

Value Contestation in Traditional Spaces: A Case Study of the Conflict in the Implementation of Gadeso in Pecalukan

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Abstract

This research presents a comprehensive discussion of social conflict in the implementation of the gadeso tradition that occurs in the community in Pecalukan Subdistrict. The main points of discussion contained include conflict mapping, phasing and dynamics of conflict, as well as forms of conflict resolution efforts. This research uses a qualitative method with a case study approach. As a unit of analysis, this research uses the perspective of conflict theory by Ibnu Khaldun together with the concepts initiated by Geertz regarding *santri* and *abangan*. From the research that has been carried out, it can be seen that the root of the conflict comes from strong differences in values between social groups (*ashabiyah*) in Pecalukan Subdistrict. Namely, between the *santri group* and the *abangan group* who then contest each other and fight for power over the truth in the gadeso tradition, thus creating an attempt at domination and giving rise to conflict. This condition is further exacerbated by the stigma of "bigotry" imposed by the government and society local towards groups of *students*. This article also attempts to present a discussion regarding the efforts of the Pecalukan Subdistrict government together with local actors to minimize conflict tensions in the implementation of the gadeso tradition. Even though various efforts have been made, in fact the existence of conflict cannot be completely eliminated, even though its intensity has decreased considerably.

Keywords: *Abangan, Conflict Resolution, Local Tradition, Santri, Social Conflict*

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A. INTRODUCTION

In discussions of social sciences, especially sociology, conflict is a reality that can never be separated from the dynamics of social life. As explained by (Kriesberg 1973) everything about us is social conflict. Social conflict is always inherent in human relationships. Conflicts vary in their basis, duration, mode of resolution, outcomes, and consequences (Kriesberg, 1973). Conflict is very likely to occur at any time, to anyone, and in any societal context when there is a difference of opinion or interest. Conflict actually targets all levels of society. Including what happened during the implementation of local traditions in Pecalukan Subdistrict, Prigen District, Pasuruan Regency, East Java which will be discussed in this article.

Pecalukan Subdistrict itself is an area whose society is classified as diverse or pluralistic. Characteristics that mark the pluralistic nature of the Pecalukan Subdistrict community, as expressed by Rahardjo (2010) is the existence of cultural diversity which can be seen from differences in language, ethnicity, religious beliefs and other cultural habits.

The potential for great conflict in the pluralistic Pecalukan society is caused by the division of society into groups based on their cultural identity (Rahardjo, 2010) .

Borrowing the concept from Ting-Toomey (in Rahardjo, 2010) that cultural identity is the feeling (*emotional significance*) of individuals to have *a sense of belonging* or affiliation with a particular culture. People who are divided into groups then carry out cultural identification, namely asserting themselves as representatives of a particular culture. This cultural identification, according to Rogers & Steinfatt (in Rahardjo, 2010), will in turn determine them into different groups. How each individual behaves is determined in part by whether they belong to a particular cultural group or not.

Historically, the people in Pecalukan Subdistrict have long had a tradition which is a legacy from their ancestors. This tradition is widely known by the people of Pecalukan Subdistrict under the name "gadeso" or "galdeso" tradition. Basically, the gadeso tradition is almost similar to the activity of giving alms to the earth or *nyadran*. In general, *nyadran* can be understood as an activity to remember ancestors who have passed away, the services of ancestors in their efforts to clear land (*tripe alas*) which until now was occupied by the community to build houses and earn a living. This respect in the earth alms procession (*Nyadran*) is carried out by bringing various kinds of agricultural products to a place near the ancestral burial (Arinda, 2014). This definition can generally represent an explanation of the gadeso tradition. Namely, a tradition whose aim is to pay respect to ancestors who have carried out *tripe alas*. Apart from that, the gadeso tradition carried out by the people of Pecalukan Subdistrict also aims to respect and be grateful for the agricultural products from the land they live on.

Culturally, the gadeso tradition is a tradition that is strong in Javanese-Islamic culture. This is quite clear in its implementation. Such as *uborampe* (known locally as *ancak*), incense and kemenyan, performing arts such as *Tandak* and *Ludruk* with typical Javanese gamelan rhythms such as *Jula-Juli*, *ojung art*, Raden's telling of stories about supernatural powers and Javanese knowledge. Mas Adziman, Mbah Sentono, and many more. From an Islamic perspective, this tradition is also colored by the art of flying *jidor* in the early days of its development. The art of flying *jidor* is usually played before carrying the "*ancak*" to the Pecalukan Subdistrict pavilion. Usually, along the way, people will sing the prophet's prayers and praise to Allah SWT. With musical accompaniment from tambourines and other musical instruments until you arrive at the pavilion. Generally, the majority of Pecalukan Subdistrict residents are very enthusiastic when welcoming this tradition. This is because the majority of people in Pecalukan Subdistrict consider that the gadeso tradition is a means of giving thanks to God and a form of gratitude to the ancestors who previously opened civilization in Pecalukan.

The enthusiasm of the people of Pecalukan Subdistrict is also supported by a system of knowledge and values they believe in, namely Islam Kejawen. Basically, the formation of this system cannot be separated from the role of elders who have long invested meaning and created procedures for implementing the gadeso tradition which is full of Javanese Islamic philosophy. Islam Kejawen itself is a variant of the Islamic religion adhered to by Javanese people, especially Central Java which is

centered in Solo and Yogyakarta as the center of Javanese court culture (Khalim, 2011).

This is due to historical factors regarding the ancestors of the Pecalukan people who came from the Islamic Mataram Kingdom in Central Java. Conceptually, Islam Kejawen, or also known as *Jawi Agami*, according to Koentjaraningrat (in Khalim, 2011) is a religious ideology that combines native Javanese religious customs (animism-dynamism) with Hindu-Buddhist religion from the Majapahit era and the influence of Islam from that era. Demak. Borrowing Geertz's term in his book *The Religion of Java*, the majority of people in Pecalukan Subdistrict can be classified as *abangan groups*, although in terms of social composition there are still many people who are classified as *santri groups* who in fact really uphold the purity of the teachings of the Islamic religion, or other community groups. outside these two typologies.

The conflict that occurred during the implementation of the gadeso tradition was triggered by rejection initiated by groups that identified themselves as religious groups. This religious group consists of Muhammadiyah people, several groups from the quite militant *Nahdlatul Ulama' (NU)*, as well as several people from *Manhaj Salaf*. Although the number of Salafis is very small compared to the Muhammadiyah and NU groups. Based on research conducted by researchers, they have one value in common, namely "puritanical Islam". This group considers that the most correct and ideal form of Islamic religion is to imitate the *Salaf-as-salih*. Local customs, traditions and culture, such as the implementation of gadeso, are considered to diminish the authenticity of Islam. The inclusion of local cultural colors is often seen as something *heretical* and *superfluous* (Farida, 2015) . In the context of implementing the gadeso tradition, these puritan Islamic groups consider that local traditions such as gadeso are not based on the teachings of the *Salaf-as-shalih* (three generations of early Muslims who are considered closest to the teachings and preaching of the Prophet Muhammad SAW). Borrowing Geertz's terms and categorization once again, this group can be identified as a *santri group*. According to this group, even though the gadeso tradition is a legacy of the Pecalukan elder, Raden Adziman, who is Muslim and in fact comes from the Islamic Mataram Kingdom, there are several things that according to them cause this tradition to still be considered contrary to Islamic teachings.

Conflict between social groups actually further reduces *the sense of belonging* between communities in Pecalukan Subdistrict. As a result, it is quite difficult for society to restore social cohesiveness in between each group or individual. As explained by (Rahardjo 2010) that if social cohesiveness cannot be realized, then each group is in an exclusive social area, so that it is relatively less intensive in establishing effective intercultural communication, namely communication intended to reduce cultural misunderstandings, but actually tend to avoid communication.

B. METHODS

This research uses qualitative methods (*qualitative research*) which pay attention to the contextual richness of the research setting. This research aims to reveal and map the conflicts that occur in the implementation of the gadeso tradition in Pecalukan Subdistrict and try to see how to resolve existing conflicts. For this purpose, the

approach used is a case study approach. According to (Yin 2013) , when conducting research using a case study approach, it is not enough if the case study question only asks "what". But also "how" (*how*) and "why" (*why*). The "what" question is intended to obtain descriptive knowledge, "how" to obtain explanatory knowledge, and "why" to obtain exploratory knowledge (Yin, 2013) . This means that the case study approach does not just describe events at a definitive level, but also explains in depth starting from the description of the phenomenon, how the phenomenon occurred, and why the phenomenon occurred.

The type of case study approach used is an explanatory case study. Yin 2002 (in Prihatsanti, 2018:129) states that explanatory case studies are suitable for use in causal case studies. In complex and multivariate cases, analysis is carried out using pattern matching techniques (Prihatsanti, Suryanto, and Hendriani 2018) . The explanatory case study approach uses several tactics such as pattern matching, explanatory planning, and time series analysis (Nur'aini, 2020) . As a unit of analysis, this research uses conflict theory analysis initiated by Ibnu Khaldun. Based on Ibn Khaldun's conflict theory, it is known that *ashabiyah* or social groups along with solidarity and love for the group (identity) can actually cause conflict. According to Affandi (2004, 105 in Amin, 2018:91) functionally *ashabiyah* refers to social and cultural ties which can be used to measure the strength of a social group. Apart from that, *asabiyah* can also be understood as social solidarity, emphasizing group awareness, cohesion and unity (Amen, 2018). Still based on Khaldun's view, besides *ashabiyah*, there are also other factors within humans, namely the basic aggressive nature of humans (*animal power*) to dominate based on the desire to win *and* the desire to dominate (*to rule*), as well as phenomena that surround a conflict such as a political phenomenon or an economic phenomenon.

C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Stages and Conflict Mapping: Contestation of Truth in the Implementation of the Gadeso Tradition

A conflict does not just appear in society. However, the emergence of a conflict actually goes through several processes or certain stages. According to Fisher (2001, in Susan 2009: 102) the process of conflict can be divided into several stages, including pre-conflict stage, confrontation stage, crisis, consequences of conflict, and post-conflict. In this section, the researcher will present a discussion regarding the stages and conflict mapping in the implementation of the gadeso tradition.

a. Pre-Conflict Stage

This stage is marked by the potential for conflict in the implementation of the gadeso tradition in Pecalukan Subdistrict. This potential has actually been visible for quite a long time, namely since around the 1970s. Initially, this difference in understanding was triggered by the Muhammadiyah group and several Salafists who tend to believe in puritanical Islam. Most of them reject the gadeso tradition because it is considered to disturb *the faith* and *monotheism* of Muslims. Furthermore, for

groups with Puritan Islamic beliefs, local customs, traditions and culture, such as the implementation of gadeso, are considered to be able to eliminate the authenticity of Islam. The inclusion of local cultural colors is often seen as something *heretical* and *superfluous* (Farida 2015) . Muhammadiyah and Salafi groups in Pecalukan who adhere to puritanical Islam also do not believe in the acculturation of Javanese culture with Islam. For them, religion and tradition must be separated and cannot be combined.

b. Confrontation Stage

Such differences of opinion then became widespread. Until the 1980s, rejection of traditional values had manifested itself in confrontational actions. At that time, there was a fairly extreme incident. Namely the burning of a banyan tree carried out by one of the Islamic religious figures in Pecalukan. The banyan tree that the character burned was actually not just an ordinary tree. This tree is considered by the majority of Pecalukan people as a tree with sacred or sacred value. This sacredness is closely related to the historicity of Pecalukan *tripe* and also the gadeso tradition. The banyan tree burning incident was caused because Pak Haji Ihram (pseudonym) felt irritated by the beliefs of the Pecalukan people who considered the tree to have sacred value or a certain form of "energy". This is considered a belief that is not in accordance with the Islamic religion, especially regarding *monotheism*. This kind of understanding then began to spread to the wider community. Especially for several neighbors who live side by side with Haji Ihram, including descendants or relatives of Haji Ihram, who are considered to have had a strong contribution to the rejection of the gadeso tradition to this day. Haji Ihram himself is known by the public as part of the NU people.

In fact, this incident became the starting point for the development of the conflict in Pecalukan. Because after the banyan tree burning incident, it seemed as if rejection had become more widespread. At this time, rejection did not just come from Muhammadiyah or Salafi groups just like what happened around the 70s. But it began to spread, coupled with the presence of internal NU people who also rejected the gadeso tradition. Initially it was not known for certain the specific reasons why these people from within NU rejected the implementation of the gadeso tradition. Based on observations by researchers in the field, people from within NU tend to have quite close kinship relations with Haji Ihram. Both kinship by blood ties, and kinship in the context of *the congregation*, or as friends. One of the sources interviewed by the researcher used the term "*Kaji Ihram group*" to refer to NU people who rejected the gadeso tradition, as stated in the statement above. It turns out, after researchers carried out more in-depth data digging, researchers discovered several new facts. Namely related to several reasons which then led to the inclusion of NU internal people in the group who rejected the gadeso tradition.

c. Crisis

The conflict continued to spread until 1983 when Pecalukan underwent bureaucratic restructuring. At that time, all forms of progress and modernity began

to creep into the life of the Pecalukan people and caused several socio-cultural changes. Mustofa (2008) stated that the large number of tourists who come and interact and mingle with native residents is also a factor in changes in Pecalukan Subdistrict. As stated by Agus Budijarto (2018) that direct or indirect contact with external communities has encouraged social and cultural change. Because they interact a lot with tourists who tend to have a hedonistic lifestyle and like to look for "momentary pleasure", this has an influence on the daily lives of the Pecalukan people who then tend to imitate the lifestyle of tourists. Then they are close to the culture of drinking alcohol and even actions that lead to immoral acts.

This condition can then be seen from the activities of implementing the gadeso tradition in 1983. At that time, there were several people in the community who were drinking alcohol and getting drunk during the gadeso event. Apart from that, it was also found that several people were "*cheering*" on the dancers during the *Tandak arts event*, as well as some immoral behavior which was considered to cause unrest when the gadeso tradition was being carried out. Some of these actions were then considered as destructive actions against the morality of the Pecalukan people, who previously highly upheld social norms and values. Apart from that, this action is considered to have damaged the breath of local traditions which are full of wisdom. This action was also considered a form of moral degradation and had abandoned the dignity of the previous village elders, namely Mbah Raden Mas Adziman and Mbah Sentono who came from the Islamic Mataram Kingdom and were in fact Muslim. According to information from one of the sources met by researchers in the field, it was explained that in fact around 1985 there was a protest raised by the community at the Pecalukan Subdistrict head regarding the existence of several negative actions during the *Tandak dance performance*.

However, at that time Pecalukan Subdistrict had become a sub-district and the sub-district head came from outside Pecalukan. So, the wave of protests seemed to be simply ignored. So, the government in power also tends to be indifferent to this matter. In fact, the local government even labels the *santri* group who protested against the shift in values in the implementation of the gadeso tradition with the label "fanatic".

Due to these various shifts, several religious figures from internal NU circles, along with the Muhammadiyah group and several Salafis who have a fundamental understanding of religion and social life then condemn the gadeso tradition in general as a tradition that violates *sharia law* and brings more *harm* or bad than good. So based on this interpretation, the implementation of the gadeso tradition is considered an act that is *haram* or not permitted in religion. Religious figures from within NU who voice this kind of dogma seem to be overly generalizing about the existing situation. Because there are one or two things that are not in accordance with religious teachings in a large activity, the entire activity is immediately deemed *haram*. It didn't stop there, religious figures, both from internal groups of NU and Muhammadiyah, also agreed on the law on making *ancak*. According to them, the *ancak* made during the implementation of the gadeso tradition is also not in accordance with religious *law*.

This is suspected to be because these figures believe that food should not be paraded around the village and used as a fight for the community. Because when *ancak* is fought over, the food that was fought over will fall to the ground, become dirty, inedible and become *wasteful*.

Due to the expansion of groupings of people who are in conflict, to help categorize them, researchers use the terms initiated by Geertz regarding *santri* and *abangan* to facilitate the process of conflict analysis and mapping. Because it doesn't seem enough when researchers only say that the only people in conflict are NU and Muhammadiyah, or NU and Salafiyah. It is not without reason that researchers decided to use these two concepts in analyzing and mapping conflicts regarding the implementation of the gadeso tradition in Pecalukan. However, after the researcher carried out an analysis of the results of interviews and observations, the researcher discovered one fact. That in terms of thoughts and views, the group that rejects the gadeso tradition and the group that supports the implementation of the gadeso tradition in Pecalukan, has an identification that is quite in line, although not absolute, with Geertz's definition of *santri* and *abangan*. In the typology of society that rejects the gadeso tradition, whether from the Muhammadiyah community, Salafi groups, or groups of people from within NU, they tend to have fanaticism towards the Islamic religion and a fairly strong spirit of puritanism. This means that Muhammadiyah, Salafi or some NU groups (although not all of them reject it) in Pecalukan tend to apply Islamic religious doctrines in their daily lives, especially regarding interpretations of morals and social life.

Likewise, vice versa, when we try to see the patterns of society that support the implementation of the gadeso tradition. Namely, in this study it was identified as the *abangan group*. This group consists of the majority of people who support the implementation of the gadeso tradition. Often, they tend to have a certain meaning towards the gadeso tradition. This group is usually more flexible towards religious doctrine and differences in beliefs. Apart from that, they also know in depth what the gadeso tradition is, when it must be implemented, why it must be implemented, and why it must still be maintained.

"*Abangan*" group believes that a tradition must be maintained and implemented over time. Because in this preservation, there is a value that is understood that efforts to preserve traditions are a form of respect for Pecalukan elders. For them, the traditions inherited by Mbah Raden Adziman and Mbah Klosot are an effort to maintain collective memory so that future generations will not forget their origins. "*Ora lali marang sangkan paraning dumadi*" or not forgetting our origins. It is felt that this statement is sufficient to describe the reasons for continuing to carry out the gadeso tradition in Pecalukan for the people who believe in it. That's how these two equally strong beliefs try to dominate each other.

d. Consequences of Conflict

Several events that occurred previously caused several consequences for the implementation of the gadeso tradition in Pecalukan Subdistrict. Namely, groups that do not agree with the implementation of the gadeso tradition take several actions as

a form of resistance. It's like; reluctant to pay fees for the implementation of the gadeso tradition, not present to enliven the implementation of the gadeso tradition, and unwilling to participate in slaughtering cows or cooking food as a condition for making *ancak*. Apart from that, they usually also carry out special routine recitations for their *congregation* which are held before the gadeso is held. This study is closed and reserved only for their own group. So, the Islamic group that rejects the gadeso tradition internally has very strong solidarity.

So, in rejecting the gadeso tradition, they definitely have one voice, that is, they both reject its implementation. These confrontational actions made groups opposing the gadeso tradition, whether from internal NU, Salafi or Muhammadiyah groups in Pecalukan, ultimately become quite exclusive groups. Then, they are also always at odds with the majority group, namely the Pecalukan people who are enthusiastic and support the implementation of the gadeso tradition. This is further exacerbated by the stigma attached to the *Islamic boarding school group* as a fanatical group. In the end, this condition makes it increasingly difficult for the Pecalukan community to build social cohesiveness due to hampered communication between conflicting parties.

e. Post-Conflict

This stage is the stage that occurs after a conflict has strengthened into a crisis condition. According to Novri Susan (2009), when the conflict reaches its peak (confrontation) then the situation depending on the handling process the conflict. If both parties are capable negotiate and use problem solving strategies (*problem solving*) possible situations that the result is quite positive and reduces total loss together.

Because the conflict was getting stronger and there had never been any meaningful efforts to resolve it, since 2011, when the government was held by the indigenous people of Pecalukan, efforts to resolve the conflict had also begun to be made. This is Mr. Sumarsono, the head of the Pecalukan sub-district who has served since 2011 and is now retired. He is one of the important figures who plays a role in efforts to resolve conflicts in the implementation of the gadeso tradition in Pecalukan Subdistrict. As a sub-district head, he synergized with several environmental figures to help minimize the conflict that had been going on for a very long time. Finally, after that the head of the Pecalukan Subdistrict government tried to find a middle ground regarding the pros and cons of implementing the gadeso tradition in Pecalukan. After holding discussions with several parties involved in the conflict, several proposals emerged to address the existing conflict. This reconciliation effort will be explained further in the next subsection. Below is a conflict mapping that occurred during the implementation of the gadeso tradition in Pecalukan through the perspective of the onion analogy.

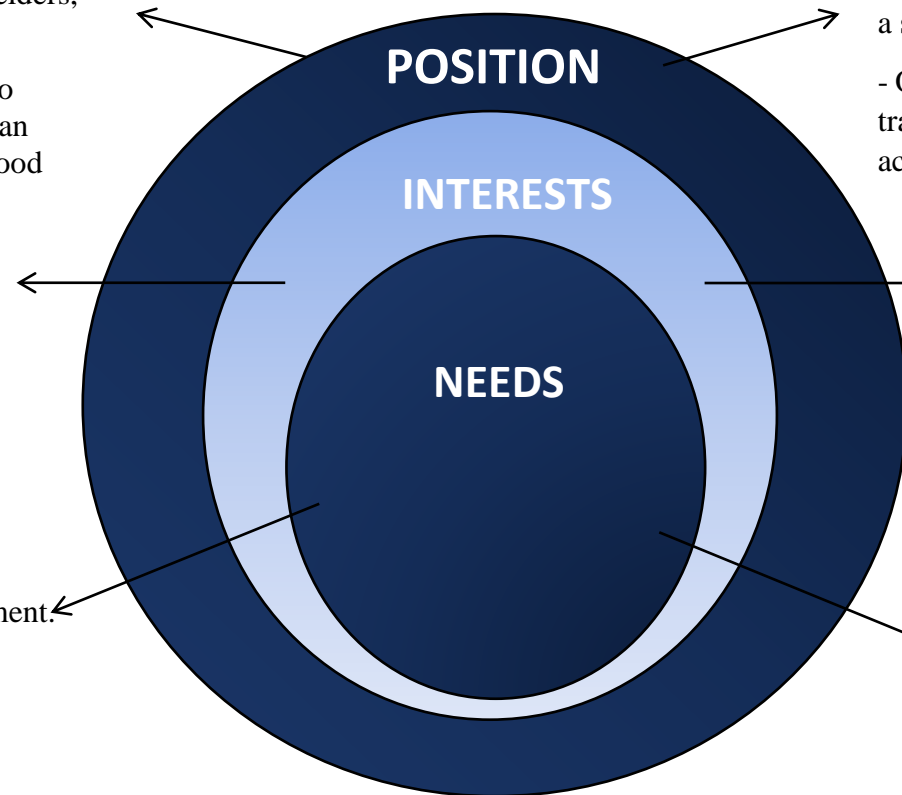
Onion Analogy as a Tool For Conflicts Mapping in the Implementation of Gadeso Tradition In Pecalukan Subdistrict

-The **abangan** group is the majority in Pecalukan Village. Including from neighborhood leaders, elders, youth leaders, to sub-district officials

- Fully support the implementation of the gadeso tradition and its various components in Pecalukan Village, consider the gadeso tradition to have good meaning and goals for their lives.

- Maintaining the authenticity of the gadeso tradition in accordance with the legacy of Pecalukan elders.

Power, safety influence, entertainment.



-The **santri** group consists of Muhammadiyahs some Salafians and NU people who both have a strong spirit of puritanism.

- Opposing the implementation of the gadeso tradition, considering the gadeso tradition as an act of shirk, wasteful and polytheistic.

- Wants a totally revolution against the gadeso tradition towards an Islamic culture.

-Wants a "cleansing" of the gadeso tradition from things that are considered detrimental.

Power, influence, position in the committee structure of the gadeso tradition, reducing excess spending.

2. Ashabiyah and Efforts for Group Domination: Ibn Khaldun's Perspective on Conflicts in Implementing the Gadeso Tradition

The implementation of the gadeso tradition in Pecalukan Subdistrict faces a challenge that can shake the resilience of its existence. This challenge is the presence of a conflict in the implementation of the gadeso tradition involving social groups (*ashabiyah*) based on belief and identity in Pecalukan Subdistrict. *Ashabiyah* in this context can also be based on kinship ties such as blood or congregational ties. Then, after identification, it turned out that the social groups in conflict were the *santri* group and the *abangan* group in Pecalukan. The *santri* group is represented by the Muhammadiyah group, the Salafi congregation and several groups of NU people who have a fanatic attitude towards the Islamic religion and want to apply every dogma of the Islamic religion in their daily lives absolutely. So, this group is those who tend to reject the implementation of the gadeso tradition, because they consider this tradition to be contrary to sharia law, so it can cause shirk and disrupt the faith.

Meanwhile, on the other hand, the *abangan* group is those who tend to combine Islamic religious beliefs with Javanese culture because they feel that they are Javanese. Often this *abangan* group has an understanding that emphasizes harmony with the universe, including existences that are considered supernatural in their surroundings. This means that in general, this *abangan* group tends to maintain the authenticity of the gadeso tradition which has been created since the time of Raden Mas Adziman.

As Khaldun has explained in his theory of social conflict, functionally *ashabiyah* refers to social and cultural ties which can be used to measure the strength of social groups or social solidarity (Amin, 2018). So, if we observe, the two groups that are at war with each other in Pecalukan basically both have strong group solidarity or *asabiyah*. Both groups that are *against* the implementation of the Gadeso tradition, and groups that are *pro* for the implementation of the Gadeso tradition, both have *solid ties* between their members so that their opinions are equally strong and ultimately this leads to conflict because of these differences. One of the reasons for the strength of solidarity that emerges within these groups is the existence of blood ties or kinship. And there is a tendency for each group to want to apply the values they believe in to others.

When researchers carried out a more in-depth data mining process, it was discovered that both the *santri* group and the *abangan* group had strong ties of solidarity based on descent (*asabiyah* descent/kinship). For example, the majority of the *santri* group who reject the gadeso tradition still come from the same lineage. Usually, this group is the descendants of Islamic religious figures, teachers and lecturers in Pecalukan. Most of them are still descendants of *modin*, or people who work as mosque administrators, helping with wedding matters, until death. So, they usually have the same perspective and belief in the gadeso tradition. Meanwhile, in the *abangan* group, especially figures who have an influence on the implementation of the gadeso tradition, for example, they also have one lineage that tends to be the same. Namely, they are mostly the descendants of the Pecalukan elder, Raden Hamangkusaeri

Notonegoro, or Mbah Adziman. Because they feel that they are descendants of Mbah Adziman, they also have the enthusiasm to maintain the traditions created by their ancestors. Usually, the Pecalukan elders who support the gadeso tradition and try to maintain the authenticity of the tradition are descendants of Mbah Adziman.

Khaldun explains in his theory that apart from *ashabiyah*, there are also other causes that can become pillars of social conflict. Namely, it is related to psychological character which is the basis of sentiment and ideas that build social relationships between various human groups (family, tribe, etc.) (Affandi 2004). This basic human psychological disposition can also be known as *lust*. Lust itself is an animal power that is able to encourage various social groups (*ashabiyah*) to create various movements to win *and* dominate (*to rule*) (see in *Muqaddimah*, 1967). This means that strong ties of social solidarity in an *asabiyah* can encourage the emergence of a desire to dominate, or maintain the dominance that one already has. On the other hand, if the social ties of an *asabiyah* are weak, it will be difficult to maintain its dominant power (Susan, 2009). Then there are other driving factors, namely regarding political phenomena, which are related to the struggle for power or domination and sovereignty which gives birth to empires, dynasties and states. Then thirdly, it is related to economic phenomena related to fulfilling economic needs at the individual, family, community and state level (Affandi 2004).

This kind of concept and perspective on conflict is quite clearly visible in the conflict over the implementation of the gadeso tradition in Pecalukan Subdistrict. This is because the conflict that occurs involves many human psychological elements, as explained by Ibnu Khaldun. The first is related to psychological character which is the basis of sentiment and ideas that build social relations between various human groups. This can be clearly seen both in groups that support and groups that oppose the implementation of the gadeso tradition. As a group of *students* in Pecalukan who reject the gadeso tradition in general, their basic sentiments and ideas tend to be the same, namely around the values of Islamic religious dogma which collide with local traditions. Then the results of this thought became the basis for the "social building" within their group through the existence of *the congregation* and also became the basis for arguments in rejecting the gadeso tradition. Likewise, the *abangan group* in Pecalukan also has uniform basic sentiments and ideas within their group. Namely regarding respect for the services of ancestors, mutual respect between humans and spirits, as well as several other ideas that actually, if drawn in a straight line, these ideas are not far from Javanese philosophical values. Then, the sentiments and ideas they developed became the basis for their actions to implement and maintain the gadeso tradition. Then in the end, it was this heated debate about values that sparked animal sentiment (*animal power*), especially from within the *santri group* who attempted to exercise domination (*to win & to rule*) by applying their version of the truth of values to the implementation of the gadeso tradition.

Second, related to political phenomena and efforts to fight for power/domination and existing influence. This is an follow-up to the animal sentiment that was sparked when there was a striking difference in values between

the *santri* and *abangan* groups. In the context of conflict over the implementation of the gadeso tradition, this is also quite clear, although it is not so visible on the surface. As explained by previous researchers in the conflict mapping section, there was some kind of attempt to seize power and influence over the implementation of the gadeso tradition. This was triggered by the dissatisfaction of the *santri* group with the implementation of the gadeso tradition which was considered to contain many abuses and moral degradation when its implementation was completely handed over to the village government at that time. This dissatisfaction encouraged them to voice their aspirations through village meetings which were routinely held before the gadeso tradition took place. However, the attitude given by the Pecalukan sub-district government at that time apparently did not match the expectations of the *santri* group. This is because since 1983, the leadership of the Pecalukan Subdistrict government has been held by subdistrict heads who come from outside Pecalukan. Finally, with this, the government's concern is not very good, especially in responding to social dynamics in society.

As a result, because they were driven by the group's identity as a "representation of Islam", coupled with the disappointment factor that surrounded them, an aggressive character emerged from the group of *students* which Khaldun called *animal power*. Then in *animal power*, there is also a tendency to dominate by winning (*to win*) and dominating (*to rule*). This means that such conditions have caused the *Islamic boarding school group* in Pecalukan to try to emphasize their opposing stance towards the gadeso tradition. This is reflected in several attitudes and actions they take. Regarding political issues, this group then tried to enter the committee structure of the gadeso tradition. Their desire to enter the gadeso committee structure is not without reason. They want to enter because they have a vision and mission to straighten out the gadeso tradition from existing abuses. They also want to cleanse the gadeso tradition of things they consider contrary to religious law. This group also wants the gadeso tradition to be more colored with Islamic elements rather than Javanese elements.

So that their wishes could be taken into account by the local government, they first went on strike to pay the dues for the gadeso. Apart from that, this group, which is predominantly concentrated in the East Pecalukan area, is also reluctant to slaughter cows as a condition for making *ancak* gadeso. In general, they express this act of rejection in their daily practice. Their desire to be included in the committee structure of the gadeso tradition was then wrapped in religious packaging. This means that, in practice, they focus on Islamic religious dogma and interpretations that prohibit the gadeso tradition. This then led to the formation of a "fanatic" stigma attached, both by the Pecalukan people and the government at that time, to the East Pecalukan or Brang Wetan area. Then, because the protests became stronger, around nine years ago, namely in 2011, there was finally an attempt by the local government to involve several NU figures who were considered able to be invited to compromise on the implementation of the gadeso tradition. This was done as an effort to minimize tensions that occurred in previous years. Thus, it can be said that this group of *students*

has succeeded in "winning" in the tug-of-war regarding the Gadeso tradition committee.

Because they have successfully entered the committee structure, there is one more thing they have to make happen. Namely to seize power over the values and truth of the Gadeso tradition. Namely, under the pretext of "cleansing" the gadeso tradition from several deviations which are considered not in accordance with the teachings of the Islamic religion. Apart from that, they also have the desire to include several more Islamic events such as recitation of the Koran, Istighosah, and so on. Finally, in 2011, when there was a change in government and a change in the committee and chairman of the gadeso tradition, this group's wish finally came true. Through the village forum which at that time was initiated by the sub-district head who had just taken office, they were finally able to convey their objections clearly. Since, 9 years ago, after going through a very long process, this group of *santri* has *finally* succeeded in indirectly having power/domination over the implementation of the gadeso tradition, even though it only revolves around religion. Their desire *to rule* has been fulfilled, although not all of their desires have been fully realized.

This is also the reason that conflicts related to the gadeso tradition still exist in Pecalukan Subdistrict. This condition is suspected to be due to the desire of the *santri* group to exercise complete domination. They still aspire to completely eliminate the tradition of the *Tandak dance*, as well as to replace the culture of making *ancak* which is still carried out in every implementation of the Gadeso tradition to this day. Apart from that, it cannot be denied that the reason for rejecting the gadeso tradition which is purely due to Islamic religious dogma is indeed valid. So, even though several NU leaders who were previously fanatics have been accommodated to the gadeso tradition, other fanatical groups who really reject it, such as Muhammadiyah people and NU people who have a puritanical Islamic spirit, still maintain their belief in rejecting the gadeso tradition.

Apart from the analysis explained above, there is another concept analysis which also colors the pillars of conflict. Namely, it is related to economic phenomena related to meeting economic needs at the individual, family, community and state levels. In fact, in the context of the Gadeso tradition, researchers do not refer to the struggle for economic resources as is often the case in conflicts in society. In the context of conflict over the implementation of the gadeso tradition, the economic reasons that also color the existence of the conflict are around objections related to fees for implementing the gadeso tradition. Some people feel that the fees for implementing the gadeso tradition are burdensome because they are mandatory and sometimes there are unwritten social sanctions surrounding them. Based on this, some communities feel reluctant to implement gadeso because it is considered to be economically burdensome for them. Due to the large and mandatory nature of the contributions, they feel that this hinders them from fulfilling their daily needs.

3. Efforts on Conflict Pressures on the Implementation of the Gadeso Tradition

The various forms of conflict that occur during the implementation of the gadeso tradition indeed give rise to various real impacts along with certain tensions in society. Especially between groups in conflict. So, to reduce the pressures caused by social conflicts related to the implementation of the gadeso tradition in Pecalukan, there have been several efforts to resolve the conflict. As we know, in the presence of widespread conflict, treatment or action is needed to manage the conflict. Efforts to manage this conflict can also be known as "*conflict management*". Hugh Miall (in Susan, 2009) explains that *conflict management* is the art of appropriate intervention to achieve a stable political *settlement*, especially by those who have great power and resources to create pressure on the conflicting parties so that remains in stable condition. The goal of conflict management is reconciliation or conflict transformation. This means using a certain approach that can be used to achieve reconciliation.

Regarding this matter, it can be explained that the conflict that occurred in Pecalukan Subdistrict had been given certain treatment or treatment to minimize the tension that occurred between the *santri* and *abangan* groups. Of course, regarding the debate between the two groups in order to dominate the truth based on certain values they believe in implementing the gadeso tradition. The efforts made by actors in the conflict in Pecalukan Subdistrict can be said to be a *problem-solving process*. Namely, a conflict resolution approach that is a *win-win solution*. In this model, actors meet to discuss problems and issues related to the conflict. The aim is to integrate the needs of each group. Conflict is made into a common problem and both parties must find creative solutions (Dalimunthe 2016). Several forms of efforts to resolve conflicts regarding the implementation of the gadeso tradition that have been carried out by these actors include the following.

4. The Local Government Accommodated Several NU Chairmen in Pecalukan into the Gadeso Committee Structure as Representation of Santri Groups

Due to various protests filed by *Islamic boarding school* groups to the Pecalukan Subdistrict Government regarding the misuse of the gadeso tradition, this idea finally emerged in 2011. This idea initially came from the head of Pecalukan Subdistrict as an effort to minimize existing and long-standing conflicts by trying to accommodate all parties in the gadeso tradition. It should be noted that in Pecalukan itself, the typology of NU people is also divided into two groups.

First, there are those who have a spirit of puritanism and tend to be rigid in implementing religious law. So sometimes these kinds of NU people tend to be closer to the Muhammadiyah group. This first group also has a tendency to reject the gadeso tradition.

Second, namely those who are still relatively flexible with the existence of customs in society. The NU group, which is relatively flexible, usually supports the implementation of the gadeso tradition. Although sometimes they also disagree on several things in the gadeso tradition. This typology is usually not very clearly visible in worship practices, but will be very clearly visible during the implementation of the

gadeso tradition. If previously the committee structure for implementing the gadeso tradition was only filled by government officials, then by including several NU Pecalukan leaders, the head of the Pecalukan Subdistrict hopes that they can become representatives. from the *student group*. With this, the government at that time had attempted to make improvements in conflict resolution efforts.

5. The Local Government Tries to Mediate the Aspirations of *the Santri* and *Abangan Groups*

After several groups of *students* entered the gadeso committee structure, the sub-district head tried to listen to their aspirations. Namely regarding the objections that they have had in implementing the gadeso tradition. It turns out that one of the biggest objections from this group of *students* is the culture of drinking alcohol and immoral acts during *sign entertainment events*. Then this group of *santri* had an initiation with the sub-district head to eliminate this culture during gadeso. If possible, they want *the tayuban* and the *Tandak dance* to be removed from the gadeso program.

However, the sub-district head does not agree with the idea of eliminating the event absolutely. Because in fact these two arts are also typical of the gadeso tradition since time immemorial. Although over time this art has experienced some degradation in value. Finally, he tried to offer a middle way to this problem. Namely by tightening security during the *Tandak dance performance* by placing several LINMAS members to supervise the public so that there is no culture of drunkenness and immoral acts. So, the Tandak dance is only performed in the middle of the event as a welcome to the *ancak-ancak* who come to the pavilion.

In addition, since 2011 there are several additional events. Additional events include recitation of the Koran, recitation of the Koran, and *istighosah* together before and after the gadeso tradition in Pecalukan. This kind of event has never been seen during gadeso implementation in previous years. Apart from that, there are other forms of action such as changing the prayer model in the implementation of the gadeso tradition. If previously the prayer procession at each implementation of the gadeso tradition was previously carried out in the Javanese way (*diujubno*), then since then the prayer procession has been carried out in the Islamic way by inviting a *cleric* to lead the prayer. As a result, with these additions, several groups of *santri* who previously strongly opposed the gadeso tradition, began to melt down and little by little started to support the implementation of the gadeso tradition. Because it is considered that the gadeso tradition has improved from the previous situation by adding Islamic elements to its implementation.

D. CONCLUSION

Through research conducted, it is known that the *asabiyah context* which is strengthened by differences in understanding of values is a fundamental factor in the emergence of social conflict in the implementation of the gadeso tradition in Pecalukan. This difference of opinion occurs between the *santri group* and the *abangan*

group, each of which comes from different ancestral roots. The majority of the *Islamic boarding school* group are still descendants of religious broadcasters who tend to have a puritanical understanding of Islam. Meanwhile, the majority of the *abangan* group are close descendants of Mbah Adziman who adheres to Javanese Islam. Furthermore, regarding the *Islamic boarding school* group, they actually consist of several people with diverse Islamic backgrounds. Namely *Nahdlatul Ulama'* (NU), Muhammadiyah and *Salafy*. It was later discovered that the NU group in Pecalukan was actually divided into certain different typologies when responding to the implementation of the gadeso tradition. This is what then prompted researchers to question Geertz's thesis regarding the Islam of Javanese society which is divided into two dichotomies, *santri-abangan* and whether this is still relevant.

Regarding conflict, generally speaking, both *santri* and *abangan* groups have certain interests in implementing the gadeso tradition. The *santri* group wants a total change in the implementation of the gadeso tradition so that it is more directed towards an Islamic culture rather than a Javanese culture. Meanwhile, the *abangan* group is trying to maintain the authenticity of the gadeso tradition, which has been a Kejawen-style tradition since its inception. These two interests compete with each other to fight for power or domination over "truth" values in a traditional space. The conflict that occurred was sparked by a group of *Islamic students* in Pecalukan who wanted to carrying out purification or purification of the gadeso tradition which is considered to deviate from the Islamic religion and can cause people to become *shirk* or *polytheists*. Apart from making efforts to resist, the *santri* group in practice tries to exercise domination by invading the committee structure of the gadeso tradition.

santri group has an interest in being able to apply the values they believe in in implementing the gadeso tradition (*to win and to rule*). After carrying out quite a long discussion and bargaining efforts, finally since 2011 several representations from *santri* groups came from NU Pecalukan elders. This managed to fit into the committee structure of the Gadeso tradition. Since the entry of this group of *santri*, it has generally had an influence on the implementation of the gadeso tradition. Some things that are considered deviant, such as alcohol and immoral acts, no longer exist. Apart from that, there are additional events added to the implementation of the gadeso tradition, such as reciting the Koran, istighosah, or reciting the Koran. In the end, this process indirectly forms a new face in the implementation of the gadeso tradition which tends to combine the two values, namely Islamism which is of course quite striking while still maintaining the Kejawen philosophy that underlies the breath of the tradition.

In fact, this cannot be separated from a *conflict management effort with a problem-solving* approach which was initiated by the sub-district head who took office in 2011. This process was carried out in order to achieve reconciliation and peace among communities in conflict.

Several management efforts have been made to minimize conflict in the implementation of the gadeso tradition in Pecalukan Subdistrict. Some of these efforts have indeed been quite fruitful. This means that by paying more attention to the

group of *students* who previously strongly rejected the tradition, little by little they were finally able to be integrated into the implementation of the gadeso tradition. Efforts that have been made to minimize conflict cannot be successful without synergy between various parties. However, even though various efforts have been made to the maximum, the existence of conflict in Pecalukan Subdistrict related to gadeso cannot be completely eliminated. Because after all, the local government cannot impose its will, or the will of the majority, on Islamic groups who have rejected tradition from within their thinking. When rejection of tradition has taken root and become the basis of thinking. It will be very difficult to change because of its physical nature and is inherent in every individual. That's all that can be concluded from this research. The gadeso tradition is a reality that exists in Pecalukan society, as is conflict. Both are the color of the unique and contextual social dynamics of the community in Pecalukan Subdistrict, Prigen District, Pasuruan Regency.

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