

Early Response to the Conflict over Establishment of the Houses of Worship through the Collaborative Governance Regime (CGR) Model

Respons Dini Konflik Pendirian Rumah Ibadah Melalui Model CGR

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ABSTRAK

Pendirian rumah ibadah pada sebagian wilayah di Indonesia seringkali menimbulkan konflik sosial. Pada sebagian kasus, konflik rumah ibadah ini bisa terselesaikan dengan baik dan ada yang tidak terselesaikan. Pendirian rumah ibadah di Kabupaten Tangerang Provinsi Banten, yaitu pembangunan gereja HKBP Rogate, GKBJ Sepatan, dan GBI Tanjakan juga memicu terjadinya konflik sosial. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengungkapkan kronologis konflik pembangunan ketiga gereja tersebut, dan tindakan pemerintah lokal dalam mengatasi persoalan konflik yang muncul. Ketiga kasus ini dikaji peneliti dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dan dianalisis menggunakan model CGR (Collaborative Governance Regime). Analisis model CGR ini merupakan bagian dari respons dini pihak-pihak yang terkait dengan konflik, dapat mengungkap bagian yang menjadi kelemahan, dan kelebihan dalam resolusi konflik pendirian rumah ibadah. Metode pengumpulan data menggunakan teknik wawancara dan studi dokumentasi. Temuan penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa pada ketiga kasus konflik tersebut, dua kasus menunjukkan konflik yang bereskalasi (munculnya aksi massa) dan satu kasus yang tidak bereskalasi. Resolusi konflik terhadap pendirian ketiga rumah ibadah oleh pihak pemerintahan dan tokoh masyarakat dapat mencegah eskalasi konflik berupa pengerahan massa jika para pihak berhasil mengidentifikasi persoalan di lokasi. Identifikasi pihak-pihak yang memiliki otoritas dalam penentuan arah akhir dari konflik tersebut, terutama pihak yang menolak kehadiran atau pendirian rumah ibadah menjadi penting dalam upaya penyelesaian konflik. Keberhasilan upaya resolusi konflik tergantung pada keterlibatan seluruh pihak yang otoritatif menentukan akhir dari konflik.

Kata Kunci: Analisis Model CGR; Resolusi Konflik; Respons Dini; Rumah Ibadah

ABSTRACT

The construction of houses of worship in some areas of Indonesia often causes social conflict. In some cases, the conflict of houses of worship can be resolved well and some are not resolved. The establishment of houses of worship in Tangerang Regency, Banten Province, namely the construction of HKBP Rogate, GKBJ Sepatan, and GBI Tanjakan churches also triggered the social conflict. This article aims to reveal the chronology of the conflict over the construction of the three churches and the local government's actions in overcoming the conflict issues that arose. These three cases were studied by researchers using a qualitative approach and analyzed using the CGR (Collaborative Governance Regime) model. This CGR model analysis is part of the early response of the parties related to the conflict and can reveal the weaknesses, and strengths in the conflict resolution of the establishment of houses of worship. The data collection method uses interview techniques and documentation studies. The findings of this research show that in the three cases of conflict, two cases show an escalating conflict (the emergence of mass action), and one case does not escalate. Conflict resolution against the establishment of the three houses of worship by the government and community leaders can prevent conflict escalation in the form of mass mobilization if the parties succeed in identifying problems at the location. Identification of parties who have the authority to determine the final direction of the conflict, especially those who reject the presence or establishment of houses of worship, is important in conflict resolution efforts. The success of conflict resolution efforts depends on the involvement of all parties who are authorized to determine the end of the conflict.

Keywords: CGR Model Analysis; Conflict Resolution; Early Response; House of Worship

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a country that has adherents of diverse religions and beliefs (Barton et al. 2021). Thus, religious conflicts can potentially occur. Religious conflicts in Indonesia have been realized to be essential to pay attention to since the enactment of the 1945 Constitution (UUD 1945). Chapter 29 of the 1945 Constitution states, "The state guarantees the freedom of every citizen to profess his religion and to worship according to his religion and belief". The media recorded the big five religious conflicts in Indonesia,

such as in Aceh, Poso, Tanjung Balai, Sampang, and Papua (Al Ghoffar 2023). Likewise, conflict studies related to the establishment of houses of worship have been carried out. Some of them are in West Java (Hermawati, Paskarina, and Runiawati 2016; Jamaludin 2018), North Sumatra (Kahpi 2020), Aceh (Hartani and Nulhaqim 2020), West Kalimantan (Jamil 2021), Jambi (Halim and Mubarak 2020).

Although conflicts are common, conflict-resolution mechanisms are also common and often associated with a leadership role. Theoretical models suggest that cooperative dynamics can emerge in conflict-prone groups in the context of inter-individual heterogeneity (Garfield 2021). Leaders can be categorized based on two things, namely, sources of power and ideas (Benulic et al. 2022). Some leaders are coercive, entrepreneurial, unilateral, or exemplary at the power source. While based on ideas, leaders are distinguished in intellectual, cognition, and instrumental. All of these leadership models allegedly influenced the conflict resolution model that was carried out. Since religious conflicts involve many parties, the leader model and conflict resolution must be right on target. The FPIC (Free, Prior, Informed, and Consent) conflict resolution model has been used in customary land conflicts in North Sumatra, emphasizing the importance of the leader's role (Effendi et al. 2023). In addition to these models, Emerson introduced a conflict resolution model using CGR (Collaborative Governance Regime) (2012). However, this CGR model is rarely used in resolving religious conflicts, even though this model is relevant because there is an element of collaboration between parties who have authority. Parties in authority generally resolve religious conflicts.

Religious conflicts in Indonesia in its development stem from 11 problems, namely the establishment of houses of worship, religious property, religious broadcasting, rituals and celebrations of religious holidays, religious attitudes, religious assistance, religious conversion, interfaith marriage, hate speech, religious misinformation-disinformation, and socio-political-economic-cultural involving religious identity or sentiment (Qoumas 2023). One of the problems that can be said to often occur in Indonesia is the establishment of houses of worship. The Indonesian government anticipated the conflict over establishing this house of worship by issuing PBM (Joint Ministerial Regulation) Number 9 and 8 of 2006. The two government authorities (Ministry of Religious Affairs and Ministry of Home Affairs) prove that the resolution of religious conflicts must be resolved collaboratively.

Recently, the term collaboration has become increasingly popular in Indonesia. We first knew mutual aid in solving problems, then moved more firmly to using collaboration. In the Dictionary of Indonesian Language, collaboration is defined as cooperation. If mutual aid is voluntary, collaboration is coercive because of agreement. Collaboration is currently commonly used in the business and government sectors. At the government level, integrative collaboration is modeled (Emerson et al. 2012). Then, several academic circles in Indonesia used the government collaboration model initiated by Emerson (2012 2015) (Nindyatmoko et al. 2022; Nuh et al. 2024). Collaboration is also used in conflict resolution in Lombok (Nindyatmoko et al. 2022).

The use of collaborative models (Nuh et al. 2024) and CGR (Nindyatmoko et al. 2022) from two studies concerning the issue of land conflicts. Meanwhile, in the case of the establishment of houses of worship with religious nuances, the use of the CGR model does not yet exist. The dominance of conflict resolution with religious nuances is resolved in different ways, such as cultural communication (Ulum and Utami 2022), activity-based (Engkizar et al. 2022), and development of a tolerant attitude (Yatno and Dwi Hatmono 2020). However, no one has provided an overview of conflict resolution with religious nuances using the CGR model. The CGR model is a conflict resolution framework, where collective values such as tolerance and culture become the nuances of collaborative settlement of cases of the establishment of houses of worship.

Although the Indonesian government already has PBM No. 9 and 8 of 2006 in managing conflicts over establishing houses of worship, conflicts related to this matter are still problematic. Conflicts over the establishment of worship may be localistic. So, the handling is very dependent on the situation and demographic conditions of the conflict occurring. So, it can be said that it is natural to happen if there is a conflict in the establishment of houses of worship that have been successfully anticipated and failed. In

general, conflicts occur between people of different religions, although in some cases there are conflicts regarding the construction of houses of worship among members of the same religion (Wahab et al. 2024). However, what often occurs in Indonesia is the majority group's rejection of the establishment of places of worship for minority groups.

The case of the establishment of houses of worship that occurred in Tangerang Regency is interesting to be studied because it displays both successful and failed conflict resolution. Meanwhile, the Tangerang Regency has an adequate government apparatus. Why is there a conflict over establishing houses of worship that can be said to have failed because it escalated into mass actions (demonstrations of rejection), and some were successfully prevented from escalating? What is the role of parties with authority in collaborating to avoid conflicts in establishing houses of worship?

This research is important because, in Indonesia, many religious believers need houses of worship. Christians are the second largest after Muslims, which has many denominations. This large number of denominations among Christians has the consequence of the need for a special house of worship (not the same for one denomination). This research can be an important illustration of conflict resolution as part of the early response of local governments. Through this research, an understanding of authoritative parties in responding to conflicts over the establishment of houses of worship in the Tangerang Regency can influence the outcome of conflict resolution. This research can also confirm that conflicts over establishing houses of worship can be resolved if appropriate conflict resolution methods are used. The absence of religious-based conflicts is very necessary for a plural nation like Indonesia because it will lead to stronger religious beliefs and happiness for religious believers (Van Eyghen and Bennett 2022; Francis et al. 2019; Zuhdiyah et al. 2023).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Religious Conflict

This study's conception of religious conflict adopts the Decree of the Minister of Religious Affairs Number 332 of 2023 concerning the Early Warning System of Social Conflicts with a Religious Dimension. In the regulation, the source of conflict with a religious dimension is divided into 11 problems, namely the establishment of synagogues, religious property, religious broadcasting, rituals and celebrations of religious days, religious understanding, attitudes, and behavior, religious assistance, conversion, interfaith marriage, hate speech, misinformation and religious disinformation, and social, political, economic, and cultural involving religious identity and sentiments (Qoumas 2023).

Similar to defining conflict, it is not easy to formulate a definition of religious conflict. Some scholars include religious conflict under the umbrella of ethnic conflict (eg; (Varshney 2002). The main identifier is generally the identity of conflicting groups, such as Muslim-Christian for communal or inter-religious conflicts, or Shia-Sunni for intra-religious or sectarian conflicts. This study follows the formulation of religious conflicts that include religious issues and issues framed in religious slogans or expressions as the basis for determining a conflict to be categorized as a religious conflict. Religious conflict is defined as "a feud or dispute, either in the form of peaceful action or violent action, regarding values, claims, and identities involving religious issues or issues framed in religious slogans or expressions" (Alam 2009). This research focuses on the establishment of houses of worship as a source of issues from religious conflicts, where disputes occur either in the form of peaceful or violent actions regarding values, claims, and identities.

Early response

Early response is generally understood as an effort made at the stage of a potential [violent] armed conflict that aims to reduce, resolve, or transform conflict (Austin 2004). Based on the evaluation of the practice of responding to violent conflict, there are several "good practice" principles identified by scholars: (a) understanding the problem, basing the analysis on evidence obtained from the field; (b) ensuring that the response is diverse, flexible and sustainable; (c) investing time in developing plans and strategies; (d) sensitive to conflict; (e) do not insist on technical solutions to political problems; (f) balancing speed, sense of ownership and coordination (Nyheim 2009).

In this study, the response practices are divided into two categories: (a) successful early responses and (b) failed early responses. Early response is successful if the response actions prevent the conflict from escalating or turning into violence. Conversely, an early response is failed if the early intervention is unable to prevent the conflict from escalating and developing into violence.

Resolution Conflict

Conflicts are generally related to interpersonal, intergroup, and international relationships (Coleman et al. 2014). Since the 1990s, mediation and conflict resolution processes have often been intimately related to liberal peacebuilding interventions, helping first to bring the fighting to an end with cease-fire agreements and then shaping the post-conflict phase through more comprehensive peace agreements (Coning et al. 2022). Conflict resolution is often associated with cooperative problem-solving and competitive processes. So, conflict resolution is interpreted as a process of solving problems together cooperatively by involving conflicting parties (Coleman et al. 2014). Generally, in the concept of conflict resolution, cooperation and competition theory is used. Simply put, conflict resolution is defined as solving problems over conflicts that occur (Coning et al. 2022).

Cooperation and constructive conflict resolution norms reflect several basic values, where people are deeply divided by sound religious, philosophical, and moral doctrines. Sensible doctrine includes conceptions of values and norms related to conflict that people who adhere to other reasonable doctrines (as well as those who adhere to them themselves) can support and are expected to follow during conflict. Thus, pro-life and pro-choice advocates in a particular conflict may have very different views, but both are components of doctrine that make sense if their respective adherents are willing to follow shared values in dealing with conflict. These values include reciprocity, human equality, shared community, fallibility, and non-violence (Coleman et al. 2014). So, conflict resolution in this study refers to solving problems with a reciprocal relationship between conflicting parties with humanitarian principles, avoiding mistakes, and non-violence.

CGR (Collaborative Governance Regime) Model

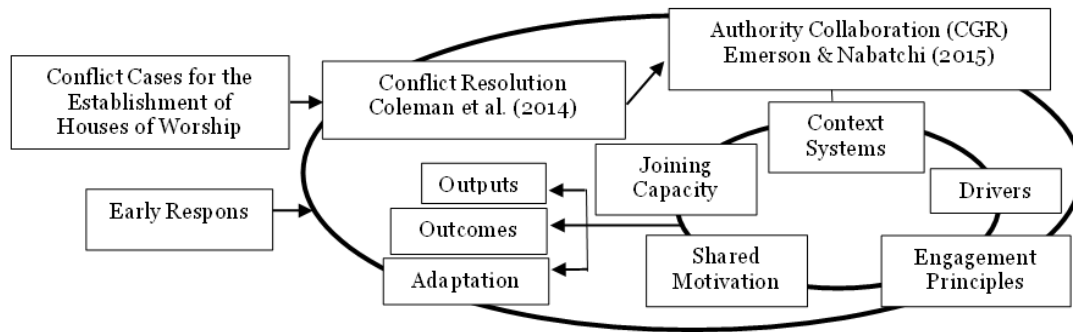
Etymologically, collaboration is defined as cooperation. The Dictionary of Indonesian Language defines collaboration as cooperation to make something. The term collaboration is often juxtaposed with governance. So, the term government collaboration emerged. Some academics define the term government collaboration as "a process and structure of public policy in deciding and managing that involves many parties constructively" (Nindyatmoko et al. 2022, p. 296). In contrast to Ansel and Gash (2008) who define government collaboration as "a governance arrangement in which one or more public institutions directly involve non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, deliberative, and aimed at implementing public policy" (Ansell and Gash 2008, p. 544). Unlike Ansel and Gash (2008), Emerson and Nabatchi (2012) tend to involve more parties in collaboration (Emerson et al. 2012). This study tends to use the model developed by Emerson et al. (2012) because it involves many parties collaborating to resolve conflicts over the establishment of houses of worship.

Emerson and Nabatchi (2012) offer a CGR (Collaborative Governance Regime) model to analyze multi-party collaboration in deciding a case. This CGR model can see the dynamics of collaboration that occur in solving certain cases. These models include context systems, drivers, engagement principles, shared motivation, joining capacity, collaboration outputs, collaboration outcomes, and adaptation (Emerson et al. 2012, p. 7). System contexts include resource conditions, policy frameworks, failure anticipation, political dynamics or strength, social network relationships, conflict levels, and economic-cultural-health diversification. Drivers of collaboration include leaders, consequential incentives (needs, interests, situational), constraints on participation, and uncertainty. The principle of involvement in question is discovery, definition, consideration, and determination (determination). Shared motivations include mutual trust, understanding, internal legitimacy, and mutual commitment. The conditions for collaboration in question are procedures, leadership, knowledge, and resources. The output of collaboration is simply policy setting. Collaboration outcomes are, in principle, changing existing ones to match

what is needed. If the need is conflict resolution, the source of the conflict must be sought and resolved. Moreover, finally, adaptations that have general and radical consequences, such as the replacement of systems and collaboration models.

The three concepts above are an important part of writing an article and can be seen in the following Figure 1:

Figure 1. Collaboration Model of Authority for Conflict Resolution of House of Worship Establishment



Source: (Coleman et al. 2014; Emerson et al. 2012)

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach with a case study method. The study was conducted in 2019 in the Sepatan and Rajeg sub-districts in Tangerang Regency. This study examines three conflicts in establishing houses of worship in the same district (Tangerang) in Indonesia. These three cases were chosen based on the uniqueness of the outcome of the conflict resolution. The qualitative approach to this research seeks to explore and understand the meaning of problems faced by individuals and groups (Creswell 2013).

The subjects of this study are parties who have the authority to determine the management of conflicts for the establishment of houses of worship in Tangerang Regency, such as police officials, local governments, FKUB (Forum for Religious Harmony), religious leaders, community leaders, heads of community organizations, administrators of houses of worship, and worshippers of houses of worship. This study used interviews and observations to obtain data. The data analysis technique used in this study is to classify data, distinguish by theme, and conclude (Creswell 2013; Thomas et al. 2020).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Overview of HKBP Rogate House of Worship Conflict Case

The conflict over establishing the Batak Protestant Christian Huria House of Worship (later called HKBP) occurred on December 24th 2018. The house of worship that is the source of conflict is located in a shophouse (*Ruko*) in Golden City, Jalan Raya kilometer 10 Block F, No. 37, RT (Neighbourhood Association) 08 RW (Hamlet) 04, Kampung Sulang, Kelurahan Sepatan. Conflict occurred when the shophouse held a Christian religious event (service). At the same time, approximately 1000 people from the community around the Sepatan sub-district staged a demonstration against holding religious events (services) at the shophouse.

In that situation, the Sepatan sub-district police apparatus tried to resolve the conflict by appealing to respect Christians who were worshipping and trying to stop the demonstration. However, the demonstrators refused to disperse because they considered the shophouse where Christians worship unlicensed. So their worship (Christians) is not allowed. Because the demonstrators refused to disperse, the HKBP accelerated their religious services. Ultimately, the shophouse was sealed by the Civil Service Police Unit (Satpol) of Sepatan District.

Before the mass demonstration, a meeting was held between the church, religious leaders, community leaders, youth leaders, and members of the Sepatan Subdistrict Leadership Conference (Muspika) to discuss the worship that would be held at the shophouse. The meeting results agreed that the shophouse was not used for prayer because it was not by its permit. The church accepted the agreement's result and looked for an alternative place for Christmas.

Overview of GKBJ Sepatan Worship Conflict Case

The Jakarta Baptist Christian Church (later called GKBJ) Sepatan experienced conflict on December 24th 2018, at night. When general pilgrims go to mass (Christian worship), Christians are prevented from entering the Sepatan Residence housing by closing the housing portal (entrance gate). This causes Christmas mass services not to be carried out.

GKBJ House of Worship is located in Sepatan Residence housing. The house of worship has long been used as a place of worship. The house of worship is owned by a priest named Madali. In 2009, the pastor's house was sealed by the Tangerang Regency Government for violating the rules on using the house as a place of worship. Then, three months after the sealing, pastor Madali reopened worship at the house until 2018. Initially, residents did not prohibit worship there because the number of worshippers was insignificant. However, more and more worshippers began worshipping at the church over time. Many worshippers parked their vehicles around the housing estate, and the Jamaah (Christian worship) chants were heard loudly by residents, so the surrounding residents felt disturbed.

Before the closure of the housing portal or obstruction by residents against GKBJ Sepatan pilgrims, the local government, on December 21st 2018, had anticipated holding a meeting (musyawarah/Muspika) with representatives of residents and pilgrims. The representatives were the Head of Pisangan Jaya Village, Sepatan Subdistrict, Sepatan residents, the Chairman and Secretary of the Religious Harmony Forum (FKUB) of Tangerang Regency, the Head of the Sepatan Religious Affairs Office (KUA), and religious leaders. The meeting discussed the objections of Sepatan residents to the activities of GKBJ pilgrims. The meeting resulted in an agreement that, first, the establishment of houses of worship needs to comply with PBM rules Number 9 and 8 of 2006. If it does not meet PBM requirements, worship at GKBJ Sepatan must be stopped. Second, GKBJ Jamaah will be placed in houses of worship in the Sepatan area that already have an establishment permit. Third, the Tangerang Regency government prohibits the use of houses of worship that do not have permits, according to PBM.

Overview of GBI Tanjakan House of Worship Conflict Case

The conflict at the Indonesian Bethel Church (from now on referred to as GBI) occurred in 2017. This conflict occurred because Tanjakan Indah housing estate residents, Rajeg District, considered that GBI used the Sunday School of the Fellowship of the Disciples of Christ (later called PMK) for worship activities. The existence of hymns (Christian songs) was heard and seen by residents to have carried out worship. Residents who opposed put up banners reading "rejection of GBI Rajeg activities for violating building use regulations".

This church has been established for a long time, namely in 2014. Pastor Paul Siregar founded the church's Sunday School. This pastor was the first resident of Tanjakan Indah housing. This pastor formed PMK for the children of GBI pilgrims. The local apparatus has legitimized or approved the permit to form PMK on GBI Tanjakan (RT and RW).

This conflict was mediated by the local government on October 25th 2017, by holding a meeting (musyawarah) that brought together GBI with opposing residents. The meeting results agreed that worship activities should be temporarily closed. Second, stop PMK activities. Third, provide opportunities for pastor Paul Siregar to manage the land of social or public facilities to relocate PMK activities. However, after the meeting, GBI continued to carry out PMK activities. Pastor Paul Siregar continued to carry out the educational activity because it was an education for children in general.

Then, on November 3rd 2017, Rajeg District held another meeting with the theme "Religious Harmony Meeting". This meeting reinforced the results of the meeting on October 25th 2017; the three agreements must be followed and implemented. All parties (GBI and residents) agreed on the meeting results. This conflict did not lead to mass actions, such as demonstrations and forced closures.

The three cases of conflict over the establishment of houses of worship have differences and similarities. The difference can be seen in the results of the settlement that are not the same, and the similarity lies in the prevention efforts by interested parties. The comparison of the three cases can be seen in table 1 below:

Table 1. Conflict over the Establishment of Houses of Worship in Tangerang Regency 2017-2018

Category	HKBP Rogate	GKBJ Sepatan	GBI Tanjakan
Sources of conflict	Shophouses are not licensed to be used as places of worship	Unlicensed houses are used as places of worship	Sunday schools are abused for religious events
Conflict resolution	Deliberation	Deliberation	Deliberation
Conflict action	Mass demonstrations	Forced closure	Banner Installation
End of Conflict	Escalating	Escalating	Non-Escalating

Source: description of the researcher (processed).

In Table 1 above, in general, the source of conflict lies in non-compliance with PBM rules Number 9 and 8 of 2006. However, why did the two cases (HKBP Rogate and GKBJ Sepatan) escalate despite using almost the same conflict resolution? This understanding can be known after unraveling the dynamics of collaboration from the three cases. Naturally, an expected response to a religious conflict refers to actions taken to resolve the conflict as quickly as possible constructively and peacefully (Alam et al. 2019).

System Context

The context system forms the overall CGR (Collaborative Governance Regime) model. Politics, law, society, economics, and the environment influence the context system. In the context system, policy and legal frameworks (including administrative, regulatory, and judicial), past failure cases, political dynamics, power relations with society, social network relations, conflict history, health, and social diversity are key elements.

In the three cases of conflicts over the establishment of houses of worship, the context system that is built is the enforcement of PBM Number 9 and 8 of 2006 in terms of the establishment of houses of worship. This regulation is a policy framework for regulating the establishment of houses of worship, which has been a problem. Following Table 1 above, from each case, the community protesting the establishment of a house of worship questioned the licensing or use of the building of the house of worship. Although the location of the house of worship in question is in a residential neighborhood, the majority of residents around the house are Muslims (Purnomo 2018).

In Tangerang Regency, the pace of housing development is quite rapid. The segmentation of housing types built in the Tangerang Regency area is divided into three categories, namely upper, middle, and lower-class housing types. All types of housing since 1994 – 2019 have been built quite rapidly in Tangerang Regency. Housing that does not consider social conditions tends to form a social segregation that has an impact on many things, including the acceptance of beliefs. Moreover, the history of competition between Christians and Muslims in the spread of faith dates back a long time. Thus, the role of those who have authority is very necessary to prevent the negative impact of the trend of social segregation in the Tangerang Regency (Effendy, Tjung, and Wirawati 2020).

Drivers (Authoritative Parties)

Leadership becomes the key driver in the CGR model. In addition to leadership, consequential incentives, interdependence, and uncertainty are factors driving the CGR model. Leadership refers to the presence of leaders identified as being in a position to initiate and help secure resources and support for CGR. The leader may, under his or her status, be a member of one of the deciding parties or officials or may be placed in the organization. Leadership needs to commit to collaborative problem-solving. In addition, a leader's willingness to absorb high (and potentially limiting) transaction costs to initiate collaborative efforts, for example, by providing staff, technology, and other resources, can help strengthen collaborative efforts at conflict resolution.

In the case of conflicts over the establishment of houses of worship in Tangerang Regency, of course, many parties have authority and influence in encouraging collaboration in solving the problem of building houses of worship. In general, three parties will be involved in the issue of building houses of worship such as the opposing party, represented by the leader of the house of worship congregation (in this case, the pastor), and the opposing party, represented by the community who are generally members of community organizations or independent. The mediator is represented by the government, such as the security apparatus, local government, and the Religious Harmony Forum. These parties need to have a commitment when they want to collaborate to solve the problem of building houses of worship. If there is one party whose authority is not included, then the tendency for conflict will escalate quite strongly. As in two cases (HKBP Rogate and GKBJ Sepatan), which did not involve community parties who were members of community organizations in the area. Unlike in the case of GBI Tanjakan, which involves all parties who have the authority to conduct a meeting (problem-solving collaboration).

Representatives of the government (security apparatus; Police) respond to conflicts that occur always based on standard or normative rules and security guarantees for all parties. This is according to statements from representatives of the deliberative group in the three cases below:

"We (security apparatus) return this issue (conflict or dispute over the establishment of houses of worship) to the enforcement of the rules. Fulfillment of these rules must depart from the community, such as approval from residents for the establishment of houses of worship. It's just that, we guarantee security for all citizens, not limited to religion, ethnicity, and certain groups" (Musyawarah Pimpinan Kecamatan (Muspika 2019).

Then other drivers besides the existence of leaders (parties who have authority), is the need of consequential incentives are needed. Consequential incentives refer to internal (problems, resource needs, interests, or opportunities) or external (situational or institutional crises, threats, or opportunities) drivers for collaborative action. Consequential incentives that come to the fore need to be considered. It should be noted that not all consequential incentives are negative. For example, the availability of new grants or funding opportunities can lead to the development of collaborative initiatives. Nevertheless, such incentives (positive or negative) must be in place to encourage leaders and participants to engage together.

Parties who have an interest in resolving conflicts over the establishment of houses of worship tend to position themselves according to their capacity. Religious leaders will play a role as figures representing their religion, local governments will represent the community, and the founding committee of houses of worship will represent religious people who need places of worship. This can be seen in several deliberations on solving the issue of building houses of worship in 3 cases. During the demonstration against the establishment of houses of worship, one of the protest leaders called for:

"Wait for my instructions, wait for my instructions, Allahu Akbar" (Observation 2018).

The instructions from the leader of the demonstration responded to the security apparatus present and said:

"Before I didn't attend, now I attend, so please respect me, wait until 15 minutes" (observation 2018).

In all three cases of building houses of worship, the source of the problem is abuse or violations committed by church administrators who are not following PBM No. 9 and 8 of 2006. Meanwhile, the church needs a house of worship for its worshippers. Some administrators have the same desire to build a church or religious education facility. The insistence on necessity that is not accompanied by the easy process of permitting the construction of houses of worship or educational facilities causes church worshippers to tend to continue to use buildings for their purposes.

Interdependence is a widely recognized prerequisite in managing collaborative action. The final driver is uncertainty. Uncertainty is a major challenge to managing the problems at hand. Uncertainties that cannot be resolved internally can encourage groups not to collaborate. If parties or organizations are provided accurate information regarding the problems and solutions, they will be able to act independently to resolve conflicts. So the more drivers that are present and recognized by parties who will collaborate, the more likely CGR will be able to be done.

In general, the three cases show a collaborative effort between several parties in solving the problem of building houses of worship. The problem identification of the two escalating cases is incomplete (perfect). So, uncertainty arises that tends to collaborate does not produce mutually agreed goals, or some parties feel disadvantaged, unlike the case of GBI Tanjung, which can be said to have succeeded in identifying problems well.

Principle Engagement

The principle of engagement is a widely adopted basic principle. Before determining the principle of engagement, it is important to know the parties representing the collaboration. So that the principle of involvement can be easily determined and implemented in collaboration. Deliberation or honest communication is one way to agree on the principle of engagement. Some matters related to principal involvement include setting the agenda, forming meetings, assigning working groups, and determining substance. The principle of engagement is generated and sustained by an interactive process of discovery, definition, consideration, and determination. The effectiveness of the principle of engagement is determined in part by the quality of the interaction process.

Two cases of escalating conflicts (HKBP Rogate and GKBJ Sepatan), due to lack of identification of problems. So that the parties who have authority are not all represented, this causes problems in determining the principle of engagement, as in the matter of determining the schedule of deliberation and the substance of the discussion. Because not all parties who have authority know, thus, the principle of involvement in collaboration to resolve the establishment of houses of worship in both cases was not implemented properly. Unlike in the case of GBI Tanjung, which can determine the principle of involvement agreed upon by all parties.

As in the 2 escalating cases (HKBP Rogate and GKBJ Sepatan), there was an agreement that was violated by the relevant parties. Since 2009, GKBJ Sepatan place of worship has been sealed because it has not complied with the regulations (PBM Number 9 and 8 of 2006). However, 3 days after sealing the GKBJ Sepatan place of worship, pastor Bedali Hulu conducted worship again until 2018. The reason why GKBJ Sepatan pastors worship is because of the need for Christians to worship and they no longer have an alternative place. Until December 21st 2018, a deliberation was held which was attended by the Head of Pisangan Jaya Village, Sepatan Subdistrict, Sepatan residents, and several Islamic religious leaders discussing the existence of GKBJ Sepatan. However, this deliberation did not present GKBJ Sepatan. As a result of the deliberation, it is necessary to follow PBM rules Number 9 and 8 of 2006 in the establishment of houses of worship. This agreement was used as the reason for preventing Christmas Eve worship of GKBJ Sepatan people on December 24th 2018. The GKBJ Sepatan case is almost the same as the HKBP Rogate case which ended in escalation. This escalation occurred due to a violation of the agreement, namely the fulfillment of PBM rules Number 9 and 8 of 2006 regarding the establishment of houses of worship.

Shared Motivation

Shared motivation is a reinforcement of mutual trust, understanding, and commitment. Trust development occurs over time as parties work together, get to know each other, and prove to each other that they are reasonable, predictable, and reliable. Then, mutual understanding will arise. Mutual understanding is not a "shared understanding", as discussed by Ansell and Gash (2008), where participants agree on a common set of values or goals. In contrast, mutual understanding specifically refers to the ability to understand and respect the positions and interests of others, even when one may disagree. This mutual understanding will result in interpersonal validation and cognitive legitimacy. Repetitive, quality interactions through the principle of engagement will help foster trust, mutual understanding, internal legitimacy, and mutual commitment, thereby generating and maintaining mutual motivation. Thus, shared motivation will enhance and help maintain the principle of engagement as a series of collaborations.

In all three cases, there is a motivation to resolve the conflict over the establishment of houses of worship together. However, in two escalating cases, there was a lack of trust between the parties to the conflict. So that mutual understanding related to the context of the conflict does not give rise to commitment as legitimacy for conflict resolution. In these 2 cases, the resulting agreement was not produced by the conflicting parties. As in the settlement of the HKBP Rogate and GKBJ Sepatan cases, the initial meeting on December 19th 2018 listed FKUB (Forum for Religious Harmony) as a meeting participant. In fact, at the meeting, FKUB was not invited. Although the next meeting was held on December 21st 2018 in Sepatan District and was attended by FKUB, there were representatives of residents who still refused. This happened because the interested citizens (influential in the group who refused) were not present. So in this case, it can be concluded that when interested parties are not present at the conflict resolution meeting, it will affect the formation of mutual motivation (it can be said that it does not give rise to mutual trust).

However, it is different from the case of GBI Tanjakan which held several meetings, one of which made the theme "religious harmony" as an effort to direct motivation to the situation of harmony between others. The GBI Tanjakan conflict resolution was attended by interested parties. So that the context of the conflict is understood and forms a common motivation in conflict resolution.

Capacity for Joint Action

The capacity of the parties to be involved in the collaboration is very necessary. This capacity concerns procedural and institutional arrangements, leadership, knowledge, and resources. Procedural and institutional arrangements include various protocols, processes, and organizational structures necessary to manage repetitive interactions over time. These procedural and institutional arrangements should be defined both at the intra-organizational level (how one group or organization will organize and manage itself in collaborative initiatives) and at the inter-organizational level (how organizational groups will organize and manage together in CGR, integrating with decision-making authority). Then leadership becomes another important factor in formulating capacity. Knowledge and resources are capacities that need to be met to collaborate. The principle of shared engagement and motivation will stimulate the development of institutional arrangements, leadership, knowledge, and resources, thereby generating and sustaining the capacity for collaborative action. The quality and degree of collaborative dynamics depend on productive interaction and self-strengthening between the principle of engagement, shared motivation, and capacity for joint action.

The position in this process is related to leadership. In both cases, escalation does not mean that there are no leaders who have sufficient capacity. However, the representation of leaders from each element is not as complete as in the case of GBI Tanjakan. So it is natural that protests arise later in the two cases of conflicts over the establishment of houses of worship (HKBP Rogate and GKBJ Sepatan). In addition, the element of knowledge of the needs of houses of worship from Christians, which is not the same per denomination, is not well understood by some representatives involved in

deliberations. Thus, the efforts of Christians in the two cases to continue to worship at the time the licensing was carried out were unacceptable.

Collaborative output

The output of collaboration is obtained following the goals to be achieved together. This is strongly influenced by context and cost. Collaboration outputs such as securing support, educating constituents or the public, enacting policy measures (new laws or regulations), structuring external resources, deploying staff, placing and permitting facilities, building or cleaning, implementing new management practices, monitoring implementation, and enforcing compliance. Collaborative action is more likely to be implemented if a theory of shared action is explicitly identified among collaboration partners and functions collaborative dynamics to generate the capacity needed for joint action.

The output in the three cases is almost the same as a whole, namely returning the problem to the relevant rules or regulations (PBM No. 9 and 8 of 2006). Violations of these rules, such as the tendency to manipulate data and the feasibility of using buildings as houses of worship, have led to the resolution of conflicts in 2 cases (HKBP Rogate and GKBJ Sepatan) escalating. The difference of opinion between the parties to the conflict related to PBM Number 9 and 8 in articles 13 and 14 is one of the results of unsuccessful conflict resolution.

The Rogate HKBP and GKBJ Sepatan by Article 13 paragraph 1, stated the need for houses of worship in their area. Meanwhile, the parties who refused by article 13 paragraph 2, stated that there was a disturbance of peace and public order in their area. The difference in attitude between the parties towards PBM No. 9 and 8 of 2006 is at least the source of rejection and escalating conflicts. However, unlike the GBI Tanjakan case, all parties are aware of a mutual agreement regarding the misuse of Sunday School permits, which are also allegedly used for religious events. So the difference in attitude towards the enforcement of PBM rules No. 9 and 8 of 2006 as the normative basis, does not occur.

Collaborative Outcomes

Collaboration outcomes are a state after a collaboration output. It can be said to be an impact of collaboration. Impact results from actions driven by collaborative dynamics. An impact is an intentional (and unintentional) change of state in the context of a system. The resulting impact of collaborative action tends to be closer to targeted outcomes with fewer unintended negative consequences when they are determined and comes from shared action theory during collaborative dynamics.

Of course, in both cases that escalate (HKBP Rogate and GKBJ Sepatan) tend to create conditions that do not lead to solving problems. So protests or escalation of conflict occur, unlike the case of GBI Tanjakan, which creates conditions that give rise to mutual understanding between parties. So, even though the GBI Tanjakan case violated the agreement, there was no mass action to protest.

Regarding the three cases, the escalation of conflicts with religious nuances (the establishment of houses of worship) was influenced by the output of collaboration. Cases that experience escalation do not result in collaboration outcomes, because collaboration outputs are not successfully created. For example, the inconsistent representation of conflicting parties and many differences of opinion related to the normative basis (PBM No. 9 and 8 of 2006), make the output of collaboration not succeed in producing an agreement as a collaboration outcome. Meanwhile, cases that do not experience escalation occur because they produce adequate collaboration output. So that cases that do not escalate produce agreements as collaboration outcomes. The agreement to terminate the Sunday School, because it was allegedly used as a means of worship (Christian worship), became the outcome of the collaboration of the GBI Tanjakan case. So that the case did not escalate, because the parties to the dispute agreed to stop the conflict by respecting the results of the meeting.

Adaptation

Collaborative governance is often advocated because of its potential to change the context of complex situations or problems. The transformational change of collaboration is

an adaptation to the impact fostered by CGR. For example, based on the impact of collaborative actions, problems are solved (or not), new findings confirm the chosen (or not) management practice, and a different set of challenges or opportunities arise. The CGR collaboration model will be more sustainable when it can adapt to the nature and level of impact resulting from collaboration.

In both escalating cases, due to a lack of representation of those in authority, transformative change toward problem-solving is less achieved. On 'paper', the three cases both gave rise to the decision of the meeting and sought to be agreed. However, some feel unrepresentative and lack mutual understanding; two cases escalate, and one case does not escalate.

Figure 2. Overview of Conflict Resolution Collaboration in Three Cases of Establishment of Houses of Worship in Tangerang Regency

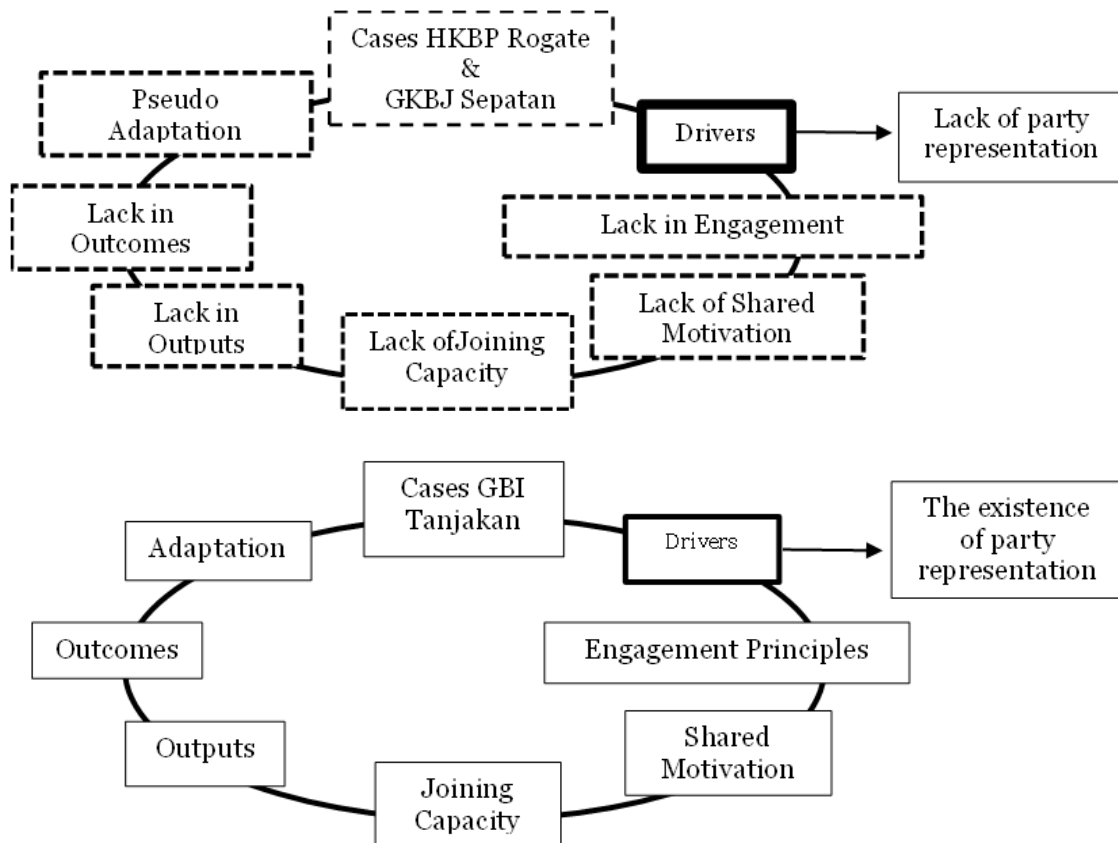


Figure 2 above, shows that, by the CGR model, the three cases of establishing houses of worship both carry out collaboration in conflict resolution. It's just that, in 2 cases that escalated (mass demonstrations) were caused because there were authoritative parties who did not represent in resolving the conflict. Meanwhile, in non-escalating cases (GBI Tanjakan), all parties are represented. So at GBI Ramp, the collaboration process results in peaceful conflict resolution.

Representation of authoritative parties in resolving conflicts in the establishment of houses of worship is the key to ending conflicts peacefully. This is due to several studies such as in Jambi (Halim and Mubarak 2020) and West Kalimantan (Jamil 2021) which states that it is important to involve authoritative parties in resolving conflicts over the establishment of houses of worship. Another important point in the collaborative process of conflict resolution is the enforcement of agreements. Violations of the agreement trigger escalating conflicts, such as a study conducted in Aceh Singkil (Hartani and Nulhaqim 2020). However, this agreement must result from the decision of authoritative and interested parties. So that the collaboration process according to the CGR model of Emerson et al. (2012) can resolve conflicts over the establishment of houses of worship peacefully.

CONCLUSION

This research concludes that the involvement of parties who have authority (let's say, group leaders or representatives) tends to influence the creation of conflict resolution for the establishment of houses of worship in the case of building houses of worship in Tangerang Regency. Conflicts over the establishment of houses of worship tend to escalate when there are parties who are not represented in the collaboration. This happens because of the lack of maximum identification of parties who need to be involved in collaboration to create conflict resolutions that do not escalate. So the facts of this study show that there are cases of conflicts in the establishment of houses of worship that escalate (increase or provoke mass action), and some do not escalate.

This research illustrates that collaboration with the CGR model introduced by (Emerson et al. (2012) can succeed in producing peaceful conflict resolution if the elements of each process can be met. This research can be a picture of resolving conflicts for the establishment of houses of worship in other locations by paying more attention to parties who have the authority to be involved in conflict resolution. However, the research has limitations that can be used as a reference for future studies. Some of these limitations are in the exploration of the issue of religious fanaticism and the involvement of religious extension workers which are seen as influencing the conflict.

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