

## Meeting at LIPI, August 9 2006

### Presentation by Rachael Diprose

- 1 Rachael Diprose presented the preliminary results of her doctoral work in the districts of Donggala and Poso. Donggala and Poso were in many ways similar but Donggala had been relatively peaceful while Poso had suffered serious violent conflict.

#### Donggala:

- There was greater ethnic than religious consciousness while the opposite was true in Poso;
- Conflicts rarely escalate, but were stopped quickly;
- Conflicts were mainly related to natural resources, and sometimes to youth revenge.
- The elites of different religions were well incorporated into local politics, unlike Poso.
- There were some complaints of ethnic marginalisation;
- The Districts always had a Moslem and/or a local as head.
- There were few avenues for ethnic or religious mobilization;
- The role of the military was small, unlike Poso;
- *Adat* (community) structures were well respected;
- There was quick action by local religious or *adat* leaders to problems;
- State and non-state actors work together when violence begins to escalate.

#### Poso:

- Religious identity was more important than ethnic, though the two were intertwined;
- There were perceptions of inequalities (Moslem/Christian and sometimes among ethnic groups) in land and employment in the civil service, government contracts and political positions, but NOT in health, education and income;
- There were attacks on religious symbols, which were critical triggers for violence;
- Some argued that the elites used violence to divert attention from corruption;
- Violence changed form over time. Later it was possibly instigated by the military to sustain their role;
- Neither the police nor army reacted to violence;
- There were links between elites and mobilization; the more the mobilization the more the aid flows but with corruption only 30% reached people;
- There was a large and well structured organization on the Christian side, but Moslems were fragmented. They received more outside support.
- There were links with the military on both sides.
- Local action to stop violence was not enough, nor that of the security forces;
- In general there was less reaction than Donggala to day by day events;
- Most efforts towards violence consisted of attempting to stop the violence, not to address the root causes;
- In the current post-conflict discourse, there is talk about amnesty but not about justice over past crimes.

#### Questions:

Frances Stewart asked Rachael why the elites had such different roles in Donggala and Poso, making peace in one but not the other.

Graham Brown asked whether Rachael's interview results were affected by the fact that in one case there had been conflict. Another participant asked about the role of the Church.

Rachael Diprose replied to FS that in Poso the elites had long-standing grievance from being marginalized, but not in Donggala. There had been various attempts to engage people in violence in Donggala by Christians and Moslems, which had not worked. One motive in Poso was corruption – major corruption cases were quickly followed by violence as a diversion. The military has always had a big role in Poso which was strategic from a military perspective because it was resource rich, but not Donggala – hence their desire to maintain their role there. She agreed with Graham that there was a problem with retroactive interviews, but she hoped to overcome it by taking a long perspective and using documentary sources. She noted that there were mixed views about the role of the Church.

### **Presentation by Riwanto Tirtosudarmo**

His intended paper was on decentralization in Central Sulawesi and the possible split of the province into two.

He discussed the history of the idea of splitting Central Sulawesi into two provinces, Central and East Sulawesi. The middle belt of Sulawesi is a contested region, without strong identities (unlike the North and the South). The current proposal echoed a Dutch proposal. In the New Order, successive governors had always come from the military and initially were not from the area, but local governors were appointed from 1980. The local elite pressed for a new province following fighting in the area. The paper would explore the history and motives for such a division.

### **2 Questions**

Frances Stewart asked whether the religious and ethnic differences were cross-cutting or overlapping.

Graham Brown asked whether he agreed that the point of the E Sulawesin project was so that Poso could become a province. Another participant wanted more elaboration on the role of elites.

Riwanto replied that neither ethnicity nor religion were major factors in campaigning for a new province; most people were Moslems. The people were divided by loyalties to small collective identities. The political parties were important. Political consensus was needed to establish a new province, but the parties were divided.

## **Meeting at LIPI, August 11 2006**

### **Presentation of PMB-CRISE Research Grant recipients**

1. Cheng Ho Mosque: Indigenising Chinese Culture, Distantiating from the State Political Hegemony (Akh Muzaki).

Background: During the New Order period (1966-1998), state control over ethnic Chinese was very tight. Thus, ethnic Chinese were identified primarily with economic activities. In the wake of the collapse of the New Order in 1998, there have been attempts to re-promote long-suppressed ethnic Chinese identities into the Indonesian socio-cultural sphere, shifting the realm from political identities to socio-religious and cultural identities. One of the best examples of this is the establishment of the Cheng Ho mosque in Surabaya by an organisation of ethnic Chinese Muslims (PITI).

Aims: This research aims to examine the relationship between the ethnic Chinese-based Cheng Ho mosque in Surabaya and the state. How do Chinese Muslims negotiate their identity as a Muslim and an ethnic Chinese in relation to the maintenance of their Chinese cultural identities through the establishment of the Surabaya-based Cheng Ho mosque, within wider Indonesian culture and to the state political hegemony over Chinese descendant political rights.

Feedback on this research from audience, points to consider:

- Is it normal for the Cheng Ho mosque to be aligned with NU or Muhammadiyah?
- How do other groups such as NU Muhammadiyah and local leaders see the mosque -- make sure it is analysed from without as well as within
- Examine the question of how the larger Muslim community see Chinese Muslims
- Also talk to ordinary Muslims and what this tells you about the structure of the Cheng Ho Mosque as well as social relations within the Muslim community
- Consider also that there are different forms of architecture to be considered between Surabaya and Semarang
- In the paper, need to bring it back to the citizenship debate more

2. Pengaruh Pesantren terhadap kebijakan pemerintah daerah: Studi kasus penerapan Syari'at Islam di Kabupaten Tasikmalaya, Jawa Barat (Lindra Darnela)

Translation: The influence of Pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) over regional government policy: a case study of the adoption of Syariah in the Tasikmalaya District in West Java

Background: At the end of the New Order period in 1998, there were ideas throughout the regions to adopt Islamic law (Syari'at) in certain districts. Since 1999, there have been moves in the national political sphere to return to the Jakarta Charter which originally proposed that Indonesia become an Islamic state and amending the constitution. Although such moves have been unsuccessful. Is this the result of a fundamental economic weakness or fragile social ties?

Following to Independence, SM. Kartosuwiryo declared the Indonesian Islamic State (NII) in Tasikmalaya. In the post-New Order period, the discourse on formalizing Islam also arose, and Syari'at Law was ratified through Regional Regulation No.3 (2000) in Tasikmalaya.

Aim: This research aims to examine contribution of *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) and the extent of their influence as a religious institution in the ratification of Islamic law in Tasikmalaya District in West Java, Indonesia.

Feedback from the audience:

- Narrow the scope of this research as it is too wide. Just look at the role of the pesantren in the release of the perda.
- Don't forget this is an issue of politics not of interpretation of religion.
- Need to examine how many pesantren are there in the region, and which of these actually have influence
- Need to examine how the influence is exerted – through political parties, Muslim organizations, other actors

- Think about it the other way too – which pesantren have been co-opted by the local powers? What is the role of the Kyai in this process?
  - What was the impact of the Tasikmalaya riots?
  - Are there any differences between *pesantren* in terms of who supports the perda and who doesn't?
3. Relasi Preman – Militer di Kota Pelajar: Ingatan Masyarakat Yogyakarta Tentang Peristiwa Penembakan Misterius 1983 (Yustina Devi Ardiani)

Background: One of the ways of looking at the strength of the military in Indonesia is through the relationship between the military and *preman* (local thugs) – a term for describing a group of people who are often identified with criminal activities. The military can become both friends and enemies of *preman*. During 1983, the military strength of the New Order over the *preman* was demonstrated through the *Petrus* or mysterious shootings in Yogyakarta. This was also known as the Eradication of Crime Operation (OPK). Thousands of people considered to be *gali* (wild gangs of youths) were murdered. The community affected both directly and indirectly have different memories of this time.

Aims: This research aims to examine how the community in Yogyakarta remember the mysterious shootings in 1983. It also examines why the military need to build special relations with the *preman*, both as friends and enemies. Finally the research aims to examine the pattern of relations being built between the military and the *preman* in the New Order period.

Feedback from the audience:

- What are the links between theft and gambling? Does an increase in theft lead to a crackdown on gambling?
- What types of motives are you looking at?
- Who are the bandits?
- Victims are not always a good source of information for answering these questions, so talk to other sources as well
- Don't forget that in 1983 'Jasa Gali' thugs (Gang anak liar) were used by Golkar for elections
- See the relation between the military/police and the Gali, not just the military
- Also look at the Komnasham research on *Petrus* where the military and police actually admitted to orchestrating the mysterious killings
- Questions you can ask are: how did they torture their victims and what was the condition of the victims when they were found – this will tell you something about whether there were security forces links
- In the *Petrus* killings lots of people were shot from a short distance – 10-60cm, not only in Yogya but also in East Java – indicating they were more military style executions
- In Suharto's biography there are also references to the use of shock therapy
- Don't forget to examine what the opinion was at the time of the killings – 'good', and their approval of extra-judicial killings. The community accepted this.
- Is there a relationship between the killings in 1999, 2000, and later years?
- Think about how you could use newspapers to create an incident profile.

4. Carving out of new regions and conflicts of control of Pekurehua communal grazing lands in the North Lore Sub-district in the Poso District (Dahniar, Bantaya)

Background: There are 13 adat communities in North Lore which is comprised of 90% plateau lands and 10% mountainous areas. The community are mainly hunters

and livestock farmers. The adat communities manage their lands and their lives through communal law and customary relations. Their communal lands have been affected by four periods of agrarian law from Colonial times, through the Old and New Orders and the current reform era. The changes have brought about conflicts between the community and the state over land rights, and the community and the PT Hasfarm plantations company. Problems surrounding the communal lands have intensified due to unclear legislation, government land appropriation policies, and more recently district and sub-district splitting under the new decentralization laws. Such changes have become problematic as they are splitting up custom and tradition communities, and they are concerned they will face further restrained access to their communal lands if they fall within new but other administrative sub-district authority. This is affecting their livelihoods and community relations

**Aims:** This research aims to examine the impact on local law from the conflict over land control between the Napu community and the PT Hasfarm plantations company. It also aims to examine the how district and sub-district splitting has impacted on internal conflicts in the region. Furthermore, the research aims to examine the role of both state and communal law in resolving the conflict mentioned above.

Feedback on this research from audience, points to consider:

- Make sure that both representatives from the state and the community are respondents in the research
- Try not to get too bogged down in the legal frameworks and focus more on the conflict trajectories itself. That is to say, don't get too bogged down in legal history.

#### 5. Struggling from the Ruins of Life: Womens Voices for Peace Building and Reconciliation in Poso

**Background:** Most of the studies on conflict and violence pay little attention to gender relations. Women in the conflict areas are often described as passive actors who become the most vulnerable victims of the conflict. The voices of women in the Poso conflict have remained silent or not articulated, yet women played a dominant role dealing with the destruction of public facilities during the armed conflict.

**Aim:** This study intends to examine women's initiatives in promoting reconciliation and peace building in Poso. The main question of the study is how far women have taken part in creating a process of reconciliation within their society. Specifically, the study will address several problems as follows:

1. How do women perceive the conflict? Why?
2. How do they imagine the constitution of their society in the post-conflict sphere?
3. How do women engage in peace building? In what ways do they participate?
4. What activities do they create and engage with to shape reconciliation and social justice? What are their strategies to achieve the goals? What are their constraints?

Feedback from the audience:

- Make sure that women are the main interviewers
- Don't forget to look at men and how men perceive women's roles
- Be careful not to fall into the trap that women are the assumed peace-builders, as this places greater burden on them when often they have lost their husbands and are the sole breadwinners.