

CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION BETWEEN BALINESE AND LAMPUNG ETHNIC IN REALIZING SUSTAINABLE PEACE IN BALINURAGA VILLAGE, WAY PANJI DISTRICT, LAMPUNG SELATAN REGENCY

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Abstract – This article analyses the various factors that caused latent conflict in Balinuraga to be manifest conflict, also how conflict transformation is carried out to change conflictual conditions to be harmonious, destructive to constructive. Indonesian Survey Circle (LSI) noted that Lampung entered into five (5) regions with the worst levels of discrimination after the reformation. So, the researcher feels the need to raise the theme of conflict transformation in Balinuraga as the title and subject matter of this paper. This research was conducted using qualitative methods by collecting data through interviews, observation and documentation. The researcher used several theories and concepts, such as Conflict Theory, Conflict Transformation Theory, Cooperation Theory, Social Identity Theory, ABC Triangle Concept Galtung Conflict, SAT Concept, and Peace Concept. The results showed that conflict in Balinuraga was triggered by juvenile delinquency, extended with the issue of ethnicity and arrogance between groups as an accelerator, and was motivated by transmigration policies and the issue of economic inequality as structural factors. Conflict transformation efforts are carried out in four dimensions, namely personal, relational, cultural, and structural in order to realize sustainable peace and national security.

Keywords: conflict, conflict transformation, ethnicity, culture, and peace

Introduction

Various chronological perspectives arose due to the emergence of violent conflict in Balinuraga, South Lampung, October 2012. Based on the 2012 SNPK data, The Habibie Center, that violent conflict that was able to mobilize the local population of Lampung from the villages around Way

Panji District and throughout Lampung Province, triggered by an incident of sexual harassment committed by Balinuraga youth against two Lampung girls, named Nurdiyana Dewi (18 years), a resident of Agom Village Kalianda District, and Emiliya Elisa (17 years), a resident of the Kali Pandan Village, Kalianda District, Saturday 27 October 2012 around 17.00

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The chronology of the violent conflict in Balinuraga began when two Lampung girls, Diana and Emi, rode on motorbikes after shopping for make up equipment at a minimarket in Patok-Sidoharjo Village, Way Panji District. On the way home, both of them passed a group of Balinuraga youths riding a bicycle (SNPK data noted there were 10 Balinuraga youths). Not unexpectedly a young man tried to hold Emi's thigh. Emi, whose position was held by Diana, tried to brush it off. However, because of the greater number of young people, Diana's focus and balance dissipated so that her motorcycle fell down.⁵

Then, crowds of people who came from neighbouring villages prepared to give lessons to the Balinuraga youths who were considered outrageous and insulted pi'il or Lampung tribal pride.⁶ This is one of the reasons why the conflict became enlarged, namely in the order of their social life, Lampung people hold the principle of Pi'il Pesenggiri which places pride in the highest position. So, when they feel that their self-esteem has been hurt by another group, there will be a

great possibility of social friction that triggers a manifest conflict.

The news spread faster than expected, on Sunday, October 28, 2012, hundreds of people gathered again at the intersection of Jalan Way Harong. This time the crowd arrived from outside South Lampung. They attacked and finally the conflict was unavoidable, as a result, three died. On the third day, Monday, October 29, 2012, violent conflict in a large scale was increasingly preventable by the police and the Indonesian national army (TNI), which amounted to 2,100 personnel, while the number of masses reached tens of thousands. Finally, the conflict took a significant toll and substantial material losses.

The occurrence of inter-ethnic violent conflict in Balinuraga, Way Panji, South Lampung showed that the social structure that was built has not been strong enough to sustain and strengthen social integration as a pluralistic nation.

As matter of fact, the fragile structural foundations of social life in Lampung Province was reinforced by the results of surveys conducted by two leading institutions, namely the

⁴ Peace and Policy Review, "Indonesian Violence Map (September-December 2013) and Intergroup Conflict in Indonesia", The Habibie Center, March 6, 2014 Edition, p. 14.

⁵ Budisantoso Budiman & Oyos HN, Saroso, *Jurnalisme Damai-Lampung*, (Bandar Lampung: AJI Bandar Lampung, 2012), p. 4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

Indonesian Survey Circle (LSI) and The Habibie Center.

LSI and the Denny JA Foundation released their research results that Lampung entered into five regions with the worst level of discrimination after reform, after the Muslim-Christian Conflict in Maluku; ethnic Dayak and Madura conflict in Sampit, West Kalimantan; violence against ethnic Chinese in 1998, in Jakarta; and violence against Ahmadiyah followers in Mataram.⁷

The ethnic background conflict in South Lampung which lasted for three days, 27-29 October 2012, 14 people were killed, 13 seriously injured and 1,700 people fled to the State Police School (SPN) in Kemiling, Bandar Lampung. While material losses reached IDR. 24.88 billion, and as many as 532 damaged houses were burned.⁸

The Habibie Center through SNPK (National System for Violence Monitoring) released data that based on the distribution of its territory, identity-based inter-group violence was dominant in three provinces, namely Papua, West Nusa Tenggara and Lampung. Lampung

Province was included in the category of the region with the highest incidence of fatalities compared to other provinces.⁹

Based on the facts above, it is important to conduct research on conflict transformation efforts carried out in Balinuraga, South Lampung in order to realize sustainable positive peace. At least there were several reasons why this research was considered important, namely: 1) Riots in Balinuraga caused deadly effects and substantial material losses; 2) conflicts of identity did not only involve trans migrants and local residents but also other tribes; 3) the complexity of the relationship between migrants and local residents; 4) solutions that have never been completed; and 5) the complexity of the sources of conflict.

Therefore, some research questions appear and must be answered, as follows:

1) How can the conflict in Balinuraga, South Lampung, escalate from latent conflict to manifest conflict? and 2) What are the efforts to transform the conflict in Balinuraga District WayPanji, South Lampung Regency in realizing sustainable peace?

⁷ Denny J.A, *Menjadi Indonesia Tanpa Diskriminasi: Data, Teori, dan Solusi*, (Jakarta: Inspira.co, 2014), p. 44.

⁸ Denny JA Foundation and LSI Community, "Dicari Capres 2014 yang Melindungi

Keberagaman", Press Conference Material, 23 December 2012; accessed on August 4, 2018.

⁹ Peace and Policy Study, op. cit., p. 9-10.

Research Method

The author used a qualitative method. In the "Social Research Method" book Alan Bryman defines qualitative research as a research strategy that focuses on the use of words rather than the use of quantification data in the process of analysis and data collection. Data collection is carried out through interview, observation and documentation techniques.

Conceptual Framework

Several theoretical frameworks and concepts were proposed as the basis of thinking and analytical tools: Conflict Theory, Conflict Transformation Theory, Social Identity Theory, Cooperation Theory, SAT concept, Peace Concept, and ABC Triangle Concept Galtung Conflict.

Conflict Theory

Etymologically, conflict comes from Latin "con" which means "together" and "fligere" which means "collision."¹⁰ Sedangkan, Soerjono Soekanto defines conflict as a process of achieving goals and

interests by weakening the opposing party, without regard to prevailing norms and values.¹¹

Dahrendorf himself sees society in two forms, namely conflict and consensus. According to him, society will not experience conflict if there is no prior consensus. For example, group A and group B will not be involved in conflict because they have never lived together and do not know each other. Likewise, the conflict can lead us to the consensus. For example, the cooperation or alliance currently being built by the United States and Japan is the result of a consensus that was built after being involved in conflict and major war during World War II.¹²

Through the perspective built by Conflict Theory, it was analysed how the conflicts that occurred in Balinuraga, Way Panji, South Lampung were able to bring positive changes in the existing social structure.

ABC Triangle Galtung Conflict

In the book, "Peace by Peaceful Means", Galtung formulates that conflict

¹⁰ Elly M. Setiadi and Usman Kolip, *Pengantar Sosiologi Pemahaman Fakta dan Gejala Permasalahan Sosial: Teori, Aplikasi, dan Pemecahannya*, (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2011), p. 345.

¹¹ Soerjono Soekanto, *Kamus Sosiologi*, (Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 1993), p.99.

¹² Selvie M. Tumengkol, "Teori Sosiologi Perspektif tentang Teori Konflik dalam Masyarakat Industri", Scientific Work of Sam Ratulangi University, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Manado, 2012.

is a triadic building composed of three elements: C (*conflict*) = A (*attitudes*) + B (*behaviour*) + C (*contradiction*).¹³ Conflict and violence can be said to be the antithesis of peace. As with peace, conflict is also a social phenomenon involving relationships or relations between one individual and another, individuals with groups, and groups with other groups. This pattern of relations arises because of the *contradiction* between *attitude* and *behaviour*.¹⁴

Johan Galtung's Conflict ABC Triangle concept was used to analyse the process of escalating conflict in Balinuraga, Way Panji, South Lampung, from initially latent conflict to manifest conflict on October 27-29, 2012.

The concept of peace

Peace in Galtung's perspective is classified into two categories, namely *negative peace* and *positive peace*.¹⁵ Negative peace is defined as a state of peace without the absence of organized collective violence. While positive peace refers to a condition where there are values that are generally agreed upon by each community entity in

a particular area, such as free of fears, economic growth and social welfare, cooperation, freedom from exploitation, there are equal rights and opportunities, justice, pluralism, participation, freedom of action and other forms of social justice.¹⁶

The concept of peace was used as a tool and indicators to see whether the process of transforming inter-ethnic social conflicts in Balinuraga, Way Panji, South Lampung is going well so as to bring about sustainable peace.

Conflict Transformation

To analyse the conflict in Balinuraga, Way Panji, South Lampung, the theory of conflict transformation was used as a stage of post-conflict reconstruction that arose after conflict resolution efforts were carried out. This theory was popularized by Lederach through his works which assumed that the dynamics of the ups and downs of social conflict provide opportunities and space in life, to make a constructive change, to minimize the number of violence and encourage the realization of justice that is evenly

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹⁴ Charles Webel & Johan Galtung, *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*, (New York, Routledge, 2007), p. 71.

¹⁵ Suadi Zainal, "Transformasi Konflik Aceh dan Relasi Sosial-Politik di Era Desentralisasi," *Masyarakat: Sociology Journal*, Vol. 21, No.1, 2016, p. 84-85.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

distributed in various sectors of social life.¹⁷ Conflict transformation rests on efforts to create changes in relations in conflict and post-conflict development, rather than controlling and overriding conflict. John P. Lederach's suggests that in conflict transformation there are at least four main elements that must be transformed, namely: 1) personal transformation; 2) relational transformation; 3) cultural transformation, and 4) structural transformation.¹⁸

Social Identity Theory

Identity plays a very vital role in social conflict. Identity is also a fundamental basis for how individuals or groups see and understand themselves in conflict situations.¹⁹ Identity can describe who "we" and who "they" are, able to mobilize individuals and groups and provide

legitimacy and justification for one's aspirations or groups.²⁰

Ho-Won Jeong in his book, "Conflict Management and Resolution", reinforces the above opinion that in conflict situations, identity formation is formed by the context of hostility between groups. Strengthening cohesiveness and solidity in a group will build exclusivity that stimulates the emergence of a sense of security (security dilemma, in the language of the author) towards other groups so that it can encourage the direction of hostility. The impact is that identity is then used as the most effective commodity or source to mobilize groups because there is perceived injustice and deprivation of rights in a competition.²¹

Tajfel formulates social identity as part of self-concept that comes from membership in a group along with the value and emotional significance of the

¹⁷ "Conflict transformation is to envision and respond to the ebb and flow of social conflict as life-giving opportunities for creating constructive change processes that reduce violence, increase justice, in direct action and social structures, and respond to real-life problems in human relationships". see John P. Lederach, *The Little Book of Conflict Transformation: Clear Articulation of the Guiding Principles by a Pioneer in the Field*, (United States: Good Books, 2003), p. 16.

¹⁸ J. P. Lederach, *The Little Book of Conflict Transformation*, (STL: Distribution North America, 2003), p. 24-27, in Suadi Zainal, *op. cit.*, p, 85-86.

¹⁹ Celia Cook-Huffman, "The Role of Identity in Conflict", in Dennis J. D. Sandole et.al., (ed), *Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution*, (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. 19-30.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Identity is usually classified according to ethnicity, ethnicity, class, caste, gender, and race, often used as legitimacy and justification for the injustice of resource distribution and political oppression. see Ho-Won Jeong, *Conflict Management and Resolution: An Introduction*, (New York: Routledge, 2010), p. 60.

Table 1. Conflict Transformation Theory

Theory	Variables	Indicators
Conflict Transformation	Personal Transformation	1) Change of attitude 2) Changes in behaviour
	Relational Transformation	1) Pattern of communication 2) Cooperation 3) Decision making 4) The mechanism for handling conflicts
	Structural Transformation	1) Social conditions (Keywords: disparity, inequality, racial, religious and ethnic discrimination) 2) Procedural patterns (Keywords: lack of transparency, equality, access, participation, justice) 3) Institutional patterns (Keywords: lack of access, historical patterns)
	Cultural Transformation	1) Use of patterns and cultural resources

Source: Processed by researcher referring to the guide to conflict transformation in John Paul Lederach, et al. *Reflective Peacebuilding: A Planning, Monitoring, and Learning Toolkit*, (Notre Dame: The Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame, 2007)

membership.²² Tajfel and Turner's theory of social identity was used to explain how identity can be used as an effective commodity to mobilize the masses (ethnic Lampung) from various districts in Lampung Province who jointly carried out sporadic attacks on ethnic Balinese in Balinuraga Village.

The Concept of SAT

This SAT analysis model was used to make it easier to do conflict mapping in Balinuraga, Way Panji Sub district, South

Lampung Regency, based on the conflict factor, which includes three main elements. Firstly, root of conflict or structural factors. They are factors or 'background' which creates a pre-condition of social conflict. These factors can include systematic political exclusion, inherent economic inequality, lack of adequate and responsive institutions, shifts in demographic balance, economic decline, and ecological damage to the region.²³

²² H. Turner, "Social Stereotypes and Social Groups", dalam J.C. Turner and H. Giles (eds.), *Inergroup Behaviour*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981).

²³ Muhammad Miqdad, et al, *Panduan Pelembagaan Sistem Peringatan dan Tanggap Dini Konflik di Indonesia*, CEWERS, (Jakarta:

Secondly, accelerator; In Ichsan Malik's terminology, this accelerator is likened to a catalyst or hot wind that can spread conflict in all directions.²⁴ Still according to Ichsan that an accelerator is a manifestation of a reaction that arises as a result of a conflict.

Thirdly, a trigger factor. It is a sudden event that triggers a conflict. In a language that is easily understood, Ichsan Malik simply analogizes trigger as a "fire" element that can grab and burn "expanse of hay" (structural elements). Usually, triggers appear suddenly in a series of conflict events.²⁵ Examples of triggers are the assassination of important figures, cheating in elections, and political scandals. For example, the assassination of certain group leaders, destruction of identity symbols and so on. Triggers are short-term and sporadic.²⁶

These three elements provided great help to understand the situation or preconditions that encourage escalation and de-escalation of violent conflicts that occurred in Balinuraga, Way Panji, South Lampung.

Results and Discussion

The recurrence of the Lampung conflict in Balinuraga was an indicator of the failure of the government, especially law enforcement and security officials, who were considered unable to prevent violent conflicts involving ethnic Balinese and local residents of Lampung. Security forces failed to escalate tensions and prevent violent conflict because the intervention was carried out after the conflict began to spread.²⁷

The Regional Government was considered to have failed in making efforts to handle social conflicts in Balinuraga as mandated in Law No. 7 of 2012 concerning the handling of social conflicts, namely that the government should do: First, prevention efforts (article 1), by increasing institutional capacity and early warning systems. However, the realization of institutions made by the government such as FKDM (Community Early Alert Awareness Forum) and FKUB (Forum for Religious Harmony) has not been maximized due to lack of resources and budget; second, the termination of conflict in article 12; and thirdly, post-

Peace Through Development-BAPPENAS, 2012), p. 31-37.

²⁴ Ichsan Malik, *Resolusi Konflik Jembatan Perdamaian*, (Jakarta: PT Kompas Media Nusantara, 2017), p. 234.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Muhammad Miqdad, *et al*, *Op. Cit.*

²⁷ Laporan Penelitian LPM Unkris, dalam <http://eprints.ipdn.ac.id/9/2/ISI.pdf>, diakses pada 20 Juli 2018.

conflict recovery which includes the stages of reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction. The Regional Government, in this case, failed to stop the violent conflict that occurred because it was only oriented to efforts to stop violence, not to eliminate the root of the conflict so that conflicts can reappear at any time.

Conflict Factors

a. Structural factor

Based on the analysis of various conflict factors, and in terms of the historical socio-aspects of Lampung Province, it was found that population transmigration as a background that created pre-conditions of social conflict in Lampung Province, especially conflict in Balinuraga, Way Panji District, South Lampung Regency.

Lampung as a destination for transmigration, which began from the time of the Dutch colonial government in 1905 until the reform era, turned out to leave a big problem that must be faced by the current government. This condition significantly influences the dominance of migrants, which, statistically, is larger than the local population of Lampung, which is only about 11.92% of the total population of

Lampung Province at present. The implications of migration and the shift of dominance are a form of a decline in local ethnicity.

The imbalance of these proportions has made Lampung ethnic groups pressured by migrants who have developed and mastered strategic resources such as the economy, land, and the world of education. In line with the statement above, Head of Lampung University Cultural Study Centre of Lampung, Nina Yuda said that in the living culture of Lampung people having customary titles is part of the privilege and self-esteem called Pi'il Pesenggiri. The degree of one's Pi'il is at least shown in three interrelated matters, namely adok (title), woman and property. For some people, the strong desire to get adok makes them willing to sacrifice property. Adok is considered one of the achievements of pi'il pesenggiri. The high cost of legal adok costs up to hundreds of millions. As a result, after the party was over, Adok was obtained, the consequences were poor. Heritage lands, a lot of inheritances were sold to carry out the ritual. There was a shift in economic

assets from the Lampung tribe to immigrants, such as Bali.²⁸

In addition, transmigration also created exclusivity between immigrants and indigenous people. The fact was that the migrants lived exactly as on Java, under the village pamong itself and in their own community structure. The social structure in the form of regional enclaves created a conflict between immigrants and natives, giving rise to friction between the two.

Besides, it was compounded by government policies that were considered discriminatory. The government gave land allocations to giant agro-businesses so that the entire "hinterland", the buffer zone of the Lampung tribal residence which traditionally was the land where they were seeking a living, practically no one left. As a result, most of the Lampung native tribes were pinned from all directions. In line with the demographic argument which states, "a people or tribes who later become a minority (absolute) in their own habitat, slow or

fast tend to lead to their extinction".²⁹ For example, Indian tribes in the Americas, Aborigines in Australia and Maori in New Zealand are examples of a small number of ethnic groups who became a minority in their own land, devastated by the dynamics of the swift influx of trans-migrants who later became the majority with all their progress.

b. Accelerator factor

The occurrence of a series of conflicts from 2005 to October 2012 between Balinese and native Lampung tribes became the catalyst that caused the intensity of the conflict to grow due to deep-rooted revenge. As a result, the sentiment and ego of the group were put forward, internal group solidarity (in-group) strengthened beyond the boundaries of the core community of conflict.

At this stage, tribal identity is a frightening spectre. Amartya Sen in his book, "Violence and Illusions about Identity" states, that:

"...Having an identity is not only a source of pride and happiness but also a source of growing strength

²⁸ Interview with Dr. Nina Yuda as Head of the Lampung Center for Cultural Studies - University of Lampung on September 24, 2018 at Lampung University Rectorate Building 3rd Floor.

²⁹ Jusuf Badri, *Raden Intan: Jati Diri Kepahlawanan Orang Lampung*, (Jakarta: Pustaka Ilmu Abadi, 2002), p. 17.

and confidence. However, identity can also trigger murder and make people die in vain”.³⁰

The phenomenon of social conflict between Balinese and Lampung ethnic groups in Balinuraga in October 2012 has strengthened Amartya Sen's thesis that hostility arising from exclusivity can go hand in hand with benefits arising from exclusive attitudes.³¹ Exclusivity in a group can create in-group social cohesion that is the increasingly strong and altruistic attitude to defend the group, but on the contrary, it widens social distance and the gap with other groups (out-groups) who tend to create discriminatory treatment against people outside their group.

c. Triggers

The outbreak of violent conflict in Balinuraga, Way Panji Subdistrict, South Lampung Regency was triggered by the problem of juvenile delinquency committed by Balinuraga youths against two girls of Lampung. Why such trivial things can lead to greater conflict? If it is reviewed more deeply about the life view of the Lampung

tribe, the women are very underlined. Not in the modern emancipatory sense, but in the traditional sense, in which, the honour and position of a woman are highly valued. They are symbolized in Lampung's traditional dance called NIGEL or Tigel-Tari: women in complete traditional clothing stand upright and do not move on a brass trellis, brass salvers, except the slow-moving fingers of their fingers following the rhythm of the Lampung gamelan while being beaten, while some of men, also with complete traditional clothes while bearing a Kris of which its hilt put forward while swirling agilely around the girl. It portrays a determination without compromise in any form, ready to maintain the holiness and honour of the girl.

Escalation of Latent Conflict to be Manifest Conflict

This situation occurred because they (the Lampung tribe) felt there was an urgency to resolve a problem that was considered so serious, but the government tended to be ignorant. As a result, the settlement was always delayed and had never

³⁰ Amartya Sen, *Kekerasan dan Ilusi tentang Identitas*, (penerjemah: Arif Susanto), (Serpong: Marjin Kiri, 2007), p. 3-4.

³¹ Amartya Sen, *op. cit.*

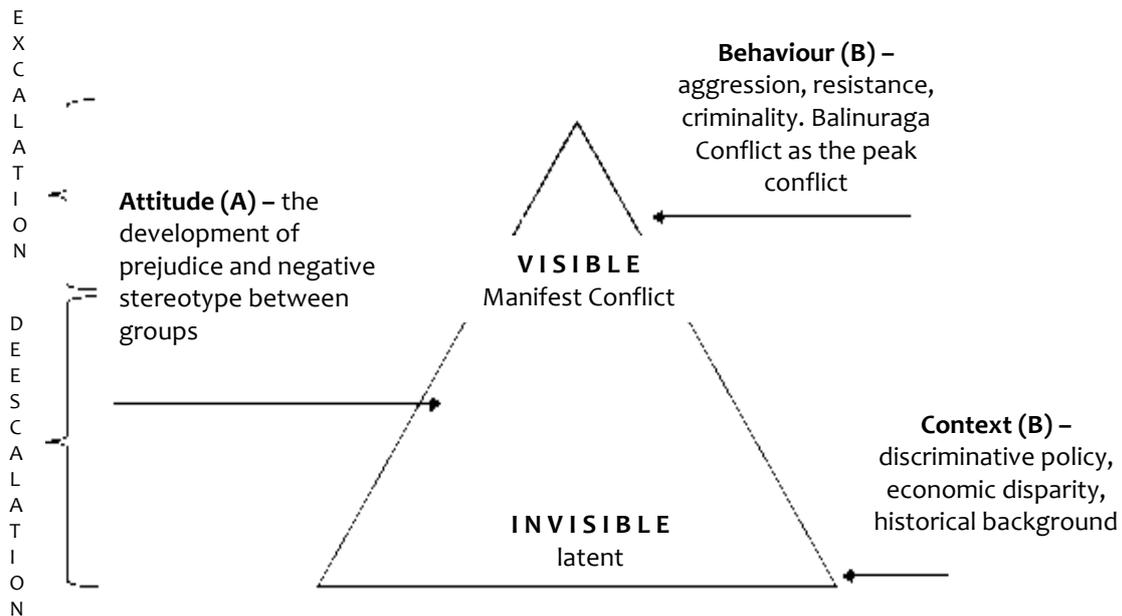


Figure 1. Balinuraga’s Conflict Escalation Analysis by using ABC Triangle from J. Galtung
 Source: Processed by the Authors referring to the Scottish Centre for Conflict Resolution, Improving Relationships, Improving Lives.

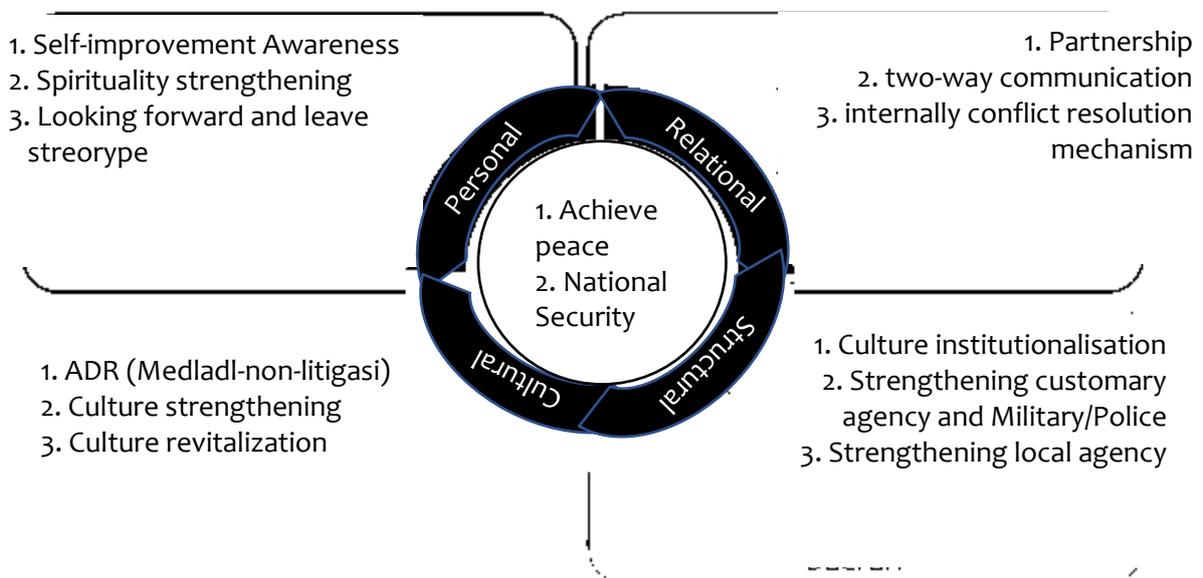


Figure 2. Social conflict transformation between Bali and Lampung in Balinuraga, Way Panji, South Lampung
 Source: Processed by the Authors referring to the conflict transformation guide in John Paul Lederach, et al. Reflective Peacebuilding: A Planning, Monitoring, and Learning Toolkit, (Notre Dame: The Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame, 2007)

touched its roots, there was an accumulation of disappointment. Consequently, once the trigger appeared, there would be an outpouring of anger and resistance (aggression) which was compounded by the objective conditions (context) that lied behind it, namely in the form of economic inequality, discriminatory government policies, and conditions that caused them (Lampung tribe) alienated from their own land.

Such conditions were the cause of the emergence of frustration, and frustration arose because of feelings of dissatisfaction (relative deprivation), which was the contradiction between *das sollen* (expected, attitude (A)) with *das sein* (reality experienced, context (C)). If the relative deprivation of a group is not responded to, it will increase frustration. Increasingly frustrated will be increasingly angry, and in a state of anger, latent conflict with a large tendency sticks out into manifest conflict (Behaviour (B)) which is usually accompanied by acts of violence called destructive conflict.

Conflict Transformation

Generally, social conflict causes changes to four dimensions, namely personal,

relational, structural and cultural. After the social conflict between the Balinese and Lampung ethnic groups in Balinuraga there were many changes both in the patterns of personal, interpersonal, intra-communal and inter-communal relations, starting with the strengthening of the culture, revitalization of identity, and efforts aimed at increasing social harmony to strengthen social security.³²

- Personal Transformation

After the end of the violent conflict in Balinuraga on 29 October 2012, various parties acknowledged that there had been many changes in attitudes and behaviour both personally and communally between the two parties in conflict. It was illustrated in the explanation that was told by the Head of Agom Village Government at the Agom Village Office that:

“... now it has been somewhat reduced, for example, if there is a single organ entertainment, Balinese people are not as they used to be, mastering the stage. Even now it has never happened again. In brief, there is a significant relationship change after the conflict. Previously, they acted arbitrarily when going to the market. Now, as far as I know, it's rare for Balinese to come here. Even though we passed their area, there were no more tribal conflicts

³² Hartoyo, “Memutus Mata Rantai Konflik di Lampung”, dalam *Merajut Jurnalisme Damai di*

Lampung, (Bandar Lampung: AJI Bandar Lampung, 2012), p. 34.

whether we were Javanese or Lampung people, as long as we already knew them, now there is no conflict anymore. No more staring at each other cynically even though it used to be like that. It has never happened since the conflict occurred”.³³

The same thing was also conveyed by several speakers from the village, sub-district, Directorate General of National Unity and Politics (kesbangpol), residents and academics. This change in attitude and behaviour was motivated by the awareness that conflict would not leave a positive effect, but rather cause a loss for both parties, both material losses and loss of life.

- Relational Transformation

the main purpose of relational transformation is to create relationships between different groups in a community environment. Social evolution scientist Alexander reveals that altruism and cooperation are products that result from the history of inter-group conflict and war, which then naturally shapes human psychology and behaviour.³⁴ This is in

line with the adherents of the Marxist Structuralism school of thought who say that to achieve a radical change in the system of life requires a revolutionary approach, namely to stop conflict, a larger conflict must be made.³⁵

So after the conflict, both parties began to realize that peace was important. Collaboration arises as a form of awareness that there is a greater mutual interest beyond personal and group interests, namely creating harmony in the coexistence of fellow Lampung citizens.

The level of communication that existed between individuals or groups, between Balinese in Balinuraga and Lampung tribal residents in Agom Village, is already quite good. Based on field data and research results, a cooperative relationship has been created especially in fulfilling daily needs. The head of Agom Village in 2012, Muchsin Syukur said that residents of two villages actually needed each other. Coconut trees that

³³ Interview with the Head of the Government of Agom Village in Kalianda District at the Agom Village Office on October 5, 2018.

³⁴ M. V. Vugt, Gremer, D. D., & Janssen, S. P. “Gender Differences In Cooperation and Competition”, *Research Report, Association For Psychological Science*, Vol. 18 (1), 2007, p, 19-23.

³⁵ Thania Paffenholz, “Understanding Peacebuilding Theory: Management, resolution and transformation”, *New Routes A Journal of Peace Research and Action*, Vol. 14 (2), 2009, p. 3.

grew a lot in the village of Agom would not have economic value without the existence of Balinese people. Made Santre, Head of the Balinuraga Village, when interviewed on October 5, 2018, revealed that the cooperation before the conflict had been good after the social relations conflict the collaboration and community had also returned to normal.

At the communal level, relations were knit back through the existing system of mutual friendship between Balinese traditional leaders, Lampung and other tribes, youth leaders, religious leaders, and village government officials. For example, in Way Panji Sub-district, the government has tried to create activities in each custom, such as inviting traditional leaders, both from Lampung, Bali, Java or other tribes, when there were certain tribal custom events and ceremonies.

- Cultural Transformation

In Lampung there were a variety of alternative dispute resolution / ADR that prioritized the path of non-litigation resolution. Mediation through a series of deliberations to reach consensus is still the most efficient and continuously developed way. The

tendency to use mediation as an alternative to conflict resolution, besides being influenced by the basic values of consensual social relations, is also because it is seen as closer to the local socio-cultural environment. In this case, the role of traditional leaders, community leaders, traditions, beliefs, institutional structures that are owned and recognized jointly at the village and sub-district level is still very much needed because they still have strong influence and become the main elements of conflict resolution.

Ulun Lampung has a philosophy of life with pi'il pesenggiri as a character who is still held tightly and endured in the scour and the flow of globalization. Likewise, the Balinese also have the noble values of Hindu Dharma summarized in the concept of Tri Hita Karana. Although both the Balinese and Lampung ethnic groups have different traditions, customs, cultures and religions, broadly speaking the philosophy of life that is held tightly by both have tangible values. For example, in customs and traditions, both Balinese and Lampung tribes have a mechanism for reaching consensus or mutual agreement through deliberation or consultation.

In the ulun tradition of Lampung, consensus deliberation is a manifestation and implementation of the sakai sambayan philosophy which means mutual cooperation. While in the traditions and customs of the Balinese tribe, consensus deliberation is a manifestation of the value of salung which is commonly used as a tool to achieve a common consensus based on the principles of truth.

The existence of a common tradition that is put forward in the process of achieving agreement and solving common problems through deliberation. So the local government of Lampung Province took the initiative to institutionalize the pekon rembug culture through the Lampung Provincial Regulation No. 1 of 2016 (as explained in the previous sub-chapter) as a mechanism for conflict resolution both at the village, sub-district, district and provincial levels.

- Structural Transformation

Some structural transformation efforts carried out by the government include the institutionalization of the Pekon rembug culture as a mechanism for conflict resolution (explained in the cultural transformation sub-chapter), strengthening of traditional institutions

such as the MPAL (Lampung Balancing Council), strengthening of the Indonesian national army (TNI)/the Indonesian National Police (POLRI) security institutions through Bhabinkamtibmas and Babinsa, as well as strengthening regional institutions such as Directorate General of National Unity and Politics (Kesbangpol), Inter-Religious Harmony Forum (FKUB), Community Early Warning Forum (FKDM), and Indigenous Communities Communication Forum of Lampung (FOKMAL).

After the conflict in Balinuraga, networks between traditional leaders in strengthening the structure of adat in Lampung and Bali were getting better and were fully supported by the regional government. Strengthening these customary institutions serves as a channel for the interests of its members. Consequently, there was a power that was intentionally nurtured to be a space of communication between local elites of the Balinese and Lampung tribes, for example, often offering hospitality both verbally and directly with Balinese, Javanese and other tribal elites in South Lampung, so that at any time there is a turmoil,

problems can be muted and the local government will be helped with that.

Evaluation

It was found that from the four dimensions of conflict transformation, the local government still has not succeeded in making a post-conflict structural transformation effort in Balinuraga optimally which includes three elements, namely social conditions, procedural patterns, and institutional patterns. **Social conditions**, for example, the 2017 Lampung Indonesian Democracy Index (IDI) showed that Lampung Province received a red report card in terms of racial and ethnic discrimination, namely the use of violence or threats by the community due to gender, ethnicity and political rights groups (33,33), as well as the use of violence or threats by the government which inhibited freedom of expression (54,17); procedural patterns indicated the small number of freedom of speech (53.47) and political participation (57.76); and finally, the institutional pattern demonstrated that the role of local government bureaucracy was not optimal (44,21).

If efforts to transform conflict or reconstruction refer to Law No. 7 of 2012 concerning the handling of social conflict

(PKS), the government has done it optimally and optimally because the conflict transformation only emphasizes short-term and physical reconstruction. But if the reconstruction in question is a conflict transformation in the concept developed by Lederach, namely how to create conditions damaged by conflict into good conditions, from destructive to constructive, reconstruction that is not only physical aspects but also reaches social, psychological, economic, political and culture, the stages have not been reached optimally and optimally. In short, structured and planned efforts to carry out reconstruction in a deeper sense have not been implemented.

Based on the results of the analysis of the facts and field data above, the writer draws one conclusion that the peace created in Balinuraga in South Lampung Regency, Way Panji District was still "pseudo" or negatively peaceful. Although the pattern of cooperative relations has begun to run well, there was recognition and respect for the rights of other groups, and the distribution of resources was increasingly evenly distributed, but there were still some Positive Peace Index (PPI) that had not been achieved. For example, the lack of human resources was indicated by the

lower Human Development Index (HDI) in South Lampung (66.95), compared to Bandar Lampung (75.98), Metro (75.87), Central Lampung (68.95) , Pringsewu (68.61), East Lampung (6.05), and Tulang Bawang (67.07). Besides, the level of information disclosure, the role of government bureaucracy, freedom of opinion, political participation in decision making and supervision were still low as evidenced by Lampung's democratic index which ranks 26th with 72.01 points from 34 provinces in Indonesia in 2017.

If such conditions do not get the government's attention, it is not impossible that there will be a public disappointment due to a feeling of dissatisfaction with the ruling regime, because the root cause of the problem is economic disparity, ethnic and racial discrimination has not been resolved completely. As a result, at any time there are triggers; similar conflicts are very likely to happen again.

Thus, improvements must be made in various aspects include economic, political, social, and cultural. This improvement and development towards positive peace will certainly require a long time and will demand the active role of all stakeholders and the contribution of the

community as the majority population in social life.

Conclusions

1. The outbreak of the conflict in Balinuraga was based on several factors, namely structural factors such as disparity in access and control of resources, discriminatory policies, and inherent economic disparities; accelerator factors in the form of tribal identities that had not been resolved completely and a series of conflicts that had occurred before became the catalyst for the causes of conflict intensification, also because of resentment; and the trigger factor is juvenile delinquency.
2. Conflict transformation efforts have been carried out on four main dimensions which are often influenced by conflict, namely, personal transformation shown by the beginning of awareness of self-improvement and eliminating stereotypes between groups, and spiritual strengthening; relational transformation is characterized by the beginning of the establishment of cooperation between the Balinese and Lampung tribes, the bridge there, and the existence of mechanisms for resolving conflicts

internally; cultural transformation is shown by the strengthening of Pekon culture as a mechanism for conflict resolution, and cultural revitalization; and structural transformation through the support of the government to carry out the realization of the culture of the rembug pakon, strengthening traditional institutions and regional institutions, as well as strengthening the Indonesian national army (TNI) / the Indonesian National Police (POLRI).

of multi-stakeholders including regional government, the Indonesian national army (TNI) / the Indonesian National Police (POLRI), Directorate General of National Unity and Politics (Kesbangpol), traditional leaders, community leaders, traditional institutions, Inter-Religious Harmony Forum (FKUB), Community Early Warning Forum (FKDM) and the community.

Suggestions

1. The regional government must create a variety of activities that are targeted, programmed, integrated and directed as a reference in efforts to manage conflicts (which include prevention, termination and post-conflict recovery).
2. Local governments can create a mixed program between ethnic groups or relocate Balinese villages gradually so that there will be an acculturation process and cultural communication between ethnic groups is not deadlocked so that the social structure in the form of tribal enclaves can be broken down.
3. Reconstruction (conflict transformation) requires the active role

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