

Leadership and Social Harmony: Understanding the Leader's Role in Fostering Social Integration Within Coastal Islamic Communities

Ries Dyah Fitriyah

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya
riesdyah@uinsa.ac.id

Abstract

This paper explores local leaders' role in fostering social harmony within conflict-prone coastal Muslim communities, primarily composed of fishermen. The focus is on how local leaders promote social harmony while navigating the challenges, priorities, and opportunities they face. It is essential to consider the diverse nature of these communities. Although they may appear united due to their shared livelihood, the realities are often more complex, featuring intricate social dynamics, power structures, and competing interests. The research was conducted in Kalirejo Village in the Kraton District of Pasuruan. This location was chosen due to its history of significant conflict dynamics; however, the community is currently peaceful, largely owing to the diligent efforts of local leaders in promoting peace. This study employs qualitative research methods, utilizing data collection techniques such as observation, interviews, and focus group discussions. The findings indicate that local leaders have implemented four key strategies to promote social harmony in coastal Muslim communities. First, they have engaged in mediation and negotiation efforts. Second, they actively appeal to the community to prevent further conflict during events. Third, they serve as guarantors for individuals involved in conflicts before legal proceedings. Lastly, they organize activities that involve both parties, such as Friday Tours and grand religious studies.

Keywords: *Harmony, Leadership, Conflict, Peace*

Abstrak

Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk mengungkapkan bagaimana peran pemimpin lokal dalam mewujudkan harmoni sosial di tengah masyarakat yang rawan konflik pada masyarakat Islam pesisir yang mayoritas bekerja sebagai nelayan. Fokus pada pemimpin lokal dalam membina keharmonisan sosial, termasuk pada tantangan, fokus dan peluang yang mereka hadapi. Salah satu aspek utama yang perlu dipertimbangkan adalah sifat beragama dari masyarakat Islam pesisir itu sendiri. Meskipun tampak bersatu karena mata pencaharian mereka, kenyataannya sering kali lebih bernuansa dengan dinamika sosial yang kompleks, struktur kekuasaan, dan kepentingan yang saling bersaing. Penelitian ini dilakukan Desa Kalirejo Kecamatan Kraton Kabupaten Pasuruan. Alasan penentuan lokasi disebabkan dinamika konfliktual masyarakat yang cukup tinggi, namun saat ini masyarakat cenderung aman dan tidak ada konflik lagi. Salah satu penyebabnya adalah kerja keras pemimpin lokal untuk mewujudkan perdamaian. Penelitian ini termasuk dalam jenis kualitatif dengan teknik pengambilan data melalui observasi, wawancara dan *focus group discussion*. Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa terdapat empat upaya yang dilakukan oleh pemimpin lokal dalam mewujudkan harmoni sosial pada masyarakat Islam pesisir. Pertama, melakukan usaha mediasi dan negosiasi. Kedua, menghimbau masyarakat agar tidak lagi terjadi konflik pada setiap acara. Ketiga, menjadi penjamin para pelaku konflik di hadapan hukum. Keempat, mengadakan kegiatan yang melibatkan kedua belah pihak yakni Jumat Keliling dan pengajian akbar.

Kata Kunci: *Harmoni, Kepemimpinan, Konflik, Perdamaian*

INTRODUCTION

Every community, organization, or social structure has a leader who plays a significant role in the effectiveness of that institution. In carrying out their duties, leaders often face obstacles, including internal and external conflicts. These conflicts can damage communal social capital, erode trust and a sense of belonging, and lead to stagnation in development. Therefore, a capable leader is essential for resolving conflicts that may arise. Leaders contribute to improving the quality of society through their abilities and expertise.

According to Salim in Agus Suryono, human quality can be divided into two categories: physical quality and non-physical quality.¹ Physical quality includes health and nutrition levels, while non-physical quality encompasses soft skills that enhance productivity, as well as religious and cultural values. Improving human resources (HR) involves enhancing both physical and non-physical qualities. Physical quality is easier to measure quantitatively, whereas non-physical quality relates more closely to social skills. In 2000, the World Bank stated that social activities—such as horizontal associations, social networks, and social norms—positively impact the productivity and welfare of society.² Hence, social ties and norms that foster collectivity, such as trust and community networks, play a crucial role in human development.

This pattern of collectivity is often found in homogeneous societies, such as fishing or farming communities. One important value in collectivity is togetherness, which is reflected in daily behaviors such as "*teposliri*" and "*gotong royong*".³ Soekarno once remarked that the unity of a nation's strengths lies in its culture.⁴ The strength of this collective culture is expected to drive positive social change and enhance the quality and development of society. According to Salim in Agus Suryono, five positive characteristics define a healthy society: adherence to moral and religious principles, social solidarity, creativity and productivity, the development of rationality, and independence.⁵

However, high values of collectivity in certain areas do not always result in a comfortable and peaceful life. For example, in Kalirejo Village, located in the Kraton District of Pasuruan Regency, the community is very homogeneous, with most residents being fishermen who share the

¹ Agus Suryono, *Dimensi-Dimensi Prima Teori Pembangunan* (Malang: UB Press, 2010).

² Angela Baron and Michael Armstrong, *Human Capital Management, Achieving Added Value Through People* (London: Kogan Page Limited, 2009).

³ Zulkarnain Nasution, *Solidaritas Sosial Dan Partisipasi Masyarakat Desa Transisi, Suatu Tinjauan Sosiologis* (Malang: UMM Press, 2009).

⁴ Rajoki Simarmata, "Peran Modal Sosial Dalam Mendorong Sektor Pendidikan Dan Pengembangan Wilayah Di Kabupaten Samosir (Studi Pada SMK HKBP Pangururan)" (Sekolah Pascasarjana Universitas Sumatera Utara, 2009).

⁵ Suryono, *Dimensi-Dimensi Prima Teori Pembangunan*.

same religious culture. Despite this homogeneity, conflicts often arise, both between local fishermen and those from outside the village, as well as disputes among residents within the village itself. Historical records show that conflicts occurred between residents of Kisik and Kaligung Hamlets in 1997-1998, and again in 2000. Although physical conflicts between these two hamlets have ceased since 2000, disputes with outsiders from Kisik continue. Notable incidents include a fistfight between Kisik Hamlet residents and those from Semare Village in 2015, and a confrontation between residents of Gumeng and Kisik at the end of October 2016.

The conflicts among residents are driven by various factors, including political issues, social jealousy, economic inequality, and minor triggering incidents like traffic accidents or misunderstandings. Kalirejo Village's fishing community is classified as economically disadvantaged, with approximately 70% of the population falling below the poverty line, as indicated by monograph data (BPS, 2017). According to Collier's theory, the propensity for conflict is elevated in impoverished communities. Collier has identified a nexus between economic stagnation and heightened susceptibility to conflict, coining the term "conflict traps" to denote the phenomenon. This implies that without appropriate political policies and institutional reforms, conflicts are likely to arise.⁶ This assessment suggests that the people of Kalirejo Village are particularly vulnerable to conflict.

The pervasive conflicts in Kalirejo Village have profound and far-reaching ramifications, impacting nearly all facets of residents' lives, particularly the economic sector. The most significant repercussions include stagnation in economic activity, which adversely affects residents' welfare, leading to physical and psychological distress, infrastructure damage, property loss, and even loss of life. This situation also hinders efforts to improve human quality. Addressing these challenges necessitates concerted efforts from local leaders and engagement with various community members to enhance collective well-being.

However, a strong sense of collectivity in some areas does not always lead to a comfortable and peaceful life. For example, in Kalirejo Village, located in the Kraton District of Pasuruan Regency, most of the population consists of fishermen sharing the same religious culture. Despite this, conflicts frequently arise, both between fishermen from outside the village and among residents of the village itself. Notable conflicts occurred in 1997-1998 and 2000 between residents of Kisik and Kaligung Hamlets. Although physical altercations between these hamlets ceased after 2000, disputes between residents of Kisik and those from outside the village have continued, such

⁶ R. Collier, *Pelecehan Seksual. Hubungan Dominasi Mayoritas Dan Minoritas*, ed. E.N. Alih Bahasa: Hariati (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 1998).

as a fistfight between residents of Kisik Hamlet and Semare Village in 2015, and a *carok* incident between residents of Gumeng and Kisik in late October 2016.

The fishing community in Kalirejo Village is classified as less prosperous. According to monograph data from 2017, nearly 70% of the village population is considered poor.⁷ As noted by Collier, the likelihood of conflict rises in impoverished communities, particularly those with low economic growth and high reliance on primary commodities, a phenomenon known as the "conflict trap." This indicates that, without appropriate political policies and institutional reforms, conflict is inevitable.⁸ Based on this theory, the residents of Kalirejo Village are particularly vulnerable to conflict. The frequent conflicts experienced in Kalirejo Village have significant repercussions for all aspects of community life, especially the economy. These conflicts lead to economic stagnation, disrupt community welfare, cause physical and psychological distress, damage infrastructure, and result in property loss, and even loss of life, all of which hinder the enhancement of human quality. To improve the social conditions in communities with high conflict intensity, considerable effort is required from local leaders and other members of society involved in the improvement process.

Several studies are relevant to this paper, including research by Kushadajani and Indah Ayu Permana titled "Innovation in Village Community Empowerment: The Role of Local Leadership in the Perspective of Relations between Actors."⁹ This study focuses on the leadership of village heads in fostering participation among various actors in the design and implementation of innovation programs. The findings indicate that the village heads' ability to establish networks among these actors is crucial for the success of community empowerment initiatives.

Another relevant study is by Helda Ibrahim, Majdah Zain, and Tanzil Ibrahim, titled "The Role of Local Leaders in Improving Group Capabilities: A Case Study of Farmer Groups in Pulo Kencana Village, Pontang District, Serang Regency."¹⁰ This study concludes that local leaders play a significant role in enhancing group capabilities due to their leadership behaviors, which facilitate communication, boost motivation, and support group activities.

⁷ Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Pasuruan, "Jumlah Penduduk per Kecamatan (Jiwa) 2014-2016," *BPS*, last modified 2017, accessed July 3, 2024, <https://pasurankab.bps.go.id/indicator/12/35/3/jumlah-penduduk-per-kecamatan.html>.

⁸ R. Collier, *Pelecehan Seksual. Hubungan Dominasi Mayoritas Dan Minoritas*, ed. E.N. Alih Bahasa: Hariati (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 1998).

⁹ Kushadajani and Indah Ayu Permana, "Inovasi Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Desa: Peran Kepemimpinan Lokal Dalam Perspektif Relasi Antar Aktor," *Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Pemerintahan* 5, no. 1 (2020): 70–80.

¹⁰ Helda Ibrahim, Majdah Zain, and Tanzil Ibrahim, "Peranan Pemimpin Lokal Dalam Meningkatkan Kemampuan Kelompok (Kasus Kelompok Tani Di Desa Pulo Kencana Kecamatan Pontang Kabupaten Serang)," *Jurnal Penyuluhan* 10, no. 1 (2014).

Additionally, Putri Surya Ningrum conducted research entitled "Analysis of the Role of Local Leaders in Community Empowerment Through the Organic Village Program: A Case Study of the 'Kartini' Organic Village, Wates Village, North Magelang, Magelang City."¹¹ Her findings reveal that local leaders often possess the necessary skills to effectively fulfill their roles and have proven their ability to encourage and mobilize the community toward empowerment through organic initiatives.

Furthermore, John C. Allen authored "Community Conflict Resolution: The Development of Social Capital Within an Interactional Field."¹² His research, conducted in a small town in the United States characterized by low population migration, shows that the conflict resolution process begins within the smallest communities and rural areas, where social capital develops. Individuals involved in conflicts are often motivated by personal interests in creating better educational opportunities. In Alton, communication patterns are influenced by networks, norms, and distrust, as conflicts create diverse individual interests.

However, conflict also fosters cross-community involvement, ultimately strengthening ties among residents. The development of social capital aligns with the community's needs, even in conflict situations. The studies above serve as a foundation for the author to delve into the topic of local leaders' roles in achieving social harmony. The novelty of this research lies in its distinct focus and subject compared to previous studies. This investigation stems from the author's interest in exploring social phenomena in Kalirejo, a homogeneous society characterized by a high level of obedience to local leaders. Nevertheless, these leaders also play a role in generating conflict. Consequently, the author is keen to investigate the efforts made by local leaders to promote social harmony.

The social harmony discussed in this study results from the revitalization of social capital, which is essential for the survival of a non-conflict society, initiated by local leaders in the form of peace. According to Galtung, as referenced in Webel & Galtung, the dimensions of peace can be categorized as positive, negative, and comprehensive.¹³ Positive peace is characterized by a sense of security within society and the natural absence of direct violence. Negative peace, on the other hand, is evident when war ceases due to the intervention of institutions such as security forces. Comprehensive peace refers to a state that promotes structural change, justice, and the absence of

¹¹ Putri Surya Ningrum, "Analisis Peran Pemimpin Lokal Dalam Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Melalui Program Kampung Organik: Studi Kasus Kampung Organik 'Kartini' Kelurahan Wates, Magelang Utara, Kota Magelang" (Universitas Tidar, 2022).

¹² John C. Allen, "Community Conflict Resolution: The Development Of Social Capital Within An Interactional Field" (University of Nebraska, Lincoln, 1998).

¹³ Charles Webel and Johan Galtung, *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

discrimination, facilitating the emergence of inner peace, outer peace, and intersubjective peace. In the context of social harmony, the local leaders examined in this study are instrumental in building and achieving peace. These local leaders include religious figures, economic leaders, and other influential individuals with social capital. Their efforts can foster community activities that lead to peaceful coexistence.

Most coastal Muslim communities rely on fishing as their primary livelihood. These fishing communities represent complex and diverse social ecosystems where various factors can significantly influence the overall harmony and well-being of the population. This study will explore the vital role that local leaders play in promoting social harmony within these communities, focusing on the unique challenges and opportunities they encounter.

A key element to consider is the diverse nature of fishing communities. Although these groups may seem united by their common profession, the reality is often more intricate, featuring complex social dynamics, power structures, and competing interests. Local leaders must navigate this challenging landscape, balancing the needs and perspectives of multiple stakeholders to foster unity and cooperation. Research has highlighted the gendered aspects of fishing livelihoods, with both men and women contributing to household sustainability in different ways.¹⁴ Local leaders should recognize these gender differences and ensure their interventions and policies are inclusive and equitable, empowering all community members to participate and benefit.¹⁵

Additionally, the increasing integration of local fishing communities into global markets has resulted in shifts in community identities and dynamics.¹⁶ Local leaders must adapt to these changes, finding ways to maintain social harmony amidst evolving economic and social landscapes. They should also work to eliminate barriers that prevent women from fully participating in the industry, such as institutional norms, access to financing, and socio-cultural constraints.¹⁷ Moreover, the concept of "community" itself requires careful examination, as the assumption that fishing villages possess cohesive and pre-existing community structures may not always hold true.¹⁸

¹⁴ A N Santos, "Fisheries as a Way of Life: Gendered Livelihoods, Identities and Perspectives of Artisanal Fisheries in Eastern Brazil," *Elsevier BV* 62 (2015).

¹⁵ J Nagoli, L Binauli, and A Chijere, "Inclusive Ecosystems? Women's Participation in the Aquatic Ecosystem of Lake Malawi," *Multidisciplinary Digital Publishing Institute* 6, no. 1 (2018).

¹⁶ A Allegretti, "We Are Here to Make Money: New Terrains of Identity and Community in Small-Scale Fisheries in Lake Victoria, Tanzania," *Elsevier BV* 70 (2019).

¹⁷ Nagoli, Binauli, and Chijere, "Inclusive Ecosystems? Women's Participation in the Aquatic Ecosystem of Lake Malawi."

¹⁸ E H Allison and F Ellis, "The Livelihoods Approach and Management of Small-Scale Fisheries," *Elsevier BV* 25, no. 5 (2001).

Local leaders must identify and promote community-based initiatives that address the unique needs and challenges of their specific contexts.

The role of local leaders in fostering social harmony within fishing communities is a complex and multifaceted challenge. By acknowledging community diversity, addressing gender differences, adapting to global market forces, and building inclusive, community-based initiatives, local leaders can play a critical role in enhancing social cohesion and ensuring the well-being of fishing communities.¹⁹

This study specifically focuses on the initiatives taken by local leaders in Kalirejo Village to promote social harmony in the coastal Islamic community. Local leaders play a crucial role in the community's sustainability, as their influence can either encourage integration among community members or create divisions. This article aims to illustrate the strategies employed by local leaders to create and sustain social harmony.

METHODS

This study focuses on qualitative research, which is characterized by its approach to gathering data in natural settings as a direct source of information. Qualitative research is descriptive; it emphasizes understanding situations and processes rather than merely producing results. The analysis generally follows an inductive reasoning pattern, considering meanings to be fundamental.²⁰ According to Creswell, as cited in Ulber Silalahi, qualitative research involves investigating social issues to develop a holistic narrative from the informants' perspectives, which is organized within a scientific framework.²¹

The research was conducted in Kalirejo Village in the Kraton District of Pasuruan Regency. Data were collected through interviews, observations, and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). Interviews were held with key village leaders, including entrepreneurs, the village head, former village heads, village secretaries, and religious leaders, using a flexible interview guide. Observations focused on behavioral patterns, lifestyles, habits, and value systems to support the data gathered from interviews.

Additionally, FGDs were conducted to validate the information shared, allowing participants to engage in a collaborative process of fact-checking. The data analysis includes three

¹⁹ O Aburto-Oropeza et al., "Endangered Species, Ecosystem Integrity, and Human Livelihoods," *Wiley* 11, no. 1 (2017).

²⁰ Robert C Bogdan and Biklen Kopp, *Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theory and Methods* (Boston London: Allyn and Bacon, Inc, 1982).

²¹ Ulber Silalahi, *Metode Penelitian Sosial* (Bandung: PT. Refika Aditama, 2010).

main stages. Categorization: This first step involves selecting and organizing the data and information. Coleman suggests that data separation helps create boundaries around the actions of the research subjects²². In this study, local leaders in Kalirejo Village served as key informants for the community. Data Presentation: Following data reduction, the information will be presented through narratives, graphs, or charts.²³ Data Interpretation: Finally, analysis will be conducted in alignment with the theoretical framework and research objectives. This interpretation will occur throughout the discussion of the findings, linking the results back to the identified problems, theoretical framework, and reference materials used for the research.

DISCUSSION

Local Leaders and Social Harmony

Based on Islamic principles, a leader embodies certain inherent qualities. According to the hadith narrated by Bukhari and Muslim, leadership is a characteristic present in every individual.²⁴ The exemplary traits of leadership, as demonstrated by the Prophet Muhammad SAW, include sincerity (*Shidiq*), trustworthiness (*Amanah*), intelligence (*Fathanah*), and the ability to convey information accurately (*Tabligh*).²⁵ The Qur'an also outlines essential characteristics for leaders, as seen in Q.S. As-Sajadah (32) verse 24 and Al-Anbiyah (21) verse 73. These verses emphasize that leaders must possess patience and fortitude, guide society towards goals under Allah SWT's guidance, promote goodness, and maintain optimism.²⁶

According to Fairchild in Kartono, a leader is someone who can initiate social behavior by regulating, directing, and organizing or controlling the efforts of others through their prestige, power, or position.²⁷ Sukamto suggests that the term "leader" applies to individuals who understand the behavior of others and possess unique qualities that enable them to influence organized group activities toward achieving goals. Leadership can be classified into two forms:²⁸ *first*, formal leaders: those selected through agreed-upon procedures and official appointments within an organization, with their power stemming from legitimacy. *Second*, informal leaders; Individuals who possess

²² James S Coleman, *Dasar-Dasar Teori Sosial, Foundation of Social Theory, (Terjemahan)* (Bandung: Nusa Media, 2011).

²³ Silalahi, *Metode Penelitian Sosial*.

²⁴ Veitzal Rivai and Deddy Mulyadi, *Kepemimpinan Dan Perilaku Organisasi* (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2012).

²⁵ Waryono Abdul Ghafur, *Tafsir Sosial, Mendialogkan Teks Dengan Konteks* (Yogyakarta: eLSAQ Press, 2005).

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Kartini Kartono, *Pemimpin Dan Kepemimpinan* (Jakarta: Prenada, 2007).

²⁸ Sukamto, *Kepemimpinan Kyai Dalam Pesantren* (Yogyakarta: LP3ES, 1999).

certain personal qualities that allow them to influence groups or communities. The support they receive depends on the group's recognition of their status.

The personal qualities, nature, and communication skills of a leader significantly strengthen their relationships with their followers. The effectiveness of an informal leader is determined by the social impact of their leadership and the status they hold, which may arise from factors such as heredity, wealth, education, life experience, skills, religious knowledge, charisma, and community service.²⁹ The sources of power for local leaders can be analytically separated, though they often combine in practice. Uphoff, as cited in Simon, identifies seven sources of power:³⁰ 1] Wealth: Greater control over economic resources. 2] Status: Self-esteem derived from heredity, earning respect from others. 3] Education: Attachment to expertise. 4] Political Influence. 5] Political Authority: Power recognized by the community due to one's position. 6] Moral Authority: Authority that commands obedience, typically associated with religious or elder figures. 7] Coercive Power: The ability to enforce compliance, often seen with local security forces.

Stogdill describes a leader as an agent of change who impacts the behavior and performance of followers; a leader's actions greatly influence their followers.³¹ Gramsci's term, as referenced in Simon, characterizes the leader's power to influence others as a form of hegemony, which encompasses various powers and translates into strategic actions to establish a cultural order.³² Leaders, as agents of change, require support and resources to cultivate significance, legitimacy, and domination. These resources may be social, cultural, economic, or from other domains. All the elements required by a leader are essential for fostering social harmony within society.

Harmony refers to efforts aimed at rebuilding the foundation of peace and providing tools to support its realization.³³ According to Webel and Galtung, peace encompasses happiness, justice, health, and various other humanitarian concerns.³⁴ Webster, as cited in Webel outlines several forms of peace:³⁵ 1] Negative and Positive Peace: negative peace is defined as the absence of chaos, while positive peace represents general security that fosters a sense of peace or order among people through legal systems, social norms, or public opinion. 2] Personal Peace: this refers to a mental or spiritual condition free from pressure and anxiety, often described as "inner peace" or peace of mind and heart. 3] National Peace: peace is characterized by a country being safe and free from

²⁹ Kartono, *Pemimpin Dan Kepemimpinan*.

³⁰ Roger Simon, *Gagasan-Gagasan Politik Gramsci* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1999).

³¹ Ralph M Stogdill, *Handbook of Leadership* (New York: Free Press, 1974).

³² Simon, *Gagasan-Gagasan Politik Gramsci*.

³³ Johan Galtung, *Studi Perdamaian: Perdamaian Dan Konflik Pembangunan Dan Peradaban* (Surabaya: Pustaka EUREKA, 2003).

³⁴ Webel and Galtung, *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*.

³⁵ Ibid.

external disruptions or violence. 4] Interpersonal Peace: this involves harmonious relationships among individuals, emphasizing mutual respect and understanding. 5] Political Peace: peace denotes a state of harmony between governments and the absence of war. 6] Tranquil Peace: peace can also be defined as the absence of noise, tranquility, and serene silence. 7] Divine Peace: this concept encompasses everything that brings tranquility and is viewed as peace distributed by a higher power.

In terms of conflict management for peace, leaders must possess several essential functions, including planning, organizing, motivating, supervising, and various skills such as technical abilities, human relations, and conceptual thinking.³⁶ These skills can be acquired through experience and education. A leader must also be capable of predicting how society will behave both now and in the future.

Post-conflict community development poses significant challenges and often requires an extensive recovery period to adapt to the new environment. Peace agreements frequently give rise to new problems that can be complex to address. When negotiations exclude certain parties to the dispute, they can undermine the legitimacy of peace efforts. In this context, the role of local leaders becomes crucial, particularly as mediators who can facilitate communication and reduce tensions.³⁷ Such issues have been evident in the Kisik area, where conflicts between communities have led to material losses and trauma for residents.

Conflictual Relationship in Kalirejo Village

The conflict in Klisik and Kaliagung Hamlets unfolded in several episodes. Initially, before 1997, there was a preference for violence among local rulers. Most of the residents in Kalirejo Village are members of the Islamic community organization Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), meaning that both structurally and culturally, they adhere to NU's religious teachings. However, most community activities occur at the hamlet level rather than the village level. Kalirejo Village is divided into two major groups: the Pro-Kisik and Pro-Kaligung groups. This division has led to compartmentalized community interactions between these two groups, and social life in Kisik and Kaligung hamlets is not very harmonious. The primary cause of this disharmony is ethnic differences; the Kaligung community is predominantly Madurese, while the Kisik community is primarily Javanese. This has intensified group sentiment based on ethnicity.

³⁶ Winardi, *Manajemen Konflik (Konflik Perubahan Dan Pengembangan)* (Bandung: Cv. Mandar Maju, 2007).

³⁷ Ibid.

Generally, the Kisik community tends to be indifferent but can become easily provoked if disturbed. They typically do not display hostility unless they feel threatened. However, when conflict arises, it can escalate into violence very quickly. Additionally, factors such as the harsh coastal environment and the challenges of marine life have contributed to a temperament within the Kalirejo Village community that is often emotional and temperamental. The harsh natural conditions, the demands of work, and a relatively low economic status have shaped residents who tend to be rigid and stubborn.

There is a significant disparity in welfare between the Kisik and Kaligung communities. The Javanese-majority Kisik community occupies a higher social class, reflected in their better financial stability. In contrast, the Madurese-majority Kaligung community occupies a lower economic class, which has led to stereotypes that label Madurese individuals as poor, while the Javanese community is seen as wealthier. This social stratification influences village officials, who provide better public facilities to the Kisik community.

The second episode of conflict occurred between 1997 and 1998 and was fueled by political party rivalry. Local leaders and the Kisik community were affiliated with the Golkar Party, whereas the leaders and the majority of the Kaligung community supported the United Development Party (PPP). The village government urged votes for Golkar, but the Kaligung community chose PPP. Initially, this disagreement resulted in verbal conflict that later escalated to physical confrontations. The 1997 conflict caused the local economy to stagnate, particularly affecting the fishing activities of Kaligung fishermen, who found themselves unable to work and lost access to their families in Kisik.

In 2000, a further conflict arose from personal matters, which eventually escalated into communal conflict. This situation was triggered by the murder of a person accused of practicing black magic. The victim's family was deeply affected, leading to a violent confrontation. Following their defeat, the victim's house was subsequently burned down, prompting the family to relocate to Kaligung. Over time, personal grievances fostered widespread animosity between some residents, reigniting hostility between the communities. The conflict subsided only after law enforcement intervened and apprehended those involved in the violence. Local leaders acted as mediators, negotiating to reconcile the opposing parties.

After the 2000 conflict, the Nahdliyin community played a key role in establishing the National Awakening Party (PKB) in Kalirejo Hamlet. As a result, nearly the entire Kalirejo community shifted their political allegiance to PKB, which made the political climate in the village more dynamic. Thanks to the efforts of local leaders, the situation in Kalirejo Village improved,

fostering a spirit of unity among residents. Following 2000, initiatives by local leaders to strengthen the community successfully helped rebuild the social capital that had been diminished due to prior conflicts.

Local Leaders' Efforts to Achieve Social Harmony

The role of local leaders in fostering social harmony involves acting as intermediaries between social actors and societal structures.³⁸ These elements are interrelated and contribute to the formation of social practices within the community. In this theoretical framework, the roles of social actors are connected to rules and resources, which in turn relate to practices. Consequently, each element is interconnected in a reciprocal manner, ensuring that no single point dominates the others.

In Kaligung, two forms of social harmony have emerged. The first is negative peace imposed by external forces, which leads to a forced, albeit superficial, peace. The second form arises from local initiatives where several community leaders, including shamans, take part in resolving conflicts. The efforts to address the conflict that occurred between 1997 and 2000 involved multiple parties, including village government representatives, community leaders, and outside mediators like the Regency Government. One primary method employed by local leaders was mediation, initiated by village officials and later involving district government representatives. Local leaders found it challenging to mitigate the fragmentation within their communities. Moreover, the issues triggering the conflict shifted from widespread political ideologies to more personal disputes that escalated into community-wide conflicts.

The communities of Kisik and Kaligung share a characteristic of following charismatic religious leaders. One prominent figure is Ustadz Syarif, a teacher at the Salafiyah Pasuruan Islamic Boarding School and a respected religious leader in Kaligung. He often engages in preaching and addressing community matters, including the resolution of conflicts between the Kisik and Kaligung communities. The process of revitalization led by local leaders has been lengthy, partly due to the unstable conditions within the community. Mediation was not a one-time event but rather a repeated effort by local figures, including religious leaders and entrepreneurs, aimed at fostering shared values. The prolonged nature of the process stems from the significant losses incurred during the conflict.

The conflicts between 1997 and 1998 were closely tied to the political affiliations of community leaders and their followers. The religious leaders in Kaligung supported the PPP,

³⁸ Anthony Giddens, *Problematika Utama Dalam Teori Sosial, Aksi, Struktur Dan Kontradiksi Dalam Analisis Sosial*, (Terjemahan) (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2009).

leading their community members to follow suit. Conversely, local businessmen in Kisik were aligned with Golkar, which influenced their followers to adopt the same political stance. Tensions escalated as both groups expressed their political support through noisy convoys, causing disruption and mockery among residents. Approaching the elections, provocative rumors spread within the Kisik community, threatening that those who did not vote for Golkar risked having their fishing boat engines destroyed. This led to a clash at sea.

In response, local leaders visited residents affected by the conflict, seeking mediation through village officials. This led to a joint meeting facilitated by the Pasuruan Regency Government, which included representatives from both communities. Attendees from Kaligung included Ustaz Syarif, Ustaz Muhdor, Ustaz Ahmadi, and Ustaz Selamat, while Kisik was represented by H. Syahril, H. Ilham, and various other local leaders. Although the collaborative meetings convened four times, no consensus was reached due to the entrenched positions of both sides. Even attempts at reconciliation at the tomb of Sunan Ampel in Surabaya failed to address the core issues. However, as time passed, natural factors and the physical and mental fatigue of the community due to ongoing conflicts led to a gradual decrease in hostilities. Local leaders in Kaligung, including Ustaz Syarif, continued their efforts to remind youth to resist provocation and avoid being influenced by irresponsible rhetoric.

The Kisik Party views peace as synonymous with progress and village development, while the Kaligung Party interprets peace as a state of justice and the absence of discrimination. This clash of definitions has led to a superficial harmony. True social harmony can only be achieved through in-depth negotiations about what harmony genuinely means. Generally speaking, meaning serves as a medium of communication among individuals; conversely, meaning also shapes the context of that communication.

The conflict that erupted at the end of 2000 involved nearly all residents, not just specific groups. Local leaders attempted to mediate the situation, and the mediation was led by the Regent of Pasuruan. Unfortunately, religious leaders did not play a significant role; instead, local entrepreneurs, seen as community benefactors, were more influential. Mediation efforts were prolonged, and ultimately the conflict escalated to the legal realm, necessitating police intervention to arrest those involved. Local leaders acted as guarantors for the perpetrator's potential actions, agreeing to take responsibility if further riots occurred. This indicates that local leaders bear the duty of maintaining peace, often relying on the force of security agencies.

In this context, leadership is not exclusively the domain of religious figures, despite most of the village being Muslim and adhering to the *Ablusunnah wal Jama'ah* ideology. In Kaligung

Hamlet, religious leaders hold a significant role, whereas in Kisik Hamlet, local entrepreneurs are more pivotal due to their contributions to the community's economic life.

Another initiative taken by local leaders to foster community relations was the "*Jum'at Keliling*" event. This activity required religious leaders (Ustad) from each hamlet to attend Friday prayers at the mosque of the other hamlet, providing a platform for community interaction. Currently, around ten religious leaders continue to participate in this initiative. There is also the *Lailatul Maghfiroh* recitation, which is facilitated by the Regency Government and held twice, first at the Baiturrahman Kisik Mosque and then in Kaligung. This grand event sees participation from hamlet communities, clerics, Sayyids from Pasuruan, and various Regency government officials, all funded by the local government.

The process of achieving social harmony through local leader initiatives can be characterized as negative peace. This concept emphasizes the absence of direct violence, such as halting physical confrontations. The local government, along with community leaders and police, has employed various mediation strategies to prevent direct violence. This approach aligns with Aron's perspective described by Novri Susan, which defines negative peace as the absence of war. Despite military involvement, this initial form of peace creation reflects the struggles of religious institutions to reconcile the conflicting hamlets, exacerbated by the entrenchment of group identities.

The final efforts from local leaders stemmed from entrepreneurs, who highlighted the negative consequences of conflict on poverty due to economic stagnation. This stagnation arose from the lack of economic opportunities for residents, particularly those reliant on fishing. The conflict instilled fear, preventing many from going to sea, resulting in the need to pawn goods to meet daily living expenses. Economic conditions worsened for some residents, exacerbating poverty. Ultimately, the community must set aside personal grievances and sectarian interests to accept calls for conflict resolution from an economic perspective, which have been articulated by the community's capital owners (entrepreneurs).

Viewed through the lens of Galtung's conflict resolution theory, as illustrated in various examples of the roles played by local leaders, the efforts are geared towards promoting peace, social justice, and social transformation to prevent future problems.³⁹ According to Galtung, conflict resolution consists of three stages, one of which is peacebuilding. Peacebuilding encompasses initiatives aimed at fostering social, political, and economic change and reconstruction to achieve

³⁹ Webel and Galtung, *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*.

lasting peace. Through this process, the goal is to transition from negative peace defined as the mere absence of violence to a society characterized by social justice, economic well-being, and effective political representation.

In the context of conflict resolution, peacebuilding focuses on addressing the root causes of conflict, reinforcing peace structures, and creating conditions to prevent the recurrence of violence. Recent literature recognizes peacebuilding as a multidimensional process that involves political, social, economic, and cultural elements. Several key principles underpin peacebuilding: *First*, Holistic Approach. Peacebuilding should adopt a comprehensive strategy that not only seeks to halt direct violence but also aims to establish long-term peace. This entails strengthening institutions, promoting economic development, advancing justice, and facilitating social reconciliation. Autesserre argues that effective peacebuilding must consider local contexts and engage with local communities instead of relying solely on external approaches.⁴⁰

Second, conflict Transformation and Reconciliation. A fundamental aspect of peacebuilding is conflict transformation, which seeks to shift the dynamics of violence towards peaceful processes. This involves altering perceptions between conflicting groups and encouraging reconciliation through dialogue. Lederach emphasizes that reconciliation requires empathy and a willingness to forgive, which can be fostered through inter-community dialogue initiatives.⁴¹

Third, transitional Justice and Accountability. Transitional justice is critical in post-conflict settings. This process involves holding perpetrators accountable for acts of violence, providing reparations to victims, and facilitating truth-telling. McAuliffe and Swain note that accountability for human rights violations during conflicts instills a sense of justice and fosters community trust in the rule of law.⁴²

Fourth, Local Capacity. Empowering local capacities is essential for the long-term success of peacebuilding efforts. This approach emphasizes the development of local resources in areas such as education, infrastructure, and economic growth. Research by Paris and Sisk indicates that community-centered peacebuilding is more adaptable and responsive to the specific needs of each community.⁴³

⁴⁰ S Autesserre, *The Frontlines of Peace: An Insider's Guide to Changing the World* (Inggris: Oxford University Press, 2020).

⁴¹ J Lederach P, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Amerika: US Institute of Peace Press., 2018).

⁴² P McAuliffe and A Swain, *Transitional Justice in Peacebuilding: Civil Society, Accountability and Human Rights* (Britania Raya: Routledge, 2021).

⁴³ R Paris and T Sisk, *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the Contradictions of Postwar Peace Operations* (Britania Raya: Routledge, 2020).

Fifth, role of Education and Gender in Peacebuilding. Education is vital in fostering peace by instilling values of tolerance, respect for differences, and conflict resolution skills, particularly among children and adolescents. Peace education can prepare a generation to manage conflicts peacefully, as highlighted by Bar-Tal and Rosen.⁴⁴ Furthermore, women's involvement in peacebuilding is crucial for ensuring the sustainability of peace. A study by True and Hewitt demonstrates that women's participation leads to more inclusive decision-making and reduces the risk of recurring conflict.⁴⁵

Based on these principles of peacebuilding as defined by Galtung, it is evident that the four conflict resolution processes negotiation, mediation, appeals, and the engagement of local leaders acting as guarantors are practical implementations of peacebuilding. Local leaders play a pivotal role by acting as guarantors to law enforcement, ensuring that their communities avoid future conflicts. While the principles of peacebuilding have been effectively operationalized, the roles of education and gender have not been fully optimized, presenting a challenge for local leaders.

CONCLUSION

Local leaders, comprising religious figures, business owners, and government officials, play a pivotal role in the restoration of social harmony following conflicts. Their efforts can be categorized into three primary approaches: first, mediation and negotiation, wherein they facilitate discussions involving conflicting communities and security forces, including the police and local government. Second, community appeals, where local leaders encourage community cohesion during their visits to events, urging residents to prevent future conflicts. Third, legal accountability: these leaders serve as guarantors for those involved in conflicts, thereby assuming full responsibility and potential legal consequences should disputes recur. Fourth, community engagement: these leaders organize events such as Friday Tours and large religious studies to promote unity among residents.

However, achieving lasting peace required moving beyond negative peace—defined as the mere absence of violence—towards a more transformative framework emphasizing justice, economic stability, and community cohesion. Through the lens of Galtung's peacebuilding theory, it becomes clear that local initiatives were instrumental in initiating change and reducing hostilities. Mediation efforts, the involvement of influential community figures, and grassroots activities such as inter-community dialogues and joint religious events highlighted the importance of a localized,

⁴⁴ D Bar-Tal and Y Rosen, *Social Psychological Perspectives on Peacebuilding* (New York: Springer, 2022).

⁴⁵ J True and L Hewitt, *Women's Participation in Peace Processes: Progress and Pitfalls* (New York: UN Woman, 2023).

inclusive approach. Yet, challenges remain. The underutilization of education and gender-sensitive strategies indicates that the broader dimensions of peacebuilding are yet to be fully realized.

REFERENCES

- Aburto-Oropeza, O, C López-Sagástegui, M Moreno-Báez, I Mascareñas-Osorio, V Jiménez-Esquivel, AF Johnson, and B Erisman. "Endangered Species, Ecosystem Integrity, and Human Livelihoods." *Wiley* 11, no. 1 (2017).
- Allegretti, A. "We Are Here to Make Money: New Terrains of Identity and Community in Small-Scale Fisheries in Lake Victoria, Tanzania." *Elsevier BV* 70 (2019).
- Allen, John C. "Community Conflict Resolution: The Development Of Social Capital Within An Interactional Field." University of Nebraska, Lincoln, 1998.
- Allison, E H, and F Ellis. "The Livelihoods Approach and Management of Small-Scale Fisheries." *Elsevier BV* 25, no. 5 (2001).
- Autesserre, S. *The Frontlines of Peace: An Insider's Guide to Changing the World*. Inggris: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Bar-Tal, D, and Y Rosen. *Social Psychological Perspectives on Peacebuilding*. New York: Springer, 2022.
- Baron, Angela, and Michael Armstrong. *Human Capital Management, Achieving Added Value Through People*. London: Kogan Page Limited, 2009.
- Bogdan, Robert C, and Biklen Kopp. *Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theory and Methods*. Boston London: Allyn and Bacon, Inc, 1982.
- Coleman, James S. *Dasar-Dasar Teori Sosial, Foundation of Social Theory, (Terjemahan)*. Bandung: Nusa Media, 2011.
- Collier, R. *Pelecehan Seksual. Hubungan Dominasi Mayoritas Dan Minoritas*. Edited by E.N. Alih Bahasa: Hariati. Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 1998.
- Galtung, Johan. *Studi Perdamaian: Perdamaian Dan Konflik Pembangunan Dan Peradaban*. Surabaya: Pustaka EUREKA, 2003.
- Ghafur, Waryono Abdul. *Tafsir Sosial, Mendialogkan Teks Dengan Konteks*. Yogyakarta: eLSAQ Press, 2005.
- Giddens, Anthony. *Problematika Utama Dalam Teori Sosial, Aksi, Struktur Dan Kontradiksi Dalam Analisis Sosial, (Terjemahan)*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2009.
- Ibrahim, Helda, Majdah Zain, and Tanzil Ibrahim. "Peranan Pemimpin Lokal Dalam Meningkatkan Kemampuan Kelompok (Kasus Kelompok Tani Di Desa Pulo Kencana Kecamatan

- Pontang Kabupaten Serang.” *Jurnal Penyuluhan* 10, no. 1 (2014).
- Kartono, Kartini. *Pemimpin Dan Kepemimpinan*. Jakarta: Prenada, 2007.
- Kushadajani, and Indah Ayu Permana. “Inovasi Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Desa: Peran Kepemimpinan Lokal Dalam Perspektif Relasi Antar Aktor.” *Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Pemerintahan* 5, no. 1 (2020): 70–80.
- McAuliffe, P, and A Swain. *Transitional Justice in Peacebuilding: Civil Society, Accountability and Human Rights*. Britania Raya: Routledge, 2021.
- Nagoli, J, L Binauli, and A Chijere. “Inclusive Ecosystems? Women’s Participation in the Aquatic Ecosystem of Lake Malawi.” *Multidisciplinary Digital Publishing Institute* 6, no. 1 (2018).
- Nasution, Zulkarnain. *Solidaritas Sosial Dan Partisipasi Masyarakat Desa Transisi, Suatu Tinjauan Sosiologis*. Malang: UMM Press, 2009.
- Ningrum, Putri Surya. “Analisis Peran Pemimpin Lokal Dalam Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Melalui Program Kampung Organik: Studi Kasus Kampung Organik ‘Kartini’ Kelurahan Wates, Magelang Utara, Kota Magelang.” Universitas Tidar, 2022.
- P, J Lederach. *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Amerika: US Institute of Peace Press., 2018.
- Paris, R, and T Sisk. *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the Contradictions of Postwar Peace Operations*. Britania Raya: Routledge, 2020.
- Pasuruan, Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten. “Jumlah Penduduk per Kecamatan (Jiwa) 2014-2016.” *BPS*. Last modified 2017. Accessed July 3, 2024. <https://pasuruankab.bps.go.id/indicator/12/35/3/jumlah-penduduk-per-kecamatan.html>.
- Rivai, Veitzal, and Deddy Mulyadi. *Kepemimpinan Dan Perilaku Organisasi*. Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2012.
- Santos, A N. “Fisheries as a Way of Life: Gendered Livelihoods, Identities and Perspectives of Artisanal Fisheries in Eastern Brazil.” *Elsevier BV* 62 (2015).
- Silalahi, Ulber. *Metode Penelitian Sosial*. Bandung: PT. Refika Aditama, 2010.
- Simarmata, Rajoki. “Peran Modal Sosial Dalam Mendorong Sektor Pendidikan Dan Pengembangan Wilayah Di Kabupaten Samosir (Studi Pada SMK HKBP Pangururan).” Sekolah Pascasarjana Universitas Sumatera Utara, 2009.
- Simon, Roger. *Gagasan-Gagasan Politik Gramsci*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1999.
- Stogdill, Ralph M. *Handbook of Leadership*. New York: Free Press, 1974.
- Sukamto. *Kepemimpinan Kyai Dalam Pesantren*. Yogyakarta: LP3ES, 1999.

Suryono, Agus. *Dimensi-Dimensi Prima Teori Pembangunan*. Malang: UB Press, 2010.

True, J, and L Hewitt. *Women's Participation in Peace Processes: Progress and Pitfalls*. New York: UN Woman, 2023.

Webel, Charles, and Johan Galtung. *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*. New York: Routledge, 2007.

Winardi. *Manajemen Konflik (Konflik Perubahan Dan Pengembangan)*. Bandung: Cv. Mandar Maju, 2007.