not entirely the same as what happened in Gresik. However, this theory can be borrowed as an analytical framework for combing events that occur. The compound elements are the sources, interests, positions, parties involved, attitudes, behaviour, feelings, that are chosen to describe their attitudes.

The source of the conflict in Ujungpangkah Gresik can be said to be more complex than the other elements in this conflict. In his notes, Amr Abdallah stated that a conflict can arise because of one of the detailed sources, namely *human basic needs, identity, and values and beliefs*. From each of these sources will affect the peculiarities of the other elements. However, as a result of research conducted in Gresik, these three sources of conflict became a source of conflict with PGN Saka. Not just one source, but all sources trigger conflict.

Almost all parties around the people of Ujungpangkah, Gresik, the village and local governments, and PGN Saka were involved in the conflict. Their involvement as the main, secondary, and tertiary actors, became actors in this conflict. The interests promoted by the parties involved are also interesting to note. From the main parties, namely the people of Ujungpangkah, Gresik and PT PGN Saka, have conflicting interests. Ujungpangkah residents are worried that their natural resources are being used massively and without bringing benefits to them, while PT PGN Saka only prioritizes profit without paying attention to the concerns of the Ujungpangkah community. On the other hand, there are religious leaders who listen to the people's complaints and worry that the value and identity of the area where they live will be harmed by migrants, namely PT PGN Saka employees who come from outside the region. The interests and roles of these parties also illustrate



the existence of an unequal structure, which Dahrendorf⁶ described as the unequal distribution of social force.⁷ This then directs the distinctive attitude of each party.

Social Cohesion As A Conflict Resolution

Conflict, on the one hand, is detrimental. But on the other hand, it can be seen from a different perspective, which is profitable. Coser states that conflict can be an accommodative part of creating habitual relationships that progressively increase creativity. Conflict between values and concerns, pressure between parties, will lead certain groups to creatively create solutions to solve their problems.⁸ The attitude that emerged as a result of the conflict in Gresik has changed, in line with the creativity of Gresik residents in the form of resistance to PGN Saka. Initially they were tough and negative by maximizing their physical abilities, so the form of resistance was coercive. However, after understanding the impacts and losses that they shared, as well as reviewing PGN Saka's activities in their area, Gresik residents took a more positive attitude and packaged their demands with a more lenient behaviour pattern.

The change in the form of conflict escalation was triggered by the role of community leaders, especially religious leaders. they apply a pattern of social cohesion, as a mutually beneficial solution for various parties. Social cohesion is the main key to conflict resolution, which can be said to be the most appropriate, because social ties are the driving force for each conflicting group towards peace. In the context of the conflict in Gresik, religious figures become "glue" so as to create strong social ties that do not weaken each other. Religious leaders are able to accommodate different interests, rather than focusing on homogenizing the different interests of each group, the focus of conflict resolution is aimed at acceptance and appreciation between groups. This makes all groups involved in the conflict not feel disadvantaged.

⁶ Coser, "Social Conflict and the Theory of Social Change," 139.

⁷ Rakmaniah, "Metatheorizing: Teori Konflik (Ralf Dahrendorf)," 4.

⁸ Coser, 197.



General Description of the Community

Ujungpangkah Sub-district is one of the sub-district in Gresik which is geographically located on coastal north of Java Island in East Java Province. The area is located at the coordinates of $06^{\circ} 48' 00''$ to $06^{\circ} 54' 00''$ latitude and $112^{\circ} 31' 00''$ to $112^{\circ} 35' 00''$ East. In administration, the sub-district consists of 13 villages. Of such three fifteen (13) villages are villages which became the centre for fishing activities and all at once the centre for economy and trade, namely Pangkah Wetan village and Pangkah Kulon village. Both villages are as the research locus due to a conflict with the company occurs in that area. Geographically, Pangkah Wetan village has a spacious area, 318,618 ha and Pangkah Kulon village has a broad area, 1,659,653 ha around 35 km from Capital City of Gresik. Pangkah Wetan and Pangkah Kulon villages are located at a height of 3.8 m from the surface of the sea. Rainfall average is 2000 mm per year with temperatures average 29° C.

Condition of topography in Ujungpangkah Sub-district consists of area form between the flat to choppy around 85% and wavy form to hilly approximately 15%. Here it is the boundary region of Pangkah Wetan village:

- a) Next to the East: Serowo Village, Sedayu Sub-district;
- b) West side: Pangkah Kulon Village;
- c) South side: Karang Rejo Village;
- d) Next to the North: Java Sea.

While the boundary region of Pangkah Kulon village:

- a) Next to the North: Java Sea;
- b) South side: Kebonagung Village;
- c) West side: Banyurip Village;
- d) East side: Pangkah Wetan Village.

Pangkah Wetan Village has two worship mosques, 20 small mosques, and one Pesantren. Educational means consist of two Kindergartens, Al-Muniroh and Aisyiah; two State Elementary Schools, Pangkah Wetan I and II; three Madrasah Ibtidaiyah, namely MI Al-Muniroh I, II, and Muhammadiyah; two MTs and two Madrasah Aliyah namely Al-Muniroh and 1 Muhammadiyah Senior High School. Meanwhile Pangkah Kulon Village also has two mosques, nine teen



small mosques and one Pesantren. Educational means are two Kindergartens, namely Al-Muniroh III and Islamiyah; two State Elementary Schools, Pangkah Kulon I and II; two Madrasah Ibtidaiyah, one SLTPN; one MTs and one Madrasah Aliyah Islamiyah. Among villages in Ujungpangkah Sub-district, Pangkah Kulon and Pangkah Wetan villages are the two villages which has many educational facilities, formal and non-formal educations. It can be seen at the following table:

Table 1.
Number of School Facilities by Education Level and Village / Sub-district in Ujungpangkah, 2018

No.	Village/ Sub-district	Elementary School	Junior High School	Senior High School 1	Vocational High School	Uni- ver- sity
1	Sekapuk	2	0	1	1	0
2	Bolo	1	0	0	0	0
3	Glatik	1	0	0	0	0
4	Tanja- ngawan	1	0	0	0	0
5	Ketapanglor	1	0	0	0	0
6	Karangrejo	1	0	0	0	0
7	Kebon- agung	1	0	0	0	0
8	Gosari	1	1	0	0	0
9	Cangaan	1	0	0	0	0
10	Ngeboh	1	0	0	0	0
11	Banyuurip	2	1	0	1	0
12	Pangkah- kulon	3	1	0	1	0
13	Pangkah- wetan	2	0	2	1	0
Total		18	3	3	4	0



Source: Ujungpangkah Sub-district in Figures 2019
(www.statistik.gresikkab.go.id)

In addition to educational facilities, Pangkah Kulon and Pangkah Wetan villages have several public facilities and means, namely worship places in which are much more than in other villages in Ujungpangkah Sub-districts and Ngemboh village. It can be seen from statistical data, researchers try to collect from data source in Central Agency for Statistics, Gresik in 2019.

Table 2.
Number of Worship Places by Village / Sub-district in
Ujungpangkah, 2019

No.	Village/ Sub-district	Mos- que	Mu- sholla	Protestant Church	Catho- lic Church	Tem ple
1	Pangkah- kulon	4	28	0	0	0
2	Pangkah- wetan	5	20	0	0	0
Total		9	48	0	0	0

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Gresik 2019
(www.statistik.gresikkab.go.id)

Economically, Pangkah Kulon and Pangkah Wetan communities are sustained from the pond fishing of brackish water. Their fishery activities cover arresting fish at sea, aquaculture of brackish pond and water fish, and purchasing fish at the market. Area of brackish fish ponds is around 18292.67 hectare in Gresik. Most of them are available on the north coast of Gresik and exactly in Ujungpangkah Sub-district. Based on the information, the most sea fish production incomes are derived from area of Ujungpangkah Sub-district. Abundant fish production is available in fish season, around April to November and the peak on August. Types of caught fish cover mullet, snapper, mackerel, and



shrimp. Fish production data on arresting fish at sea, and aquacultures of brackish fish ponds, freshwater ponds, pool, and water in general can be understood in table below:

Table 3.
Fish Production Data by Enterprises for Catching
Fish at Sea, Aquaculture of Brackish, Fresh, and Water Ponds

No.	Sub-districts	Catching at Sea	Brackish Pond	Fresh-water Pond	Waters	Total
1	Wringin-anom	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2	Driyorejo	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
3	Kedamean	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
4	Menganti	0.00	0.00	2,722.48	47.99	2,770.47
5	Cerme	0.00	0.00	19,759.79	47.15	19,806.94
6	Benjeng	0.00	0.00	5,529.58	14.52	5,544.10
7	Balong-panggung	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
8	Duduk-sampeyan	0.00	13,487.70	9,898.00	14.56	23,400.26
9	Kebomas	458.52	2,224.06	830.66	50.24	3,563.48
10	Gresik	3,451.54	0.00	0.00	0.00	3,451.54
11	Manyar	2,301.19	11,059.35	9,726.83	555.64	23,643.01
12	Bungah	2,546.38	8,597.05	9,916.02	14,870	21,074.15
13	Sidayu	1,125.69	8,747.47	6,979.61	45.55	16,898.32
14	Dukun	0.00	0.00	8,845.25	0.33	8,845.58
15	Panceng	2,824.02	838.70	297.96	12.45	3,973.13
16	Ujung-pangkah	4,310.66	9,158.73	595.18	18.34	14,082.91
17	Sangka-pura	4,042.62	0.00	0.00	0.00	4,042.62
18	Tambak	1,576.36	0.00	0.00	0.00	1,576.36
Total		22,637	54,113	75,101	821	125,673



Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Gresik 2018
(www.statistik.gresikkab.go.id)

People living in Ujungpangkah commonly embrace a single religion, Islam. In addition, It can be concluded that they entirely embrace Islam. According to, there are only 4 people embracing Catholic and 2 Protestant. Gresik where is historically known as the place of Islamic education, Pesantren can also be found in Ujungpangkah. Based on interviews with public leaders, there are at less ten Pesantren being still active until today. This statement is also strengthened by data obtained from website <https://ponpes.net/daftar-pondok-pesantren-di-gresik/>. This reality affects the pattern of belief in religious leaders. As mentioned above, religious leaders of Islam are a sufficiently influential social group. They are not only influential in religiosity level, but also, they are influential in creating life social pattern, including movement of conflict dynamics.

Related to human resources, most of children in Pangkah Wetan village previously study at Pesantren, example Pesantren Langitan, Gontor, Lirboyo and others. However, they mostly now study at schools i.e. Vocational High School, Madrasah Aliyah, or Senior High School under Pesantren management and University. In Ujungpangkah village there are now several vocational school that open majors of catering order and obstetrics. In spite of a little in number, general schools or vocational schools within the Pesantren can be at least considered as ideal education by people. In Pesantren, students are taking general education as life provision in this world while they are taking religious education as life provision in the hereafter, like in Pesantren Mamba'ul Ihsan, Banyuurip Village, Ujungpangkah Sub-district. In terms of work, Pangkahwetan village people generally work as fish pond owners, farmers and fishery workers or fishermen and a few of them works as Civil Servant, retired employees in private enterprises.

In Pangkahkulon, most of the population who are 35 years old or older are mostly graduated from junior high schools, and merely from senior high schools. Meanwhile, the people who are under 35 years old are still little graduated from S1 and a few people who currently is taking higher education. Otherwise, a number of



children who should be on compulsory learning in fact drop out of school is still high. Pangkahkulon people mostly work as a fisherman and a pond farmer. Because the village is adjacent to the sea, lands in the village are mostly utilised as farming and pond area. However, it does not necessarily impact on enhancing the people economy. Most of fisherman in the village are not the owner of fishing means (boats, nets, etc.). Hence, they have to sell results of catch to the owner of ship (boat) in determined price by skipper (boat). Such prices must in fact be cheaper than the price should be in the market.

The village which is located on the coast cannot be separated from the sea nature. Talking about the sea is not only about water, waves, fish and various kinds of natural resources, but also it is related to character, emotions and desires in which they can build local people's thinking patterns and traditions. Sea foam that quickly melts and spreads indicate that the local people easily adapts situation or something new. In addition, they tend to be temperamental due to be generally influenced by geographical conditions which is quite hot and by type of sharply sting north coast smell. Apart from social character built by influence of Ujungpangkah geographic region, religious life also effects to Pangkahwetan and Pangkahkulon people's social life. Number of religion followers is statistically mentioned below:

Table 4.
Total Population Based on Embraced Religion and Villages /
Urban Village in Ujungpangkah, 2018

No.	Village / Urban Village	Islam	Protes- tant	Catho- lic	Hindu	Buddha
1	Sekapuk	4926	0	0	0	0
2	Bolo	3208	0	0	0	0
3	Glatik	2143	0	0	0	0
4	Tanjangawan	1694	1	0	0	0
5	Ketapanglor	2025	0	0	0	0
6	Karangrejo	2539	0	0	0	0
7	Kebonagung	1429	0	0	0	0



8	Gosari	2607	0	0	0	0
9	Cangaan	2943	0	0	0	0
10	Ngeboh	3220	0	0	0	0
11	Banyuurip	6743	0	4	0	0
12	Pangkahkulon	8249	0	0	0	0
13	Pangkahwetan	10382	1	0	0	0
Total		52144	2	4	0	0

Source: Ujungpangkah Sub-district in Figures 2019
(Central Bureau of Statistics, Gresik)

Based on the religion, most of Ujungpangkah Kulon and Wetan people are Muslim. Their obedience to religion appears in carrying out worships in Islam, such as prayer, fasting, and others. Diversity which is patterned in rigid or straight tendency is influenced by many factors, such as geographical factors and according to Ibn Khaldun also persona factor, namely Kyai or cleric (religious teachers). Another special type of Pangkah Kulon people is their compliance religious leaders (Islam). A religious leader is personified as a person who has advantages and closeness to God as well as he has advantages that ordinary humans do not have. Hence, religious leaders are considered as people who are able to resolve mundane and hereafter issues. Thus, it is natural that Pangkah people are very dutiful to religious leaders.

Java Islamic civilization history notes that Sunan Giri (Gresik) was used to be a central leader of Wali Songo in which his religious thought is more rigid or sterile from the influence of local culture. Such religious model, of cause, differs from styles of Sunan Kalijaga and communities in inland or south coast in which their style tend to be accommodating culture or understanding outside Islam. Sunan Giri persona continued by his disciples and then formed an Islam spreading network in various areas has finally been transmitted into patronage relationship pattern between people and Kyai or religious leaders. Such relation-ship pattern between religious leaders and society is also so influential on social, cultural and economic relationship pattern.

Ujungpangkah Kulon and Wetan People’s religious pattern is rigidly reflected in the relationship among religions in which they are internally not easy to 'liquidate' if there is an intersection of religious



beliefs. A very high sensitivity on religious beliefs will easily be ignited if there are actions or maybe just words related to religious beliefs. It will greatly offend the Ujungpangkah community. However, as Javanese society in general, Ujungpangkah people also live peacefully side by side with the family values and philosophies that have been upheld and carried out so far. Family values are also reflected in the form of socio-religious practices, such as *tahlil*, *barzanji*, and others. In relation to nature, Ujungpangkah community religious pattern can be called a natural-religious relationship, in which nature (sea) also forms the socio-religious character of the local community.

Discussion

Demographic and geographical conditions have an impact on variety of livelihoods. In general, Ujungpangkah community livelihoods or jobs are dominated as fishermen, fishpond entrepreneurs and farmers. Their dominant job type has also led to their collective community, such as fishermen and fishpond entrepreneur's associations. The associations are directly involved in the conflict. This condition has clarified the emergence of conflict between residents and PGN Saka. Conflict clarity is due to the existence of a focused platform in order to convey and mobilize citizens' aspirations. Conflict mapping is important and major step as effort to unravel the conflict and find intervention form that occurs. One of the comprehensive interdisciplinary conflict mapping models is developed by sociologist, Amr Abdalla,⁹ namely C.R. SIPABIO model.

Context and Relationship

Apart from the definition of conflict, there are two other important elements, namely conflict situation and conflict intervention. Conflict situation is a situation in certain context of which a dispute occurs and the disputing party's relationship is affected by different attitudes or goals. Meanwhile, conflict intervention is a collaborative process of various parties in order to find right solution for all parties.

⁹ Abdalla, *Model for Conflict Analysis*, 19.



Conflict situations or conflict contexts can be identified, because conflicts do not basically just happen in a vacuum. Conflict occurs because of various contextual factors and then they interactively affect various parties as well.

A context in the conflict is a sociological, economic and political order that is intertwined in a conflict space. Knowing the conflict context is the first step by which conflict resolution efforts are right on target. One of factors affecting context are history, geography, religion, gender, education level and occupational background. Relationship describes a relationship among elements in a conflict space. There are three types of relationships, namely bond, power, patterns. Something significant in bond is cultural meaning among involved groups in conflict. Relationships or attachments in certain cultures often require certain parties to act role or fulfil certain rules. The bond will affect how certain parties behave. For example, the bond between group leader and group members. Power is an ability to achieve the desired result or to change certain party position. The strength often depends on the context that prevails during the conflict. For example, disparity in social status is able to determine relationship between one party and another. Behavioural patterns often arise also due to relationship among parties. The behavioural pattern during conflict can be typical according to involvement of parties in the conflict. For example, parties who behave in such a way are able to distract or use certain language or action in affecting other parties.

In detail, it is known that the conflict occurs as a result of which a gas company is established, while residents think that the existence will impact on them. They consider that the company is not transparent in providing accurate information about the impacts, benefits, and even losses, the residents will experience. This top-down company establishment information (central government policy) is only limited to those who are considered to have an interest. Meanwhile, information about the ins and outs of establishing a company to residents is very limited. On aspect of the cultural condition, each group is very different of which the company has a culture close to criteria of modern system, for example effectiveness, speed, profit, system and rules. Meanwhile, culture in community groups tends to be patronage, namely obedience



to religious leaders. Conflict relationship between companies and residents can be said to be quite complex because there is no agreement between the two patterns; the system has its own characteristics.

The relationship in the conflict is also complex. Of three relationship types is the relationship between residents and religious leaders that is the most dominant in the conflict. Another is the relationship between residents and community leaders. However, the community leaders (fishermen or pond entrepreneurs) are part of the religious leaders too. It is due to a very strong religious tradition. The religious leaders are very influential not only on citizens, but also on community in which they affect resident perspectives in perceiving PGN Saka. Bonds, powers, and patterns between citizens in general, community leaders and PGN are connected in a centralized conflict. The conflict covers strong mutual power, equally strong influence between one group of citizens and another, as well as in the pattern of links between one community leaders and another community's leaders on existence of PGN Saka.

Key Elements of the Conflict (Base on C.R. SIPABIO)

1) Sources

Conflict sources can be explored in depth by paying attention to something are the problem root. The sources will influence the arising conflict type. They can be something visible and invisible. Novri Susan states that conflict can arise from social relationship model between parties. Amr Abdalla describes that at least, there are three conflict sources, namely basic human needs (primary human needs, such as security, freedom, self-fulfilment, resources, or distribution of justice), identity (identity such as race, ethnicity, gender, or social pedigree), and values and beliefs (values or life beliefs in the form of norms or morals).¹⁰ The sources are the main root of every conflict phenomenon. Base on three conflict sources (basic needs, identity, and values), many leaders mention in Ujungpangkah are basic needs and identity. Basic

¹⁰ Susan, *Sosiologi Konflik: Teori-Teori Dan Analisis*, 35.



needs are actually the main conflict source, but identity is also a source that cannot be put aside.

The basic needs i.e. natural resources as a conflict source are PGN Saka's gas drilling source or location in the Ujungpangkah area. PGN Saka is the main owner and fully responsible for exploiting and exploring oil and gas potentials in Ujungpangkah, known as Pangkah Block. Currently, PGN Saka has two drilling terminal wells, but according to informants, it will drill more than 6 wells. This information caused more concern for residents, as conveyed by the Head of the Ujungpangkah Fishermen Association.

Ujungpangkah people think that they have a right on all the natural resources in their territory. The people consider that PGN Saka activities i.e. exploring natural resources will affect sustainability of environment and life. There is a suspicion that negative impact due to the mining activity is a pattern of disturbing security, identity and believed values. Rumours about an impact violating society's collective values are to also be a factor of conflict emergence. It can be concluded that the source of conflict between PGN Saka and the Ujungpangkah Community was actually quite complex from basic needs (basic needs) and religious identity issues to collective values from religious beliefs. The various conflict sources aggregate in which the end lead to resistance and conflict.

2) Interests

Interest is something specific as the goal of which parties in the conflict want to gain or achieve. As mentioned earlier, conflicts generally arise due to achieve different interests or different goals. By describing or finding interest in the conflict, one key step has been taken to find a way to resolve it. Amr Abdalla states that the specific desire of each party in achieving something would not become a conflict if it did not occur at the same time. Interest type leading to a conflict covers: 1) arising interest due to limited resources (natural, human or others); 2) arising interest from the need to survive, such as conflict that arises because of goods scarcity or self and offspring survival interests; 3) interest on relationship dynamics among groups, such as a conflict of will to control a certain position; 4) interest originating from religious



or moral values, such as different perceptions on certain moral teachings, so that any groups want to change and other groups want to survive.¹¹ An interest in the conflict is clearly related to limited natural resources and needs to survive. PGN Saka has an interest in fulfilling national gas needs, while Ujungpangkah people have an interest in saving their livelihood. Gas drilling is considered an action that will disturb and reduce people's income so far. Interest differences between PGN Saka party and the community has been a conflict up to now.

3) Positions

Each party in a conflict must have a position that led to every action they took. The position often presents an opportunity to fight back and often increase bargaining value and clarify control power in conflict escalation. Positions reflect specific demands of each conflicting party. The position often causes conflicts to be complicated, because each conflicting party consciously positions itself as a subject with certain demands or interests. This awareness strengthens an escalation of conflict. Due to their strengths or abilities, the conflict can be complicated.

Each involved group has own interests. One of the informants stated that there was a conflict of interest behind PGN's existence, i.e. between Saka and community groups. Interests of certain groups are suspected in bearing open conflict. It is conveyed by one of the informants who said: "While having coffee with PGN, I told to sign it and I was invited to Jakarta at the Ministry of Environment to discuss Environmental Impact Analysis. Sir, are ready to be my partner?" I replied "yes". During the process, I regret that they are only in their business, they are just interests". Informants feel that interests of Ujungpangkah residents are no much paid attention, even though residents are borne the impacts.

- a. Ujungpangkah residents have an interest in protecting their village area for their survival. Security, a sense of belonging and a cultural and spiritual identity are the main maintained elements. If there are

¹¹ Abdalla, *Model for Conflict Analysis*, 54.



interests that are different from the main elements, they will not hesitate to fight them.

- b. Community leaders accommodate and mediate the interests of Ujungpangkah residents.
- c. PGN Saka has an interest in conducting its business according to its targets and plans. Hence, the interests are prioritized over interests of residents in nearby locations.

Based on the field data, there is a change in positioning the occurred conflict. At the beginning, conditions are opposite, namely between PGN Saka and the community. However, after PGN Saka have persuaded local leaders, the groups and religious leaders who will to mediate with PGN appear. On other hand, there are community groups and religious leaders who continue to resist PGN Saka. Thus, conflict now no longer only occur between community groups and PGN Saka, but also it occurred between people who are pro PGN Saka and residents who continue to reject PGN Saka.

Each involved group has a strong and logical position. Ujungpangkah residents have a strong position as residents who occupy the mining area. They feel as “owners of resources or territory”, so that any activity in their territory becomes their power. They feel entitled to demand an exchange of resources or capital taken from their territory.

4) Parties

Parties are those who are involved in the conflict. The involved parties can be individuals, groups (organizations or communities) or countries. The involvement can be categorized into:

- a. Main: those who are directly involved;
- b. Secondary: those who have no direct interest, but they are affected by the decisions made;
- c. Tertiary: those who have a deep interest in the conflict. Tertiary parties can act as mediators or negotiators, because they are often seen as neutral parties.

Involved parties in the conflict are PGN Saka and the Ujungpangkah citizens who still refuse. When the conflict escalates, other parties as community leaders, religious leaders, Pesantren leaders, fishermen leaders, and pond community leaders are also involved. These



parties can be the main category, while secondary parties are citizens who are affected by the involvement of the main leaders. These leaders act as mediators amid the conflict.

5) Attitudes

Attitudes are parties' feelings and perceptions which influence the behaviour pattern towards conflict. Feelings and perceptions can be both positive and negative. The parties' feelings or perceptions towards conflict are divided into two, i.e. Ujungpangkah residents see PGN Saka's activities in their area negatively. They negatively assume impact of oil and gas drilling terminal construction activities in Ujungpangkah. However, there is a positive attitude taken by community leaders, such as community leaders who see these activities as potentials that can be exploited by Ujungpangkah residents. Community leaders see that if there are PGN activities in their area, they will be able to take advantage of gaps or production spaces that can be built by the community as resident capacities. Based on the history and chronology of the conflict, there is a change in the attitude of some residents and religious leaders who initially had a negative attitude and turned into a positive perception of PGN Saka.

6) Behaviour

An action taken by each party in the conflict is called as behaviour. Behaviour can be a coercive action (violent action, for example vandalism, physical or non-physical violence) or non-coercive action (non-violent action, such as a strike or silence). Behaviour that is adopted by society changes. Initially they fought against imbalance non-violently or non-coercively. After behaviour has peaked and they have strived to reduce it, their attitude changed to. The non-coercive action appears from demonstrations by residents at PGN Saka. Before becoming PGN Saka, residents had already held demonstrations refusing oil and gas drilling activities in Ujungpangkah. After preparing drilling terminal construction, heavy equipment and workers from outside Ujungpangkah have come to the drilling area and the people took a coercive attitude. Coercive action is marked by the explosion of violence or riots committed by the community. They burned, destroyed



and attacked PGN Saka (named Amera Hess at that time). Although there were no casualties, the huge material casualties were borne by the company and the directly affected residents.

7) Intervention

Intervention or interference of certain parties is an effort made to describe or resolve the conflict. Amr Abdalla said that there were three models of conflict intervention that occurred in the field. These interventions can be done all at once, in part, in succession or one of the two.¹² The three intervention models are:

- a. Conflict management: a used process in accommodating negative manifestations of conflict, without having to deal with conflict fundamentally;
- b. Conflict transformation: a process i.e. an attempt to transform and change relationship or position of the conflicting parties from within, and it constitutes the building of structural factors that influence conflict towards peace or sustainable resolution;
- c. Conflict resolution: a process that requires collaborative efforts from various parties to arrive at a reasonable and beneficial resolution or satisfactory resolution for all parties in a conflict. The resolution can involve third parties or neutral parties, or it can appear from awareness of each conflicting party to resolve.

Intervention to solve problems in Ujungpangkah, Gresik is a conflict resolution carried out by community leaders. At this stage, community leaders play a major and key role in conflict resolution. Amr Abdalla said that those who intervened in conflict resolution would be better off, but of course by maintaining their role in a positive way. The right approach by managing conflict and describing the problems at hand can be in the form of granting political autonomy or power for certain groups who are able to manage existing conflicts. The conflict resolution includes several activities, such as negotiation, mediation, dialogue, and problem solving. The conflict in Ujungpangkah applied

¹² Abdalla, 85.



intervention which was carried out by community leaders who acted as negotiators between Ujungpangkah residents and PGN Saka.

What is interesting about the negotiation process carried out in conflict resolution is the role of religion as a negotiator.¹³ In general, negotiators are those who come from conflicting groups, participate, take the role of resolving as neutral parties. However, what happened in Gresik was not the case. Negotiators are those who are also involved in the conflict, because they are also the parties affected by the existence of PGN Saka's activities. It is called a local actor.¹⁴ However, the positive value is, the negotiators are able to accommodate the interests of all parties, without any party feeling disadvantaged. When the conflict dynamics escalated, community leaders mediated and described the problems that occurred and appropriate steps can be taken to resolve them.

8) Outcomes

Outcome is the final result or impact that arises from the conflict and attitudes or interventions on conflict. The impact is not always positive or happy. It depends on ability, seriousness and choice of the applied intervention model. The arising impact often becomes a new dynamic between the conflicting parties. If the result is a new conflict, it is necessary to conduct a new analysis by possibly applying a new intervention model.

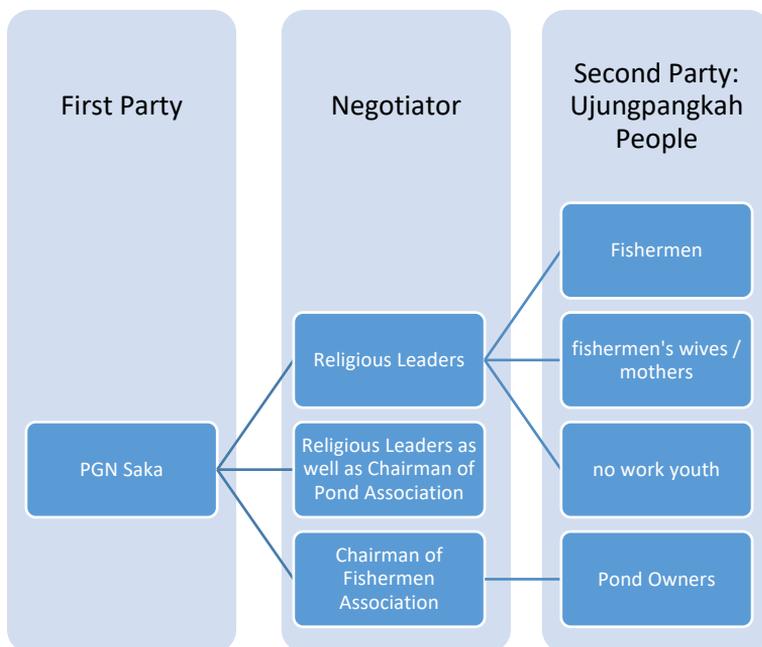
Intervention the community leaders carried out yielded positive results in the conflict between Ujungpangkah residents and PGN Saka. The resulting conflict can end peacefully. The peace constitutes a culmination in achieving steps that have been taken by the conflicting parties. Some of the results are that community leader success in encouraging PGN Saka to utilize professional groups that accommodate interests of various parties. Head of fishermen group encouraged PGN Saka to open job vacancies for Ujungpangkah residents. The fishermen got income from escorting workers to location where PGN's oil and gas

¹³ Mitchell, "Mediation and the Ending of Conflicts," 77.

¹⁴ Darby, John, "Conclusion: Peace Processes, Present and Future," 273.



mining terminal is on off the coast. Mothers got jobs to prepare catering for PGN Saka employees. Meanwhile, head of the fishermen group also accommodates recruitment of workers for people who are no jobs to help PGN Saka employees in the project area with the specified conditions. Other groups, such as farmer association, were also given a role. PGN Saka helps coordinate grants i.e. business cooperation for fishpond entrepreneurs, such as establishing business cooperation, pond equipment, centres, and other necessities.



Conflict Dynamics

Conflict dynamics are often triggered by the main cause which is the feeling of pressure from the conflicting parties.¹⁵ When the pressure increases, the dynamics of the conflict can change to the next level. Conflict dynamics are conflict movement to certain levels, and it

¹⁵ Suparlan, “Konflik Sosial Dan Alternatif Pemecahannya,” 142.



finally reaches an end or finish point. The conflict dynamics can be broadly divided into three stages, pre-conflict, conflict and post-conflict. Pre-conflict is a period when the goals or objectives are mismatched as conflicts arise. A conflict period is when different parties are aware of the differences and their awareness accumulate in certain attitudes. At this stage, conflict can reach its peak or escalation as when the conflict can be a coercive (violence) or non-coercive action (without violence). Post-conflict is when a conflict situation begins to be resolved by means of appropriate intervention. Post-conflict is often called de-escalation. Depiction of the dynamic is culmination of exploring a particular conflict.

The conflict between Ujungpangkah residents and PGN Saka experienced interesting dynamics. The conflict experienced an open escalation that is massive violence. Large amount of PGN Saka's material that became victims and existence of the perpetrators who were subject to criminal penalties were the turning points for the major conflict. Chronologically, the conflict is triggered by the Ujungpangkah resident resistance in facing activities of oil and gas management companies in their environment (their basic security needs and resources were threatened). The pre-conflict triggered the opened conflict up to occur violence. The escalation or peak of conflict is caused by a change in elements that cause conflict, namely not only basic needs, but identity and values too. Ujungpangkah residents feel that their identity as "owner" of oil and gas resources is tarnished by activities of PGN Saka which involve many workers from outside Ujungpangkah who "don't own" and "don't have the right" to benefit from the Block Pangkah oil and gas refinery. After that, religious values began to be involved in the conflict i.e. Ujungpangkah community is suspicious on PGN Saka employees who came from different backgrounds corrupting religious values and noble values of goodness, they had long held and believed. The community leaders play a role in conflict resolution that leads to peace. Finally, post-conflict can be achieved until it results a peace with, of course, a unique pattern of community relationship in Ujungpangkah and distribution of power for each group that plays a role.

Based on the conflict dynamics and finally pursuing conflict resolution on role of the community leaders, it can be concluded that the



negotiation pattern in the conflict is an appropriate model for reaching the post-conflict point, namely peace. Achieving peace or positive values from a conflict is due to social cohesion. As well known, the negotiation model can be achieved by involving neutral third parties or third parties who are part of the conflicting group and they are able to take position objectively among the conflicting parties. Abdalla state that social cohesion is the intangible bond that holds societies together in peace. Various groups with opposing ideologies and desires will often come into conflict if the proper resources are not made available equally to all groups in a society. The various leaders from government, to religious leaders, to the media, all play key roles in making sure that individuals and groups within their society are on even footing with access to resources, basic needs, and basic human rights.¹⁶

Social cohesion is the second form, i.e. the involvement of groups that have strong relationship between the conflicting parties as well as being part of the conflicting parties as well. Amr Abdalla explained that what is the meaning of social cohesion is a force or glue that unites conflicting parties. Unification does not mean a fusion of interests or power, but rather a formation or distribution of interests and power as mutually beneficial capacities for various parties. Social cohesion is a determining element in building peace, prosperity and fostering trust for the disputing parties.

Lockwood said that social cohesion is divided into two, namely the micro level and the macro level. Micro social cohesion is a bond formed within the scope of the family, traditional social community and voluntary association. Meanwhile, macro-social cohesion is concerned with a wider scope of space, such as political participation, support for democracy, or social welfare. Micro social cohesion can affect the growth of macro social cohesion which is then called social integration.¹⁷ In some aspects social cohesion is indeed dynamic, inclusive and evolutive.¹⁸ This causes the importance of awareness

¹⁶ Abdalla, 156.

¹⁷ Lockwood, "Civic Integration and Social Cohesion," 66-67.

¹⁸ Giardiello, "The Generative Theory of Social Cohesion and Civic Integration," 86.



among community members or parties related to the conflict. In a conflict escalation event which may take the form of a series, the role of the unifying character of social cohesion becomes important.

There are several basic features that can support the emergence and success of the role of social cohesion as the main key to conflict resolution:

a. Equality

Equality in the concept of social cohesion is the implementation of communal values and community commitment which interpret the same symbolic identity. This equality also leads to efforts to strive for disparities in income and wealth in general, thus enabling individual interaction in business and social economic space.¹⁹ This equality is practiced by religious leaders Gresik in their conflict resolution. By ensuring the value of their symbolic identity is guaranteed not to be disturbed by migrants from the PGN Saka Energy side, they are able to convince residents that conflicts are important to end. illustrated by their ability to negotiate corporate social responsibility's PGN Saka Energy to help organize religious activities in their region. On the other hand, religious leaders who are also heads of fishermen associations and fishpond entrepreneurs are also able to convince the Gresik people that their income will not be disturbed by mining activities. By means of a social approach and utilizing their role at the top of the homogeneous social strata.

b. Solidarity

Solidarity plays an important role in determining social processes that help in still a sense of belonging to individuals who live in the community.²⁰ In the conflict between Gresik and PGN Saka people, the religious leaders raised a spirit of solidarity among the general population. Through dialogue spaces in the form of associations, group discussions and recitation, religious leaders share the values of togetherness and a sense of belonging together.

¹⁹ Meko and Busari, "Social Cohesion: Its Meaning and Complexities," 110.

²⁰ Meko and Busari, 109.



UNDP emphasized that the adhesive element in social cohesion consists of four main elements, i.e. social relations, linkages, the same orientation of goodness and equality.²¹ These four elements are able to be positioned by Ujungpangkah community leaders. Ujungpangkah community leaders are able to act as “binders” and “glue” for residents who are at odds with PGN Saka.

Conclusions

The conclusions that can be drawn from this paper are as follows:

1. The conflict between Ujungpangkah residents and PGN Saka did not originate from a single source, but from two main sources which then grow into three equally strong sources, namely from unequal basic needs, identity suspicion, and ultimately target value.
2. The conflict dynamics become more complex when the conflict map changes. In the beginning, the conflict only occurs between PGN Saka and all Ujungpangkah residents, however, the conflict shifts when a group of residents and community leaders want to negotiate with PGN Saka.
3. Although the conflicts are very complex, the religious leaders, local communities and very strong patronage relationship between residents and religious or community's leader impact on the conflict being reduced gradually through negotiation and compromises.
4. Social cohesion is the role in which religious leaders (the community) play in the conflict resolution negotiation model. The social cohesion pattern is the right pattern in eliminating the escalation of conflict in areas where conflict between groups with strong and homogeneous identity backgrounds occurs.

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²¹ Larsen, “Social Cohesion: Definition, Measurement and Developments,” 6.



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