COMMUNAL VIOLENCE AS A STRATEGY OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES TO RESIST THE EX extracive MINING OPERATIONS IN MOROWALI, CENTRAL SULAWESI

Bambang Hudayana
Department of Anthropology Universitas Gadjah Mada
Suharko & Andreas Budi Widyanta
Department of Sociology Universitas Gadjah Mada

This paper illustrates and explains that extractive nickel mining operations in Morowali District, Central Sulawesi have caused a variety of negative impacts that harm local communities both indigenous and transmigrants. The impact was in the form of the control of part of the local population’s land by the company, and the loss of their access to obtain wood and gum resin, and sea fishing activities. Nickel mining operations have also caused damage to the environment such as air pollution, pollution of rivers and sea water and the collapse of dams which have damaged people’s livelihoods, such as agricultural land, marine fisheries and ponds. Paper explains that local people are fighting to get material compensation from losses suffered. They also put political pressure on the company by using a communal violence approach rather than mere negotiation. This communal resistance arose due to distrust and social frustration experienced by local communities over mining operations and conflict resolution approaches carried out by the company through poor CSR programs, community empowerment, and security approaches that control freedom. Meanwhile, communal resistance is reproduced by local people in order to improve bargaining positions when they do not have adequate opportunities to get a job within the company and get compensation in their favor. No less important, communal resistance was rich in tactics and strategies that were able to force the government and companies to reduce dominance and violent practices in securing the mining business in Morowali.

Keywords: Communal violence, extractive nickel industry, local communities, CSR, distrust, social frustration

TRACING THE ROOT OF VIOLENCE AND PEACE BUILDING IN PAPUA

Cahyo Pamungkas

Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI)

This article started from a group of West Papua National Liberation Army attack on some Trans-Papua road construction workers in Nduga in December 2019, which resulted in 17 deaths including members of the Indonesian armed forces. The Nduga incident has added to the statistics of violence in Papua since the bloody Paniai incident in December 2014 which left eight Papuan students killed. The Amnesty International (2018) reports that between 2010 and 2018 there were 69 extrajudicial killings in Papua committed by security apparatus. Conflict and violence in the Land of Papua seem to be continuing since the resistance of the Free Papua movement in Manokwari in 1965 until the present day (May, 1978; Osborne, 1985; Budiarjo & Liong, 1988). Referring to Galtung (1969), Bjorkagen said that it is the absence of negative peace.

Various policies, such as special autonomy, acceleration of development, and infrastructure projects have been implemented; yet have not been able to overcome the disappointment and trust of the Papuan people in the republic. Several research has been conducted including in the field of anthropology and other social sciences using ethnographic methods. However, such of studies are not referred by policymakers to resolve the Papua conflict peacefully. Therefore, this
article also aims to discuss the consequences of ethnographic research on peace-building in West Papua. My argument is there is a gap between the knowledge resulted from ethnographic research and state policies to solve the secessionist conflict of Papua.

Some studies analyzed in this article include the results of Rutherford’s research (20120, Kirksey (2012), Hernawan (2013), Ondawame (2000), Viartasiwi (2016), Anderson (2012), Widjojo et al., (2008), and Rusdyarti & Pamungkas et al., (2016). These studies, we can identify the conceptual and practical implications of the findings of ethnographic research on the peace-building process in Papua. The first three studies discussed, namely Rutherford (2012), Kirksey (2012), and Hernawan (2103) narrate the situation of the Papua conflict sufficiently. All three studies employ concepts in the postmodern tradition, such as: audience, governmentality, abject, rhizome, and entanglement. If we use Rutherford’s approach, Papuans are more defined by their position as object of colonialism. The performance of sovereignty conducted by the colonial government aimed to get recognition from colonized subjects. The implications of this study were Papuans must have the capability and struggle to be able to fight the performance of Indonesian sovereignty.

Unlike Rutherford (2012), Kirksey proposed the idea that the activists of the Free Papua Movement collaborate with the Indonesian side and global forces to achieve the goals of the struggle. Like a rhizome, it will grow and develop if it can twist itself in its parent tree. But the problem is Kirksey does not explore what collaboration strategies are effective for achieving Papuan freedom. As with Kirksey, Hernawan’s findings (2013) have more practical implications, namely advancing the idea of transformation from theater to torture to theater of peace with a narrative based on memoria passionis which is a guide to reconciliation. However, the problem is that it is now difficult for the Government which is still dominated by conservative political elites who do not encourage reconciliation and listen to the narrative of the suffering of victims of Papuan political violence.

The Ondawame Study (2000), while focusing more on the analysis of the failure of the OPM before 2000, come up with the proposal that both Jakarta and Papua have a strong commitment to bring about peace. The best step is to start a dialogue to determine the types of associations that are shared. According to him, an independent Papuan political movement will disappear, if Indonesia truly recognizes the identity of the Papuans and protects their basic rights. The peace process which was born from the study of Hernawan (2013) and Ondawame (2000) has the same meeting point, namely dialogue for reconciliation and also for recognition the political identity of Papuans.

Two other studies, Anderson (2015) and Viartasiwi (2016) show different perspectives in analyzing the Papua conflict. Anderson (2015) sees that the main problem of insecurity in Papua is due to the absence of the state in the form of public services such as education and health and the absence of legal rules. While Viartasiwi (2016) views the conflict in Papua as not only vertical but more horizontal. Conflict continues because the main narrative built by the government is the narrative of separatism and the existence of predatory elites involved in the conflict industry. As an implication of these two studies, the state is required to present more in guaranteeing human security including providing education, health services, encouraging the development of the local economy and enforcing the rule of law. If the country is present by protecting the basic rights of Papuans, then the possibility of conflict’s project will diminish.

The six studies above actually support the findings of Papua Road Map (Widjojo et al., 2008) or updating Papua Road Map (Rusdyarti & Pamungkas et al., 2017). Dialogue, reconciliation,
recognition, and cultural-based development are main ideas emerging from these studies of the Papua conflict. However, the national government have only taken one aspect of administratively recognition such as giving bureaucratic positions to Papuans and prioritizing education for indigenous Papuans.

Based on these studies, the further question then is why the government refuses a dialogue for reconciliation and discussing Papuan political identity. Also guarantees the fulfillment of the basic rights of Papuans and destroys the conflict industry in this area. I observe that there is still a wide gap between the results of research carried out by researchers and the peace policies implemented by the government including the Special Autonomy for Papua, the acceleration of Papua's development and infrastructure projects. To find out the gap we must retrace the history of integration and the construction of knowledge underline the current policies.

In addition to the political ideology of Indonesian nationalism, the roots of political violence against Papuans stem from knowledge constructed by anthropologists in the colonial period. A Russian Anthropologist, Miklouho Maclay has several ideas to save Papuans from the adverse effects of colonialism; Papuans must live in a region free from the control and exploitation of invaders. The simple indigenous peoples of Papua will be destroyed and destroyed by more advanced European societies or by "polluting influences" of Indonesian civilization. Unlike Maclay who wants to preserve Papuan culture from the destructive influence of the labor market and attacks by Europeans, D'Albertis sees the occupation project as an opportunity to replace the savagery of Papuans with civilization (Mikluho-Maklai 1982, Kirksey, 2002).

The main reason for the absence of a relationship between ethnographic discourse and colonial policy is because colonial relations are characterized by internal contradictions (Kirsch, 2010). The Dutch say that Papuans are Melanesian races that are different from other Indonesian ethnicities because they have the motivation to defend the colony. In the same position, Indonesia also exploits the narrative of the differences between Indonesia and Papua to maintain its control of the region. The Indonesian narrative still tells us that Papuan civilization is still in the Stone Age, so the government has a mission to build and civilize Papuans. This narrative continues to influence politics in Papua. For example, the claim that Papuans inherently have violence is used to justify militarization in this area.

However, the mission of civilizing these Papuans in reality only emphasizes economic development oriented to capitalism. For example, the national government conducted some infrastructure projects in this region since 2015. The development of road construction massively has succeeded in increasing inter-regencies’ connectivity. However, it has not been able to improve the lives and livelihoods of indigenous Papuans because migrant community is better able to utilize the road for economic activities. Road connectivity in the central mountains brings a new problem to the local population as more migrants arrive and the entry of liquor and drugs. Roads have not yet been fully utilized by Papuans, and even tend to be a source of threats in the future of Papuans.

The discussion above shows that there is still a gap between knowledge about conflict and peace in the Land of Papua and Government policies in resolving conflicts. As if, ethnographic research on the Papuan conflict stood in a space separate from state policy. In other words, ethnographic discourse seems to have no political consequences in encouraging the peace process in Papua. However, if traced further there are two fundamental differences that are difficult to meet between researchers and policymakers. The first party bases its knowledge to protect the basic
rights of Papuans through the construction of anti-violence ideas, dialogue, reconciliation, recognition, and human security. While the second party implements capitalistic development practices based on the politics of Indonesian nationalism and the mission of civilizing Papuans. In reality, the government’s mission of civilizing Papuan is conducted in illiberal ways including the use of security approach. As a result, the political violence in Papua never end, refers to Appadurai (1998), legitimated by all forms of knowledge and convictions that increase inhuman degree of hostility.

**Keywords:** violence, ethnography, modernity, and discursive formation.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


Hernawan, Y.B., 2013. *From the theatre of torture to the theatre of peace: The politics of torture and re-imagining peacebuilding in Papua, Indonesia.* Dissertation in Australia National University.


Harmony in Diversity: Conflict Management in the Outer Island of Enggano, Bengkulu

Intan Permata Sari
State Institute of Islamic Studies, Bengkulu

Enggano community is a plural society, besides ethnic variety, it is also multi-religion. They have five indigenous tribes (Kauno, Katora, Kaarubi, Kaharuba, and Kahaoa) and one migrant tribe (Kaamay). Kaamay is a new tribe created by the indigenous Enggano community to accommodate migrants to become part of the social structure of the Enggano community. The impact of the large number of migrants entering Enggano is the shift of the majority of believers from Christianity to Islam. Although very multiethnic and multireligion, Enggano is able to maintain harmony within and ensure the peace of its people. Very rare conflicts occur within the Enggano community. This is because adat has local wisdom in regulating community values and norms so that potential conflicts can be prevented. All Enggano people (including Kaamay) must obey the traditional rules because they are conditioned as part of the Enggano tribe and must give up their previous cultural identity. This paper shows that the domination of adat which is managed and adhered to together can prevent the occurrence of frictions within the community. Adat successfully guarantees the rights, obligations and social status of the members of community so that there is no social jealousy between migrants and indigenous people.

Keywords: Conflict Management, Enggano, Adat, Local Wisdom

INTRODUCTION

Enggano Island is one of Indonesia’s outer islands which has local intelligence in maintaining harmony in ethnic and religious differences in its community. In religious life, for example, adat regulates the freedom of the people to embrace a religion that is believed by someone so that the Enggano people are able to live side by side with followers of other religions. Mutual help in the construction of a new mosque / church can involve anyone regardless of ethnicity or religion. The harmony of the religious community is evident, for example, from the presence of the priests in the event of breaking the fast together every month of Ramadhan at the invitation of muslims scholars (ulama); and vice versa the ulama are involved in various Christian celebration events. In socio-cultural life, adat provides a large space for immigrants who want to become citizens of