

Mapping of Community Based Peace Building Initiatives in Indonesia: A Study of Aceh, East Nusa Tenggara, Yogyakarta, East Java and Poso

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I. Prologue

Conflict and Communal violence got a significant interest from many researcher, especially after the collapse of the New Order, transitional periods, where many people died after conflicts. UNSFIR, one of the UN research project offices in Indonesia, states that there are 4.771 died in 465 incidents or 76.9 percentage of death. 437 of 465 incidents were after the collapse of the New Order.¹ Previously violence were in the rebellions of DI/ TII of West Java in 1950, DI/ TII of Kahar Muzakkar 1947 – 1954, Permesta, RMS 1950, slaughtering of communist people after the coups of September 30th, 1965., Malari incident (15 January 1974), Tanjung Priok tragedy (12 September 1984), and incidents of Aceh, Papua and East Timor.² On the other hand, peace initiatives have been basically established since a long time ago. In tribal community, conflict and peace are a part of their custom.

II. Peace Initiatives

Peace building has been popular in Indonesia after the state initiatives of peace for Poso and Maluku and Sampit conflicts (1999-2002). ‘Malino One’ is a peace agreement for Poso conflict, scheduled on February 2001. ‘Malino Two’ is a peace agreement for Maluku conflict, on February 2002. Malino is a name of a region in South Sulawesi, an hour travel by plan from Poso or Maluku. The agreements were among Muslim and Christian local leaders, comprising scholars, *kyais* (Muslim priests), Christian priests, war commanders and local governments. These are state design peace building. Shortly after the agreements local

¹ Mohammad Zulfan Tadjoeuddin, *Anatomy of Social Violence in the Context of Transition: The Case of Indonesia 1990-2001*, Working Paper Series No. 02/ 01-E, Jakarta: UNSFIR, 2002, p. 28-29. Tadjoeuddin’s research is cooperation between UNSFIR and Centre for Conflict and Peace Studies of the LP3ES, which involve regional researcher. Also Ashutosh Varshney, Rizal Panggabean & Mohammad Zulfan Tadjoeuddin, *Pattern of Collective Violence in Indonesia (1990-2003)*, Discussion Paper Series No. 04/03-E, Jakarta: UNSFIR, 2004.

² There are varieties of death toll from the conflicts. Communist coups death toll is between 500.000 – 600.000 and Tanjung Priok is 63. Tadjoeuddin, *Op.Cit.*, p. 29-30.



communities responded negatively to the accord. It is different from peace initiative in community based, like in Ambon, so called 'Bakubae'. This initiative does not only stop on conflict but also develop trust among Muslim and Christian communities, and new mechanism on interfaith building.

III. Case Studies in Four Regions

Centre for Conflict and Peace Studies of the LP3ES Jakarta, Indonesia in cooperation with Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM), funded by Ford Foundation Jakarta have made mapping of community based peace-building initiatives in Indonesia from September 2004 to February 2005. In a broader sense it covers two substantial regions: *firstly*, traditionally and religiously community based peace building initiatives. Traditional institutions of *adat* (local custom) and *Pesantren* (Traditional Islamic Boarding School) become a base of peace building. Utilizing charisma, communal culture and natural harmony plays peaceful mechanism. Two peace initiatives regions are traditional institution in Timor Tengah Utara (TTU), East Nusa Tenggara, and Pesantren Salafiah Syafi'iyah in Situbondo, East Java. In these regions ethnic, *adat*, *pesantren*, *Kyai* (Islamic boarding school leader) and Christian priests manage harmonious social change. Secondly, it is contemporary, modern-rational mechanism of peace buildings based on collective awareness and interest in different and varieties of culture and religions. To some extent it is collective interest to oppose traditional cultural hegemony, which supported by the rules of state-structure and civil society. To stop conflict without violence or manage conflict is a character of this peaceful movement. It is collective movement or association of inter religious communities in Sendangagung, Yogyakarta and the women national commission's role in supporting the peace initiatives of Acehese women groups.

The intention of this research is to assess how is the existence of traditional-modern mechanism of community based peace-building initiatives in Indonesia, their dynamics of changing after the pressure of Indonesian New Order centralized development policy. The challenging of these peace-building movements is also from the industrial and military groups. How to see their adaptability in this dynamics of development and state-industrial pressures is very interesting.

To find the purpose of this assessment, there are some steps of processes:

1. Theme and regional choices by national teams of LP3ES, Ford & expert resources. They have made about three meetings to decide the topics and regions of assessments.



2. Setting up researchers from national networks. It is from LP3ES, CEIA, and Women National Commission (*Komnas Perempuan*). After the period of study, there are more national and local networks intend to involve in this assessment and further agenda.
3. Field work in communities of women movements in Aceh, adat community in East Nusa Tenggara (NTT), interfaith communities in Yogyakarta and Islamic school (*Pesantren*) community in East Java.
4. National workshop, which is set up on 13 April 2005 in S. Widjojo center, where Ford Jakarta becomes a host of this workshop inviting expert resources, field researchers, peace building NGOs, and university scholars. A meeting of post national workshop teamwork in LP3ES on 19 April 2005 follows it. Read the result of meeting in the last part of this paper (next step formula or recommendation).

IV. Learning from the Field

The study cases found that each region have its own unique characters, which are suitable to conflicts and peace building in each communities. Based on four cases of studies the lesson learnt are as follows:

1. Traditions, Religion and Peace

The concept of tradition and religious community role in peace building has been discussed in Appleby's (2000) argument of Cambodian Buddhism leaders' in liberation against the hegemony of Khmer Rough and colonial governments. However, Indonesia has also unique and genuine peace initiatives organized by traditional leaders of *adat* and *pesantren*. It is more than what Horikoshi (1987) states that *Kyai* is an agent of social change, or Geertz's (1960, 1971) analysis of *Kyai* as cultural broker. This initiative will be divided into two: the role of traditional local institutions in East Nusa Tenggara (NTT) and the role of *pesantren* to the development of peace building initiatives. Both regions have different character and nature of peace building.

Firstly, in East Nusa Tenggara and some regions the real of *adat* in the community life, basically existed deeply. There are three major roles of the customary law (*adat*): control of social interaction among each community. 2. Control of cultural activities, 3. Control asset of natural resources. The role of *adat* institutions to the center of peace initiatives in Timor Tengah Utara (TTU), East Nusa Tenggara. It comprises of three main ethnic groups: Biboki, Insana and Miomaffo. The groups attempt to preserve natural harmony and adaptation in



varieties of government policy, negotiation of modern industry and dynamics of Indonesian-Timor Leste border security. From the studies the adat is effective for peace builders for social conflict within their communities. But adat institution has weaknesses when the conflicts are related to state, military and capital industries.

Secondly, in East Java about ten thousand of Pesantren grow as a center of Muslim education and has a strong role in social conflict around their communities. This case of study takes place in one of the biggest pesantren in Indonesia named pesantren Salafiah Syafi'iyah in the regency of Situbondo, East Java. In this institution, *Kyai* (Traditional Islamic Boarding School and local Muslim community leader) is a part of peace worker team within Pesantren, in cooperation with local communities. It supports into three-peace building: land dispute between civil and state, capacity building of fishermen, and resolution of religious conflict in 1996. Pesantren founds the social division of BP2M to strengthen and help communities around Pesantren and generally in the regency of Situbondo. It supports local peasant farmers and fishermen to negotiate with state-industry of PTPN XII, Sugar Company and local government industries, which have taken over local community land. Pesantren leader has strong role in the reconciliation between Christian and Muslim communities after the October 1996 communal riots. *Kyai* and pesantren community have become religious peacemaker and peace worker in broader sense. They move their community through religious approaches. To the case of land dispute negotiation and mediation between state and society, pesantren have put in cultural mediator and negotiator. It is like what Bassam Tibi's argument of positive role of pesantren in cultural system to create religious norms and interpretation adaptable to the complexity of modernity (Tibi, 1991: 9).

Peace Building in this sense is an agreement to integrate similar interests and to avoid the potency of conflict and social segregation and alienation. Timor Tengah Utara and Situbondo are non-conflict regions. It is a popular place of harmony. However, it has got challenges of the potency of conflict since centralized economic development and authoritarian state-security of the New Order. The disparity and heterogeneity change local communities into divided groups, based on ethnic, religion and economic capacity. In the basic theory of disparity that fewer similarity in community elements will change it into weakening values of unity and collectivity. Therefore the clash among entities of communities will be unavoidable (Blau, 1977).



2. Women Movement and Interfaith community: Peace Initiatives from the Grassroots

This is modern-rational mechanism of peace building, which is different from traditional initiatives of *adat* and *pesantren* community. In this approach, modern values and norms become basic part of peace development. It comprises of two parts:

Firstly, Woman National Commission has supported the existing peace initiatives by Acehese women in the period of state pressure, and Acehese patriarchal cultural hegemony. Acehese women always become a victim in the history of Aceh conflict. Among them is a victim of Islamic syari'ah laws after the establishment of Aceh Qanun (jurisprudence), mystification of women as a wife of Liberation Aceh Movement (GAM), and difficulties after tsunami in 26 December 2004 as refugees. The commission not only facilitates the local movement, but also strengthening women negotiation to the local and national pressures. It has begun since the New Order, and gains stronger after the earthquake and tsunami in 26 December 2004. Acehese women organizations involve in conflict and disaster healings. It is a form of peace for justice. In some extent Acehese women got great challenges in fact finding of violence against women during the DOM period. Secondly, association of inter-religious and cultural communities make collective code in managing local farming, and strengthening quality of professionalism among members of association in Sendangagung, Yogyakarta. They attempt to cross cut their religious and cultural affiliation and fit into a collective life under similar interests. They have successfully developed trust and interfaith buildings among Christians and Muslims in Sendangagung.

V. Peace Challenge in Conflict Region: A Reference from Poso

There have been some peace initiatives in Poso conflict since the early conflict in December 1998. Some initiatives were by government (top-down) and some others were by local communities of Muslims and Christians (bottom-up). Among the peace efforts is the Malino One, in Poso popularly called as *Deklama* (*Deklarasi Malino*, the Malino declaration), which was attended by most commander of wars and leaders of Poso Muslim and Christian communities. It is the most prominent peace endeavor in Poso because it was attended by most leaders and supported by government (including the military forces). Both Muslim and Christian leaders agreed to choose a neutral place, the district of Malino, South Sulawesi. It was in December 2001, when the leaders declared to agree with some points of peace building programs. Among the programs are returning of (Muslim and Christian) militias, rehabilitation of refugees and professional security forces to guard the peace. However, some militias were fired of the programs and kept on conflict.



According the Police officer that after the Malino One declaration, there had been some potential problems: (1) a revenge of conflict veterans and radical groups, (2) property rights or land of refugees, (3) unstructured population administration and the failure of local self-security, and (4) existing numbers of weapons in Muslim and Christian communities.³ The potential problems are still difficult to solve by security forces, and have caused a danger in 2003-2005, when approximately seventy-five people found death after mysterious killings, bombing or other fighting. Therefore, Muslim militias are still waiting for such unstable security and found a legitimacy from local Muslims to continue *Jihad* in Poso.

VI. Epilogue and Recommendation

The phenomenon of strong role of traditional and modern institutions role in peace building initiatives have changed local communities conflict potentiality into harmony and peace. However, in the period of Indonesian local autonomy and the possible return of security and centralized government will ruin the basis of community based peace initiatives. In some regions, the district election (*Pilkada*) has put the existing harmonious community into fraction of clan, ethnic and religious groups. Will democracy make violence or in other hand, it turn community into strong democratic society. In comparison between traditional and modern peace mechanism that the permanent and strong layer of peace under protection of traditional adat and pesantren community seems to have stronger base of peace building than the modern-rational mechanism of peace.

Conflict in community is actually not only bad, because it could be a means of social integrity among them. Adat and pesantren could be a bridge of peace building if they could raise their traditional communication ability. Official agreement of peace is only a part of a whole of peace process. The measurement of peace is justice for all parties.

Recommendation

The national workshop was scheduled on 13 April 2005 in Jakarta. 23 active participants attended this workshop. The workshop recommended some strategic issues and important further programs.

³ A Police representative paper at a seminar entitled *Pertanggungjawaban Negara pada Bidang Keamanan dan Upaya Penegakan Hukum di Poso pasca Konflik* (Responsibility of state in security and legal forces in Poso post Conflict), Poso, 23 May 2005.



It will discuss some recommendation of national workshop. It intends to understand discourses and experiences of Community Based Peace Building Initiatives (CBPBI) in Indonesia. The output of this meeting is to reformulate character of conflict and peace initiatives in Indonesia, and to re-conceptualize understanding framework. The possible activities to achieve the outputs are (1) capacity building, (2) toolkit development, (3) networking, (4) participatory research, and (5) publication and campaign.

The meeting concludes that there are two peace initiatives: (1) Peace Keeping, which is mostly designed by state and local government. It is top-down model of peace. In Indonesia, Malino I of Poso conflict peace accord in 2001 and Malino II of Maluku conflict peace treaty in 2002 are among the state designed peace model, (2) Peace Building, which is for social system and structural transformation. It is community based peace building initiatives that the LP3ES-USM-FORD programs have set for a year, and will continue concerning wider participation of regional communities. All of these programs are focused on three institutions: Women Movement, Pesantren (Muslim Traditional Boarding Schools) and Adat (Local Custom).

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