



Palestinian Social Political Conflict in Mourid Barghouti's Novel Ra'aytu Ramallah: A Ralf Dahrendorf's Perspective

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Abstract

Purpose

This study aimed to determine the forms of socio-political conflict in the novel Ra'aytu Ramallah by Mourid Barghouti based on the perspective of Ralf Dahrendorf; and describe and classify the conflict based on the two faces of society, power and authority, groups involved in the conflict, and conflict control.

Method

This descriptive qualitative research used Ralf Dahrendorf's theory to describe socio-political conflict in Mourid Barghouti's novel Ra'aytu Ramallah. This study used Mourid Barghouti's novel Ra'aytu Ramallah. It used a reading and note-taking to collect data on socio-political tensions in Mourid Barghouti's novel Ra'aytu Ramallah from Ralf Dahrendorf's perspective, while its analysis used Miles and Hubberman's interactive model analysis that has three stages: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion.

Result/Finding

The results of this study showed this conflict consisted of several forms, namely the struggle for settlements, attacks by the Intifada movement, and social conflicts that occur within the Palestinian community itself. In conflict and consensus, there were three forms of conflicts and two forms of consensus. Between the two sides in the conflict, power was dominated by the Israeli side. There are one form of power and two forms of authority. In the parties involving in the conflict, there were two quasi groups and two interest groups. In an effort to control conflicts, there was one form of arbitration.

Conclusion

The socio-political conflict in the novel Ra'aytu Ramallah by Mourid Barghouti is in the form of a power struggle conflict that occurs between Palestine and Israel. This conflict takes several forms, namely the struggle for forced settlements by Israel against the Palestinians, the attacks carried out by the Intifada as a form of resistance to the Israeli occupation, and the social conflicts that occur within Palestinian society itself between Palestinians who work with Israel and its loyal Palestinian population are fighting against Israel for the sovereignty of its state.

Keywords

Socio-political conflict, Palestinian conflict, Israeli conflict, Ralf Dahrendorf

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Abstrak

Tujuan

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui bentuk-bentuk konflik sosial politik dalam novel Ra'aytu Ramallah karya Mourid Barghouti berdasarkan sudut pandang Ralf Dahrendorf; dan mendeskripsikan serta mengklasifikasikan konflik berdasarkan dua wajah masyarakat, yaitu kekuasaan dan wewenang, kelompok yang terlibat dalam konflik, dan pengendalian konflik.

Metode

Penelitian kualitatif deskriptif ini menggunakan teori Ralf Dahrendorf untuk mendeskripsikan konflik sosial politik dalam novel Ra'aytu Ramallah karya Mourid Barghouti. Penelitian ini menggunakan novel Ra'aytu Ramallah karya Mourid Barghouti. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode baca-tulis dan catat-catat untuk mengumpulkan data tentang ketegangan sosial politik dalam novel Ra'aytu Ramallah karya Mourid Barghouti dari sudut pandang Ralf Dahrendorf, sedangkan analisisnya menggunakan analisis model interaktif Miles dan Hubberman yang memiliki tiga tahap: reduksi data, penyajian data, dan penarikan kesimpulan.

Hasil/Temuan

Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa konflik ini terdiri dari beberapa bentuk, yaitu perebutan pemukiman, penyerangan oleh gerakan Intifada, dan konflik sosial yang terjadi di dalam masyarakat Palestina sendiri. Dalam konflik dan konsensus, terdapat tiga bentuk konflik dan dua bentuk konsensus. Antara kedua belah pihak yang berkonflik, kekuasaan didominasi oleh pihak Israel. Terdapat satu bentuk kekuasaan dan dua bentuk kewenangan. Pada pihak-pihak yang berkonflik, terdapat dua kelompok semu dan dua kelompok kepentingan. Dalam upaya pengendalian konflik, terdapat satu bentuk arbitrase.

Kesimpulan

Konflik sosial politik dalam novel Ra'aytu Ramallah karya Mourid Barghouti berupa konflik perebutan kekuasaan yang terjadi antara Palestina dan Israel. Konflik ini memiliki beberapa bentuk, yaitu perebutan pemukiman paksa oleh Israel terhadap Palestina, penyerangan yang dilakukan oleh Intifada sebagai bentuk perlawanan terhadap pendudukan Israel, dan konflik sosial yang terjadi di dalam masyarakat Palestina sendiri antara warga Palestina yang bekerja sama dengan Israel dengan penduduk Palestina yang setia berjuang melawan Israel demi kedaulatan negaranya.

Kata kunci

Konflik sosial politik, konflik Palestina, konflik Israel, Ralf Dahrendorf

المخلص

الهدف

يهدف هذا البحث إلى: (1) تحديد شكل الصراع الاجتماعي والسياسي في رواية رائيتو رام الله للكاتب مريد البرغوثي من وجهة نظر رالف داريندورف. (2) وصف وتصنيف الصراع على أساس وجهي المجتمع، القوة والسلطة، والجماعات المشاركة في الصراع، والسيطرة على الصراع.

الطريقة

هذا البحث هو بحث كفي وصفي. إن الصراع بين إسرائيل وفلسطين يمثل مشكلة حاسمة في الشرق الأوسط ولم يتم حلها بعد حتى الآن. رواية رعيتو رام الله للكاتب مريد البرغوثي تصور القصة الحقيقية للصراع بين إسرائيل وفلسطين والتي وصفها الفلسطينيون الأصليون بالتفصيل فيما يتعلق بالظروف المختلفة والآثار التي حدثت والظروف البيئية أثناء الحرب.

النتائج

ومن نتائج هذا البحث ما يلي: (1) يتكون هذا الصراع من عدة أشكال، وهي الصراع على الاستيطان، والهجمات التي تقوم بها حركة الانتفاضة، والصراعات الاجتماعية التي تحدث داخل المجتمع الفلسطيني نفسه؛ (2) في الصراع والإجماع، هناك ثلاثة أشكال من الصراع وشكلان من الإجماع. بين طرفي الصراع، يهيمن الجانب الإسرائيلي على السلطة.

الخلاصة

هناك شكل واحد من أشكال السلطة وشكلان من السلطة. و يوجد داخل الأطراف المشاركة في الصراع مجموعتان زانفتان ومجموعتان مصالحة. و في محاولة للسيطرة على الصراع شكل واحد من أشكال التحكيم.

الكلمات الرئيسية

الصراع الاجتماعي السياسي؛ الصراع الفلسطيني؛ الصراع الإسرائيلي؛ رالف داريندورف

INTRODUCTION

A group of people who interact with each other in social life will always encounter conflict and they cannot avoid it (Tuanaya, 2019). Society is a figure of conflict or a place for constant conflict (Wulandari et al., 2021). Conflict is a social phenomenon that exists in human life and conflict originates from humans (Maulidiyah et al., 2021). Adenyi argues conflict is a phenomenon between humans due to interactions in their activities. These interactions sometimes trigger incompatibility or conflict as a result of efforts to achieve satisfaction and goals (Okechukwu, 2019). Conflict is inherent in social life because humans or groups in their lives do not always have the same opinions, interests, and goals (Basid & Sari, 2018). Each group will try to strengthen their ideology or thoughts. This is reinforced by Dahrendorf's opinion, that a group of people who have the same position, interests, and goals always do what is best for their group (Kusmiaji & Sudikan, 2021). These efforts can be carried out by attacking or weakening the opponent regardless of the prevailing values and norms. Conflicts that are already at this stage will create structural changes (Gultom & Fauzi, 2021).

Conflict according to Ralf Dahrendorf arises as a result of superordinating and subordinated interests (Cahyono & Harianto, 2020). Society consists of several groups of people who dominate each other, each of whom has interests (Tuanaya, 2019). Dahrendorf said that there were only two conflicting groups consisting of groups in power (superordination) and groups in control (subordination). The superordinate group tries to stay in control, while the subordinate tries to make changes (Mandjarreki, 2018). The interests of superordination are in the form of ideology legitimating their power, while the interests of subordination are opposing these ideologies (Umanailo et al., 2019). In this case, Dahrendorf divides interests into open and hidden interests. The open interests of open groups originate from hidden groups (Marcin, 2020). Conflict can also be said to be exogenous conflict, namely conflict from outside the group, and endogenous conflict, namely conflict within the group (Dahrendorf, 1958).

Sometimes conflicts can arise from social changes that are not to the wishes of a group (Hakim et al., 2020). This can lead to conflict because sometimes a group contributes to change by coercing others. In this case, power is decisive (Marcin, 2020). If this continues and is prolonged, then social conflict can become an obstacle for a community that wants to develop (Dhamal, 2019). Conflict can also be viewed from a political aspect. Political conflicts are usually associated with violence, coups, and revolutions (Wahidah et al., 2018). Every human being has a political system consisting of everyone who has satisfaction so that everyone with their satisfaction and the political system always creates political conflict. Conflict is a social reality that occurs amid politics (Kusmiaji & Sudikan, 2021). Strengthened by Chantal Mouffe, conflict is an integral part of politics and in this world, it is impossible to live without conflict. The impact of conflict can be in the form of disrupting the existing order, questioning established power, or criticizing inequality (Verloo & Davis, 2021).

In describing a conflict, literary works can be used as a means to show the phenomenon of conflict that has been experienced (Siahaan & Arianto, 2020). A person can do this because he is also part of a society that can experience various kinds of social realities. As stated by Wellek and Warren, that literature is usually created in connection with certain events related to political, economic, and social systems (Iryawati, 2018). Thus reading literary works indirectly can also see the social reality that occurs in the society being told, including its social and political conflicts. In this case, the conflict in literary works is not a conflict that is deliberately created, although sometimes there are also conflicts that are deliberately created to attract readers (Dewi & Suryaman, 2019). Conflict in the novel is an element that makes the story interesting. Made to make the reader participate in facing and solving solutions (Gebeyehu & Detebo, 2019). This is what makes the study of social and political conflicts in literary works interesting and often used as material for research and analysis.

The socio-political conflict that occurred in Palestine is an interesting topic to study. This is because the conflict between Israel and Palestine is a crucial issue in the Middle East, which until now has not been resolved (Firdaus & Yani, 2020). This conflict resulted in the devastation of Palestine, as well as the forced expulsion and exile of the Palestinian people by Zionist Israel (Yuliantiningsih, 2009). In studying the condition of the community amid socio-political conflict, the researcher analyzed the conflict using Ralf Dahrendorf's theory and took the object of a novel entitled *Ra'aytu Ramallah* by Mourid Barghouti. This object is interesting to study because all the narrations written are original stories from the experiences of the Palestinians themselves. The narratives written by Mourid all tell about Israeli atrocities and the conditions of the Palestinian people at that time.

The conflict between Israel and Palestine stems from both sides' claims to the same territory in the Middle East. Following the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 and the Arab-Israeli War of 1948, the conflict has evolved through a series of events, including the Six-Day War (1967), the First Intifada (1987-1993), and the Second Intifada (2000-2005). Despite peace efforts such as the Oslo Accords in 1993, the conflict persists with disputes over Israeli settlements in the West Bank, including in Gaza. To this day, the status of Palestine, settlements, borders, and the rights of Palestinian people remain key points of contention. In conducting an in-depth study of the Palestinian socio-political conflict in the novel *Ra'aytu Ramallah* by Mourid Barghouti, the researcher analyzed it using Ralf Dahrendorf's conflict theory. Conflict theory in Ralf Dahrendorf's thought has four concepts, namely conflict and consensus, power and authority, groups involved in conflict, and forms of conflict management (Iryawati, 2018). Dahrendorf said that conflict is only one face of society, while the other face is consensus. This theory is called the theory of dialectical conflict (Umanailo et al., 2019). Conflict theory is something that arises because society is always experiencing a process of change and conflict. Consensus theory is that several people have the same interests, values, and norms that make them finally unite and integration occurs (Dahrendorf, 1986).

Dahrendorf defines power as the possibility that groups in social relations can fight without regard to the possibility of surrender (Susan, 2019). The concept of power is an act of influencing or forcing the opposing party to comply with the will of the party in power. Power is a position where they can impose their own will even though the will is met with resistance. Power belongs to those who hold superordinate positions where they have the will to impose coercion on subordinates. Authority is a right possessed by rulers so that they can be obeyed voluntarily (Dahrendorf, 2017).

According to Dahrendorf, a group is a structured group of people who can be recognized and communicated regularly. Dahrendorf divides groups involved in conflict into two types, namely quasi-groups and interest groups. Quasigroups are groups that have the same authority and interests and are integrated by the same goals but whose structure is not known. This group has a goal to fix social problems. This group has hidden and clandestine goals (Dahrendorf, 2017). Interest groups have clear structures, forms of organization, goals, and members. Interest groups are identifiable and have real, not surreptitious goals and interests. Quasigroups can become interest groups if they fulfill three conditions, namely: (1) there are realized goals or interests, such as ideology and resistance values; (2) have an element of political influence from an organization; (3) there is communication caused by social conditions (Umanailo et al., 2019).

The form of conflict management is arbitration, which is a legal final decision as a way out of a conflict by way of a written agreement from both parties to the conflict. In resolving conflicts, there must be four conditions: (1) conflict contradictions must be recognized as a legitimate dimension of normality, not as a state that contradicts norms; (2) conflict resolution refers to the characteristics of the conflict, not the cause; (3) conflict resolution efficiency is positively influenced by the high organizational level of the conflicting parties; (4) the success of conflict resolution depends on adherence to certain rules. These rules must not favor either party to the conflict, that is, the parties to the con-

flict must be considered equal (Kühne, 2020).

As previously explained, the conflict was triggered because there were two groups, namely Israel and Palestine, each of which had different interests. Israel is trying to seize and establish a Jewish state in Palestine and Palestine is trying to defend its homeland. This is by the theory sparked by Ralf Dahrendorf that in every group there are only two opposing groups, namely the group in power and the group that is controlled, and these two groups each have different interests. The ruling group will survive to remain in control, while the controlled group struggles to fight and struggle to make changes (Mandjarreki, 2018). In this case, Israel is the ruling group, while Palestine is the controlled group.

Within the same scope as the discussion this time, many have analyzed social and political conflicts. We took four journals, such as (1) Abdul Basid and Mertya Karlina Sari in 2018 who analyzed social conflict in the novels *Mei hwa* and *Sang Petrasatria* based on the perspective of Ralf Dahrendorf (Basid & Sari, 2018); (2) Afriza Yuan Ardias, et al in 2019, who analyzed the forms of social conflict contained in the novel *Because I'm Not Buta* by Rendy Kuswanto, focuses on the forms or factors that trigger social conflict and the forms of resolution (Ardias et al., 2019); (3) Sindi Paulia, et al in 2022 who described the forms, causes and impacts of social conflict in Arafat Nur's novel *Bayang Suram Pelangi* (Paulia & Windri Astuti, 2022); and (4) Susilawati, et al in 2022 who described and found forms of social conflict, causes of social conflict, and social conflict resolution in the novel *Nyala Semesta* by Farah Qoonita (Susilawati et al., 2022).

In the four studies above, the similarity is that they both use a literary sociology approach and discuss social and political conflicts. The object of study is the same, namely literary works in the form of novels or collections of short stories. The theoretical equation used is only found in the research conducted by Abdul Basid and Mertya Karlina Sari, who both use Ralf Dahrendorf's conflict theory. While the difference is that the theory in the other three studies uses different theoretical perspectives. The title of one of the journals above focuses more on social conflict, while researchers focus on socio-political conflict.

The description of the several studies above, allows the researcher to conclude that the position of the researcher among several previous studies is to continue and add to the findings of several previous studies. The aims of this research are: (1) to find out the form of socio-political conflict in the novel *Ra'aytu Ramallah* by Mourid Barghouti based on the perspective of Ralf Dahrendorf; (2) to describe and classify the conflict based on the two faces of society, power, and authority, groups involved in the conflict, and conflict control.

METHOD

This research is descriptive qualitative research by narrating and describing data about socio-political conflict in the novel *Ra'aytu Ramallah* by Mourid Barghouti based on Ralf Dahrendorf's theory. The data source that researchers used in this study was the novel *Ra'aytu Ramallah* by Mourid Barghouti. The data collection technique used in this study was reading and note-taking techniques by reading the novel *Ra'aytu Ramallah* by Mourid Barghouti and recording data that showed socio-political conflicts in the novel *Ra'aytu Ramallah* by Mourid Barghouti based on Ralf Dahrendorf's perspective. This study used Miles and Huberman's interactive model analysis which consisted of three stages, namely (Milles & Huberman., 1992): data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion. The data reduction involved comparing all collected information about social political conflicts from both novels and highlighted the most relevant with the problems addressed in the introduction. While the data presentation described all relevant information qualitatively followed by their analysis using the appropriate theories. In drawing conclusion, the research determined all phenomena and their influential factors making them to occur (Farkhan & Azwar, 2022). The research can conclude how the social conflicts occurred in Palestine by considering all influential factors to discover the answer to the proposed problems.

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

Based on data analysis in socio-political conflict research in the novel Ra'aytu Ramallah by Mourid Barghouti based on Ralf Dahrendorf's perspective, the researcher is focused on describing the forms of socio-political conflict and exploring the factors of the conflict. The amount of data that researchers found in the novel Ra'aytu Ramallah by Mourid Barghouti is 14 data. The explanation is as follows:

The two faces of society (conflict and consensus)

Based on the data that the researcher found in the novel Ra'aytu Ramallah by Mourid Barghouti, the researcher found 5 conflict and consensus data. The researchers will briefly explain these forms in the following table.

Table 1. The two faces of society

No	The two faces of society	Theme
1	Conflict	Seizing settlements, intifada attacks, Palestinians working with Israel
2	Consensus	Hamas supporters, the national spirit of the intifada

Based on the data contained in table 1. In the two faces of society above, the researcher found that the form of socio-political conflict based on Ralf Dahrendorf's dialectic theory consisted of 3 conflict data and 2 consensus data. The following is an explanation of the data:

Conflict

Conflict according to Dahrendorf is something that arises because society is always experiencing a process of change and conflict. Conflict consists of the different interests of the two groups and the coercion that binds them (Dahrendorf, 1986). In this novel, the trigger for the occurrence of socio-political conflict in Palestine is the struggle for Palestinian territory by Israel and the differences in interests between the Palestinian people themselves. Based on the table above, the conflict in the novel Ra'aytu Ramallah by Mourid Barghouti consists of seizing settlements, intifada attacks, and Palestinians working with Israel.

Conflicts over settlements are taking over residential areas by coercion. In this novel, there is a struggle for settlement by Israel to the Palestinian population by force. This can be seen in the following quote:

"إنها إسرائيل الفكرة والأيدولوجيا والجغرافيا والحيلة والذريعة. إنها المكان الذي لنا وقد جعلوه لهم. المستوطنات هي كتابهم. شكلهم الأول. هي الميعاد اليهودي على هذه الأرض. هي غيابنا. المستوطنات هي التيه الفلسطيني ذاته".

"It is Israel, the idea, the ideology, the geography, the ruse, and the pretext. It is the place that is ours and they made it theirs. The settlements are their book. Their first form. They are the Jewish promise on this land. They are our absence. The settlements are the Palestinian wandering itself (Barghouti, 2011)".

In this quote, the author shows that there is a conflict between Palestine and Israel in the form of a struggle for settlements. Dahrendorf argues that conflict consists of coercion. In this case, there was coercion in the struggle for Palestinian settlements in Israel. Israel carried out the struggle by force without caring about the Palestinian people. Israel then transferred the Palestinian people who were the original settlers of the area to areas that were the territories Israel granted to Palestine, such as the West Bank and Gaza. However, here the author also shows that the territory that Israel gave to Palestine was not the area to give the Palestinian people genuine sovereignty. Rather, it is only a place of refuge for residents who are in the diaspora itself. In fact, Israel has never allowed Palestine to have sovereignty over the region.

Other conflicts in the form of attacks are attempts to injure or oppose. In this novel, there is a conflict in the form of opposition to Israel by the Intifada group. This is shown in the following quote:

“في ذلك الوقت كانت الإنتفاضة في أوجها. جنود إسرائيل يهاجمون المدرسة لفض المظاهر.”

At that time, the uprising was at its height. Israeli soldiers attack the school to disperse appearances (Barghouti, 2011)”.

In this quote, the author shows one of the events of the conflict between Israel and the Intifada Movement that occurred in Deir Ghassanah. Dahrendorf said that conflicts are triggered because of conflicts and differences in interests. In this case, the attack carried out by the Intifada Movement against Israel is a form of opposition to the Israeli occupation. All the people who were members of the Intifada Movement rebelled in the interest of Israel withdrawing from Palestine. The rebellion that occurred at that time was very powerful. In its interest to control Palestine, Israel suppressed the rebellion by attacking schools in Palestine so that the intifada troops withdrew from their rebellion.

Not all Palestinians are integrated and have the same interest in fighting Israel. This difference in interests triggers social conflict that occurs between the Palestinian population itself. This is evidenced by the following quotation:

“وإلى جانب ذلك يتحدثون عن ظاهرة العملاء المتعاونين مع إسرائيل مقابل قروش زهيدة أو امتيازات تافهة. الآن هناك مشكلة إسرائيلية في تدبير مصير أمن لهم ولعائلاتهم، وقد تعهدت لهم بذلك.”

In addition, they talk about the phenomenon of collaborating agents with Israel in return for meager pennies or trivial privileges. Now there is an Israeli problem in arranging a safe fate for them and their families, and he promised them that (Barghouti, 2011)”.

In this quote, the author is listening to stories from the public about the disloyalty of the Palestinian people to their homeland. Dahrendorf said that conflicts can occur due to differences in interests. In this case, there is a difference of interest between the Palestinians who are fighting together against Israel and the Palestinians who are cooperating with Israel. Those who cooperate with Israel have an interest in Israel guaranteeing them and their families the safety but not the freedom to completely own Palestine. Whereas those who fight against Israel have an interest in taking over Palestine completely and expelling Israel from their country.

Consensus

Consensus is the existence of several people who have the same interests, values, and norms that make them finally unite and integration occurs (Dahrendorf, 1986). The conflict in the form of resistance against Israel is the result of the consensus of the Palestinian people themselves. Based on the table above, the consensus in the novel *Ra'aytu Ramallah* by Mourid Barghouti consists of Hamas supporters and the national spirit of the intifada.

Hamas is an internationally recognized Sunni Islamic organization, this organization is headquartered in Gaza to overcome the Palestinian humanitarian crisis in Gaza (Amour, 2018). In this novel, there is a consensus that occurs on the Palestinian side in the form of support for Hamas. This is evidenced in the following quote:

"ام طلال على غير عادتها تتحدث في السياسة . يقولون لي إن كثيراً من شباب البلد متحمسون لحماس".

"Umu Talal, unusually, talks about politics. They tell me that many of the country's youth are enthusiastic about Hamas (Barghouti, 2011)".

Dahrendorf argues that consensus can occur because of the equality of values. This is according to the quote which shows the consensus among Palestinian youths who support the Hamas Movement based on human values. The consensus that occurred with the Hamas troops led to the participation of the Palestinian people on the battlefield in fighting against the Israeli occupation. Hamas itself is a Palestinian defense movement that often proves its success in conflict negotiations with Israel. For the assistance provided by the Hamas troops, the Palestinian people gave them support.

In the context of the conflict between Palestine and Israel, the Intifada is a movement carried out by all Palestinians to reclaim their land (Allen, 2008). In this novel, there is a consensus in the form of a national spirit carried out by the Palestinians in the Intifada Movement. This is evidenced by the following quote:

"سمعت تعبيرات ملفتة على السنة المثقفين الذين وجدوا في شوارع الانتفاضة وفي الأداء المبههر للناس خلال سنواتها الأولى بالتحديد، تحققاً نادراً للذات الوطنية التي كانت تتشكل يومياً بصورة تلقائية رغم كل التضحيات".

"I heard striking expressions about the educated Sunnis who found in the streets of the uprising and the dazzling performance of the people during its early years in particular, a rare realization of the national self that was formed daily automatically despite all the sacrifices (Barghouti, 2011)".

Dahrendorf argues that conflict cannot occur without consensus. In this quote, the author shows the consensus between the entire Palestinian population, both those who took part in the conflict in the Intifada Movement or residents who did not take part in the conflict. Residents who did not take part in the conflict in their behavior showed their support for the intifada as well. This is due to the national spirit which is natural and without being formed or artificial. This is in Dahrendorf's opinion, without this kind of consensus, there will be no resistance groups that will engage in conflict against Israel and they will just surrender to Israeli rule. It was this consensus among the Palestinian population that created the Intifada Movement which sparked a conflict against Israel.

Power and authority

Dahrendorf argues that in a society there are only two conflicting groups, namely groups in power and groups in control. Authority always belongs to those with power. Ralf Dahrendorf's theory is to analyze conflict by looking at the role of power in society (Wulandari et al., 2021). In the socio-political conflict that occurred in Palestine, power and authority were on the Israeli side. Based on the data that the researchers found in the novel Ra'aytu Ramallah by Mourid Barghouti, the researchers found 3 data on power and authority. The researchers will briefly explain these forms in the following table.

Table 2. Power and authority

No	Power and authority	Theme
1	Power	Israeli power
2	Authority	Prevent the development of Palestine, determine the rules

Based on the data contained in table 2. Power and authority above, the researcher finds that the role of power and authority based on Ralf Dahrendorf's theory of conflict analysis consists of 1 data of power and 2 data of authority. The following is an explanation of the data:

Power

Power belongs to those who hold superordinate positions where they have the will to impose coercion on subordinates. Based on the table above, power in the novel Ra'aytu Ramallah by Mourid Barghouti consists of Israeli power. In this novel, there is Israeli power where after they succeeded in forcibly seizing the settlements of the Palestinian people, then they built settlements for their people. This is said in the following quote:

“أما الحرش الصغير الذي اكتسب اسمه من كثافة الشجر فيه، فقد قال لي حسام إنه أصبح الآن مستوطنة اسرائيلية كبيرة يسمونها «حلميش». «استولت إسرائيل على الحرش كله وعلى مساحات كبيرة من الأراضي المحيطة به وبنيت المساكن والمرافق وأحضرت المستوطنين وانتهى الأمر. الطريق المتفرعة الى الحرش، ككل الطرق الجانبية المؤدية للمستوطنات مغلقة أمام الفلسطينيين ومخصصة للإسرائيليين وحدهم”.

“As for the small grove, which acquired its name from the density of trees in it, Hussam told me that it has now become a large Israeli settlement that they call “Halamish”. The forest, as well as all the side roads leading to the settlements, are closed to Palestinians and reserved for Israelis only (Barghouti, 2011)”.

As a superordinate, Israel has power over Palestine and can impose coercion on subordinate parties according to its will. The quote shows Israel has turned a small forest into a large settlement Named Halmish. Not only that, Israel also seized vast lands around it. They expelled the Palestinian people, seized their settlements, and built this for Israeli settlers there. the roads that were made to get there were also closed and used only for the Israelites. Israel's power is so dominating that the Palestinian people can only go to refugee areas because of it.

Authority is a power where people who have authority will have power over whatever they want. In this novel, there is a form of Israeli authority that still dominates, even though it is in the territory of the Palestinian Authority. This is shown in the following quote:

"وأكبرها مستوطنة بيت إيل على مشارف رام الله، وهي نهاية المنطقة (أ) الخاصة بالإشراف الفلسطيني. كل الطريق واقع تحت تصنيف (ب) الذي يعني الإشراف الفلسطيني/ الإسرائيلي المشترك. أي أن السلطة الفعلية فيه للجندي الإسرائيلي. و قد شرحوا لي أن هذا هو الوضع بشأن كل الطرق بين المدن والقرى الفلسطينية".

"The largest of them is the settlement of Beit El on the outskirts of Ramallah, which is the end of Area A for Palestinian supervision. This is the situation regarding all roads between Palestinian cities and villages (Barghouti, 2011)".

Based on this quote, the author shows Israel's authority over every road that is on the border of the Palestinian and Israeli territories. Ramallah is a city that according to the agreement has become the Palestinian Authority. There Palestinians can live and plant their flag without being threatened. However, this authority is only a formality because Israeli power remains there. Palestine does not have complete sovereignty, especially in border areas such as Ramallah. The road in the border area is under the control of Israel even though the supervision is carried out together. According to the author, this event confirms that the real authority remains in the hands of the Israeli army. This is also evidenced in the following quote:

"حدث عن الإغلاقات المستمرة للضفة وغزة بجرة قلم من حكومة اسرائيل : يمنعون حتى القيادات من السفر إن أرادوا. نظن انه بإمكانك الذهاب الى القدس؟ أو حتى الى غزة؟ أعلنوها منطقة مغلقة وحجتهم في هذه المرة الانتخابات. يمنعون المصلين من الوصول الى الحرم حتى يوم الجمعة . حواجز وتفتيش وأجهزة كمبيوتر . لا يتوقفون عن توجيه رسالة واحدة لنا وبكل السبل: نحن الأسياد هنا".

"Talk about the continuous closures of the West Bank and Gaza with the stroke of a pen from the Israeli government: they prevent even the leaders from traveling if they wanted. We think you can go to Jerusalem? Or even to Gaza? They declared it a closed area and their pretext this time is the elections. Friday. Checkpoints, searches and computers. They do not stop sending us a single message by all means: We are the masters here (Barghouti, 2011)".

The quote shows how Israeli power continues to dominate even though the Palestinians already have their own territory. Israel continues to guard the borders of the West Bank and Gaza, whereas in the agreement the territory should belong to the Palestinians. They closed the area on the grounds that there would be general elections. But the author feels that it is just a pretext. They seem to only want to show their power over Palestine. They can bar the Palestinian leader from traveling if they want. They only show that actually Israel and Palestine will not have absolute power.

Authority

Authority belongs only to those who hold power. Based on the table above, authority in the novel Ra'aytu Ramallah by Mourid Barghouti consists of preventing the development of Palestine and determining regulations. Palestine is a city that developed before the Israeli aggression. One of Israel's goals is to prevent the development of Palestine and weaken its power. This is evidenced by the following quote:

"بل إن نعمتنا على الإحتلال راجعة أساسا لكونه يوقف نمو مدننا ونمو مجتمعاتنا ونمو أناة الحياة عن طريق إعاقة سياقها الطبيعي".

“In fact, our resentment against the occupation is mainly due to the fact that it stops the growth of our cities, the growth of our societies, and the growth of the elegance of life by obstructing its natural context (Barghouti, 2011)”.

The quotation above shows that the Israeli occupation has had an impact on the development of a Palestinian state. Israel's power makes them the authority to prevent Palestine from developing. This is due to the interests of those who want to weaken Palestinian power. Various Israeli policies are also felt as preventing Palestine from developing. There was a place where there could have been schools and a library, but it was built into a large Israeli settlement. Parks built by the Palestinian state have also disappeared, replaced by buildings and shops lined up. According to the author, Israel's policies not only undermine the development of the state but also the development of their generations.

Israel's power over Palestine makes them the authority to determine regulations that are difficult to oppose. Israel seems to have authority in all sectors of life, they can even regulate people's social life. This is evidenced in the following quote:

"كانت الصورة قبل عودة منظمة التحرير هي صورة الفدائي . صورة البطل/ الضحية التي تستحق التعاطف والتمجيد . الآن ها هو الفدائي ذاته (مكبلاً باشتراطات أعدائه) يمارس سلطته المباشرة على المواطن العادي، على الأعمام والأخوال والطلاب والدكاكن والمرور والجمارك والفنون والآداب والضرائب والمحاكم والاستثمارات ووسائل الإعلام كلها. انه هو الذي يهيب للناس الوظيفة وفرص العمل، من الساعي والفراش الى الوزير والوكيل والمدير والعميد والعقيد. وهو الذي يمنح المكانة الاجتماعية والنفوذ، هو الذي يصلح المكسور ويعمر المهدم ويختار من هذا الزحام الشعبي العريض أنصارا وخصوصاً. بل انه يعتقل المواطنين أحيانا ويسجنهم ويقاضيهم".

"The image before the return of the PLO was that of the freedom fighter. The image of the hero/victim who deserves sympathy and glorification. Now here is the freedom fighter himself (shackled by the conditions of his enemies) exercising his direct authority over the ordinary citizen, over aunts and uncles, students, shops, traffic, customs, arts, literature, taxes, courts, investments, and means The media are all in. It is he who prepares people for jobs and job opportunities, from the courier and bed to the minister, agent, director, brigadier general, and colonel. He is the one who gives social status and influence, who fixes the broken and rebuilds the demolished and chooses supporters and opponents from this broad popular crowd. He even arrests citizens sometimes and imprisons them. and sue them (Barghouti, 2011)”.

Dahrendorf said that power can create an authority that must be accepted with sincerity. The quotation above shows that Israel has authority in all sectors of the life of the Palestinian people. In fact, the Palestinian people who already have an area of authority must still be chained by various conditions regulated and determined by them. They can destroy a settlement, then rebuild it even bigger. In terms of politics, they still use their authority to regulate Palestinian society. They regard the position of the Palestinian government as power at their behest. Not only that, in terms of social life they can also regulate it such as determining the position of the Palestinian people in social life, they choose their supporters and enemies among the Palestinian population. This cannot be denied and must be accepted.

Groups involved in the conflict

In a society, there are only two conflicting groups, namely quasi-groups or subordinates and interest groups or superordinates (Dahrendorf, 1986). Based on the data that the researchers found in the novel *Ra'aytu Ramallah* by Mourid Barghouti, the researchers found 4 data on groups involved in the conflict. The researchers will briefly explain these forms in the following table.

Table 3. Groups involved in the conflict

No	Groups involved in the conflict	Theme
1	Quasi groups	Intifada and Palestinian armed organizations, Palestinians
2	Interest groups	Israeli or Zionist, struggling Palestinian

Based on the data contained in table 3. For the groups involved in the conflict above, researchers found 2 quasi group data and 2 interest group data. The following is an explanation of the data:

Quasi group

Quasi-groups are groups that have the same authority and interests and are integrated by the same goals but whose structure is not known. This group has a goal to fix social problems. This group has hidden and clandestine goals (Dahrendorf, 1986). Based on the table above, the quasi-group in the novel *Ra'aytu Ramallah* by Mourid Barghouti consists of the Intifada and Palestinian armed organizations, and Palestinians who betrayed them. The Intifada and the Palestinian armed organizations are quasi or subordinate groups. This is shown in the following quote:

«وعندما دخل الساعي بفناجين الشاي والقهوة قدمه أحدهم لي بالقول إنه «من أشود الإنتفاضة الذين دوخوا الإحتلال».

“And when the courier entered with cups of tea and coffee, one of them introduced him to me by saying that he was “one of the leaders of the uprising who made the occupation dizzy (Barghouti, 2011)”.

The Intifada is an insurrectionary movement consisting of all Palestinian people who took part in the conflict and aimed against Israel. This group consisted of both men and women (Allen, 2008). The quotation above shows that Intifada is a movement that complicates the Israeli occupation of Palestine. The intifada group rejects the Israeli ideology which says that Palestine is the land promised by their God. This is to Dahrendorf's theory which says that the subordinate group will tend to reject the ideology of the superordinate group. This action was not only carried out by the Intifada Movement but several Palestinian armed organizations carried out resistance, as in the following quote:

"وبعد ذلك بسنوات، ومع تطور الأحداث ووقوع الهزيمة وبزوغ فصائل المقاومة المتعددة، أدركت ان سنوات دراستي في القاهرة بين 1963 و 1967 كانت هي ذاتها سنوات التكوين السري لمنظمات الكفاح الفلسطيني المسلح من فتح وحركة القوميين العرب وغيرها، وأن ذلك كان يتم في إطار اتحاد الطلاب . وان اولئك الطلبة الذين كانوا يدعونني إلى أنشطتهم السياسية بحذر وحصافة، كانوا يقومون بأمر عظمة الأهمية".

“Years later, with the development of events and the occurrence of defeat and the emergence of multiple resistance factions, I realized that the years of my studies in Cairo between 1963 and 1967 were the same years of the secret formation of Palestinian armed struggles organizations such as Fatah, the Arab Nationalist Movement, and others and that this was taking place within the framework of the Student Union. And

that those students who were inviting me to their political activities with caution and prudence, were doing very important things (Barghouti, 2011)".

In the quote above the author shows that while he was studying in Cairo, that year was the establishment of a Palestinian armed organization carefully and secretly. They agreed to fight against Israel. This is in line with the opinion of Ralf Dahrendorf who said that subordinate or quasi-groups tend to have secret and surreptitious goals and aim to fix problems. This is also in line because the purpose of this organization is also to fix the problems that exist in the country of Palestine.

As previously mentioned, not all of the Palestinian population agree and have the same interests, namely against the Israeli occupation. There are some Palestinians who work on the Israeli side. This is evidenced by the following quote:

"هنا من يعترض على رداءة الاتفاقية لكنه يضع بإخلاص كل امكانياته تحت تصرف المجتمع الفلسطيني الجديد، ليصنع ما هو أقل سوءاً من السيئ المتاح. ولكنك، الى جانب مثل هذا المناضل الحقيقي، تجد من . بين المواقف والأيدولوجيات كالشمبانزي، إنه شمبانزي يؤيد. ثم يعارض! ثم يؤيد لكنه يريد أن يبدو معارضا! ثم ينشق عن تنظيمه ويشكل فصيلاً أو حزباً، يضاف الى الزحمة التي لا مبرر لها ويلقي على الناس مواعظه البليغة حول روعة الوحدة! قد يرضى وقد يجرّد. قد يتنزل أمام هذا ويستأسد أمام ذلك . لكنه في الحالات كلها، موهوب جداً وبارع جداً في تقديم خدمات جليّة ... لنفسه!"

"Here are those who object to the badness of the agreement, but they sincerely put all their capabilities at the disposal of the new Palestinian society, to make what is less bad than the bad available. Then he supports, but wants to appear to be in opposition! Then he defects from his organization and forms a faction or party, adding to the unjustified crowd and giving people his eloquent sermons about the splendor of unity! All of them, so talented and so adept at rendering great services...to himself! (Barghouti, 2011)".

In the quote above the author shows that there are two types of Palestinian society, namely people who oppose the Oslo agreement and support Palestine by giving resistance to Palestine and people who work with Israel. Those who are disloyal to Palestine tend to jump from Palestinian ideology to Israeli ideology. they take advantage of the situation and see what is most profitable for themselves without caring about the fate of their country and the struggles of their country's people. By Dahrendorf's theory that subordinate groups have hidden goals, they also do this secretly for their interests.

Interest groups

Interest groups differ from quasi-groups in that they have a clear structure, form of organization, goals, and members. Interest groups are identifiable and have real, not surreptitious goals and interests (Dahrendorf, 1986). Based on the table above, the power in the novel Ra'aytu Ramallah by Mourid Barghouti consists of Israeli or Zionist Jews and struggling Palestinians.

Zionists is an international Jewish organization based in Israel. they are those who think that Palestine is the land promised by God to them (Kaufman & Galily, 2009). In this novel, there is an interest group, namely the Zionists from Israel. This is evidenced in the following quote:

"السياسة تسربت الى منمنمات النفس الجوانية عند رجالنا ونسائنا منذ وقف المشروع الصهيوني يدق على ينتهي زجاج نوافذنا بأظافره الحادة ثم على الأبواب التي ركلها ليدخل الى غرف الدار كلها ويلقي بنا الى الصحراء!"

“Politics has seeped into the miniatures of the inner self of our men and women since the Zionist project stopped, knocking on the ends of our windows with his sharp nails, then on the doors he kicked, to enter all the rooms of the house and throw us into the desert (Barghouti, 2011)”.

In the quote, it is explained that the interests in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are the Israeli side, especially the Zionists. They have an interest in colonizing Palestine and seizing their settlements, then building Jewish settlements on Palestinian land. They have clear goals and structures. They are also supported by Jews who come from outside the state of Israel. Thus, this is by Ralf Dahrendorf's theory that interest groups or superordinates have clear goals and objectives that are not hidden. In this case, the Israelis, especially the Zionists, have a clear goal of seizing Palestinian land, which according to their book, is the land promised by their Jewish God. This is evidenced in the following quote:

"انا ابن جبل واستقرار . ومنذ تذكر يهود القرن العشرين كتابهم المقدس، أصابني الرحيل البدوي، وما أنا ببدوي".

“I am the son of a mountain and stability. Since the Jews of the twentieth century remembered their holy book, I have been affected by Bedouin exodus, and I am not a Bedouin (Barghouti, 2011)”.

In the quote, Barghouti explained that since the Israelis or the Jews remembered the contents of their book which said that the land of Palestine was the land promised by God, they started trying to colonize Palestine. Their colonialism resulted in the Barghouti living like Bedouins who move from one place to another.

As already mentioned, the Palestinian people who betray and work for Israel are a quasi-group that has a hidden goal, namely to seek their safety without thinking about the struggle for a solid Palestinian society. In this social conflict, the opponents of these quasi-groups are Palestinian groups fighting against Israel. This can be seen in the following quote:

" هنا من يعترض على رداءة الاتفاقية لكنه يضع بإخلاص كل امكاناته تحت تصرف المجتمع الفلسطيني الجديد، ليصنع ما هو أقل سوءاً من السيئ المتاح".

“Here are those who object to the badness of the agreement, but they sincerely put all their capabilities at the disposal of the new Palestinian society, to make what is less bad than the available bad (Barghouti, 2011)”.

According to Dahrendorf, quasi can become interest groups if they have realized goals, such as ideology and values of resistance, have elements of political influence, and there is communication caused by social conditions (Umanailo et al., 2019). In the context of this social conflict, the Palestinian struggle group can be said to be an interest group that if within the scope of the Palestinian community, they have a clear goal of fighting for Palestinian land. That goal also has a political element, namely to have complete Palestinian sovereignty. The struggle they do is also for the sake of improving social conditions. It is not like those who cooperate with Israel because they have goals that are hidden from the Palestinian people themselves. Both of these groups come from the Palestinian community but have opposing interests.

Conflict control

Based on the data that the researchers found in the novel Ra'aytu Ramallah by Mourid Barghouti, the researchers found 1 conflict control data, namely arbitration. Arbitration is a written decision between parties in conflict that is legal as a way out of the conflict. Arbitration in the novel Ra'aytu Ramallah by Mourid Barghouti consists of the Oslo agree-

ment. The Oslo Accords is an agreement between the Israeli and Palestinian sides that was concluded in August 1993 in Oslo, Norway. This agreement is a negotiation to overcome the conflict between them (Dellapenna, 2002). In this novel, the Oslo agreement takes place which is said in the following quote:

"كانت شعارات الإنتفاضة، رغم توقف أحداثها بفعل أوصلو، تملأ الحيطن على الجامع وعلى دار رعد".

"The slogans of the uprising, despite its events being halted by the Oslo Accords, filled the walls of the mosque and Dar Raad (Barghouti, 2011)".

In the quote, it is said that the actions of the Intifada fighters against Israel have stopped because the Oslo agreement has been approved. This agreement says that Palestine is given the right to establish a government in the West Bank and Gaza. However, the Palestinian people feel they do not have full sovereignty over the area, because Israel's authority continues to dominate there. This causes this agreement to be in conflict so this agreement has not resulted in peace between the two parties. This is evidenced in the following quote:

"ومظاهر سيادتهم الشخصية التي لا تتناسب مع غياب سيادتهم الوطنية ولا مع مظهر سيادة الفلسطينيين عموماً ضمن ترتيبات أوصلو العجيبة".

"The manifestations of their sovereignty, which are not commensurate with the absence of their national sovereignty, nor with the appearance of Palestinian sovereignty in general within the wondrous Oslo arrangements (Barghouti, 2011)".

In this quote, Barghouti said that complete Palestinian power is not real. This was because according to him the contents of the Oslo agreement were very strange. This agreement is very ambiguous and does not establish clear Palestinian sovereignty over the West Bank and Gaza. Palestinians were given the power and right to live and establish a government in Gaza, but they are still controlled by Israel and do not have full authority over the territory.

CONCLUSION

The socio-political conflict in the novel *Ra'aytu Ramallah* by Mourid Barghouti is in the form of a power struggle conflict that occurs between Palestine and Israel. This conflict takes several forms, namely the struggle for forced settlements by Israel against the Palestinians, the attacks carried out by the Intifada as a form of resistance to the Israeli occupation, and the social conflicts that occur within Palestinian society itself between Palestinians who work with Israel and its loyal Palestinian population are fighting against Israel for the sovereignty of its state.

According to Ralf Dahrendorf's theory, the classification of socio-political conflict and the factors that cause conflict consist of conflict and consensus, power and authority, groups involved in conflict, and forms of conflict control. In conflict and consensus, there are 3 forms of conflict the form of seizure of settlements, intifada attacks, Palestinians working with Israel, and 2 forms of consensus in the form of Hamas supporters, the national spirit of the intifada. Between the two sides in the conflict, power is dominated by the Israeli side. There is 1 form of Israeli rule, as well as 2 forms of authority in the form of preventing the development of Palestine and determining regulations. Within the parties involved in the conflict, there were 2 quasi groups namely the Intifada or Palestinian armed organizations and Palestinians who betrayed, and 2 interest groups namely Israel or the Zionists and the Palestinians who fought. In an effort to control conflicts, there is 1 form in the form of arbitration with the Oslo agreement.

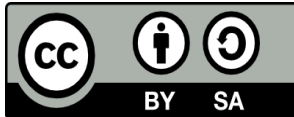
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