1-31-2014

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Recommended Citation

Zulfa, Eva Achjani (2014) "BALI NURAGA-LAMPUNG: IDENTITY CONFLICT BEHIND THE POLICY," *Indonesian Journal of International Law*: Vol. 11 : No. 2 , Article 6.

DOI: 10.17304/ijil.vol11.2.279

Available at: <https://scholarhub.ui.ac.id/ijil/vol11/iss2/6>

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BALI NURAGA-LAMPUNG: IDENTITY CONFLICT BEHIND THE POLICY

Eva Achjani Zulfa¹

Abstract

Indonesia is a nation richly blessed in heritage and culture. Its population consisted of 656 ethnic groups that spread from one end in Sabang to Merauke at the other end, and occupying more than 30,000 islands. In the last few years, a number of conflicts in Indonesia had escalated significantly in their magnitude, whether seen from the area of occurrence, from the backgrounds that triggered them, or the impact and their victims. The Bali Nuraga case in Lampung was a chronicle about the conflict between the people of Balinese descent and the indigenous people from Lampung in Sido Mulyo, it was an interesting subject to analyze, considering that the Balinese were not newcomers to the region. It has been told that this conflict was not essentially about religion, instead it was a conflict triggered by the persistent efforts by the Balinese in Bali Nuraga village to hold onto their identity. This paper will discuss about the ethnic issue that occurred in Lampung regarding the existence of Balinese in Lampung. This conflict between Lampung against Bali, as we have seen from the presentation above was not about the Balinese people with their Hindu faith against the people from Lampung who were mostly Muslims; however, it was packaged that way by some parties to intensify the conflict.

Indonesia adalah negara dengan beragam peninggalan sejarah dan kebudayaan. Populasi Indonesia terdiri dari 656 suku yang tersebar dari Sabang hingga Merauke, yang tinggal di lebih dari 30.000 pulau. Dalam beberapa tahun terakhir, beberapa konflik yang besar telah terjadi, baik berdasarkan daerah asal konflik, latar belakang terjadinya konflik, akibat konflik dan korban dari konflik tersebut. Kasus Nuraga Bali di Lampung merupakan konflik tahunan yang terjadi antara keturunan bali dan penduduk asli Lampung di Sido Mulyo, ini adalah sesuatu yang menarik untuk dianalisa, dimana orang Bali bukanlah pendatang baru di area tersebut. Telah dijelaskan bahwa konflik ini bukan lah semata-mata konflik agama, namun lebih kepada konflik yang ditimbulkan karena penduduk Bali yang berjuang mempertahankan identitasnya disana. Tulisan ini akan membahas mengenai isu terkait suku yang terjadi di Lampung terkait eksistensi suku Bali di Lampung. Konflik antara suku Bali dan penduduk Lampung, sebagaimana telah dijelaskan diatas bukanlah terkait penduduk Bali dengan kepercayaan Hindu mereka melawan warga Lampung yang sebagian besar adalah muslim, namun, hal ini dibuat sedemikian rupa oleh sekelompok orang untuk memperkeruh konflik.

Keywords: *Indigenous Conflict, Indigenous People, Identity Conflict, Policy, Bali, Lampung.*

I. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a nation richly blessed in heritage and culture. Its population consisted of 656 ethnic groups that spread from one end in Sabang to Merauke at the other end, and occupying more than 30,000 islands.

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Such diversity, however, does not only bring its own advantages, which are numerous, it also holds a potential for conflict, particularly horizontal conflicts between members of the communities, which among others, may be triggered by issues related to ethnic pride, religion, community organization and many others.

Diversity's potency to trigger a conflict would materialize if it were not appropriately managed. Franz Magnis-Suseno said that a pluralistic nation such as Indonesia could live in a peaceful harmony only if its people were willing to cast off their psychological capacity for intolerance (Suseno, 1988: 2). It had been proven that a dominating act in a pluralistic society, especially if it was achieved by brute force, coercion, or by imposing onto others to adopt a similar behavior, and enforcing other injustice acts would eventually lead to conflict that threatens the integrity of our nation.

In the last few years, a number of conflicts in Indonesia had escalated significantly in their magnitude, whether seen from the area of occurrence, from the backgrounds that triggered them, or the impact and their victims. However, positively speaking, conflict was a simple fact that could not be avoided in human development. The key issue here was how to manage this obvious fact with a mechanism that is elegant, democratic and humane. Truth of the matter that a conflict had the tendency to breed unfavorable impacts such as wide spread destruction of properties, splitting the community apart and fostering a prolonged resentment.

Protracted conflicts were not only disruptive to national stability; they were also detrimental to the community's welfare. Research conducted by the World Bank in 2005 revealed that the escalation of social conflicts that occurred in 7 of Indonesia's 33 provinces had created more than one million refugees and resulted in a growth figure of minus four percent in the regions affected by these conflicts (World Bank: 2005).

Up to a certain level, these conflicts were more than simple clash triggered by identity related issues; they were deeply rooted in more serious aspects, such as issues related to better distribution of economics and political access. These massive conflicts appeared to be a combination of two major elements; first, the growing awareness related to one's

group identity, for example issues related to one's race, ethnic group, nationality, religion, cultural, language, etc.; and the second one was the matter related to distribution; how the economics, social and political resources were divided among the communities. However, the question here was it really true?

The Bali Nuraga case in Lampung was a chronicle about the conflict between the people of Balinese descent and the indigenous people from Lampung in Sido Mulyo, it was an interesting subject to analyze, considering that the Balinese were not newcomers to the region. It has been told that this conflict was not essentially about religion, instead it was a conflict triggered by the persistent efforts by the Balinese in Bali Nuraga village to hold onto their identity. In fact, religion was not even the main factor (or the core conflict) of the anarchy that occurred, it was only an additional factor (a supporting conflict) (R. Rizal Panggabean: 2009; 7). The author's research on the Study of Conflict Map in Indonesia showed that the Bali Nuraga case was a worthy subject for analysis from the perspective of cultural conflict.

II. TRANSMIGRATION AND CULTURAL CONFLICT

Generally speaking, there were a number of government policies founded without a solid knowledge on community cultural roots. These were the policies with the potential of breeding conflicts later on. This was a tale about the transmigration program, which was carried out by the Indonesian government decades ago. Nugraha Setiawan said that the transmigration program was a uniquely Indonesian population migration (Nugraha Setiawan: 2011:13-35)². ³Whilst the program might originally had been initiated by the Dutch colonial government under the label of colonization, the practice was revived later on by the Indonesian government and continued in practice until 2005.

The program has many stated objectives, in line with the government wishes at any given time (*ibid*), for instance:

² Nugraha Setiawan, Satu Abad Transmigrasi di Indonesia: Perjalanan Sejarah Pelaksanaan 1905-2005, Jurnal Historia Vol.3, No.1, page 13-35

³ *Ibid*.

- a) To reduce poverty and population density;
- b) Providing the opportunity for those who are interested in the challenge of managing natural resources in other islands such as Papua, Kalimantan, Sumatera and Sulawesi;
- c) To support food security and the provision of housings for the people;
- d) To support the policy on alternative energy (bio-fuel);
- e) To support equal distribution of investment throughout Indonesia;
- f) To support national security in the outer islands and border regions;

With regard to the last objective, and a review of some of the cases, the tragedy in Sampit or Bali Nuraga might be used as corrections and evaluation point on how this migration policy was carried out. Throughout the long recorded history on the existence of Balinese people in Lampung, there have been no explanations with regard to their way of life and the cultural norms that they had brought from their native soil to the new adopted land. It was widely understood that in their native land, the Balinese culture was indeed quite different from the cultural norms of the Javanese, the Sundanese or even from the indigenous people of Lampung. One of the key elements here was the different faith, which resulted in a somewhat conflicting behavior that set them apart. For the Javanese or the Sundanese, who mostly are Muslims, it is not that big of a deal when they come into contact with the indigenous people from Lampung who the majority are also Muslims; however, it is quite a different story with the Balinese people in Lampung. A quick glance of how the Balinese people lead their lives in Lampung reveals that the Balinese villages in Lampung are built just like their home villages in Bali, from the organization of their *banjar* (village level government), to the positioning of the *pura* (temple), etc. The obvious question is what happened in the relationship process between the newcomers and the indigenous people.

One could say that the Bali Nuraga case was the result of a number of obstacles that prevent the newcomers and the indigenous culture from interacting and adapting to each other cultures. From the theoretical perspective, the migration process itself should not bring in any problems since assimilation or acculturation are usually occurred naturally and resulted in a new amalgamation of culture. However, the question is what if such assimilation and acculturation did not occur. With

the passing of time, the failure of such assimilation and acculturation would eventually turn into a problem.

The common assumption used in the perspective of cultural conflict theory was as follows, if there were a number of different cultures within a society, then a conflict between them would surely happen. In the book entitled *Culture Conflict and Crime*, Sellin (Thorsen Sellin: 1938), said that all culture conflict was a clash between social values, a clash between the interests of various norms. Conflicts sometimes occur as a secondary effect (or as side effects) in the development of culture and civilization. Conflicts involving different behavior norms might be triggered by opposing way of life and the prevailing social values within the existing groups. Conflict between norms and different cultural rules might also occur when two major cultures collided head to head, or when one major culture dominates a minor one, or when a member of one culture turned into another.

On the other hand, Vold (George Vold: 1958) said that the theory on cultural conflict was based on the precept that different culture and class would have a different set of values, beliefs and objectives. When a different culture with different perceptions in life and social structures settled in on a new land, there bound to be a clash between the incoming and the indigenous cultures. In other words, it was a clash between cultural constants, resulting from the different sets of values and beliefs. Such a clash would in turn create a distortion. And distortion would breed conflict.

III.HISTORY OF THE BALINESE PEOPLE IN LAMPUNG

Lampung in the 1950s was a Regency under the Province of South Sumatera. This territory with an area covering 35,376.50 km² became a separate province on 18 March 1964. In the meantime, the Balinese people began arriving in Lampung in 1952. The people from Bali arrived in Pelabuhan Panjang Harbor, Lampung from various districts in Bali such as Tabanan, Karangasem and Klungkung. They took residences in the region of Seputih Raman in Central Lampung. The government at that time provided 2 hectares of land per household to these transmigrants be cultivated as farmlands.

However, Bali is still Bali, with its own identity. The problems in assimilation and acculturation, in this case, according to Yulianto (2011: 397) was the determined efforts by the Balinese in Lampung to build something that in a sense was a cultural fortress to preserve their culture outside their native land. Their defensive fortress was akin to a closed fortress designed to maintain, defend and preserve the cultural heritage or their Balinese identity, i.e. the culture of Bali or the Balinese Hindu culture. Yulianto believed that the cultural perception of the Balinese in Lampung was founded on the following two principles:

1. A strong social bound embedded deep at individual level, wherein the social system became their identity and that identity was inescapably bound to the social system. They were bound by the community identity with its specific social status and its identity symbols; the tradition and liturgy of the Balinese Hindu religion and the social affiliation within it; to belong and become a member of specific organizations or groups such as the *banjar* and the *seka*; the ties to their birth place in *Nusa Penida*; the ritual and liturgy in tradition, and religious ceremonies, as well as in economics and political system that were uniquely Bali (or in general was associated with Bali); the use of the mother tongue (the language of Bali Nusa), and others (*ibid*).
They had a real fear that the identity that bound them to their land of birth would slowly dissolve and disappeared in their new adopted land (2011: 398). This powerful social bound was what compelled the Balinese people in Lampung to build a typical Balinese villages including all the social institutions that symbolize their identity.
2. The pragmatic reasons with regard to the preservation of Balinese identity. The Balinese villages were the fortresses that protect the Balinese culture in Lampung. This fortress and many others enclaves throughout other regions in Lampung are like islands in the midst of community who mostly are Javanese and Muslims, just like the Island of Bali, which is the basis of Hinduism in the midst of Indonesia who are mostly Muslims (Yulianto:2011: 398).

IV. BALI NURAGA CONFLICT: A CONFLICT OF IDENTITY

The conflict occurring in Lampung was triggered when a couple of young women residents of Agom Village had an accident where they fell from their motorcycle and were later helped by the residents of Bali Nuraga Village, unfortunately by a somewhat bizarre coincidences a misunderstanding ensued, prompted by a rumor of abuse toward the young women. The rumor of abuse incited the wrath of Agom village residents toward the residents of Bali Nuraga (Republika, 15 November 2012). As a result, a clash broke-out between the residents of Agom and Bali Nuraga and the surrounding villages (Kompas, 15 November 2012). The clash resulted in the death of 14 people. Not to mention the destruction of hundreds of houses and dozens of motor vehicles. The clash, which led to more clashes, forced hundreds of people from Bali Nuraga village to flee for their lives (Kompas, 15 November 2012).

The Bali Nuraga conflict was the highlighted event in this research, and the players in this conflict were essentially the entire community. Based on the information gathered on site, it was said that at the height of the fighting around 15,000 to 20,000 people were involved in the melee. Investigation carried out on the field also revealed that the conflict also dragged other ethnic groups as well, the Javanese, Sundanese and other ethnic groups residing in the surrounding areas, not only the indigenous people of Lampung against the Balinese. The involvement of other Lampung residents were prompted by ethnic solidarity, albeit misguided, among the communities and inflamed by the informal community leaders such as traditional community figures.

However, police record showed that similar clashes between residents of Balinese descent and other ethnic groups have occurred previously. For instance, the Bali Palas conflict in 2011, the Bali Napal conflict, which was triggered by an argument about parking and the last one, was the Bali Nuraga conflict in 2012. Misguided ethnic solidarity in each of these conflicts in all likelihood was the result of the common practice of transplanting the entire village from their native land to a new land (*transmigrasi bedol desa*), in which the community original language, norms and belief system were literally transplanted to the new lands, hence no form of assimilation whatsoever would occurred. The transplanted people would continue to use their native region as

their identity, i.e. using their language to differentiate themselves from other ethnic groups.

To gain a better understanding of the conflict, let us analyze it from different perspectives and point of views, such as:

1. Law Enforcement Officials

Conflict between involving residents of Balinese descents and other ethnic groups are not new.

"Similar conflicts occurred almost every year. When the Muslims were performing takbiran (praising God) in mosques, the Balinese youth were revving their motorcycles engines. They keep pigs, and let those pigs wander freely on the street. The biggest clash was the conflict in Bali Nuraga, before that it was in Bali Napal. In Bali Nuraga, the case was handled by the City Police (Polres)".

As for the triggering factors, they were instigated by skirmishes between the youths of each ethnic group, which inflamed deep-rooted grudges that had been aggravated the community for years. The following was an example.

"It was the youths. We, the police already talked to the parents, the community figures and urged these parents to supervise their children. According to the information, there was an accident; however, the parties involved did not report the accident to us, Kalianda is not my jurisdiction, later around 8 o'clock the large number of people from there attacked the village of Bali Nuraga".

"A Javanese knew how to behave, as they say, where ever they stay, they would follow the norms, it's like that. On the other hand, over there, once we passed the gate, even though the surrounding residents are Muslims, you will see pigs wandering around. The sub-district government already warned them, it's already been warned, I am sorry mam, it's difficult".

On the whole the police have implemented preventive measures to prevent the clash. The measures were carried out because of previous

experiences. In the case of Bali Nuraga, these measures include efforts to promote peace.

"I went there myself, and I asked them what's seemed to be the problem. I made the call and coordinate with the police precinct in Kalianda. I said, there's no need for you to go there, I would do my best to apprehend the persons responsible. I send the police investigators there and tried to persuade the Balinese people, so they would turn them in to us. I said I would take this, I took some pictures, and I would send them to the police precinct in Kalianda, please tell the people to go home. The representatives were already here, three from each community".

"Gentlemen, brothers, come, I will show you my hand phone, that's the picture of the men responsible, and we have them. If you don't believe me, let's talked to the victims and asked them if these are really the men responsible. For being cooperative, the perpetrators were turned in; they were in my custody saved from public vigilante".

With regard to conflict settlement process, even though some of the cases had been settled, the process was not considered as effective. Therefore, we would put forward a model of settlement outside the corridor of law.

"Speaking of law enforcement, we have the declaration; the local leaders have set up a peace declaration to live side by side, in harmony and mutual respect. So if in the future, a person from Lampung, Java or Bali was involved in an altercation. Then only those involved will be apprehended and not the rest and we will enforce the law".

2. Bali Nuraga Village Apparatus

Speaking of the conflict, it was triggered by the acts of some youths, which was trivial in nature; therefore in the view of the residents of Bali Nuraga, such a trivial matters should not be blown out of proportion.

"Well, in my view, with this event, the community here obviously

has lost their respect. Secondly, to be honest, the community here was a bit perplexed as to why this incident could occur. It was true that this was the result of acts by some youths. However, if we were to judge those acts, how could they lead to this? It was trivial, yes. We could learn from them, how they could ended like this. After the fight, this was the result. I sincerely hope that we did not have to go through something like this again, because the impact was huge sir, this conflict on the economy. Hopefully with this incident, the youths would behave, as for the parents we should provide a better example in the future.”

There were three suspects. The incident that triggered it, even though to us it was a trivial matter. If we were to use our common sense, it was not a trigger. Kids will be kids, when a girls pass, they will whistle or whatever, that’s what kids do. The girls might become groggy. The wheel of the victim’s motorcycle was shaped like a figure 8 after they fell. The kids here were trying to help; instead they were accused of sexually abusing the girls”.

Within this context, there was a difference of perspective with regard to the event that triggered the conflict. The Balinese community in Bali Nuraga felt they were the victims, because in their view what happened was only a trivial matter.

“If it was a criminal act obviously we would see that. The situation such as what happened; we were only trying to help. What’s baffling, when we were helping others, we were accused of sexual abuse. Was it really true? If what happened was seen as a violation, then we should punish them accordingly, and see whether it matched the report”.

However, in this case, the settlement reached through legal means did not always satisfy the conflicting parties.

“We actually did hand over the matter to the chief of police that night. The incident occurred in the afternoon, and around 8 o’clock we handed over the matter to the police, previously at 7 we had a meeting with head of Agom village. Possibly the parents of the girls, I did not know them. They could be the parents or they could be

community leaders. There were no parents from this side. Just myself, even that because I was called by the chief of police".

No result from the meeting. The hostility continued. Even during the meeting.

"The attack happened 3 hours after the meeting started. The crowd gathered 1 hour after the meeting. It was quick. After the meeting there was an attack. The first one occurred that night. I did not really see the attackers because I was at the meeting. We were attacked twice, in the morning and in the afternoon that same week. There was no time to evacuate. Evacuation was on Tuesday, after the incident. There were fatalities. You know, it was a huge crowd, it was out of control".

Measures taken by the police, who began even before the attack occurred, failed to satisfy the public. In their view, the police failed to provide sufficient protection; they even accused the police of turning their back from the people who needed their protection. This accusation might be based on the insufficient number of police officers deployed in the field to control the situation ($\pm$ 3,000 Brimob officers confronting around 20,000 rampaging mobs), the fact was, the police were simply overwhelmed by the sheer number of mobs (comparative notes: Kompas 15 November 2012).

"The police were already there on Monday. Thousands of them, it was like that on the first day, at that time there were only the local police. However, at a glance, at that time the police seemed to be just watching, maybe because they were outnumbered. Even on TV, it seemed that the police were letting the rampaging mob to carry on the attack".

Nevertheless, nobody could state with an absolute certainty that the conflict in Bali Napal village was connected in any way with the conflict in Bali Nuraga.

"In Napal, something like this did occur. We did not know whether it was connected or not. In Napal, we sat together and signed a letter, which basically was a peace treaty. And one of the provisions in that letter stated that in the event that anybody violated this agreement then he would be handed over to the proper authority. That's why when the attack occurred; we handed over the perpetrators to the chief of police".

The settlement mechanism including those achieved through peaceful means could not be relied on to bring results. Even the security guarantee from the police did not provide the anxious community with a sense of security.

"After the fighting throughout Monday afternoon, there were more meetings. The meeting after 3 days. One week after that, refugees from Bandar Lampung were brought back here. The police offered to escort the refugees back; they did not force the refugees to return. If they did not want to, they would not be forced. The government was afraid to bring us home. If the guarantee was only from the police, we did not want to, we did not trust them."

As for travelling to the area, the community could go out and met them, no problem. Meanwhile, I sincerely do not know whether they held any grudges or not. It's in their blood to hold grudges, for years, not only now. When the 10 points agreement was made, we were there, just could not recall what the problem was. If you asked whether it was effective, it was effective, on the other hand, if not, then it was not. It was really only a formality. Because the previous agreement already exist, as in Napal, therefore it was not effective."

As for the role of government institutions in post-conflict management, not much can be said. Most of the assistance was provided by the Central Government, i.e. from the Ministry of Public Housing, the Indonesian Red Cross (PMI) or the Provincial Government, and none from the District Government.

"The ones providing assistance, if I'm not mistaken, PMI, Jusuf Kala, and some members of the Parliament (DPR), could not recall

his name from Partai Demokrat, the Chief of Regional Police (Kapolda), the Chief of National Police (Kapolri) were also here."

Speaking of damages, these were not only suffered by the community in Bali Nuraga, other villages in the surrounding areas also endured similar damages. Therefore, many observers said that the conflict was not related to ethnic issues since many of the surrounding villages were also hit.

"Speaking of economic damages, the record shows that 465 houses in total were damaged. It's more than 2 villages. Houses on the main street were also hit. Meanwhile, the funds for repairing the damages were only Rp. 11 million. Obviously it was not enough. However, if the intention was to stimulate the community to empower themselves, then it might work. That's only the funds from the Central Government. This funds would be disbursed in three stages. Initial disbursement would be 30% and after the repair and renovation works reached 50%, only then the remaining funds would be disbursed."

3. Agom Village Apparatus

Yesterday's conflict was not a real surprise, considering the frictions that had been going on. The communication between the head of Bali Nuraga village and the head of Agom village failed to subdue the brewing hostilities between the two villages that are only separated by a distance of 10 km.

"Actually what happened yesterday was bound to happen, sir. One might say that things had been festering and brewing inside. The explosion yesterday might be because the situation was right at that time, because that certainly was not the only incident. The scope of previous incidents might not be that big such as the incident yesterday. However, there were many small things that had been nagging the community. I have tried my best to prevent this, perhaps Ketut already told you that we met and reminded to prevent something like this from happening."

There were many deep-rooted resentment that had been brewing for years, for example, relationship between the youths from the two villages that resulted in pregnancy; however, differences in faith prohibit them from entering a marriage as a settlement mechanism. Or money-lender practices that often times ended in violence and destruction of properties. Other example is as follows:

"I, along with my wife and kids went to Pantong market to buy fried rice. Along came a group of Balinese youths demanded to be served first. We who were there first did not get our order. It was even worse, when they had religious ceremony, when they went to the beach; they had to use this route. They could not care less that it was Friday, we were listening to the sermon at the mosque, and when the call for prayer came, it was overwhelmed by the commotion they made. When we're having a prayer for somebody who passed away (tahlilan), they were making a commotion, and there were a lot of them, they always in groups. It's been going on like this for years, did we ever bother them? No, never. Yesterday when we were praising God (takbiran) to celebrate Idhul Fitri, once again they were making a commotion, things could really erupt and turned really ugly, because it would be triggered by religion related issues."

As far as the community in Agom village was concerned the root of the conflict was the indifferent attitude shown by members of the Balinese community, particularly the community in Bali Nuraga.

"Mind you, we were not claiming that we were entirely free from fault, but on the other hand you could not put the blame entirely on us. The way I see it, it is a character issues, especially the youths. Don't just ask me. Please feel free to ask others, including the Balinese. One might say that things have been festering and brewing inside; there were other incidents before this. In 2012, there were 3 incidents involving residents from Bali Nuraga. When I was in Sido Makmur, my brother's house was burned. My brother was recently married, and his wife was a migrant worker overseas, she sends the money to build their house, and they burned it. It's no wonder that my brother was angry with them. That's why when they attacked,

people from all over joined in. As the village head, I was in a difficult position, when the people attacked Bali Nuraga, I went there to do my best to stop the fighting, I was begging to the chief of police. This was the 11th incident, sir."

Preventive measures had been implemented before the eruption of hostilities, including holding the perpetrators responsible for the incident. However, these measures failed to dampen the public anger, which already gathered en masse in the evening after the agreement.

"I personally went there sir. I was looking for the persons responsible in their village. We tried to seek a peaceful solution to prevent a war. Unfortunately, they were challenging me. The victims were residents from my village, but they were demanding compensation from me. They were shouting at me. So I said to them, so be it if you wanted it that way. And I did not know what happen, who organizes the crowd. I went there at 5, when I returned around 8, the street was jam packed with people."

With regard to the peace efforts, there was a realization that some elements in the community did not want to settle for peace, considering the conflict that have been going on for years. Others believed that the police and the military had done their best to stop the violence.

"There were 3 casualties from Lampung. They died because of gunshots; it was Saturday night, the first night. The police and the military had done all they could, and no efforts was spared. They guard the location, day and night to prevent the fighting from occurring again, for the whole month. To be honest, we were not interested in peace. There was no process. There was an apology from them. I did not want to be blamed, besides I did not ask the people to come, I did not gather the crowd. They were here on their own."

All of the helps were directed to the village of Bali Nuraga, only a handful was delivered to the village of Agom. Even that small amount was

used to fund the measures for securing the location after the hostilities.

"That was from the Regional Government, most were from the Central Government, only a few from the Regional Government. The Chief of National Police was here, Jusuf Kala was here, also from the military (TNI). Maybe this incident had turned into a national issue."

For all practical purposes the Regional Government has no concrete solution to resolve the root of the conflict. Issues that were considered as the root of the problem and that have been occurring many times were still lingered, because there were no regional regulations to govern such matters.

"Just like I said mam, during the discussion at the DPR. I asked the regulators to come out with regional regulations to regulate these matters. But they are not there yet. The pigs are still wandering on the road, it is a public road. We have to use that road. They say dogs and pigs are valuable. Therefore they are bred and perhaps as a source for their livelihood."

4. Bakesbangpol (National Unity and Political Agency) of the Regional Government of Lampung Province

In the view of the Provincial Government of Lampung, the Bali Nuraga conflict was seen as a disaster hence it would be managed under the disaster management policy. The disaster management was carried out by enlisting all the relevant agencies and institutions, including the Traditional Institution and the Hindu Society (*Lembaga Adat dan Pasisada Hindu Dharma*) of Lampung Province.

"All government agencies were involved, plantation, security, everything, all was involved, including the disaster management agency. As you know, there are two type of disasters, natural disaster or manmade disaster. This falls under the second category, i.e., man-made disaster."

The management of Bali Nuraga disaster was handled by the Provincial Government as opposed to the District Government considering the magnitude of the conflict. Also due to the fact that the incident already occurred more than once and because the issue could be considered as a national issue.

"Disaster, when a disaster occurred, it would be reviewed, if it could be handled at district level, if so, then it would be handled at district level. If not, then it had to be handled at provincial level or even at a higher level, at the national level. As simple as that. That's why we were here. To obtain confirmation, not to dig deeper. We had the names of the perpetrators in the field. That's at the government level. That's 2011, this was 2010, that was 2012. If we didn't break the conflict by involving the police things could get really messy, it could get messy at national level, that's how the provincial government perceived it, and it was like that.

The conflict between residents of Balinese descent and other ethnic groups was not a secret. These conflicts have been documented many times. Therefore, if no preventive measures were taken, the same thing might happen again and again, just like in Bali Nuraga case.

"It's an old story. The Balinese do not know how to behave, during the fasting month they lighted firecracker at the mosque during prayer times, when they ride their motorcycles they like to race. Previously there had been clash in Sido Mulyo, also with people from Bali, before that in Pala Sengang between the people from Bali and people from Palembang, they say the people from Bali like to show-off."

"Then there's the problem with pigs wandering all over the place. That's one of the trigger. They have been told that they should respect the norms of the people around them, it should be like that; however, they didn't assimilate. Problems with missing livestock, a clash in Central Lampung. A clash also occurred in East Lampung, and finally it exploded here, there might be other interest playing in the background here so everything simply blew up."

With regard to police role during the incidents in South Lampung, based on experiences, the efforts by law enforcement agency in settling small-scale conflict were quite effective. However, one has to admit that during the conflict in South Lampung wherein the magnitude of the conflict was such, it was considered disaster at a national scale, then personnel limitation became a hindrance. This include, the rather clumsy approach taken by the officers when confronting the rampaging crowds. However, when the police used repressive measures, such acts were considered as violation of Human Rights by some parties, and it was detrimental to the police image.

"After considering the level of escalation, the Governor Team was of the opinion that it could be handled by such and such agency, and the procedures should be such and such. With regard to the incident in Bali Nuraga, one of the team leader was from the regional police. Around 3,000 Brimob officers were deployed, including officers from Kelapa Dua and from Palembang. Still the matters have not been resolved."

To resolve the conflict peacefully, a number of measures were carried out. Some were quite harsh. Because the Regional Government believed that the main cause for the problem was the inability of the Bali Nuraga residents to socialize with the neighboring villages, and that should change. One of the points in the peace agreement stated that the peace efforts must be matched with an adjustment in attitude and willingness to socialize with other ethnic groups and respecting the norms and values of the surrounding communities.

"The agreement clearly stated that the residents of Bali Nuraga village should mingle with other ethnic groups as part of the existing community in the region of South Lampung. It clearly stated that. Therefore they would be able to recognize problems such as these before they went out of control. And the agreement was not only agreed by the Balinese people on location, it was also witnessed by the Governor of Bali."

Meanwhile, the funds for the renovation and repair of damages would be allocated from the Regional Budget (APBD) and would be managed directly by the team appointed by the Provincial Government of Lampung. Even though, it did not cover the whole cost, it was hoped that such an assistance would alleviate some the suffering of the community, specifically helping them to repair damages to their houses. The amount provided was not identical. It depends on the damages, and the severity of the damages would be determined by assessment made in the field.

V. UNDERSTANDING BALI NURAGA CONFLICT

There were different perceptions of the conflict among the parties involved, i.e.

a) Position of the victims and perpetrators

In Bali Nuraga conflict, the perception regarding the position of the victims and perpetrators were biased because:

- 1) The hostilities that have been going on for some times;
- 2) With regard to the root of the problem that prompted the clash between the residents of Bali Nuraga village and Agom village, it was not simply the issue of "sexual abuse". It was more of a social conflict on issues such as pigs breeding, missing livestock and issue related to money lending practices that had been brewing and unresolved over the years.
- 3) Behavior perception, which based on different sets of norms;
- 4) Issues related to identity and different standard of norms. Particularly those held by the youths who were never taught to mingle and to respect people from different ethnic group with different sets of norms. For instance, holding a motorcycle race when others were praying or conducting religious ceremonies at the same time.
- 5) Finding a resolution to a conflict was not easy, for instance, out of wedlock pregnancy, wherein a marriage was out of the question. Investigation on the field revealed that the opposing communities had devised a mechanism to settle such a conflict by charging a customary fines (*denda adat*), even though there was

still the question, which norm would be used to determine such fines.

- 6) Issues related to live stock. Particularly pigs wandering all over the place. On one hand, the Muslims consider such animals as dirty, meanwhile, meanwhile, the Balinese who were follower of Hindu did not see it that way. That created a different norms, and there was no middle ground where the two parties could meet halfway.
- 7) There were no real efforts to resolve the conflict that had been brewing for years.
- 8) Based on the above, there should be a settlement mechanism for these issues. From the lowest level at village level up to the macro level in the form of a policy issued by the relevant agencies of the Regional Government.

VI. POLICE ROLE

Differing views regarding police's role during the conflict was also interesting to note. From the preventive measures initiated by the Chief of Police (*Kapolsek*) to bring in peace up to the repressive measures by deploying 3,000 police officers during the height of the conflict, were seen as insufficient by some parties. Meanwhile, to be fair, the police was simply out numbered 3,000 officers against to 20,000 rampaging crowds in a head on clash in an open space to do anything significant in preventing the clash.

1. Source of assistance and the mechanism for implementing them
The above presentation also revealed that there was a discrepancy with regard to the fund management in this conflict. On one hand, the Regional Government claimed that the funds were allocated by the Provincial Government Budget (APBD), meanwhile general public claimed that the funds were allocated by the Ministry of Public Housing that disbursed the funds directly to the village government. The disparity also included the total amount and the mechanism for distributing them.
2. Effectiveness of the agreement and views on the agreement's contents
In the view of the Balinese community, especially the residents of

Bali Nuraga, the agreement was not effective because similar peace agreements have been made many times before and still they failed to prevent the current conflict. Meanwhile, the existing agreement was subject to the Provincial Government's point of view and its provisions were coercive in nature, therefore, it's perceived as an agreement that must be adhered to.

If we referred to the model of conflict management that occurred in South Lampung, within the context of policy, there was no mechanism for conflict management at macro level, i.e. there was no regulations specifically made to deal with the conflict that occurred. From experience, a resolution using legal means was considered ineffective to curb the ongoing conflict.

Settlement was made by consensus between the conflicting parties and it was temporal in nature. In the case of Bali Nuraga conflict, the author found that the conflicting parties had opted for a compromise as a solution. Accordingly, declaration of peace in the form of an agreement was considered more effective as opposed to settlement through legal means.

The peace agreement states the following:

- 1) The two parties agreed to maintain security, order, unity, harmony, cohesion, and peace between the ethnic groups living in the region of Khagom Mufakat, District of South Lampung.
- 2) The two parties agreed not to carry out any anarchist acts under the pretext of ethnic, religious, racial, and sectarian issues (*suku, agama, ras, antar golongan* or SARA), which will breed discomfort, fear, hate, anxiety and resulted in material damages for both parties and the community in general.
- 3) The two parties agreed that in the event of quarrel, fight and argument caused by problems related to personal, group or section of the community, it will be solved directly by the parents, head of groups or head of section of the community.
- 4) The two parties agreed that in the event that the parents, head of groups or section of the community were unable to solve the problems, then such problems shall be settled amicably through discussion, and consensus by community leaders, traditional leaders, religious leaders, youth leaders and officials of the local village government.

- 5) In the event that amicable settlement through discussion cannot be reached, then the community leaders, traditional leaders, religious leaders, youth leaders and officials of the local village government shall submit and hand over the matters the proper authority to be processed in accordance with the prevailing laws and regulations.
- 6) And in the event that one member of either parties was found guilty of carrying out acts, deeds, sayings or other endeavors, which have the potency to create hostilities and unrest, the parties hereby declare their willingness to provide guidance to that person, and if such guidance failed, then the person shall be evicted from the territory of South Lampung District.

VII.CONCLUSION

Issue related to identity was the root problem of the conflict in Bali Nuraga. The different system of norms lead to a different behavioral patterns, and in turn resulted in clashes between the people from Lampung and the people of Balinese descents in South Lampung. The rumors that the conflict was a clash of religion idealism were nothing more than news sensationalism, which unfortunately escalated the conflict and attracting the attention of more parties. Nevertheless, since the two parties involved in the conflict were indeed from different religion or faith, then the real issue of the conflict was obscured by SARA related issues and in turn they escalated the conflict onto a different level. This conflict between Lampung against Bali, as we have seen from the presentation above was not about the Balinese people with their Hindu faith against the people from Lampung who were mostly Muslims; however, it was packaged that way by some parties to intensify the conflict. Such an act completely obscures the actual root cause of the conflict, namely a conflict of identity. In reality by enacting a simple policy, we could diminish the seed of hostilities before it flared out of control and becoming a conflict, for instance, localizing pig breeding (as opposed to banning them) might be the right solution for one of the issues that have been inhibiting the relationship between the two ethnic groups. Simple, yet it has not been realized in the field. (EAZ).

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