Community Policing to Resolve Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia : A Case Study of Lampungnese Vs. Balinese

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Community Policing to Resolve Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia: A Case Study of Lampungnese Vs. Balinese

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Abstract

The Lampungnese and Balinese people living in the province of Lampung, Indonesia, concur 10 points in the peace resolution document, a citizen contract agreement, that was the result of the mediation process. To resolve ethnic conflict, traditional cultural norms and laws should be followed in areas with discord. In this case, both the Lampungnese and the Balinese have their own local customs. Community policing rests on the belief that contemporary community problems require a decentralized and personalized police approach, one that draws citizens into the process of policing themselves. Therefore, the procedure in which society tries to establish harmony within their environment becomes important. Additionally, the role of citizens to build peace and order within their communities becomes a strategic way for citizens to become empowered. The concept of community policing means that government trusts society to guard their own environment and create peace independently via the police institution. However, in this case the process of community policing should still be under the supervision of Police Institutions.

Keywords

Community Policing, Ethnic Conflict, Lampungnese, Balinese, Indonesia

地域警備 インドネシアの民族紛争を解決するには
（ランプン人 vs バリ人のケーススタディ）

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要旨

インドネシアのランプン州に住むランプン人とバリ人は，市民の間の協定として調停手続きで合意された10点からなる和平文書を有する。彼らのあいだでの民族紛争の解決は，この分野での伝統的な文化的規範と法律に従うべきであることを意味している。この場合，ランプン人とバリ人はそれぞれ自分たちのローカルな知恵を持っている。コミュニティ・ポリシングとは，現代社会のコミュニティ・レベルの諸問題に対して，住民自らを治安・調停のプロセスに引き込むような，非中央集権的で住民に寄り添った警察のアプローチが必要であるという信念に基づいてい

る。したがって，ひとつの社会がどのように安寧秩序を構築しているかが重要であり，またそうした安寧秩序を構築する市民の役割こそが，住民の自治権強化への近道となる。コミュニティ・ポリシングの概念は，警察活動を通じて政府が社会環境を守り，平和を維持するために，住民コミュニティに治安維持機能の一部を委託する場合を意味する。ただし，コミュニティ・ポリシングのプロセス自体は，いぜんとして警察機関の監督下に置く必要がある。

キーワード
コミュニティ・ポリシング，民族紛争，ランプン人，バリ人，インドネシア

I. INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to present the effectiveness of community policing approach to solve ethnic conflict through analyzing an actual case of such conflict occurred in the province of Lampung, Indonesia in 2012.

The word "conflict" comes from the Latin word *configure*, which means 'to hit each other'. Its common usage today is as a social process between more than two persons or groups in which one party tries to get rid of the other party to destroy it or make it powerless. Conflict is the opposite of integration, and conflict and integration run as a cycle in the community. Controlled conflict will result in the integration. Otherwise, imperfect integration can create conflict. Social conflict can be interpreted in two ways. First, the perspective from those who believe that conflicts will always be present in all aspects of human interaction and social structure. Second, social conflict may realize itself as an open dispute as war, revolution, strike, and the resistance movement. Soerjono Soekanto (1990) mentions conflict as a disagreement or dispute, a process of person to person or a group, who strives to meet the goal of challenging the opposing party, accompanied by threats and or violence.

Ethnicity, or ethnic identity, according Parsudi Suparlan (1999) is "a primordial phenomenon that often becomes the main reference for anyone to identify themselves in interacting with others". Ethnicity is also a personal attribution obtained in his/her life through acculturation process and socialization. Common ethnic attributes include symbols that express or imply belief, taste, expression, language, body characteristics, expression of body movement, and various personality traits that characterize its ethnicity. Its appearance and existence in a social interaction allows the realization of individual ethnicity. In this case, ethnicity depends on environmental variables of interaction. Social interaction between ethnic groups with different history and social habits can also lead to ethnic conflict. Such a case really occurs in Indonesia, where inter-ethnic assimilation occurs due to process of domestic transmigration from one region to another, which is usually done on the population of Java island or other islands that tend to be dense. The domestic transmigration policy has been conducted in Indonesia since Dutch colonial period to reduce the poverty of over-population regions and to develop less populated regions.

Robert J. Trojanowicz developed the concept of community policing. It means a philosophy or a set of values that guide the task of policing, a strategy or a program or tactics.

The characteristics of this concept are that it contains the process of identifying, analyzing and solving problems, in which the responsibility of each unit is permanently assigned to a region, that the determination of boundaries that should not refer to the political system, and that it emphasizes decentralization and delegation of authority. The fundamental idea behind this concept is community involvement in policing problem-solving efforts from the planning phase until the assessment results (Mohammad, 2001).

Community policing is understood that the police should regard themselves as public servants (community advocates) as well as public partner in the problems they face. Basically it is about how to improve police and community relations, and to build public trust (social trust) to the police as an institution. Moreover, this is how to improve public consultation and cooperation with the community in identifying the prior issues of security, and then to improve the legitimacy and accountability of the police to assume responsibility through the function of *Kamtibmas* (to protect and serve the citizen environment). The concept of community policing is actually not a new concept in Indonesia. Philosophical values and community policing practices have long been grown and used by the police in the execution of his duty, especially to create law-abiding citizen. One of its simplest realizations is *siskamswakarsa* or better known as *siskambling*[1] in Indonesia.

Through community policing program, police approach is expected to enter into the stage where the entire potential prevention could be done with potential anticipation to change chaos into a better situation. Police officers are expected to conduct training in their respective territorial areas and to acknowledge that each area has a problem or conflict between people from different social background. Public awareness is also expected to play a role in keeping public order and security that cannot be created without the synergistic cooperation between the police and the community. This program is expected to create community participation in tackling any threats, interference, obstacles, either offense or crime that would disturb public order and security.

The following section II presents the general discussion about the importance of mediation in a social process and the idea of community policing, especially in the context of recent Indonesian social reform. The section III describes the historical and ethnological background of the ethnic conflict occurred in the province of Lampung, Indonesia, in 2012. The section IV discusses the dynamics of ethnic conflict and presents the actual case of conflict between Balinese and Lampungnese in the province of Lampung. The section V traces the peace-making process of the Lampung conflict and summarizes the effectiveness of community policing approach in such conflict solving.

II. Mediation in Community Policing Strategy

Social processes can be shaped in form of processes that combine (associative processes) and processes that divorce (dissociative processes). It is aimed at the realization of associative values such as social justice, love, harmony, and solidarity. In contrary, the dissociative social processes lead to the creation of negative values or asocial, such as hatred, hostility, selfishness, arrogance, conflict, division and so on. The associative social process can be named as positive process;

meanwhile dissociative social process can be called negative process. In connection with this, the associative social process can be used as an attempt to resolve the conflict (Hendro, 1984).

The first mediation concept is well known in the business world. In Indonesia, the concept of public *Musyawarah Mufakat* (deliberation and consensus) as life philosophy is used in many cases. Massive effort to solve the conflict done by the government, in this regard police as security guards and order, takes the middle way through mediation. This is because too many people who become perpetrators and the police will have difficulty to apply positive law. It is already weighing that the horizontal conflicts are comprehensive in a wider community so that the community needs to take a middle ground where both sides can accept the resolution well. Adopted concept is the concept of mediation as in cases of business or private.

Mediation is derived from the Latin word *Mediatio*, which is a way to resolve disputes using a mediator. In this case the function of a mediator is almost same as a conciliator. A mediator does not have the authority to give binding decisions; decision may merely be consultative. The dispute parties themselves are the one who must make the decision to stop the dispute. Resolution of those primordial conflicts could be done through mediation between two provoked ethnicity. Mediation or Restorative justice in Indonesia in its development has now become the opinion doctrine. The hope and desire for it indicates that punishment in the criminal justice system implemented so far have not managed to achieve the goals, both for the offender and the community at large. Therefore, there needs to be theoretical thoughts with other procedural law to be adopted. Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) model is such a solution concept, which is faster and simpler without having to hurt the values of justice. As democracy has been spread out since the era of autonomy in Indonesia, conflict solving through democratic process has been the conceptual basis of ADR. It contains the idea of establishing joint participation between offender, victim and community in solving a crime that is deemed fair to all parties (win-win). This method is considered applicable to indigenous conflict resolution in Lampung province especially, and Indonesian.

The required policy is not to hastily bring the case into the path of investigation, and to prefer the settlement through mediation or ADR models in which the two warring sides together can come to get justice. This may also be in line with the model of "Community Policing" which emphasizes both partnership and problem solving. Police as a part of the state government carries on several functions; maintaining security and public order, law enforcement, protection, shelter and service to the community. One of recent Indonesian police reform action is community policing. Under community policing, police must establish partnership with people in the district residents' community, allowing average citizens the opportunity to have input into the police process in exchange for their support and participation. Community policing rests on the belief that contemporary community problem require a new decentralized and personalized police approach that draws citizen into the process of policing themselves. With the continuous interaction further, the police can get together with the community to find a way out or solve social problems, especially the

security problems that occur in people's lives. With the on going interaction, the police will be constantly trying to reduce fear of crime to be a nuisance.

Community policing is no longer just a program and/or strategy but rather a philosophy that shows a paradigm shift from a conventional one into a new model of policing in civil society. This model essentially supposes community not merely as objects but rather as a partner. Problem solving (law abiding) is more of interest than just the formal or procedural handling. In public life, the values embodied in the concept of Community Policing are in fact not new but common. Policy of *Siskamswakarsa* or *Siskambling* is rooted from the sociocultural norms of Indonesian people, which tend to put social value over individualism. Continuous and spontaneous community safeguards have already been running and managed by local civil society. Public awareness has also been promoted through community empowerment under the guidance of local police officers. Certain cultural values can still be useful in the resolution of social problems at the local level. Values of mutual forgiveness in Indonesian society, for instance, are still believed as one of religious principles that need to be done.

The concept of community policing was launched, especially in developed countries, for the organization of police tasks, both in the maintenance of security and order and enforcement, which was previously done conventionally. The police tend to see themselves as a part of government so that even acts of repressive power approach is often taken on the duties and authority of the police. Although the principle of "to serve and protect" is emphasized, a centralized, homogeneous or uniform bureaucratic approach is part of police services. The style of policing encourages police to put the mandate of the central government and ignores local community approval to be served. In addition, the police tend to cultivate an attitude that presents itself as a highly formal result in the waning legitimacy of the police in the eyes of the public on the one side, and the decreasing public support for the police and the poor implementation of the task force's image on the other side.

Based on Law No. 2 of 2002 on the Indonesian National Police in accordance with Article 13, the Police have the main task of maintaining security and public order, enforce laws and provide protection, guidance and service to the community. As the implementation of security and order maintenance in relation to the social conflicts in article 15, paragraph 1, point (b) is one of the police authority to help resolve disputes of citizens who disturb public order. Based on Law No. 7 of 2012 on handling social conflict mandates that the handling of social conflicts ranging from prevention, cessation and post-conflict recovery is not only the responsibility of the security forces but also a shared responsibility between government, local government and the community. This also emphasizes conflict resolution not only through security approach but further through integrated approaches involving all the interests starting from the stage of prevention, cessation and post-conflict recovery. In the prevention phase, it can be carried out through efforts to maintain the peace in the community, develop a system of peaceful settlement of disputes, reduce the potential issue for conflict and establish an early warning system. On this stage of cessation, efforts could be done

through minimalizing the physical violence, establishing a state of conflict, emergency rescue measure, victim protection and assistance. While the post-conflict phase, it can be done through the efforts of reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction. Indonesian National Police is currently developing and implementing community policing, in accordance of Head Police Regulation No. 7 of 2008 on Guidelines for Basic Strategy and Implementation Task of Community Policing by the Police. In this case the police together with the community needs to identify and solve problems that occur in society. In their policing, police always try to reduce fear of crime, and emphasize crime prevention, and also seeks to engage citizens to increase the quality of live. Society certainly has the right and even duty to participate in maintaining security and order, because it is not only the task of the police alone.

Prerequisite instruments, which are required to establish communitu policing, include a permanent community policing personnel that has primary duty to become a model and safeguards a certain region and some additional personnel part of *Bhabinkamtibmas*[2] at *Polsek* (district Police Station in Indonesia). Conflict resolution done through community policing does not only facilitate the mediation of peace between conflicting ethnicities, but also become Indonesian Police's continuous preventive action toward the possibility of such conflicts in the future.

III. Transmigration, Lampungnese and Balinese Ethnic Principles

Transmigration as an Indonesian national policy has been known and conducted since 1950, almost 63 years ago in Indonesia. Initial idea of the transmigration came from the Dutch-East Indies government. Indonesian history noted that the transmigration program started when the Indonesian government coordinated to dispatch or move 23 families (77 persons) of Sukadana citizens, Begelen Sub-district, Central Java towards Gedong Tataan, in the northern Tandjungkarang City of Kerisidenan Lampung, Sumatera. Migration or population movement in Indonesia known as transmigration aims for equalizing the welfare and the development of all regions in Indonesia. The program aims to reduce the over-population in Java, Madura and Bali Islands,. According Pelzer the implementation period of resettlement during the last century can be divided into three periods: (1) the Dutch colonial era, 1905 – 1941, (2) period of Japanese occupation, 1942 – 1945, and (3) the period after the Independence Day of Indonesia, 1945 – 2005. The Dutch colonial era is divided into an experimental phase of colonization between the years 1905 – 1911, the period *Lampongsche volksbanks* in the period 1911 – 1929, and the world economic depression era between the years 1930 – 1941. The post-Independence of Indonesia can be divided into the period of Sukarno government (1945 – 1967), that of Soeharto's New Order government (1967 – 1998), and reform period (1998 – 2004) (Ana H., 1994).

At the beginning the transmigration program was promoted to create positive impact on reducing the population density of the Java Island, and to assist the development of non-robust economy areas. Transmigration was considered as a solution to balance the population distribution in Indonesia. Furthermore, the poverty of the majority of farmers in Java was considered to be a result of the inequality of land ownership, so that the resettlement was

seen as the appropriate solution to resolve land ownership crisis experienced by the farmers in Java. However it would also bring negative impact, especially on native residents who felt that the newcomers would control the land of their ancestors. Moreover, because of competition on scarce resources in the area, some migrants had no solidarity to live along with the natives and came arise a kind of tribal war based on different ethnic identity.

Lampung is one of massive transmigration destination in Indonesia. In the Dutch period, a lot of Javanese moved to Lampung. Now we can find many areas in Lampung named in Javanese language. In such ares the Javanese language is widely used today. In Lampung there are also villages similar to those in Bali. The name of the village, the language used, and the form of home building typically in Balinese style indicate it. This of course is the area of Balinese trans migrants. Javanese and Balinese people are the majority population of Lampung, surpassing the population of native Lampungnese people. Besides these main ethnic groups, the province of Lampung has Lomboknese, Padangnese, Palembangnese, Buginese, Acehnese and also some Arabian and Chinese descent as residents. With such ethnic diversity, the Lampung area can be prone as conflict areas between groups; in 2012, for example, there was conflict between Lampungnese and Balinese that evoked massive disaster.

Huge flow of transmigration around the 1980s made many Balinese move to Lampung. New Order government (Soeharto era 1966–1998) made Lampung as one of the prime location of transmigration. An inscription has been made as the proof of the success of transmigration program by Transmigration Museum in Lampung. Balinese who have not felt their luck on the island paradise (Bali Island) were willing to move thousands of miles to Lampung. Balinese people first came to Lampung around 1957 to live and work. Balinese migrants still retain their culture and tried to apply it in new areas. This is the reason why Balinese people make the symbol of regionalism in the home and in the occupied villages in Lampung, especially in the shape of the house and in constructing a place of worship for Hindus (the religion professed by the majority of the people on the Bali Island). In Bali Island Balinese people usually set up small communities called *Banjar* (a division of village). This confirms that ethnic identity cannot be left behind wherever they go. They will bring their ethnic identity wherever they lived or moved. Each ethnic group has different culture or customs. The following discussion will clarify the differences between ethnic principle as philosophy of life that embraced Lampungnese and Balinese.

A. Lampungnese

Lampung indigenous peoples are divided into two groups, namely Lampung *Pepadun* and Lampung *Sebatin*. *Pepadun* society consists of: (1) *Abung Siwo Mego* (*Unyai, Unyi, Subing, Uban, Tuha Son, Glow, Beliyuk, Selagai, Nyerupa*). Abung communities inhabit seven indigenous territories: Kotabumi, East Seputih, Sukadana, Labuan Maringgai, Jabung, Gunung Sugih, and Terbanggi. (2) *Mego Pak Tulangbawang* (*Umpu Puyang, Puyang Month, Aji Puyang, Puyang Tegamoan*). Tulangbawang communities inhabit four indigenous territories: Menggala, Mesuji, Panaragan, and Wiralaga. (3) *Pubian Telu* people (*Minak Patih Tuha* or *Manyarakat* people, *Minak Demang Lanca* or *Tambapupus* people, *Minak Handak Hulu* or *Bukujadi* people). Pubian

communities inhabit eight customary areas: Tanjungkarang, Balau, Bukujadi, Tegineneng, West Seputih, Padang Ratu, Gedungtataan, and Pugung. (4) *Sungkay-Waykanan Buay Five* (*Pemuka, Bahuga, Semenguk, Baradatu, Barasakti*, namely the five descendants of King *Tijang Jungur*). Sungkay-Waykanan communities inhabit nine indigenous territories: Negeri Besar, Ketapang, Pakuan Ratu, Sungkay, Bunga Mayang, Belambangan Umpu, Baradatu, Bahuga, and Kasui. While *Sebatin* society consists of: (1) *Peminggir Paksi Pak* (*Ratu Tundunan, Ratu Belunguh, Ratu Nyerupa, Ratu Bejalan di Way*). Peminggir communities inhabit eleven indigenous territories: Kalianda, Teluk Betung, Padang Cermin, Cukuh Balak, Way Lima, Talang Padang, Kota Agung, Semangka, Belalau, Liwa, and Ranau. (2) *Komering-Kayuagung*, which now includes the Province of South Sumatera. Lampung *Sebatin* was also named *Peminggir* (Edge) because they were on the edge of the west and south coastal area (Hadikusuma, 1985).

According to the holy book *Kuntara Raja Niti*[3], Lampungnese have the following philosophy: (1) *piil-pusanggiri* (rejecting doing ashamed activities according to religion and self-esteem), (2) *juluk-adok* (having personality in accordance with customary cultural title that he/she bears), (3) *nemui-nyimah* (visiting each other to stay in touch and receiving guest as a symbol of friendliness), (4) *nengah-nyampur* (active socially and not individualistic), and (5) *sakai-sambaian* (mutual help and mutual aid to other people members of society). In social relations, Lampungnese people or better known as *Ulun Lampung*, called *juluk* when a child. Once married, he/she wore an old name or title called adok for men and *inai* for women. Lampungnese daily life are very simple considering their main livelihood in farming, but they like to get praise and love to receive guests or *nemui*, and also to love giving gifts to relatives or *nyimah*. In addition to the fellow relatives, they also like to go visiting home or *negah*, like to get acquainted with each other or *nyapur*. The point is that Ulun Lampung uphold solidarity and love to socialize themselves. In facing problems, Ulun Lampung hold on: "*act of pi-il jadai wawai*" (must be good because of the sense of self-esteem) and "*act of pi-il menguwai jahlel*" (might become evil (has enemy) because of self-esteem). How Lampungnese reacts upon a conflict involving the dignity of their ethnic groups depends on how the conflicting counterpart shows their intention to solve the conflict among them. Lampungnese will show high tolerance, if the conflict is well mediated among them, but will defend what they believe as their "*pi'il*" if such an expectation is not met.

B. Balinese

Balinese people adhere to prevailing social status system according to *Catur Varna* (color). The word comes from Sanskrit word: *Catur* means four and *Varna* means colors derived from *Uric* word "Wr" (read: wri) which means to choose. It means as four of life choices or four divisions in life based on talent (in order) and skills (karma) of a person as well as the quality of work pursued as a result of education and development of talent supported by mental toughness facing a job. These four groups are: *Brahmana, Ksatria, Waisya* and *Sudra*. Brahmana, symbolized by the white color, is a functional group in society that every person emphasizes devotion in *swadharma* (functional group in Balinese word) on the field of religious spirituality. Ksatria is symbolized

by the red color. It is the functional group in society that every person focuses on devotion in *swadharma* on the areas of leadership, heroism, defense and security. Waisya, which is symbolized by the yellow color, is the functional group in society that every person focuses on his service in the field of public welfare (economic, industrial, etc.). Sudra is symbolized by the black color, which is the functional group in society that every person focuses his service in the field of labor. In the community life, the implementation of the system tends to mingle with another system called *Catur Wangsa* or blood derivatives, so that it looks like a kind of Indian caste system.

In Bali Island, Balinese generally recognize pecalang or indigenous police/guard. This is one of the efforts to resolve the problems resulting from deviant behavior or criminal violence through customary law. Balinese has philosophical principle to live peacefully with other ethnic groups in archipelago: Unity in Diversity or *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika-Tatwam Asi*, which means, "I" is you and you are I. Although, we are different we are still in a unity". There is also a proverb *Paras-Poros*, can be translated as attitude of tolerance in society, *Salulung-sabayantaka*, which can be translated as always together, even in difficult circumstances or happiness and to provide assistance to those in need. *Sagilik-saguluk*, translated as have the same intention. *Briuk Sepanggul* can be translated based on wisdom with the principles of mutual teaser, foster mutual and mutual compassion. Through these spirits of *paras-poros sarpanaya salulung sabayantaka, sagilik saguluk briuk sepanggul* (these are the value of Balinese to live peacefully), problematic issues can be mitigated by customary manners, which include the willingness to reconcile, accept and forgive each other.

IV. Primordial conflict between Lampungnese and Balinese

Leopold von Wiese and Howard Becker (Dexter, 1990) mention several points that may cause social conflicts occur as follows;

(1) Differences between individuals

Basically everyone has different characteristics. These differences are capable of causing social conflict. Differences of establishments and feelings of each person are perceived as the main drivers of social conflict.

(2) Cultural differences

Culture inherent to a person is able to bring conflict when colliding with other culture. Basically the cultural patterns affect the formation and development of one's personality. Therefore, the personality of one individual to another is different cross-culturally. For example, someone who lives on the mountain is different from the person who lives in the beach. These differences, of course, bring different patterns of thinking and attitudes of each individual that can lead to conflict between groups of people.

(3) Interests clash

Generally interest will appoint a desire or need. One is able to do anything to earn interest in order to achieve a prosperous life. Therefore, if there is a clash between two different interests, social conflicts can be ascertained.

(4) Social change

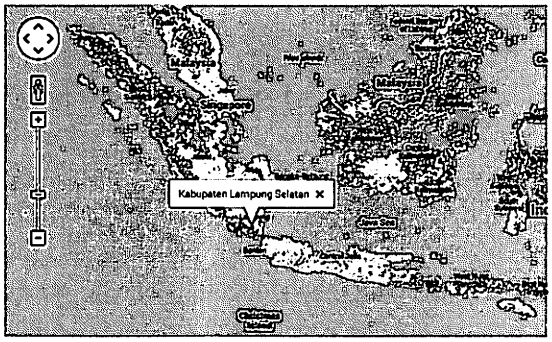
Rapid social change will temporarily change the values that exist in society that led to the establishment of intergroup differences in responding to the changes that occur. This

circumstance is able to bring a new conflict or social conflict; one example is the ethnic conflict.

According to Brown (1997), the word 'ethnic conflict' is often used flexibly. In fact, in some usage, the word is actually used to describe the type of conflict that does not at all possess an ethnic base. There are at least six things that must be met before a group can call themselves as 'ethnic community'. First, a group must have its own name. The absence of a specific name for a group will indicate the lack of a social identity that is solid enough to be referred as an ethnic community. Second, the people in the group must be convinced that they have a common ancestor. This belief is very important, and even more important than biological ties. Biological ties may exist, but not at the core of the belief, that a group has a common ancestor. Third, the people who were in the group must have the same social memory. The similarity is usually characterized by the presence of the similar myths and legends, which are passed on from one generation to the next orally. Fourth, the group must share the same culture. The similarity of culture can be seen in various combinations between language, religion, norms, customs, clothing, music, work of art, architecture, and even food. Fifth, the people who are in the group should feel bounded to a particular territory, especially territory they are occupying. And sixth, the people who are in the group should feel and think that they are part of the same group. Only after it, then a group can be referred as ethnic communities. While Brown mentions that some ethnic conflicts might not begin from the initiatives of people from certain ethnicity to intentionally create a conflict with other ethnicity, the case of Balinuraga indicated how something unrelated to ethnicity, in this case traffic incidents involving only two people, from two ethnics, triggered conflicts between the two ethnics in a larger scale. As the two ethnics, in this case Balinese and Lampungnese, were claiming to defend the dignity of their basic ethnic principles during the conflict, the conflict was no longer about traffic incidents, but the conflict between two ethnicities.

Ethnic conflict occurs spontaneously. It is unplanned and irregular accident, which involves mass populace movement between two sides that attacking each other. In general, the background of this sort of conflict may usually be a trivial and personal problem, which, then, in the course of extension, expands to be an ethnic issue. In such ethnic issue, conflicting groups hold most of the major role, because the main reason of conflict is usually to defend their habits or customs. Final settlement of the conflict is also difficult to be predicted: there may come a massive disaster or a sudden peace with the absence of a criminal conviction.

This kind of conflict once occurred between villagers of neighborhood Balinuraga (Balinese people), District Way Panji and villagers of Agom and Negeri Pandaan (Lampungnese people), Distcrict Kalianda on October 27th – 29th, 2012 in South Lampung, Lampung Province, Indonesia. The horizontal social conflict of these two ethnic groups in South Lampung not only brought about massive destruction on villagers' dwelling space, but also resulted in the evacuation of 1,108 villagers, among which 247 were children. It also led to the death of 14 villagers and the injury of 9 villagers. A total of 166 units of houses in the village of Sidoreno Balinuraga, 11 motorcycles, 1 minibus, 2 jeeps, and a school



Attached Picture 1. The location of conflict in South Lampung, Lampung Province, Indonesia as research area
(Source:https://www.google.com/maps/@-4.4880174,112.3076246,5z).

building were all burnt. The conflict was initiated by the traffic accident of two young Lampungnese girls from Agom and Negeri Pandaan. Then the Balinese villagers of Balinuraga helped them. Unfortunately, this act was accused to be a kind of sexual harassment, and then extended to civil war between the Balinese and the Lampungnese.

This conflict occurred due to the lack of harmony in the relationship between the immigrants, namely the Balinese, and indigenous people, Lampungnese or *Ulun* Lampung. Residents of the island of Bali have come to Lampung since the Dutch colonial period as a homesteader. After the Indonesian independence, the number of the Balinese migrants increased. Most of them were victims of the eruption of Mount Agung, Bali, in 1963. Some others, following the group project in the national policy of transmigration, came to Lampung during the Old Order and New Order era. When the party of the Balinese people began to settle, the seeds of friction sprung up. Attrition was driven by the economic gap between immigrants and native groups. Newcomers generally were successful as a businessman and farmer of oil palm plantations, while many local residents worked just as sharecroppers. Local residents also accused settlers of the Balinese to be reluctant to mingle with the native dwellers. Balinese residents built a village as same as their native villages in the Island of Bali, completed with Hindu worship and Balinese cultural center, which were regarded as a symbol of reluctance to mingle with the native society. Balinese people carried out Hindu religious worship such as *Nyepi* (Balinese Hindu new year) and *Ngaben* (cremation ceremony), which were also considered to interfere with other peoples' activities around. Religious and cultural differences between Lampungnese who embraces Islam and Balinese people who embraces Hinduism, causes dissent and tension between these two ethnic groups. Strained seed can easily explode into clashes, even by trivial causes. This is what happened in the latest clashes in Balinuraga village. The clashes occurred because of emerging issues that the youth of the Balinuraga villagers harassed two girls from Agom villagers.

It can be analyzed that this ethnic conflict occurred between Lampungnese and Balinese contains 4 main indicators. The first indicator is heredity. Lampung people are familiar with the term '*sekelik*' in the bond of kinship. This means that they bound to each other, that if one family is disturbed or in need of assistance, it is compulsory as good relatives to give help and support. Social concern arises between them regardless of whether the action as a form of social concern that they did it good or bad and harm others. The second indicator is the caste like social strata that illustrates one of the customs still adhered to by the Balinese people in their new area. Caste is a division of degrees or position of a person in Balinese society, as well as social concern in Lampungnese,

caste association adopts the same, when one of the members at the same caste attacked, then members of the same caste will help. The third indicator is religious differences, including the differences in habits of life, how to dress, how to eat, as well as the religious ceremonies or festivities conducted by the two ethnics groups. For examples, Balinese habits in raising pigs around their residence, where pigs are one of the types of animals that they daily consume. While the majority of Lampungnese are Muslim and pork are forbidden for them, so their habit in raising pigs around the environment is disruptive. The religious ceremony for Balinese like *Ngaben* is considered disruptive and cause noisy sound for the citizens of Lampungnese. Otherwise, Lampungnese also have custom ceremony like *Begawi*, which considered disruptive for Balinese. The last indicator is the life philosophy embraced by each groups, Lampungnese with *piil pasenggiri* and Balinese with *salulung sabayantaka*. Philosophy of each ethnicity, explains their social concern to their own groups members, so if there is a problem with one of the members of ethnic, it means getting trouble with the others member, it declare that they are bound in ties of kinship.

V. Case Analysis

The Lampung incident in 2012 proceeded as follows. Precautions have been taken by the police at the beginning of the ethnic conflict in Lampung since it first happened. Initially, it alleged a traffic accident between two Lampungnese girls in Balinese village. At first, Balinese villagers intended to help them, but this helping action caused sexual harassment issue. Actually, the police had started to reconcile both sides and proceeded their incidence report.

When the conflict heated up and the group of Lampungnese attack Balinese, resulting the death of 14 villagers and the injury of 9 villagers, and 166 units of houses, 11 motorcycles, 1 minibus, 2 jeeps, and a school building burnt over. The police moved to the location and used arms to disperse an angry mob. They also relocated and secured Balinese to the Dormitory of Police Academy in Bandar Lampung from Lampungnese's attack. They evacuated 1,108 Balinese villagers, among which 247 were children. In the process of reconciliation, police always becomes caretaker in every dispute resolution including religious leaders, community, government and stakeholders to reach the peace agreement.

Chronology of peace between the two conflicting ethnic is quite long. At the beginning, police had principally processed the traffic accident based on legal procedures, such as criminal evidence from witnesses. However, the dissatisfaction from one side toward the legal process triggered the conflict between individuals to become conflict between two ethnic groups, in which the individuals belong to. Police officers, in this case *Bhabinkantibmas*, from the two conflicting areas firstly tried to mediate the peace by involving leaders from the two ethnics. However, the conflict remained and even got bigger, so that the Police initiated the evacuation for Balinese people in order to avoid fatal issues. The further mediation later involved not only the leaders and representatives from the two ethnics, as well as religious leaders, but also government. Finally, it's ended with 10 points of peace resolution agreement between these two ethnic groups. On Sunday, November 4th of 2012, the representatives of the two villages sign a peace

treaty in the Hall of Balai Keratun, office of Lampung Province Governor, Lampung.

Tenth of Balinuraga-Agom Peace agreement are as follows:

(1) Both parties agreed to keep the security, order, harmony, unity and peace among the ethnic groups of the *Khagom Mufakat*, as the philosophy of South Lampung Regency that we love, and also support the implementation programs of Republic of Indonesia development.

(2) Both parties agreed not to repeat the anarchic actions on behalf of the Ethnicity, Religion and Race (*SARA*), which will cause anxiety, fear, hatred, and loss of material, especially for both ethnic groups, and generally for the wider community.

(3) Both sides agreed the cases of disputes, fights, and disputes caused by personal problems, group, and/or social class to be resolved directly by the honorable persons, group leaders and/or leading group.

(4) Both sides agreed when honorable persons, group leaders and/or leading group are not able to resolve the problems as listed in point 3 (three), it will be called for further discussion and consensus among community leaders, traditional leaders, religious leaders, youth leaders local and village government officials.

(5) Both sides agreed when resolution of problems as listed in point 3 (three) and 4 (four) is not reached, then community leaders, traditional leaders, religious leaders, youth leaders and local government officials control village and villagers, and handed the matter to the authorities in charge in accordance with the legislation in Law.

(6) If some unscrupulous citizens do brutal actions, say assaulting words and show efforts of hostilities and unrest, The First and/or Second Party is willing to provide guidance to those concerned, and if the coaching is not successful, then they are given traditional sanctions such as eviction from South Lampung regency.

(7) Liability sanctions referred to in point 6 (six) shall also apply to citizens of the south Lampung, including other ethnic groups living in South Lampung regency.

(8) As for the incident that have occurred between two parties on October $27^{th}-29^{th}$ of 2012 which resulted in the death and injury of some members, the two sides agreed not to conduct any litigation with evidenced by a statement from the victim family, and this term means that the police also agreed to stop the investigation related to the loss of life on both side.

(9) The Balinese community in the Balinuraga village should be able to socialize and live in peaceful coexistence with any citizen in the district of South Lampung, especially with adjacent communities of the Balinuraga village, Way Panji District.

(10) Both parties agree to be obliged to disseminate the contents of this peace treaty with their communities.

Both Balinese and Lampungnese concur 10 points of peace resolution document that has been made in mediation process as the citizen contract. Resolving indigenous conflict means that we should obey the traditional cultural norm and law in those areas. In this case, both have their own local wisdom. Lampungnese has been famous for *Piil Pesenggiri*, meaning as pride and honor emerging the behavior of thinking and way of live. It also explains that the ability of living together in harmony is one of lessons learned from *Piil*. Bali people is also

famous with *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, Tatwam Asi*, meaning as "I is I and you is you, even we are different we are still one" and *Salunglung Sabayantaka*, meaning as how it is important to live together in harmony. Therefore, how the society tries to establish harmony of theirs own environments become important. It is the role of citizens to build peace and order around society, and it become the strategic way on citizen empowerment. Last but not least, the concept of community policing itself, where the government through the Police give trust to the society to guard their own environment and create peace independently, although the process of community policing itself is still under supervision of Police Institution.

VI. The Success of Community Policing

Particularly, community-policing strategy was the right solution to resolve the ethnic conflict in Lampung. It was applied because of three conditions; the first is that the ethnic conflict occurred in the region of the adjacent or neighboring areas of two ethnic groups. It can be categorized as "cases at limited locations". Therefore, according to community-policing strategy, Police Department divides "police working area" based on ethnic division of residents to do surveillance and development of society as efforts to prevent the conflict or chaos in their own area. Next condition is that it did not include the stakeholder such as government, company or public institutions as the main actors. The last one is that it needed immediate solution from the government, as the direct stakeholder, is required to take action through securing conflict territories and mediating peace resolution. Therefore, local government, District Police Station and officers (*Polsek and Babinkamtibmas*) had to provide security of conflict areas and became intermediary towards conciliation.

Community policing and *Bhabinkamtibmas* officers right now are in the front line in the South Lampung District, and society there nowadays are starting to believe the police performance again. There is now the Pilot Project, which sends one *Bhabinkamtibmas* officer to each village to minimize any problems in society. The police are no longer looking at people as passive and just as information resources, but now as a partner in preventing and tackling crime. Along with the placement of the *Bhabinkamtibmas* in each village, the society can feel security through partnership with police, while the police can also realize the revitalization of public confidence to the police.

In order to build public trust in the police, Indonesian police should begin from the noble soul of the police itself, and should think how they would give excellent service to the community. The police must be transparent, accountable, and open to the public. Trust will begin to arise when members of the society witness the allegedly, suggestions, feedback, and appreciation they receive. In maintaining public trust for the entire police units, Indonesian police should also be involved in activities such as visiting people in their homes to provide suggestions for security, to help and support the implementation of *siskamling* groups (neighborhood guards) and regular meetings of the community, to conduct activities to get information about crime and revisiting the people who become resources to check the latest cases, to collect public opinions, and to listen to the voices of local officials, community leaders, community groups and local communities.

Community policing is also very necessary in order to provide the ability for police to respond adequately and quickly as is needed by citizens over their environment security. Community policing are necessary to be taken, for the current employment rate of the Indonesian National Police still far from ideal conditions, namely 1:650 (means as 1 police officer for 650 citizens) although the ideal condition, according to UNDP is 1:400. The reality on the ground shows that policing practices in Indonesia today generally tend to isolate the police from the communities they are serving. The fact certainly has an impact on the performance of the police to conduct a efficient crime control. Therefore, the implementation of community policing is needed to make room for the law enforcement officials to improve relations with citizens as a primary partner. Conflict resolution on traditional way becomes a supporter of peacekeeping efforts so that people can secure themselves from the fear of communal violence. This is consistent with the one of Indonesian national philosophy, *Musyawarah Mufakat* (deliberation and consensus).

[Notes]

[1] *Siskamswakarsa* (*Sistem Keamanan Swakarsa*) or *Siskambling* (*Sistem Keamanan Lingkungan*) is a system of creating environment security that done independently or self-innate by public in Indonesia.

[2] *Bhabinkamtibmas : Bhayangkara bintara pembina keamanan dan ketertiban masyarakat* (police officer at district Police Station) – It is like the *Koban* in Japan

[3] Holy book of Kuntara Raja Niti is a custom book manuscript that became a reference for the customs Lampung. This manuscript book is used almost every sub-ethnics of *Ulun* Lampungnese, both Pepadun and Coastal.

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