

# Conflict and Reconciliation in the Patron-Clientelism Social Structure in the Puger Kulon Fishing Village, Jember Regency

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**Abstract.** This study aims to describe the conflict and reconciliation in the fishing village of Puger Kulon, Jember Regency. This study used qualitative research methods. The data source was determined by the purposive method. The results of this study are several things. First, there are two sources of conflict identified namely personal problems and ideological issues. Although many believe it is an ideological (Sunni-Syiah) conflict, the reconciliation model adopted is an economic-based model with a strong security approach. The fishing community which has a patron-client social-economic structure that underlies the reconciliation model, thus obscuring the ideological conflict and becoming an interpersonal conflict.

**Keywords:** *conflict, reconciliation, the fishing community*

## INTRODUCTION

The fishing community in Puger Kulon, like in other coastal areas, has a patron-client community structure [1]. The social structure in the community in this fishing area generally consists of two large groups, namely the elite group of capital owners and the group of fishermen (boat owners and fishermen workers/labourers). An elite group is usually a group of capital owners [2] who capitalize on the fishermen who own the ship and also the fishermen who work as fishermen [3]. These fishermen have high structural and cultural ties. The fishermen who own the ship and their labourers, in addition to the debt of working capital, also have a social status bond as loyal subordinates/servants, so that what the owner of the capital owner wants (*pengambe'*/ monopolist fish traders / often referred to as skipper on land) becomes a demand that must be implemented. This is evidenced by the compliance of the boat owners who have to sell their catch to the '*pengambe'* at a predetermined price[4]. This socio-economic structure has been entrenched so that it is difficult to disentangle one another's dependencies.

It cannot be denied; this relationship will carry over in any situation included in conflict situations. Imagining a conflict of interests of the capital owner's elite is the same as imagining the integration of the landlords/fishermen with the boat owner fishermen and their united crew. It can also be understood about personal conflicts, political conflicts, and even greater ideological conflicts [5].

Although in Lewis A. Coser's opinion that the conflict is an all-round phenomenon that exists in dynamic societies, and is an adhesive tool for group integration, this is also a terrible thing. Furthermore, the issue of conflict which is a dispute over values or demands relating to the status, power and insufficient sources of wealth is a matter that is difficult to quell, if community members, in this case, are group members, are very fanatical about the interests of his group.[6] Therefore, efforts for reconciliation are a must. This study seeks to describe the anatomy of the conflict and its reconciliation efforts in the dynamics of patronclientelism fishing communities [3].

## METHOD

This research is a qualitative descriptive study with a focus on research on the conflict process that occurs in the Madurese fishing community in the village of Puger Kulon. Data sources in this study are surrounding communities, conflict actors, village heads, village officials, religious leaders, youth leaders, police. The data source was done by selecting people who are considered to know the answers to the issues asked. The determination of such informants is called purposive sampling (Bogdan and Biklen, 1981 in Moleong, 1989, 2010)[7]. Data analysis is performed using qualitative descriptive methods by interpreting the data that has been obtained. Data verification is done by triangulation [8].

## RESULT & DISCUSSION

### a. Patron-Clientelism Fishermen Society

The patron-client relationship in the Puger Kulon Village community provides free space for potential conflicts. There is a real socio-economic structure between the elite and the masses that have the potential to become a vehicle for small conflicts to become large, conflicts that were originally personal

conflicts between several elites, become conflicts between elite groups and their masses confronting the elite with other mass groups. The '*pengambe*' group (someones who have large business capital with authority as monopolistic fish buyers) on the one hand, and boat owners and labour fishermen, on the other one. This socio-economic structure is very real and allows it to be an intensive means of launching mass movement towards the interests of certain elites against certain other elites [9].

Some informants explained that both of whom were central figures in the villages of Puger Kulon and Puger Wetan, basically had the root of the problem of the gap in the ability to control economic assets. The two figures scramble for influence on the skipper. The ship's skipper, who is an economic elite, is trying to legitimize himself with the recognition of religious leaders. Vice versa, religious leaders, need recognition of their character in the field of religion from the boat owner fishermen as well as other religious leaders who need economic access (donations for students and donations for pesantren institutions they have).

An SL informant stated, "Basically the skipper and the wealthy ship owners in Puger Kulon, all have patrons or role models. The role model is a famous cleric. The famous Kyai can come from the village environment or outside the village. However, generally, despite having relations with the Kyai outside the village, the skipper did not give up good relations and close relations with the local kyai. This is due to the local clerics who usually introduce to a bigger cleric. The most concrete form is the skipper, and the shipowner will donate the Eid al-Fitr for the Kyai's family, students who study the Al Qur'an, and some *duafa* (the poor) who are coordinated by the Kyai. Therefore, the more respected and recognized by a cleric, the more the contribution of this rich village group to him." (interview May 2015)

Ustad Fauzi and Habib Ali both influenced the fishing community and the community of shipowners and shipowners. But they must always enlarge their names. Habib Ali is considered by some to have greater assets than the Fauzi cleric. Santri who also studied more at Habib Ali. Habib Ali has a *Madrasah, Diniyah*, and Informatics Vocational High School. Assets of large school buildings and mosques show the success of Habib Ali. From the differences in physical appearance, some circles assess efforts to align appearance and increase influence, the cleric Fauzi increased support from great Kyai from outside who are charismatic. Charity clerics are Habib Muchdar from Tanggul and several anti-Syiah figures.

Mass attraction occurs violently. A group with a level of closeness to Habib Ali is called Western Group. In contrast, the group that is close to the Fauzi cleric is called the Eastern Group, which generally lives in the Eastern Puger Kulon neighbourhood to

the Puger Wetan Village. The militancy is high. (interview with SI, May 2015)

#### **b. Personal Issues**

The conflict was only due to personal problems between the two families. Habib Ali and Ustad Fauzi's family. Habib Ali has indeed continued to develop since his move from Balung District. The pesantren and mosque are better, and the students are many. Many people say that Habib Ali is good at finding help for his institution. Issues that develop are foreign funding that can be achieved very largely. This informant stated to conduct a Shia socialization movement with funding per person 9 million rupiahs per person per month. This is a big amount. A part of that amount is used to build school buildings it has (interview with KDS Puger Wetan Village, March 2015) [10], [11].

Another informant mentioned that the Fauzi cleric was a figure who had worked hard but never received the attention of the government. Unlike Habib Ali, aid continues to flow, especially after Habib Ihsa became a member of the Jember Regency DPRD. As the following RW head said, Habib Ihsa was Habib Ali's son who was a member of the Jember Regency DPRD. The Gerindra Party at the time had two strong candidates placed in this constituency. It seems that the Ustad Fauzi group and some NU groups devised a way to support candidate Gerindra number two. Many voted for Gerindra Party number two, but when the counting was still inferior to Habib Ihsa who was in sequence number 1. This large additional vote from number 2 won Gerindra to win a seat in Electoral District VI. So, the Fauzi cleric group instead became a supporter and smoothed Habib Ihsa towards the DPRD.

When Habib Ihsa was a member of the Jember DPRD, the villagers still did not dare to approach Habib Ihsa for help. That is because there is still mutual suspicion between the conflicting groups, (like our informants) who served as RW chiefs. I used to support the PKB Party candidate who came from this electoral district. There is a lot of help to the people here, but now it is not there because we are worried that Habib Ihsa will be shunned further. Habib Ihsa as a member of DPRD has many programs that have supporters. Their number is now increasing, especially those who used to be his successful team. On the other hand, many of the programs have been disbursed for their place (interview with RDW, Puger Kulon, March 2015).

Ustad Fauzi is considered a developing cleric. This is shown by the number of not many students. Santri only comes from the nearest environment and only teaches the Qur'an. The mosque '*musolla*' owned is used to recite not as big as Habib Ali's. This opinion was strengthened by some informants from the government. An informant stated that the conflict in Puger Kulon could become 'mass' because of poverty and social inequality. It can be said that the

elite uses its problems (of course social and economic inequality among the elite) then is expanded into mass inequalities.

### **c. The Issue of Sunni-Syiah Ideology**

BK is an informant. He was told that "For me, it is absurd if Ustadz Fauzi feels jealous of Habib Ali's existence. And, the transfer of the issue of the cause of the conflict was just to avoid a more widespread conflict. Because the religious sect conflict will involve all religious communities, who feel likeminded. That issue will trigger the antipathy of one group against another group far wider than conflicts with other issues. This is what is feared by the government and perhaps most of the people" [12].

BK also said, "Certainly not. It can be remembered by everyone that Habib Ali moved from Balung to Puger Kulon because he was driven out by the Balung people. Therefore Habib Ali is a problem person everywhere. When in trouble at Puger, why the host blamed. I know Habib Ali's teachings on various occasions are indeed different. In his lecture, he discussed a lot of the shortcomings of the other Prophet's friends except Ali bin Abi Thalib. And that is not only recorded as evidence but many statements on several religious holidays. Indeed, if he was asked directly, he would not want to admit, even to the point that a Syiah would never claim to be Syiah." (BK interview, March 2015)

Several parties justified the fact that the Fauzi cleric was a victim of the transfer of the issue of conflict, even the structural parties of the government acknowledged that the conflict contained one element of SARA. At the very least, the issue of religion cannot be denied, and it enlarges the personal issue that has been embedded. In some religious holidays, they did not attend the invitation. Even if the two of them were present, they didn't shake hands with each other and didn't greet each other. The last time we met was at the picking event held at TPI in 2014. The reconciliation of the ongoing conflict was to reduce and silence the conflict between them. (interview with NH, April 2015).

Fauzi cleric had some close relations with the clerics in Puger, for example, Ustadz BHQ who lived in Puger Wetan. Ustadz BHQ is a cleric who has good relations with Habib Muhdhar on the embankment. Regarding Ustadz Fauzi's relationship with Habib Muhdhar and Ustadz Bayhaqi who were very anti-Syiah, an ustad told at length. Ustadz ZN illustrates that "The conflict was not solely the nature and main source of social inequality between individuals, but the ideological issues that pushed competition became even greater. The statements that support this are as follows. Ustadz Bayhaqi is an ustad who strongly rejects Syiah. He was very critical, but he wanted to join the study group of the Annadiyah that I lead. Ustad Fauzi knew him because he also joined this '*Kamisan*' recitation (every Thursday).

Next, he was familiar with Ustadz BHQ since he often joined and discussed. Through the BHQ cleric, cleric Fauzi became acquainted with Habib Muhdhar of the embankment who was famous for his anti-Syiah ideology. Furthermore, more closely so that the friendship of Fauzi's cleric with Habib Muhdhar was increasingly seen both in the visit of Fauzi's cleric and Fauzi's invitation to Habib Muhdhar at the religious holiday at the Fauzi ustad mosque. It seems that the two things above then make the relationship more intensive.

### **d. Reconciliation: The Economic and Security Approach Model**

Efforts to control conflict are not easy. Something can be done through an economic approach is pouring economic assistance such as housing assistance, assistance for fishing gear, venture capital assistance, and other assistance for community empowerment. The economic recovery aid is expected to divert the attention of the masses to the conflict they are experiencing.

The government also activates a group of fishermen, chaired by H. Imam. The Circle of Friends is important to create peace because in the Circle of Friends, it is only about how they work best for the welfare of the family. This association also involved two conflicting groups, namely the Western group (Habib Ali) and the Eastern Group (Ustad Fauzi) in the arrangement of management. We are dealing with a circular conflict resolution model such as 'mosquito coils' that are 'burned' / resolved, starting from the outer circle first and increasingly touching the core circle so that everything can be resolved "(interview with the District Government, April 2015) [10], [12], [13]. This conflict reconciliation effort which is understood as a model of personal conflict makes it possible to understand that with a touch of economic assistance, the conflict in Puger Kulon can be overcome.

As explained by the informant, "I know who the Fauzi cleric is because I have been here since I was a child. He is a person who lacks broad support. His conflict with Habib Ali received huge support from groups that were mobilized from outside the village and even from outside the sub-district. Therefore, conflict can be balanced. If there is no influence from Habib Muchdor, then basically it is not difficult to quell the existing conflict. The government understands this relationship, thus immediately banning the entry of masses from outside the village and another the sub-district. The security approach is balanced by the full strength of the army and police, with even 10 SSKs totalling about 1,000 soldiers guarding and even sleeping in people's homes.

What is suspected about Ustad Fauzi is possible to be analyzed as an economic problem. Efforts to 'balance' assets, at least 'access' in that direction, seem to be done as much as possible by the government. So there is a balance between the security approach

and the economic approach. These two things were identified as factors that accelerated conflict reconciliation in the Kulon Puger. However, some parties state that the 'calm' in Puger Kulon does not mean that it is entirely peaceful. Many parties expressed their agreement on the statement that the conditions in Puger Kulon were 'silent' which still allowed for other explorations. The analysis is based on the views that the conflict was not based on the existence of 'envy' and 'envy' from the east towards the West, as termed to disguise the Fauzi cleric whose home is in the east and Habib Ali whose home located in the West.

### CONCLUSION

The conflict that occurred in the fishing community of Puger Kulon was caused by two things, namely personal problems relating to family problems between the figures and issues of Sunni-Syiah religious ideology. This problem can be big, by involving each group, especially supported by patronage fishing community structures. The socio-economic structure of fishermen who have been entrenched is the existence of a dependency relationship between the boat owner fishermen, the fisherman workers/labourers with the village rich people whose status are *pengambe* '. They are trying to get recognition of their dominance, continue to establish intensive relations with religious leaders. And vice versa, when the religious leaders need support (both financial and political support), the leaders immediately consolidate with the 'goers' and the ranks of the shipowner fishermen along with their fishermen workers and labourers.

Meanwhile, the understanding of conflict reconciliation is also referred to as economic needs, especially this to erode the support of working fishermen based solely on my economic interests; they carry out conflict solidarity. On the other hand, the government intensively conducted a security approach in the hope that the perpetrators of the conflict would become afraid of the punishment of the security forces.

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