Government Policy Dilemma in East Java: State, Society and Company

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Abstract

In regional autonomy era, governments and community ability over coming problems occur becomes keyword. Not just being devised capable manages potential and produces local revenue, also must be able solving pertaining problems. In 2014, government and people were still facing problems that East Java has not yet settled, started from Syiah in Sampang, Lapindo Sidoarjo and Kelud Mountain scramble between Blitar and Kediri, added with the dolly localization closure in Surabaya. Qualitative approach used by understanding the constructs of society to mass media, interview and observation, this study observed government policies particularly provincial and regency / city government have crucial position. It could be the beginning of conflict, such as the Dolly closure and Kelud scramble, also can be bridge between parties to the conflict, as Syiah in Sampang and Lapindo depends on the conflict parties. Ability to holding and looking back problems as positive thing for common welfare becomes finishing conflict keyword.

Keywords: Government Policy, Potential Conflict

1. Introduction

Basically, the conflict is a lessfun situation for the actors. However, a conflict is the thing that can be a voided. It happens when the sources relate to society needs are limited. In Indonesia, according to Salim Segaf Aljufri, when he became a social minister (2009-2014), a conflict occurs because of regional expansion, equality, elections and legal in justice. He added that in 2012 there have been 2.883 conflicts in Indonesia. Of this amount has been marked as much as 184 possibility points of major conflict.

In East Java, there are some conflicts that have been occurred. In 2012-2013, the Government of Kabupaten Blitar and Kediri was scrambling Kelud Mountain. The Government of Kabupaten Blitar, East Java, is preparing a lawsuit against the decision of the Governor of East Java; Soekarwo on Kelud status that had been set belongs to Kabupaten Kediri. Mean while, Sidoarjo also has a number of social conflict issues that has potential conflicts such as mudflow victims, resident's conflict in Tambakrejo-Tambaksawah Kecamatan Waru and labor demonstrations. In Surabaya conflicts that happen include labor demo, handling and issues in Sukolilo, problems that occur in Suramadu Bridge and Dolly localization Closure. Conflict in Kabupaten Sampang, Madura, is anenmity between Islam communities, that having different sects i.e. Sunni and Syiah. These problems can be classified as social conflict.

In accordance with Constitution No.7 of 2012 on Social Conflict Management, in the Constitution, the Government and law enforcement agencies are required to make efforts in handling social conflict. Start from conflict prevention, conflict cessation and post-conflict recovery. Considering the various backgrounds above that is why to study the identification of potential social conflict based in East Java Government policy requires (Case Study in Sampang, Kediri, Blitar, Sidoarjo and Surabaya).

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2. Socialconflictin Thesovereign State Arena: A Theoritical Studies

Conflicts can be seen as a struggle between individuals or groups to win equally goal they want to achieve. Defeator destruction of opposite seen by the parties concern as the primary goal to win the goals to be achieved. Unlike the rival or competition, where the main goal is the achievement of victory through competitive excellence and achievement, then the conflictist he destruction of the opponent's goal, so usually the goal to win something to be achieved becomes less important than the desire to crush the opposition. Social conflict which is an extension of individual conflicts, usually manifested in the form of physical conflict or war between the two or more groups, which usually occurs in recurrent state.

Associate with the state and development, on the way society of nation is not a unified whole, but spelled in various groups. In the interaction process, they build social identities different from each other. This process starts from the identification of each individual to the social group. Identification occurs because there is inclusiveness between the individual and the system of social relations (Korostelina, 2007: 18-19). Results of identification form are social group follows with social identity. However, the relationship between social groups those are not always equal. Because of the different access, these social groups have economically and politically stratification. Consequently has been formed the majority and minority groups with each developing a social identity. Social conflict is not just a conflict between groups, but also the conflict between identities developed by the group. Korostelina (2007: 147-150) describes 4 (four) levels of the conflict process.

Table 1 Conflict Model 4 C Based on Identity (Korostelina, 2007: 147)

Comparison (We-They perception and favorable intergroup comparison)



Competition

(Instrumental conflicts of interest among counterpoised interactive communities)



Confrontation

(The ideologization of social identities; transformation of conflicts of interest into moral confrontations between the virtuous Us and the demonized Other)



Counteraction (Discrimination, violence, genocide)

Korostelina (2007) illustrates well how the process of social conflicts occur discriminatory action until genocide. The process begins from the comparison between our group and them, until the next occur competition while interacting. It happens because of the struggle of the limited resources in the country. This competition continues to enter the stage of confrontation. In this stage, the process is preceded by ideological social identity, transformation of conflicts of interest in the moral collision. In turn, the two groups are committing acts of discrimination to genocide. The explanation is very appropriate to be used to analyze various conflicts in Indonesia, ranging from Ambon-Maluku case that actually is competition between immigrants and local residents who then transferred into religious conflicts, as well as Poso which originally is struggle for political position. The same thing also explains the dynamics conflict Sambas-Sampit and Sunni-Syiah groups in Sampang.

To prevent deeper negative impact, theoretically there are several settlement models. First, conciliation is an attempt to notice desire disputing parties to reach an agreement. The second model is mediation. Mediation is a conflict control that involves third party as a counselor in conflict resolution. Third parties are not entitled to decide especially unilaterally. The third model is arbitrage.

In the arbitration process, third party as a mediator. Third party is chosen both by warring parties or higher body. Thus depends on the objective conditions of the country. According to Zainuddin Malik and FX Sri Sadewo (2012), the objective condition of the country determines the escalation of conflict. When the state in a strong position, the "battle" between communities within the framework of the economic and political struggles over access to low and are hidden (*latent*). Conversely, when the condition of the state is weak (*weak state*), "fighting" is strengthened and is open (*manifest*). It happens because the state (government) is no longer able to manage the current over access struggles.

3. Methodology

This research is an *ex post facto*, which assesses the circumstances that have occurred. Conflicts in East Java have been going on during the field (Dolly Closure case) until a few months or even a year earlier. Because of trying to understand and reconstruct policies that generate potential or otherwise become the framework of conflict resolution, the approach used is qualitative. For research studies, the model adopted is the *Rapid Assessment Procedures* (Schrimshaw and Hurtado, 1987) by combining statistical data following other secondary data and *life history* of the perpetrators.

The location was selected purposively, i.e. a conflict occurs, such as Syiah Case in Sampang, Dolly Closure Case in Surabaya, Kelud Scramble Case (Blitar and Kediri), and Lapindo mudflow Case in Sidoarjo. This selection is based variants as well as culture in East Java. Sampang represents Madurese, while the Surabaya and Sidoarjo located in the coastal metropolis of Javanese culture, and culture is Java Mataraman represented by Blitar and Kediri. Meanwhile, the subject of the study consisted of local bureaucracy, security and order institutions (Police and Military), as well as local elites (formal and non-formal) and citizens.

In the analysis process, researcher's made field notes (*field note*). From this field notes, researchers coding, then followed by a qualitative analysis with ethnographic approach. Data analysis begins with the comparing between those five regions regard to the pattern of community relations and understanding among religions. To see the elements that become social ties, researchers can notice social, cultural and economic conditions of the fifth community, and then look at the relations that occur. The analysis starts from the categorical analysis, taxonomicanalys is up to constant comparison inter fifth region associated with the thematic culture existing in their daily lives (Spradley, 1979:185-203), especially in addressing religious differences.

4. Data Findings and Analysis

Kabupaten Sampang: Syiah and Sunni Resident's conflict. The violence on Sunday, August 26th, 2012 was actually not the first. In December 2011, the event had also experienced by Syiah. Unlike the month of December 2011, the events that led to the "expulsion" of Syiah had been casualties. At the moment it was the celebration of Lebaran Ketupat of Syiah resident in Dusun Nangkernang Desa Karanggayam, Kecamatan Omben, Sampang. The victim was one person was killed, four others critically, and dozens of houses burned (see chronology in Table1).

Numb. Time Actors **Events** Victims Lossess 06.30-08.00 Deterrence silahturahmi event Non-Syiah 20 Syiah Zero 1. people outside the village. When fighting, (more than vehicles burned. 20 people) 08 00-09 30 The threat of arson and attack son Non.Syiah Mom. Wife 2. Immaterial: Sviah, starting from Taiul Muluk's more than a and 5 kids Fear. home which had been burned hundred before December 2011 people 20 people on guard at Tajul 3. 09.30-10.30 Non-Syiah. 20 people + 7Muluk's home. Occurs siege by More than people non-Sviah 500 people 10.30-11.30 Reduction efforts under taken by Moch. Moch Chosim 4 Moch Chosim emotions (50 years killed, Tohir Chosim old) in the non-Sviah masses. Moch some other Chosim be attacked and killed. residents Tohir (45 years old) who's hurts protecting was attacked. Continued burning Tajul Muluk's home. 20 occupants fled to SD Karanggayam. House Combustion. The police 11.30-18.00 Syiah citizens 35 houses 5. came and unable to prevent. 18.30 Sviah evacuated to GOR Sampang. Police 155 people. Sick people 6. Some into forest. hospitalized in Sampang

Table1: Chronology of Events, Actors and Victims and Lossess¹

In the beginning of October 2013 the cleric of Sampang, Madura, East Java, KH Syaifuddin approved peace or reconciliation of two warring groups, the Sunni and Syia as initiated by the president through the Minister of Religious Affairs. Prominent scholars who are also caregiver of Darul Ulum boarding school, Omben, Sampang to this point, responded the news of the existence of "reconciliation" between the two warring groups, namely between Syiah and Sunni some time ago. But, he said, peace efforts by both sides, did not reflect a form of real peace, because that represented Sunni groups, not scholars of Sampang, but people from outside Sampang.²

In fact, the place where nuanced racial conflict happened, between the followers of Syiah Islam with Sunni Islam's followers was in the Sampang, so the peace attendance should be from the scholars of Sampang. Despites, continued by KH Syaifuddin, the Sunni scholars, including those belonging to the Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) and the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Sampang agreed to use the terms, i.e. they must rehabilitate ageedah.³

Kabupaten Sidoarjo: Mud was negligence or greed? Hot mud Case inPorong-Sidoarjo resulted oil and gas drilling conducted by PT. PT Lapindo Brantas. Until now the subject of a trigger of the Lapindo mud's flow is still being debated. Hot mud flows first appeared on May 29, 2006 around 05:00 pm in the rice fields Siring Village, Porong. Hot mud flowin conjunction with drilling activity in the Banjar Panji I.⁴

Hot mud flows first appeared on May 29, 2006 around 05:00 pm in the rice fields Siring Village, Porong. Bursts occurred just two days after the earthquake in Yogyakarta, Bantul and Klaten. Chronology of events can be explained by the existing literature is that on May 18, 2006, when drilling reached 8.500 feet, Medco had warned that Lapindo must immediately install a safety sheath (*casing*) 9 5/8 inches in diameter, but until the drilling reached into the depth of 9.297 feet casing had not been installed yet. On May 27, 2006, the drilling was done from a depth of 9.277 feet to 9.283 feet. 07:00 am to 13:00 pm drilling continued to a depth of 9.297 feet. Thus at a rate of up to 9.297 feet depth, the drilling was done without the *casing*. At a depth of 9.297 feet, the circulation of heavy mud into the subsoil. This event was called the *loss*. Mud weight used at once a kind of lubricant to

http://news.detik.com/read/2012/08/27/124112/1999831/10/kronologi-kekerasan-yang-dialami-warga-syiah-di-sampang

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protect the drill bit at a time to keep the hydrostatic pressure in the well in order to be stable. After the loss, as the standard measure injected *loss of circulating material* (LCM) or stopper material into the well.

The goal was to stop the loss so that the circulation back to normal.⁵ However, it did not work, resulting bursts that has not stopped until now.

Mud flow brought tremendous impact to the community and to the economic activity in East Java and for the environment. Mud flow also resulted in city facilities and infrastructure affected, among others: (1) rail road Siring-Jatirejo, (2) Porong toll bridge, (3) *overpass* bridge Siring-Kedung Bendo, (4) a broken gas pipe pertamina at km 38 motor way which killed 13 people, (5) PDAM pipes, (6) Sutet PLN and electricity and telephone networks, (6) more than 500 houses in Dusun Balongnongo and Wangkal, Desa Renokenongo, (7) 29 factories, (8) 500 ha ofrice fields, (9) 20 thousands drowned in the next years, (10) 25 school buildings to sink, (11) hundreds of leather crafts men (bags and luggage) in Desa Kedung bendo and Renokenongo, and (12) the threat of disruption Lapindo mud environment due to high mercury content.

Surabaya City: Removing recent image with the Closure of the largest Southeast Asia Localization. Dolly Prostitution Localization in Surabaya, which is also rumored as the largest center of prostitution in Southeast Asia located in Kelurahan Putat Jaya, Sawahan, Surabaya, East Java. Some call the early pioneers of business "Esek Esek" in the region named Dolly van der Mart, a Dutch noni. However, there was also mentioned that Dolly later more known as Dolly Khavit.⁶

Dolly Prostitution Localization was originally a Chinese cemetery. Around 1960, the area was later dismantled and turned into settlements. Around 1967, a former commercial sex worker (PSK) named Dolly Khavit who married to sailor Dutch opened a house in the region. Narrated, Dolly Khavit started the business because of loneliness and felt the sting of left by her sailor husband. Dolly was known as a beautiful woman who was quite a tomboy and famous at the time. Although beautiful, Dolly was a woman who acted like a man. Dolly told prefers to be called "papi" rather than "mom", as the term is usually a pimp. Her home evolved from the original one, increasing to four, Home T, Sul, NM, and MR.

History of Gang Dolly in the Kelurahan Putat Jaya, Sawahan, Surabaya, East Java ended on June 19, 2014 as planned by Mayor Tri Rismaharini. This closure was based on Perda No.7 of 1999, concerning the prohibition of the building used as asacrilege. However, this closure caused polemical. Dolly and Jarak occupants supported by Front Pekerja Lokalisasi (FPL) elements, Gerakan Rakyat Bersatu (GRB) and Paguyuban Arek Jawa Timur (Pagarjati) as well as several other elements. Support was being turned when held a meeting on May 21, 2014. Claims assesse dirrational. Head of Pedagang Kaki Lima (PKL) in Gang Dolly, Gatot requesting compensation effort to Rp.1 billion per head. 11

Surabaya City Government provided compensation to the pimps and prostitutes who had been earning from the localization. By the closing of this localization, Surabaya city government promised to restore the psychological condition of the children in neighborhoods that affected by Dolly-Jarak sex trading activities, in collaboration with experts from Jakarta. In addition to dealing with the psychological trauma of children, this region will be a center for small and medium enterprises to empower citizens. While the houses that had been used as a place of localization will be purchased by the city government budget of Rp. 20 billion in 2015. Government also said the closure of prostitute on region was important to suppress the spread of HIV/AIDS. Based on the examination of the health department in Dolly-Jarak within three months of an increase in the number of cases from 164 to 218 people. 12

Kabupaten Kediri and Blitar: scrambles Blessing once Disaster of Peak of Kelud Mountain. Kelud is one active volcano in East Java. Since the 15th century, the eruption of Kelud Mountain has claimed more than 15.000 lives. The volcanic eruption in 1586 was estimated to have claimed the lives of more than 10.000 inhabitants. A system to divert the lava flow had been made extensively in 1926 and still functioning until now after the eruption in 1919 claimed the lives of thousands of deaths caused by cold lava flood swept settlements. But since 2004, the slope of Kelud Mountain had been opened as a tourist attraction. Travelers also busy visiting Kelud. The potential of the nature referred to as triggers feud involved two districts, Kediri and Blitar are gaining a Kelud. Kelud peak becomes a tourist area that the government of Kabupaten Kediri relies on. However Blitar government claims to have strong evidence that the Kelud administration entering its territory.¹³

A discussion of the dispute ownership of Kelud had already done by two districts since 2002. Regent of Blitar then, Imam Muhadi talked with Regent Kediri Sutrisno. Imam Muhadi said that Kelud entries into Blitar territory.

Discussion disputes ownership Kelud endless, even in 2010, the discussion of the status of Kelud more pointed. Blitar Regent Hery Noegroho claimed to have proof of Kelud ownership. He refers to a satellite photo of the research institute in London.

Shortly after, the Government of Blitar then building Kelud passageway leading from Blitar. Access was located in the south Kelud, as opposed to the road being built by Kabupaten Kediri government in the north. Government's steps of Kabupaten Blitar sparked emotions in Kabupaten Kediri government. Kediri felt he had to first control and manage the peak Kelud area than Blitar that came later. Kabupaten Kediri government was eventually deployed police officers and Municipal Police Units maintain boundary markers in both Kabupaten. They also stopped the construction of a road through the Blitar area.¹⁴

East Java governor Soekarwo eventually be come judge. Soekarwo decided Kelud in to Kediri administration area with the issuance of the Governor's DecreeNo.188/113/KPTS/013/2012 on Border Confirmation that mentioned Kelud entered the district of Kediri. "The decision that I spend consider final and will not be changed despite any protests from Blitar,"said Soekarwo. Soekarwo did not say that without reason. As agovernor, under Article198 paragraph 1 of the Law on Regional Autonomy, the governor has the authority to decide border disputes that occur in the region. Kelud is as Kediri region after consideration by looking at a map of the Dutchera as well as input from the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In making its decision, the provincial government does notwalk alone, but getting input from various relevant agencies.¹⁵

In the Decree No.188/113/KPTS/013/2012 dated February 28, 2012, mentioned that Kelud entered the district of Kediri. Decision of the Governor of East Java, with consideration of the location of the southern mountains, with reference to the evidence as follows:

- 1. Map Number G.47 Residentie, *The Kediri Residency* 1840 (based on supporting data submitted to Kabupaten Blitar Emphasized to the Team about Border Confirmation Kabupaten Kediri Area).
- 2. Map of 1840 was collected by De Haan with the catalog number of the Republic of Indonesia National Archives (ANRI) G-47 was reproduced in the month of February 1988. 16

National Archives Republic of Indonesia testified that on the map looks Peak of Kelud included in the district of Kediri. While the north-eastrn slopes of Kelud entered the Kabupaten Malang and Feet of Kelud south-eastern entrance Blitar.¹⁷

Government policy as Head or Estuary of conflict in East Java. Basically, a conflict can not be avoided. It happened when the sources are related to the needs of the community are limited. Theoretically, the conflictis understood as a conflict between two parties and each trying top reserve life, existence, and principle. Conflicts in five districts/cities in this study each of them is a case Syiah and Sunni in Sampang; Lapindo Mud case in Sidoarjo; Case Closure Localization Dolly in Surabaya; and the case of the scramble of Kelud includes Kabupaten Kediri and Blitar. These five types of conflict based on government policy in East Java can be identified at issue, impacts, and solutions to solve them.

The government's policy is not always a source of conflict. Conflict can bed erived from the above (policy), but also of society. Conflict of above occurs when the government per forms its functions under the authority legislation. For example, the localization closure case and Kelud conflict. Localization closure conflict is actually not only originated from Surabaya Government policy, but more than that of Governor Soekarwo program that has set the crackdown in East Java during his reign. The plan was put in RPJMD East Java Province. Dolly became an icon crackdown in East Java. As a result, a large appetiteurge the government is not accompanied by socialization and resocialization process with mature prostitute and pimp. By providing "per functory" training and pocket money, the governmentsees this is sufficient. It became to be mal practice government policy, so that responded with resident's rejection action. The reaction occurs because the government did not have an understanding of the socio-economic structure of them at relocalization.

Something similar to the Governor's decree that sets the peak Kelud located in Kabupaten Kediri. On the evidence of history, it has strengthened the position mastery Kediri as stakeholders region. However, the government of East Java Province not just to set, but must go through mature socialization that superintendence region must be understood in the context of togetherness and mutual relationship two adjacent districts. This is related to the social and cultural identity of Kelud. Physically, Kelud is in a stretch of topography mountain of Blitar to Kediri. It is a different socio-cultural. Kelud follows with "blessing and doom" belong to a community that inhabits in slope. The community can not simply be limited administratively because it has cultural and social identity. Inside

that, Kelud comes into the order of value. Therefore, it should be added in the decree obligation to cooperate in its management. Inside, both parties can negotiate to obtain the benefits of Kelud economically, but also build synergies when doom comes.

Table 2. Matrix Identification of Problems and Possible Resolution

	Syiah-Sunni Conflict	Lapindo Mudflow	Dolly Closure	Kelud Mountain
Governmen t Policy	Evacuate outside Sampang	Sunmitting PT Minarak for Compensation	Localization Closure	Ratification of ownership via Governor's Decree
	Respons toward the happen incidents	Respons toward the happen incidents	Proposal from Government	Response to the districts conflict
Events	Violence and "expulsion" members of Syiah (Syiah Displacement)	The destruction of the joints socio-economic and cultural effected by mud disaster	Repatriation of prostitutes and pimps effected to society's economic disintegration	district Government Authorization toward Kelud Peak
Conflict Sources	Different doctrin	drilling Failure; "Negligence" in giving compensation	Surabaya image as museum city	Land Use for Tourism
Actors	Syiah Members (minority) vs non-Syiah members (majority)	Residents vs PT Lapindo Residents vs Central Government	Prostitute (+ Pimp) vs Surabaya Citizens Prostitute (+ Pimp) vs City Government	ResidentsAnd Governmentof Kab. Blitar vs ResidentsAnd Governmentof Kab. Kediri
Victims	Syiah Members	Affected Area Communities	Prostitute dan Pimp; related residents	Blitar Government and Residents
Lossess	Lives, Shelters. Religion dan Culture Identity	Material and immaterial. Economic dan Social Identity disintegration	Material. livelihood	Culture and PAD Identity
Conflict Resolution Possibility	Small. Syiah Members considered "perverted" from doctrin side and "do not know the custom"	Small. PT Minarak is often apostatize. Any allegation of financial difficulty	Small. Prostitute and pimp helped by KOPI against.	chance. Via PTUN. or, cooperate inter districts.
Strategy or Model Resolution	Government as active mediation. The involvement ofthe entire local religious institutions (Kiai Lokal) and supra lokal. Need to translate"Taubat Nasuha"	Government takesa firm demean our against PT Lapindo Minarak in compensation payments.	Consistency in policy implementation. To think about the impact ofthe closure. It reminds that localization function is	PTUN is the best way, although they had strengthened with the data. Develop policies that MOU mutually advantageous to both parties

How ever, the policy is not always born from above, but also not infrequently as a response of conditions in the community, such as the case of Syiah and Lapindo mud. When it was emergency incidence, Government with security forces as if not given time to think and plan a loose policy and no harm done. Therefore, it could be understood as a policy of Syiah relocation, although they had conflict with human rights. The key word is actually located on the mapping capabilities of potential conflict from the beginning and builds awareness about diversity a safact that can't be denied and accepted as a form of social wisdom in society.

The same thing happened in the case of Lapindo Mud by mapping the potential vulner ability to natural disasters related to soil structure. With these conditions, the government should impose Exploitation Company to seriously implement environmental safety standards. Instead of seeking profits, ultimately resulting disaster for the whole community, and ultimately charged to the government. Such companies must get black listed, to seriously deal with the impact of his actions. In short, the government keyword is mapping and consistent implementation of policies in favor of universal values, namely human rights. About models and strategies in detail can be seen in Table2 above.

5. Conclusion

By looking at these cases, there is a reality that can't be denied, that the role of the District/City and Province. Through policies in the form of legislation, the government is trying to achieve, namely the welfare of society. In addition, as a consequence of Regulation No.7 In 1999, Surabaya City Government action was taken to prevent the consequences of prostitution, such as the trafficking of women and the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. Mean while, Pemkab Sampang moves within the framework of minimizing risk. With instead of reducing the escalating conflict between the two districts, assigning ownership Kelud to Pemkab Kediri also considered

appropriate. Become more unique, "firmness" This government seems to bed ecreasing when trouble shooting problem of Lapindo mud. In this context, provincial and district governments are not in authority to decide, but as a mediator between the company and the affected communities.

In short, in all four cases, the government remains in an important position in the resolution of problems. To carry out the role of the government developpolicies. Policies can begenerated in response to circumstances/events that have occurred or reversionary associal engineering to build community. Which need to be understood, the policy can not always please the two sides, however, should minimize the risk generated by the implementation of the policy. Therefore, there are some recommendations given to the government, namely:

- 1) There must be a mapping of disasterissues, particularly those related to social conflict in East Java;
- 2) There should be amapping of the capabilities and responsiveness of local government (district/city) of social
- 3) Implementation of Government policy Regency/Cityand Province should be based on prudence and adequate socialization, thus minimizing the risk of conflict;
- 4) Regency/Cityand Provincial Government should have consistency insiding, act and behave when its policy implementation. Therefore, it must be accompanied by definite law enforcement.

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