



Map of Violence in Indonesia (September-December 2012) and Issues Raised in Nine Provinces throughout 2012

Executive Summary

- The National Violence Monitoring System (NVMS) has undertaken systematic and continuous monitoring in the Provinces of Aceh, West Kalimantan, Maluku, North Maluku, Central Sulawesi, Papua, West Papua, East Nusa Tenggara, and the Greater Jakarta area (*Jabodetabek*). As part of the NVMS program, The Habibie Center Peace and Policy Review intends to illustrate the trends of violence monitored in the period of September-December 2012, and to discuss the key issues from each province for the year 2012.
- The September-December 2012 period recorded 2,363 incidents of violence resulting in 284 deaths, 2,039 injuries and 312 buildings damaged. During this period, violence was dominated by criminality (58%) followed by conflict (31%). Due to a change in the NVMS database structure in September, the number of incidents and impact of criminality increased significantly. Other recorded forms of violence included domestic violence (8%) and security forces violence (4%).¹
- Several important incidents worth noting during this period include resources-related violence, identity-related conflicts and separatism-related conflicts. An important incident related to resources disputes were clashes in the gold mining area in Gunung Botak, Buru, Maluku resulting in nine deaths and nine injuries. In the same category was an incident of violence related to a land dispute between residents of Porto and Haria Villages in Central Maluku, Maluku resulting in three deaths; and an intercommunal dispute between the residents of Lewobunga and Lewonara Villages in East Adonara, East Nusa Tenggara resulting in two deaths, 29 injuries and 21 buildings damaged.
- In the category of identity, intertribal clashes in Mimika and Lanny Jaya, Papua resulted in six deaths and 87 injuries. Alongside this, it is important to note violence involving minority rights, such as a violent incident related to accusations of heresy in Aceh resulting in three deaths and 10 injuries. Incidents with interreligious issues took place in the form of attacks and exchange of fire between security forces and terrorist in Central Sulawesi resulting in 12 deaths and 11 injuries. In Papua Island, incidents involving separatism in Mimika and Lanny Jaya (Papua) and Manokwari (West Papua) Districts resulted in seven deaths and 45 injuries.
- The Habibie Center Peace and Policy Review highlights several incidents of violence based on key issues that were monitored in each province during 2012. In Aceh, local election-related violent conflicts became an important issue. Violence during the local the 2012 local elections rose thirteen-fold when compared to the 2006 local elections. The local elections at the provincial and city/district levels on April 9, 2012 contained contestation problems at the elite level that influenced violence at the grass-roots level. Incidents of fighting and damage to buildings took place, both for local elections at provincial and city/district levels. Other violent incidents that took place in Aceh were violence related to minority rights. Several violent incidents towards followers of heretical teachings took place in the districts of West Aceh and Bireuen.
- Greater Jakarta: important incidents of violence observed were student violence and violence involving members/sympathisers of mass organizations. Throughout 2012, student violence and mass organization group violence claimed lives and caused injuries. Student violence needs special attention as it occurs in the educational sphere that is supposed to prepare an educated young generation. The number of violence from mass organizations also reveals the weakness in law enforcement.
- West Kalimantan: an important issue in the year 2012 were clashes between members of *Front Pembela Islam* (Islamic Defender Front/FPI) and the indigenous Dayak people. Incidents such as

1 These figures are based on data retrieved from www.sn timer-indonesia.com on March 23, 2013.

these are infrequent but nevertheless important to observe because in the past they have become major conflicts in this province.

- East Nusa Tenggara: clashes related to land disputes, especially in the area of East Flores, became a major issue in 2012. These land disputes are important to observe because not only they extended into 80% of the districts/cities, but also the level of fatalities was high.
- Central Sulawesi: violence related to terrorism and intervillage clashes dominated the violence record. Throughout 2012, violence related to terrorism resulted in nine deaths and 10 injuries. This issue is important to note as it mostly took place in Poso where communal violence with a religious nuance occurred in the past. Incidents of violence, terrorist bombs, and provocation efforts can disturb the peace that has been maintained since 2001. Apart from that, other important incidents of violence recorded were intertribal clashes between residents of Nunu-Tavanjuka Villages in Palu and between those of Binangga-Padende Villages in Sigi. The series of clashes in these two locations resulted in at least 92 injuries in 2012.
- Maluku: 2012 was dominated by the Gunung Botak gold mining dispute and intertribal land disputes, alongside the problems of ethnic and religious identity. Most of the deaths and injuries in this province originated from the disputes in the gold mining areas and over land. Land disputes between residents themselves are widespread and have lasted for over four decades. However, a comprehensive solution has yet to be found. In addition, the province, which had previously experienced major conflicts from the end of 1999 to early 2002, saw incidents of violence concerning ethnic and religious issues. A number of incidents that occurred in this year resulted in six deaths and 24 injuries. These identity issues are important to take note so that a conflict of a much larger scale, such as one that took place in the past, will not occur again. In North Maluku, clashes between residents of Toboko and Mangga Dua occurred in quick succession in 2012. Clashes among residents not only took place due to injured pride or provocations to revenge previous violent incidents, but also because of the high levels of sentiment between the two different ethnic groups of Tidore and Makian.
- Papua: separatism was the most prominent issue in 2012. At least 46 incidents were recorded resulting in 23 deaths and 58 injuries. If data from 2001 to 2012 were analyzed, 237 incidents occurred resulting in 184 deaths and 275 injuries. The approaches taken by the government through welfare approaches, dialogues, or even the granting of special autonomy status, have not been able to reduce these conflicts. Another issue in Papua worth noting is the intertribal clashes that repeatedly occurred, especially in Mimika. A series of intertribal clashes in 2012 resulted in 13 deaths and 510 injuries. Local elections-related conflicts in Papua were also worth noting due to the high level of deaths involved. Incidents of local elections-related clashes and riots resulted in 19 deaths, 122 injuries, and 137 buildings damaged. These conflicts also caused local elections in several districts in the province to be postponed.
- West Papua: incidents worth noting were separatism-related violence. Several demonstrations by members/sympathisers of *Komite Nasional Papua Barat* (National Committee of West Papua/KNPB) calling for a referendum and supporting the formation of the International Lawyers for West Papua (ILWP) ended in clashes. In addition, an act of violence was allegedly perpetrated by KNPB sympathisers toward a civilian who did not support their cause. Although separatism-related incidents in West Papua are infrequent, it nevertheless remains an important matter to observe from the perspective of unequal development and human rights violations. The government's efforts in accelerating the development through *Unit Percepatan Pembangunan Papua dan Papua Barat* (Development Accelerating Unit of Papua and West Papua/UP4B) experienced constraints due to rejection by the majority of people. Other important incidents recorded in West Papua were the shootings on eight fishermen by the military apparatus in Raja Ampat. The shootings resulted in four deaths. The perpetrators claimed that they had been forced to open fire after the victims had resisted and had intended to throw fish bombs at them. However, the incident survivors stated that they had been lined up with tied hands and shot in the middle of the night. An open investigation on this case must be conducted to reveal the facts surrounding the incident.
- This Peace and Police Review is expected to become a point of reference for policy makers both at the local and national levels, including civil societies active in the field of conflict management.

Box 1: National Violence Monitoring System (NVMS) Program

The Habibie Center Peace and Policy Review, published through the NVMS program, is intended to provide accurate and up-to-date data and analysis of violence for the Government and civil society in Indonesia, to support the data-based policy formulation, and program formulation of conflict management. This program is funded by The Korea Economic Transitions and Peacebuilding Trust Fund and implemented since 2012 through the cooperation between The Habibie Center, Deputy I of the Coordinating Ministry of Welfare, and The World Bank.

One of the focal points of the NVMS program is the construction of a database to record all incidents of violence in the target provinces, which is updated on a regular basis. The NVMS database belongs to the Coordinating Ministry of Welfare and can be accessed from www.snpk-indonesia.com. The current database encompasses nine provinces in Indonesia: Aceh, West Kalimantan, Maluku, North Maluku, Central Sulawesi, Papua, West Papua, East Nusa Tenggara, and Greater Jakarta.

Previous studies on conflict have shown that local Indonesian newspapers are the most appropriate source of information to collect violence data on a systematic and continuous basis. Thus, NVMS builds its database using multiple local newspapers in the nine target provinces, with other sources routinely used for verification. To maximize the data analysis, the database uses a broad definition of violence, namely actions resulting in direct physical impacts. For each incident of violence, a number of key variables are recorded in the database, including date and location of the incident; physical impact to persons and property; trigger and form of violence; actors involved and weapons used; and effort to defuse violence and their results.

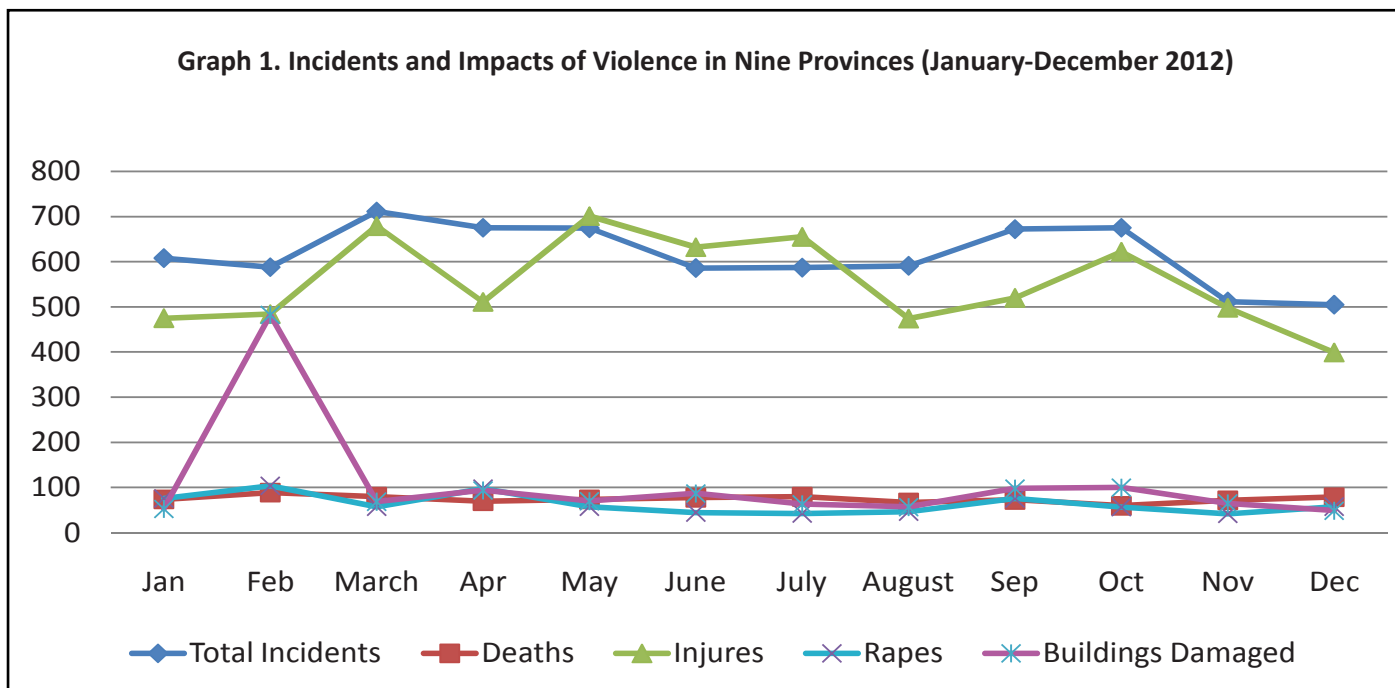
This Peace and Policy Review is published by The Habibie Center periodically every four months aiming to illustrate new trends and patterns of violence that emerge in the target provinces of the NVMS program. The Peace and Policy Review represent the views of the The Habibie Center’s NVMS team.

Part 1. Patterns and Trends of Violence in Nine Provinces (September-December 2012)

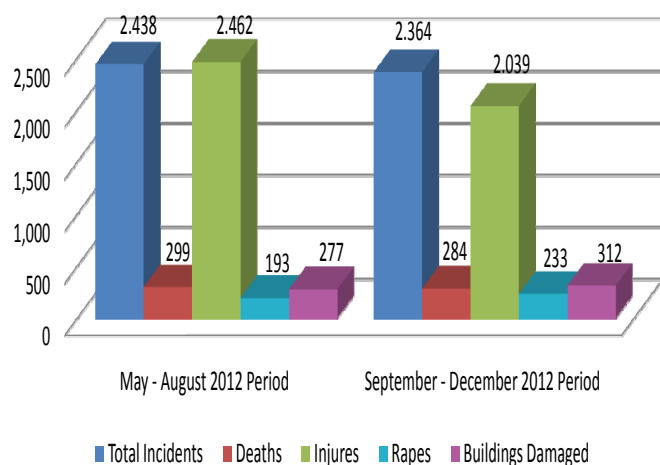
In the September-December 2012 period, 2,364 incidents of violence were recorded resulting in 284 deaths, 2,039 injuries and 312 buildings damaged (Graph 1). Several incidents of concern in this period were (1) gold mining dispute in Gunung Botak, Buru, Maluku; (2) land disputes in Saparua Island, Maluku and East Adonara Sub-district, East Nusa Tenggara; (3) intertribal clashes in Timika, Papua; (4) conflicts related to the issue of interfaith in Aceh and Central Sulawesi; and (5) separatism-related conflicts that occurred in Mimika and Lanny Jaya Districts (Papua) and Manokwari District (West Papua).

Compared to the May-August period, the impact of violence experienced a reduction, except for buildings damaged which rose 13% and victims of rape which rose 21% (Graph 2). In addition, the impact of injuries and number of buildings damaged from resource-related conflicts showed an increase. If in the previous period the number of injuries totalled 74 persons, by contrast, this period saw 106 persons injured. Moreover, in the number of buildings damaged, an increase was recorded from 39 in the previous period to 63 in this period. Meanwhile, 25 deaths from identity-related conflicts were recorded, a rise compared to the previous period which totalled 19.

Graph 1. Incidents and Impacts of Violence in Nine Provinces (January-December 2012)



Graph 2. Comparing Incidents and Impacts of Violence in Nine Provinces (May-August 2012 and Sept-Dec 2012)



The NVMS data divided types of violence into four categories, namely violent conflict, security forces violence, violent crime, and domestic violence. In this period, violence was dominated by violent crime (58%),² followed by conflicts (31%) (see Table 1).

Table 1. Incidents and Impacts of Violence According to Types of Violence in Nine Provinces (September-December 2012)

Type of Violence	Total Incidents	Impacts of Violence			
		Deaths	Injuries	Rapes	Buildings Damaged
Conflict	729	81	966	0	222
- Resources	86	17	106	0	63
- Governance	63	1	47	0	23
- Electoral and public administration	46	0	22	0	47
- Identity	120	25	239	0	33
- Taking law into own hands	344	29	427	0	46
- Separatism	16	7	45	0	3
- Others	54	2	80	0	7
Security Forces Violence	91	17	105	0	0
Violent Crime	1,361	149	834	205	87
Domestic Violence	183	37	134	28	3
Total	2,364	284	2,039	233	312

² The structure of the NVMS database was changed in September 2012 resulting in the significant increase of number and impact of violent crimes. Such changes included the migration of data of conflicts with the issue of taking the law into one's own hands and the issue of unclear causes into the category of violent crimes, resulting in the sharp rise in the reported figure of the category. The addition of school identity issues resulted in an increase in the number of identity-related incidents. The category of separatism-related issues was separated from political issues. Political issues themselves were changed to become electoral and public administration issues. Finally, labor issues were combined in resources issues.

1.a. Violent Conflict

In this period, NVMS data recorded 86 incidents of violence related to resource issues resulting in 17 deaths, 106 injuries, and 63 buildings damaged. When compared to the previous period, there were increases in incidents (10%), injuries (43%), and buildings damaged (62%). The majority of resources-related conflicts occurred in Maluku and East Nusa Tenggara. In Maluku, resources-related conflicts took place in the form of land disputes in Saparua and clashes in the gold mining area of Gunung Botak, Pulau Buru. Land disputes in Maluku were dominated by clashes between residents of Haria and Porto Vilages in November and December resulting in three deaths and one injury. These conflicts which had repeatedly occurred for the last three years were caused by competing claims over the ownership of a clean water source often referred to as *Air Raja* (The King's Water) situated in the border of the two villages (*Siwalimanews.com*, March 19 2013). Throughout 2012, the two village communities were said to have clashed as much as 15 times resulting in three deaths and 19 injuries. The conflict later involved student groups from the two villages. Mediation efforts carried out by the governments of Central Maluku district and Maluku province and by religious and traditional leaders produced no results. In addition, to reduce the intensity of violence, security forces have conducted raids to seize firearms and explosives (*Kompas*, March 15, 2013).

Meanwhile, clashes between miners continued to take place in the gold mining area of Gunung Botak, Perbukitan Wansait although efforts to close the mine have already been taken since the middle of July 2012 by the Regent.³ In this period, five incidents of clashes in the gold mining areas resulted in five deaths and five injuries. Most of the clashes were triggered by the seizure of a hole at the gold miners' location, by profits that were unfairly shared with the traditional land owners, and by robberies and thefts of sand material that contained gold (*Kompas*, December 14, 2012). Post-conflict on December 3 and 4, the provincial government with the police and military forces closed the gold mining area. However, although four police posts were established in the mining area of Wansait, the surrounding communities felt a lack of law enforcement by the security forces. This series of incidents is an important record to note for the security forces in the location.

In East Nusa Tenggara, land disputes were dominated by clashes between residents of Lewobunga and Lewonra Villages in East Adonara sub-district, East Flores. The months of October and November recorded six incidents of clashes resulting in two deaths, 29 injuries, and 21 buildings damaged. These customary land disputes have occurred since 1998 when the local government developed 200 residential units for the local transmigrant residents (residents of Lewobunga) on a 15-hectare land claimed the Lewonara villagers to be by their customary land (*Poskupang.com*, October 7, 2012). Peace efforts sponsored by the local government were rejected by the residents of Lewonara.

In the category of governance-related conflicts, NVMS data recorded 63 incidents resulting in one death, 47 injuries and 23 buildings damaged. Most of the conflicts in this category took place in North Maluku (21%), Central Sulawesi (19%), and Aceh (13%). In North Maluku, 13 incidents of violence were recorded resulting in 20

³ See The Habibie Center Peace and Policy Review Edition 2/November 2012.

injuries and were dominated by a demonstration related to corruption issues. In addition, fights related to the issue of village expansion in Tidore occurred resulting in seven injuries. In Central Sulawesi, there were 12 incidents of violence resulting in three injuries and four buildings damaged. These incidents were related to problems with the bids for development projects, debates over the local budget, employment problems, and public dissatisfaction over the shootings of civilians suspected to be terrorists and their mistreatment in captivity. In Aceh, there were also eight incidents between September–December resulting in one death and one injury. The incident was related to the distribution of the remaining funds of the *Badan Reintegrasi Aceh* (Aceh Reintegration Agency/BRA) and that of development funds from grants.

This period showed 46 incidents of violence related to elections and public administration resulting in 22 injuries and 47 buildings damaged. Violent incidents in this category were dominated by local election-related conflicts, namely: 30 incidents resulting in 14 injuries and 30 buildings damaged. NVMS data showed that most of the incidents of violence related to local elections occurred in Aceh. Such incidents occurred in the forms of demonstrations, vehicle burning, and grenade throwing at the houses of Head of the *Komite Peralihan Aceh's* (Aceh Transition Committee/KPA) and the Regent's post-local election in April 2012. The biggest impact of violence occurred in Papua, where clashes between supporters of two candidates of Dogoyai Regent—Thomas Tigi and Natalis Degei—in November caused six injuries. In North Maluku, incidents of violence related to local elections occurred in Weda and Pattani Sub-districts, Central Halmahera District. In October–November, eight incidents related to the local elections for regents and the governor in North Maluku resulted in one injury and 14 buildings damaged. In Central Sulawesi, demonstrations by the *Aliansi Peduli Pemilukada Morowali* (The Alliance for Morowali Local Election/APP) ended in clashes. The demonstrators demanded that the local elections be held again because of alleged violations in the election process. In Maluku two incidents of violence were recorded in relation to gubernatorial elections held that year.

Box 2: Definition

Due to the broad scope of the concept of violence, the NVMS program applies several important definitions for classifying types of violence as follows:

Violent conflict is a type of violence caused by a dispute or conflict, in which a certain party becomes the target of violence. The definition of violent conflict encompasses small-scale incidents involving a small number of individuals and also large-scale incidents between groups.

Violent crime is an incident of violence occurring without the existence of previous disputes and the targeting of a certain party.

Security forces violence refers to all violent actions done by the security forces in handling criminality. The actions include violence within or exceeding their authority.

Domestic violence is physical violence committed by a household member to another, in which the perpetrator and victim live in one household, including violence committed by a household member against a household maid.

Separatism-related violence was recorded in 16 incidents resulting in seven deaths and 45 injuries. This period showed an increase in the number of injuries compared to that of in the previous period (26 injuries). Most of the injured victims (18 people) in Papua were due to a series of three incidents in Mimika District in November. The three incidents comprised of attempts by the police to arrest suspected members of *Tentara Pembebasan Nasional-Organisasi Papua Merdeka* (National Liberation Army-Free Papua Organization/TPN-OPM) in Mimika. In Manokwari District, West Papua, mass demonstrations by *Komite Nasional Papua Barat* (National Committee of West Papua/KNPB) in support of the formation of the International Lawyers for West Papua (ILWP) in London, United Kingdom ended in clashes with the security forces. The clashes resulted in 23 injuries, consisting of five police officers and 18 members of KNPB. In addition, separatism-related conflict also resulted in seven deaths—one in West Papua and six in Papua. The victim in West Papua died because of an assault by three KNPB sympathizers as the victim showed his unwillingness to support the organization's cause. The six fatalities in Papua consisted of three police officers shot dead during an OPM attack to Pirime Police Sector in Lanny Jaya; one police officer in Tolikara died due to an attack by four unknown assailants; ⁴one civilian shot dead by OPM; and one Head of KNPB in Baliem shot dead when attempting to seize a weapon from the police as he and his four comrades were about to be arrested.

Impact of deaths caused by identity-related conflicts rose by 32%, from 19 deaths in the previous period to 25 in this period. In Central Sulawesi, identity-related conflicts are categorized into incidents of violence associated with issues of interfaiths and problems of intervillages. In this period 16 incidents related to interfaith issues resulted in 12 deaths and 10 injuries. Most of the incidents (89%) took place in Poso in the form of shootings by terrorist groups against security forces, exchanges of fire, and bomb explosions. According to a press release by *Badan Reserse Kriminal* (Criminal Investigation Division/*Bareskrim*), National Police Headquarters 2012, six police officers died due to acts of terrorism in Central Sulawesi. NVMS data also recorded 10 incidents of clashes between villages in Central Sulawesi. Most of the incidents took place in Sigi and Palu resulting in one death, 35 injuries, and 18 buildings damaged. In Bireuen, Aceh, incidents of clashes accompanied by damage and assaults were recorded in relation to allegations of heresy resulting in three fatalities and 10 injuries.

In Papua, there were eight incidents of identity-related violent conflicts in the form of intertribal clash, with seven in Mimika and one in Lanny Jaya. These intertribal clashes resulted in six deaths and 87 injuries. Intertribal clashes in Papua have occurred for a long time and took many lives. In the May–August 2012 period alone, intertribal clashes in Mimika resulted in seven deaths and 335 injuries. Mediation and reconciliation efforts have repeatedly been made but have yet managed to end these clashes. For the Greater Jakarta area, 76% of identity-related incidents took place in the form of student brawls or other violence by students. Student violence resulted in six deaths and 18 injuries.⁵ NVMS data also recorded a mass demonstration against the film *Innocence of Muslims* in front of the U.S. Embassy resulting in 14 injuries. In addition, a terrorism-related police raid in Depok also caused one injury.

⁴ In the two mentioned events, the attackers also stole 4 firearms.

⁵ See The Habibie Center Peace and Policy Review Edition 2/November 2012 for more detailed analysis.

NVMS data recorded 344 incidents of conflict related to taking the law into one's own hands during the September-December 2012 period. Incidents of taking the law into one's own hands due to injured pride are important to note as they can trigger larger incidents such as the one that occurred in Maluku. In the province such incident resulted in five deaths and nine injuries. The incident began on December 28, 2012 when residents of Hualoy from Seram Bagian Barat had an accident with a vehicle carrying Sepa residents who were on their way to attend the Raja Kamariang's inauguration. Residents of Sepa were not allowed to pass and then attacked by residents of Hualoy on their way home. This event resulted in the deaths of five Sepa residents and four injured. The violence continued on December 30, 2012 involving Kamariang residents (blood relatives of Sepa) and Hualoy residents which resulted in injuries to five Kamariang residents. Other incidents of injured pride-related clashes also occurred among youth groups from Tulehu and Kailolo resulting in six injuries. On Aru Island, injured pride also ended in a clash between residents of Siwalima and Galay, resulting in five injuries. These incidents show that mass mobilisation of large numbers that causes major impacts can occur simply because of trivial issues.

1.b. Violent Crime, Domestic Violence and Security Forces Violence

The September-December 2012 period recorded 1,361 incidents of crime resulting in 149 deaths, 834 injuries, 205 rapes, and 87 buildings damaged. When compared with the previous period, the number of incidents and impact of violence show a decrease, with the exception of rape victims which increased 24%. Most of the incidents of crime took place in the form of assaults (60%), robberies (25%), and rape (15%). Incidents of assaults mostly took place in Papua (30%); however, most fatalities (45%) took place in Greater Jakarta. Incidents (63%) and impact (55%) of deaths from robberies was highest in Greater Jakarta. Rape victims were mostly found in Papua and Greater Jakarta.

Using a different classification system, the National Police Headquarters also maintain data related to crime figures that were shared with the public in their press release at the end of 2012.⁶ *Bareskrim* recorded as much as 1,181 incidents of murders.⁷ From that figure, 373 murders took place in the September-December 2012 period.

In this period, NVMS data also recorded as much as 183 incidents of domestic violence resulting in 37 deaths, 134 injuries, 28 rapes, and three buildings damaged. These figures show an increase in the number of incidents by 12% and injuries by 31% compared to the previous period. Most incidents of domestic violence took place in Papua, namely 58 incidents causing three deaths, 51 injuries, and four rape victims. In Greater Jakarta, 41 incidents of domestic violence resulted in 16 deaths, 25 injuries, and 13 rape victims. Of all domestic violence-related incidents,

⁶ *Bareskrim* data use the term crime (Kejahatan), which is divided into four categories: (1) conventional crime (crimes or criminal acts committed conventionally such as robbery, theft, murder, etc.), (2) transnational crime (crimes or criminal acts that cross national borders, such as drugs, illegal logging, smuggling, etc.), (3) crimes against the state's wealth (corruption, illegal logging, smuggling, etc.), and (4) crimes with contingent implications (riots, ethnic conflicts, separatism, protests, etc.). The classifications used by *Bareskrim* are based on the Penal Code (KUHP).

⁷ In the Press Release of National Police Headquarters 2012, incidents were recorded without any details on the number of victims.

assaults to wives by husbands formed the majority of incidents (52%), followed by physical and sexual violence against children (22%), as well as the dumping of babies (13%) with most of them were found dead. Most of the violent cases experienced by children were carried out by persons close to them, who held power over them, and who were respected and feared by them (www.republika.co.id, January 18, 2013). This situation would later push the *Komisi Nasional Perlindungan Anak* (National Commission of Child Protection) to launch year 2013 as the year of emergency for violence against children. Consequently, society should be responsible for monitoring their surrounding environment and raising the punishments for perpetrators of violence in order to create an effective deterrent. This matter must also become a concern for policy makers.

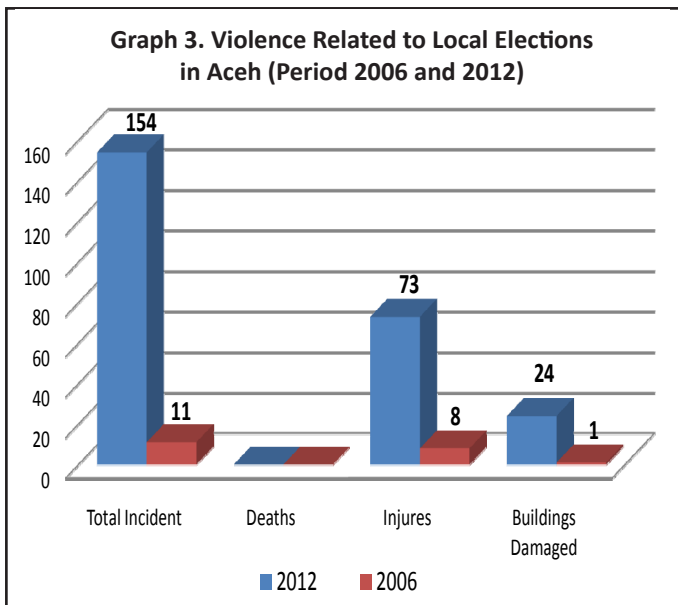
NVMS data also recorded 91 incidents of violence by security forces resulting in 17 deaths and 105 injuries. Sixteen of those deaths and 60 injuries were caused by the use of firearms. One of the major incidents in this category was the shootings of fishermen in the waters off Raja Ampat, West Papua that resulted in four deaths and three injuries (see Part 2, West Papua). Violence also occurred between the military and the police. Only recently, there was an assault and burning of a number of police facilities by military personnel at Ogan Komering Ulu and Ogan Komering Ulu Timur in South Sumatra on March 7, 2013 (*Kompas*, March 10, 2013). The trigger for this incident was the slow pace of investigation on a traffic violation that culminated in the fatal shooting of a member of the military by a traffic police officer. Throughout 2012, NVMS data also recorded as much as 27 incidents of conflicts between security forces that resulted in three deaths and 25 injuries. As violence by security forces always becomes a public concern, the law enforcement agencies should be open in their investigative process and in the legal status of security personnel involved in the incidents of violence. The measure needs to be taken so that the public can witness the performance of the security forces in enforcing discipline among their members and in avoiding any retaliation as a result of frustration over the lack of judicial process.

2. Issues Raised in Nine Provinces throughout 2012

In this edition, The Habibie Center Peace and Policy Review highlights incidents of violence based on the main issues in 2012 that took place in each province monitored by the NVMS program. The key issues were chosen based on the number of incidents and the impacts of violence.

Aceh

In the January-December 2012 period, local election-related violence was very prominent in Aceh. In this year, violence related to local elections occurred in 154 incidents with 73 injuries and 24 buildings damaged. The rise in violence cannot be separated from the local elections on April 9, 2012 which were simultaneously held at both the provincial and districts/city level. Local election-related violence in Aceh was quite high in 2012 compared to that in 2006. NVMS data analysis shows that incidents of violence during the 2012 local elections rose by almost 13-fold compared to 2006 (see Graph 3). At the same time, the impact of injuries as a result of local election-related



violence rose by almost six-fold. This situation indicates that the local elections in 2012 tended to be loaded with violence when compared to 2006.

Some of the reasons behind the phenomenon during the 2012 local elections include the factionalism of former combatants. Former combatants formerly belonging to *Gerakan Aceh Merdeka* (Free Aceh Movement/GAM) were split into two large camps during the 2012 local elections: the Irwandi Yusuf's camp and the *Partai Aceh's* (Aceh Party) camp. This condition tended to create potential frictions both at the elite and the grass roots levels. Other differences between the 2006 and 2012 local elections were related to the public attention at the local, national or international public towards the conditions in Aceh. In 2005, Aceh had just started reconciliation as a result of MoU Helsinki 2005 and post-Tsunami reconstruction (2004), so that the attention toward the political process, such as the local elections, was very high. The central government and international organizations provided a large portion in monitoring the 2006 local elections. This is a stark contrast with 2012 election, where the monitoring aspect was minimal (*ICG Report*, February 2012).

Violence related to the 2012 local elections also had its own problems, namely inter elite conflicts; rampant use of intimidation and violence before and after the local elections; weak capacity of the electoral organizers; and the security forces' slow disclosing of violent cases.⁸ These various factors likely encouraged the emergence of violence during the 2012 local elections in Aceh episodically.

Based on the NVMS data analysis in 2012, violence occurred during three periods, namely prior to the local elections, after the first round of provincial and district/city local elections, and after the second round of local elections in several districts/cities.⁹ Data show that the highest violence and impact occurred ahead of the local elections, namely 111 incidents resulting in 48 injuries. In this period, the dominant form of violence was attacks against the campaign teams and the destruction of

⁸ See The Habibie Center Peace and Policy Review Edition 1/July 2012.

⁹ Local elections in Aceh were held simultaneously at the provincial and city/district level on April 9, 2012. One round election occurred in the Aceh provincial local election and 18 cities/districts local elections. Meanwhile, four other cities/districts required a second round of local elections.

command posts belonging to gubernatorial and district/mayoral candidates. After the first round of local elections, data recorded 16 incidents, 11 injuries, and five buildings damaged. Several incidents, such as the throwing of grenades at the house of Zakaria Saman (former Defence Minister of GAM) and the beating of Irwandi Yusuf during the inauguration of the Governor of Aceh, took place in June 2012. In addition, 26 incidents, 14 injuries, and five buildings damaged were recorded during the second round of local elections at the district/city level.¹⁰ Several incidents, such as the burning of a *Partai Aceh's* command post in Tamiang and the burning of a vehicle owned by the mayoral candidate from *Partai Aceh* in Sabang took place in June and August 2012. Electoral disputes often triggered violence, such as the throwing of grenades at the Central Aceh Regent's house who was to be inaugurated as Governor in December 2012.¹¹

Based on the number of incidents related to the local elections in 2012, it is necessary to formulate several strategic steps so that violence does not occur again. Electoral organizing bodies (Elections Independent Commission/KIP and Elections Supervisory Commission/*Panwaslu*) must improve their capacity in carrying out elections by raising their knowledge and expertise of local electoral mechanisms and the socio-political contexts in Aceh. In addition, political parties and political leaders should be required to run peaceful politics, strengthen the role and function of aggregated interests, and also to be a platform for political education and a channel of communication to the public in order to reduce the potential for violence. Security forces are also required to be pro-active in disclosing cases of violence. These are important in order to anticipate continued acts of violence.

In addition to local-elections related violence, the January-December 2012 period also recorded violence against minority groups in Aceh. These minority groups have different faiths and beliefs from the majority groups resulting them to often become victims of violence.¹²

One example was a case that befell the Laduni group in West Aceh in September 2012. Hundreds of residents from Beureugang, Kaway XVI destroyed one building, six vehicles, and attacked followers of the Laduni group.¹³ The incident began on September 3, 2012 when a group from Muspika (Sub-district Security Council) Kaway XVI alongside ranks from *Wilayah Hisbah* (WH) organization and *Majelis Pemusyawaratan Ulama* (Ulemma Council/MPU) intended to hold a dialogue with the Laduni group at the local sub-district office. The dialogue forum was a venue for the Laduni group to clarify MPU's accusation that they strayed from Islamic teaching. While the dialogue was taking place, hundreds of residents gathered outside and began throwing rocks at the Laduni group. Although the forum was forced to stop, acts of violence continued

¹⁰ Several districts/cities, mainly Aceh Tamiang, Southwest Aceh, Nagan Raya and Sabang.

¹¹ This case was suspected to be related to the local elections in Central Aceh (*Merdeka.com*, December 24, 2012).

¹² Violence against minority groups not only occurred in Aceh, but also in other parts of Indonesia. In 2012, similar incidents occurred against the Sumarna group in Sukabumi and *Shia* residents in Sampang, both of which occurred in August 2012. These cases show that minority groups are vulnerable to acts of violence by groups or mass organizations that claim to defend religious teachings from defamation. Acts of violence toward minority groups are sometimes triggered by their labelling as heathens/heretics by religious institutions or organizations (such as MUI).

¹³ The Laduni group were considered heretics because they violated several beliefs of Islamic teaching, such as not requiring their followers to conduct afternoon and Friday prayers.

to take place. Residents attacked the Laduni followers who wanted to leave the location. Finally, the police had to evacuate the Laduni followers using armoured vehicles. Incidents of violence also continued on September 4, 2012. Hundreds of residents from Beureugang, Kaway XVI again attacked a house belonging to a Laduni follower. The incident did not result in any deaths but the house was destroyed.

Other phenomenon of minorities-related violence occurred in Bireuen at Jambo Dalam village, Plimbang. Clashes occurred between the local community and Tgk Aiyub Syakuban and his followers on November 16, 2012.¹⁴ Hundreds of residents gathered on Tgk Aiyub Syakuban's residence, suspecting his group to still be carrying out heretical activities. The group responded by attacking the arriving residents resulting in clashes that caused one death and 10 injuries. Soon a larger group of residents arrived at Tgk Aiyub Syakuban's residence. NVMS data show around 1,500 residents wanted to seek revenge. The mass rioting could not be prevented although a combined force of the police (including its Mobile Brigade/*Brimob*) and the local military came to the location. Tgk Aiyub Syakuban and one of his followers were burnt to death by the mob. Several buildings (such as a religious study hall) and vehicles owned by the minority group were also destroyed by the mob.

The phenomenon of violence often experienced by minority groups occurred due to a number of reasons. *Firstly*, claims of heresy issued by the State or by religious organizations against a group gives legitimacy to residents or organizations to carry out violence such as the one against the Tgk Aiyub Syakuban and Laduni groups in Aceh.¹⁵ *Secondly*, violence against minority groups cannot be separated from the weak protection provided by the security forces. In several cases, the security forces seemed powerless in facing mass riots numbering hundreds to thousands of people. This condition was also exacerbated by the security forces' weak monitoring of waves of large-scale mass mobilization. The security forces seem unable to prevent certain mass movements or mass organizations from carrying out violence against minority groups.

The issue of violence against minority groups must be handled more seriously. This is not only a matter of religious freedoms as enshrined in the Constitution, but also of the safety of citizens from acts of violence. Therefore, strategic actions are needed to handle this issue. First, the State must protect religious freedoms for all citizens. The government, both at the national and local level, must give a space for religious activities practiced by their followers. In addition, guidance, through for example dialogues, should be emphasized by the Religious Affairs Ministry or semi-governmental organizations related to religious matters. Up to now, the imposition of sanctions (such as heresy labelling) is more stressed than dialogue efforts. In the case of the Laduni group in West Aceh, the local organizations (WH and MPU) first set heresy claims, and then would hold dialogue and clarification efforts. The latter measure was suggested by the Laduni group. Further, the security forces must act firmly against perpetrators of violence and not allow incidents of violence in Bireuen, Aceh, to occur again. In that incident, the police seemed to

¹⁴ Tgk Aiyub Syakuban's group was considered heretics because they were not required to conduct prayers and also forbid their followers from being buried in standard graves. Moreover, they recommended writing the Tauhid (Islamic creed) on a corpse's fingers and right part of the chest.

¹⁵ *Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama* in Bireuen and West Aceh claimed that the Tgk Aiyub Syakuban and Laduni groups were heretics.

ignore acts of violence although they were already at the location of the incident. Thirdly, religious and community leaders should also be more pro-active in their efforts in conflict prevention by mass groups, mediation, and reconciliation between conflicting groups.

Greater Jakarta

In the January-December 2012 period, the Greater Jakarta area saw 2,155 violent incidents resulting in 369 deaths, 1,695 injuries, 64 buildings damaged, and 149 rapes. Violent crimes and violence related to taking the law into one's own hand dominated the violence issue in Greater Jakarta.

Throughout 2012, conflicts that need to be noted in the Greater Jakarta area were university/high school student violence. In the January-December 2012 period, NVMS data recorded at least 71 incidents of student violence in the Greater Jakarta area. The three places where most incidents took place are South Jakarta (15), East Jakarta (15), and Central Jakarta (10). Incidents of student violence resulted in 10 deaths and 40 injuries. High school/university student conflict broke out every month, most of which taking place in April (13 incidents) and September (16 incidents). Brawls between groups dominated the type of violence in the category of high school/university student conflicts; as much as 50 incidents (83%) were recorded resulting in five deaths and 26 injuries. In addition, the use of sharp weapons was recorded in 58% of incidents of student violence. It is important to pay attention to student violence as it occurs in the education sphere that is supposed to produce an educated young generation. In addition, the issue also relates to a number of problems such as the inheritance of violence from seniors to their juniors, interschool/intercampus rivalries, and weak law enforcement.¹⁶

Throughout 2012, there were several prominent incidents of violence involving sympathizers/followers of certain mass organizations. The January-December 2012 period recorded 37 incidents of violent conflict carried out by mass organization groups¹⁷ resulting in two deaths, 42 injuries, and seven buildings damaged. Based on NVMS data analysis, the areas where most incidents of mass organization-related violence occurred were South Jakarta (8), Central Jakarta (7), West Jakarta (5), Tangerang (5), South Tangerang (3), East Jakarta (3), and Bogor (3). Several issues contributing to incidents of mass organization-related violence are land claims, access to income/jobs, corruption, government programs, public services, revenge, and problems with other mass organizations.

Prominent incidents of mass organization-related violence in 2012 were the reciprocal attacks between *Forum Betawi Rempug* (United Batavian Forum/FBR) and *Pemuda Pancasila* (Pancasila Youths/PP) that occurred on June 27, 2012 in South Tangerang. One member of FBR died during the incidents. Later, an FBR mob sought revenge by carrying out a sweeping of PP members in South Tangerang and also destroying a security post. Not

¹⁶ Violent conflicts related to school/high school were discussed in-depth in *The Habibie Center Peace and Policy Review* Edition 02/November 2012.

¹⁷ The mass organization groups refer to groups that claim from certain organizations or areas and are involved in incidents of violent conflict, such as *Pemuda Pancasila* (PP), *Forum Betawi Rempug* (FBR), *Front Pembela Islam* (FPI), *Barisan Bogor Raya* (Greater Bogor Corp/BBR) and *Barisan Benteng Raya Pajajaran* (Pajajaran Greater Bull Corp/BBR) in Bogor.

only that, the FBR mobs also burnt down the house of a head of PP, beat two members of PP, and assaulted PP supporters identified on the streets.

Violence carried out by mass organization groups need to be seriously noted by the security forces as they deeply trouble residents. This is especially so when a mass organization mob conducts sweepings to find members of other mass organizations for revenge. Security forces must also carry out preventative protection actions in areas that are susceptible to clashes between mass organization groups. To date, Parliament is currently discussing a draft Law (RUU) on Mass Organizations. Various groups have voices opposition to the draft law.¹⁸ On the other hand, sanctions against perpetrators of violence in the draft law will be regulated only by Article 50 paragraph 2f in the form of a warning letter (reprimand), temporary freezing and eventually dissolution. These sanctions are difficult to apply if there are no clear regulations stating organizations are responsible for the violence carried out by their members. To date, mass organizations always shrug off responsibility whenever their members/sympathisers carry out violence with the reason that the actions are not carried out by the actual group.

West Kalimantan

Throughout 2012, NVMS data recorded 338 incidents of violence in West Kalimantan resulting in 33 deaths, 262 injuries, 18 buildings damaged, and 45 rapes. These incidents of violence were dominated by violent crimes (177 incidents), followed by violent conflict (98 incidents), and violence by security forces (45 incidents). The biggest impact was caused by incidents of violent crimes resulting in 21 deaths, 102 injuries, seven buildings damaged, and 36 rapes. In addition, conflict related to taking the law into one's own hands also resulted in the highest impact with three deaths and 73 injuries. The most prominent issue in West Kalimantan were identity-related conflicts. Although these conflicts were few, they were important to note as the province had previously experienced major ethnic conflicts in the past. An important incident in 2012 was clashes between *Front Pembela Islam* (Islamic Defender Front/FPI) members and the indigenous Dayak people in Pontianak.¹⁹

The incident happened on March 14, 2012 when university students from Pangsuma boarding house, located in Sungai Jawi Village, Pontianak Kota, Pontianak put up banners opposing the arrival of the FPI Central Board to West Kalimantan and called for the dissolution of FPI. Objecting the banners, some FPI sympathizers came to the boarding house, took them down, and damaged the boarding house's nameplate. Then the tension escalated between the indigenous Dayak people and FPI

18 ELSAM for example, put forward six objections against the draft Law (RUU) on Mass Organizations namely: (1) the wide definition of "mass organization" that encompasses all fields, (2) imposition of Pancasila principles, (3) restrictions on the constitutional freedom to form unions and assemble, (4) sources of funding, (5) the multiple interpretations of article on "banning," and (6) the potential use of the article on "Sanctions" as an instrument of an authoritarian regime to obstruct the growth of civil society organizations.

19 Initially, the rejection toward FPI occurred at Tjilik Riwut airport, Palangkaraya by hundreds of Dayak youths. Later this act spread to other areas such as Bali, North Sulawesi, and Greater Jakarta. On February 14, pro-pluralism activists formed a movement calling for "*Indonesia Tanpa FPI*" ("Indonesian without FPI). The movement rejected all forms of violence that are often carried out by FPI and called on the government/nation not to ignore violence perpetrated in public places.

sympathizers (www.tempo.co, March 16, 2012). Later, on March 16, 2012, a mob from the indigenous Dayak people carried out a street protest in Pontianak and was involved in clashes with FPI sympathizers resulting in injuries.

Although the incident accompanied by clashes to oppose FPI in Pontianak did not take place for long nor was it that large, dialogue between the two groups must be held in order to create common understanding and respect for each other. Security forces and local government leaders have played a positive role in overcoming the incident by carrying out quick coordination with religious and traditional leaders in the area. Key stakeholders should actively cooperate, intensively undertake coordination, and make efforts to detect potential conflict as early as possible, and to facilitate dialogues between conflicting groups.

East Nusa Tenggara

In the January-December 2012 period, land dispute-related violence was most prominent in East Nusa Tenggara Province. Throughout this period, such violence took place 28 times resulting in nine deaths, 47 injuries, and 24 buildings damaged. When observed from the impact of deaths, land disputes-related violence contributed to 53% of the deaths from violent conflicts in the region. Moreover, incidents of violence extended into almost all (80%) of the districts/cities in East Nusa Tenggara.

In the January-December 2012 period, one such incident was a customary land dispute between the villages of Lewonara and Lewobunga in East Adonara Sub-district, East Flores District. The dispute first emerged in 1998 when a piece of land covering 15 hectares in Riang Bunga Sub-village was developed for resettlement area for Riang Bunga residents by the local government. The plan drew opposition from Lewonara residents, who considered the land to be their customary land. A decade later, the dispute has yet to be settled, especially with regards to the Lewonara's customary land claims, the land's boundaries, and the compensation promised by the government (Poskupang.com, October 3, 2012).

This dispute also erupted into a series of violence in 2012. This was triggered by the East Flores Regent's plan to officially open 200 houses on the disputed land in Riang Bunga.

The opening had to be cancelled after the Regent's group were intercepted by residents of Lewonara in July 2012. The residents called on the local government to immediately settle the dispute.²⁰ While settlement efforts were underway, clashes between the residents of the two villages erupted on October 2, 2012. After the clash, peace efforts were carried out, however a deal has yet to be agreed on. On October 4, 2012, clashes between the residents of the two villages occurred again. The local government and the police attempted to reduce the violence through traditional and religious leaders while looking for sharp weapons owned by residents. The actions only resulted

20 The Lewonara residents' demands were later discussed in a meeting, both at the levels of Muspida (Regional Security Council) level and Echelon II officials in the East Timor district government. Even the East Flores Regent, Yoseph Lagadoni Herin, prior to the clashes erupted on October 2, 2012, had had direct meetings with Koli Lewopulo community leaders on August 1 and Lewonara leaders on September 21. At that time, an agreement was made that Lewobunga residents would leave the disputed land and return to their villages (Poskupang.com, October 28, 2012).

in stopping the violence temporarily. Clashes erupted again on November 13 and 14, 2012, when residents of Lewobunga attacked residents of Lewonara who were trying mark the land as their customary right. Peace efforts continued to be carried out both by the East Flores local government and traditional and religious leaders. The East Flores Regent finally decided to temporarily shut the disputed land to prevent any further violence.

The phenomenon of land disputes-related violence has happened in East Nusa Tenggara for a long time. Based on NVMS data, in the period of 2005-2012, 155 incidents occurred claiming 50 deaths, 174 injuries and 108 buildings damaged. The areas which often became locations of such violence were Kupang, Lembata, East Flores, Manggarai, Sumba, Southwest Sumba, and North Timor Tengah. According to the analysis, the underlying reasons for land disputes in East Nusa Tenggara include the overlapping ownership of production land (plantations or rice fields), problems of village land boundaries, and multiple claims of customary land.

The problem of land disputes often followed by incidents of violence is caused by several reasons. *First* is the government's slow efforts in settling land disputes. Violence often occurred when settlement efforts were dragged on, to the point of triggering communities to act outside of the formal justice system, such as the duels that occurred between Lewonara and Lewobunga in 2012.²¹ *Second* is the strength of family ties within tribes and clans (extended family). Family sentiments (both for tribes and clans) make it easier to mobilize mobs for acts of violence, such as physical clashes. These sentiments are also encouraged by the views of a part of the East Nusa Tenggara communities, especially tribes in Flores, that consider customary lands to be their sovereign or territorial domain. Consequently, it is not rare for land disputes to culminate into violent acts. *Third*, minimal police presence in preventing clashes causes violence to emerge during land disputes. For example, the clash that took place in Desa Reda Pada, Southwest Sumba that caused five deaths in 2011.²²

To prevent land dispute-related violence in East Nusa Tenggara, settlement efforts are greatly needed by emphasizing local cultural aspects in clarifying the ownership status of the lands. Traditional and religious leaders need to be more pro-active in using local cultural channels. The government officials from the village level up to the provincial level need to be more sensitive to community groups' land disputes, to provide facilities and support in settlement efforts. The police also need to put priority on preventive efforts against acts of land disputes-related violence, and to monitor areas prone to violence, such as building police security posts at the disputing village border. When violence does occur, the police should reduce the potential for continuing violence, enforce the law against violence perpetrators, and carry out raids to seize sharp weapons and homemade firearms.²³

21 In the context of East Nusa Tenggara society, especially the local culture, the use of violence (such as duels) is used as an alternative to settle disputes. Duels form a mystical-religious ritual to reach truths known as koda (Medan, K.K. & Barnes, R.H. (2003). *Murder Ritual on Adonara, Indonesia: A Cultural Analysis*. *Anthropos*, 2 (97), 487-494).

22 In the case of Desa Reda Pada in Southwest Sumba, the village location in the mountainous region obstructs efforts to prevent conflict. In this case, police officers from Southwest Sumba Police Station were unable to do much when they arrived at the scene because the clashes had already ended. Meanwhile, many residents had already fled and left the dead unattended at the scene (*Tempo.co*, June 24, 2011).

23 Like the communal land conflict between Lewonara and Lewobunga residents where the potential to use both sharp weapons and firearms

Throughout this period, a series of violence was found very dominant in Poso. As much as 17 incidents resulting in nine deaths and 10 injuries took place in August, October, November, and December. Terrorism regularly took place in Poso Pesisir and Poso Kota. These areas became the main targets of the police's hunt for terrorists.

The rise in acts of terrorism in Poso can be read as an attempt to disturb the peace in the area after the 1998-2001 conflicts. This is indicated by the targeting of religious symbols by acts of terrorism, such as the burning of a church in Madale, Poso Kota Utara that was preceded by a bomb explosion on a police post on October 22, 2012. Acts of terrorism were aimed to provoke religious community groups. On October 24, 2012, for example, a bomb exploded in Pasar Siwagi in Tentena, a well-known pocket for Christians in Poso. Moreover, there was also a bomb attack on Christmas Day that took place in Pasar Sentral, Poso Kota.

In addition, the police officers also became also the targets of terrorist acts in Poso. For example on November 15, 2012 there was a shooting on the house of the Chief of Poso Pesisir Utara Sector Police. On October 8, 2012, a kidnapping followed by assaults caused two police officers from Polsek Poso Pesisir and Polres Poso dead. Furthermore, four police officers were killed during a fire exchange with suspected terrorists on December 20, 2012. On the other side, the local police and *Detasemen Khusus* (Special Detachment/*Densus*) 88 regularly used violent means when hunting terrorist groups/networks. This took place in a number of incidents such as the shooting of a suspected terrorist when he tried to throw a bomb at the police when being arrested. In Kalora, Poso Pesisir, *Densus* 88 officers attempted to apprehend six individuals suspected to be involved in terrorist acts in Poso, causing one death and two injuries of the suspects.

This phenomenon of violence is not new in Poso. Based on NVMS data analysis on 2005-2011 period, 42 incidents were recorded resulting in 51 deaths, 78 injuries, and 11 buildings damaged. Incidents in the form of terrorism became very dominant (62%) in Poso. Acts of terrorism tended to target places of worship, areas with large crowds, such as markets and residential areas, and police stations.

As an area that has previously experienced major violent conflicts, Poso still holds past problems. One of the problems was the handling of a post-conflict program that was not effective, and tends to only become project distribution among conflict actors (*Kontras Report*, November 4, 2012). In addition, past experience and trauma provides an opportunity for victims of violence to seek revenge, especially when outside influences strengthen those desires.²⁴ Thus, serious and thorough handling to end the series of terrorism in Poso is urgently needed. The local government should also be involved through policies and programs that prioritize the social

was very high. This can be seen from the results of police raids that discovered hundreds of sharp weapons, 25 homemade firearms with ammunitions and tens of Molotov bombs (*Poskupang.com*, November 15, 2012). Unfortunately the raids were not conducted since the very start when violence began to rise and only took place after the clashes ended on November 14, 2012.

24 Terrorism in Poso allegedly not only involved networks from Poso alone, but also actors from other areas as expressed by the Head of Public Information Bureau, National Police Headquarters (*Kompas.com*, January 4, 2013).

Box 3: Important Incidents of Intervillage Clashes in Central Sulawesi in 2012

Palu	7/1/2012	Clashes occurred between hundreds of residents from Tavanjuka and Nunu sub-districts. The incident was triggered by acts of revenge for a previous clash that had occurred in December 2011. The incident resulted in one death, 11 injuries, and six buildings damaged.
	4/4/2012	Clashes occurred between residents of Nunu and Tavanjuka sub-districts. The incident was triggered by the disappointment of a group of Nunu residents towards a Tavanjuka resident who had given damning testimony during the police interrogation against a suspected arsonist of a Tavanjuka resident's house several months before. This disappointment was translated into the burning of houses in Tavanjuka. Later, clashes between the two groups broke out, resulting in one death, 13 injuries, and 12 buildings and two motorbikes burned.
	5/4/2012	Clashes occurred between groups of residents from Tavanjuka and Nunu sub-districts. The incident resulted in six houses burned to the ground, and several other houses and a car damaged. The incident was an act of revenge over clashes the day before.
	18/11/2012	Eight people were injured as a result of clashes between residents of Tavanjuka and Nunu sub-districts. The incident was triggered by a fight between youths from the two villages. The clashes were stopped by the police.
Sigi	3/11/2012	An attack suspected to have been carried out by a group of residents from Padende Village against residents of Binangga Village occurred and was triggered by a previous fight among youths from those villages.
	4/11/2012	Clashes occurred between residents of Binangga and Padende Villages resulting in 11 injuries and 15 buildings damaged. The incident followed an incident from the previous day.

welfare perspective. Community and religious leaders also need to be more active in broadcasting peace messages, through religious forums and daily interaction. Communities should also not be permissive or tolerate potential terrorist movements in their area and should coordinate with the security forces. The police must also put more emphasis on de-radicalization aspects instead of repressive efforts so that the eradication of terrorism wins supports from the community.

In addition to acts of terrorism, clashes between villages were also prominent in Central Sulawesi. In 2012, 23 incidents causing 3 deaths, 69 injuries and 51 buildings damaged were recorded. Incidents of clashes between villages were quite dominant in two areas, namely Palu and Sigi Districts.

In Palu, incidents of clashes often occurred between residents of Nunu and Tavanjuka, West Palu Sub-district. In this year alone, 12 incidents of clashes occurred causing two deaths, 35 injuries, and 31 buildings damaged. The phenomena of clashes have occurred since a long time ago.²⁵ NVMS data from 2005-2011 show 11 incidents of clashes resulting in 81 injuries and 48 buildings damaged. Similar incidents occurred in Sigi. Clashes regularly occurred between Binangga and Padende Villages located in Marawola Sub-district. In this period three incidents occurred resulting in 11 injuries and 15 buildings damaged. Several important incidents in Palu and Sigi can be seen in Box 3.

Various factors often triggered clashes in Palu and Sigi. *First*, injured pride often became a trigger for clashes. For example, mutual taunting and loud sound of motorcycle exhausts easily provoke the two groups to attack each other. *Second*, acts of revenge were carried out by

25 The clashes have occurred since around 1996 (Republika.co.id, April 4, 2012).

residents as seen in the clash between the residents of Nunu and Tavanjuka on April 5, 2012. The clash occurred after residents of Nunu were conducting a funeral for the victims that had died due to clashes a day earlier. Six houses belonging to Tavanjuka residents were burned by Nunu residents. *Third*, incitement among the youth groups from the two villages can ignite anger eventually leading to clashes. *Fourth*, economic conditions indirectly affect a series of clashes in several areas in Central Sulawesi. For example, in Nunu and Tavanjuka, the youths involved in clashes tended to have no permanent jobs. The influence of alcohol consumption also often triggered frictions between the youths of the two villages (*Seputar Rakyat Report, Edition I/2012, Tanah Merdeka Foundation*).

A number of peace efforts have been carried out in the two areas. For example, after the clashes between the residents of Binangga and Padende on November 4, 2012, the local government held meetings between the village heads of Binangga and Padende together with other leaders from the two villages, the Deputy Regent of Sigi, and the Sub-district Head of Marawola. The security forces also guarded areas of clashes. However, these measures have not been successful nor have efforts by the Mayor of Palu and the Regent of Sigi. Anti-violence campaigns carried out by the community, such as the "*Kami Ingin Damai*" ("We Want Peace") campaign by mothers and children of Nunu and Tavanjuka in April 2012 in the areas were not successful in stopping the clashes.

As peace efforts have not yet managed to settle the series of clashes in the two areas, it is important to emphasize cultural aspects in the settlement efforts. Many residents of Nunu and Tavanjuka have kinship relations, so mediation through family channels should also be considered. Furthermore, spaces for interaction between residents

need to be intensified, among others through religious activities, sport, and joint community work that involve actors of the clashes. In addition, raising the welfare of the youths must be done by providing employment opportunities in the area. Finally, measures are needed to control alcohol distribution and to take firm action by the security forces towards perpetrators of clashes to give a deterrent effect.

Maluku

Throughout 2012 327 incidents of violence in Maluku were recorded resulting in 60 deaths, 395 injuries, and 418 buildings damaged. Incidents of violence were dominated by violent crime (50%) and conflict (46%). Incidents of conflict alone resulted in 37 deaths (62%), 271 injuries (69%), and 405 buildings damaged (97%). Most of the impact of conflict in the province originated from resources-related violence, namely gold mining and land disputes. Other than that, the impact of violence also emerged from incidents related to ethnic and religious identity issues.

In the May-December period, 11 incidents of violence took place in the gold mining area of Gunung Botak, Buru Island resulting in 20 deaths and 31 injuries. The mining area is managed by the community despite no existing permit from the government. The local government shut the mining area in the middle of July due to clashes that claimed 11 deaths and 22 injuries.²⁶ However, the mining activities continued to take place. Consequently, violence erupted again in November and December resulting in nine deaths and nine injuries. In December, the local government together with the security forces again shut and guarded the mining area.

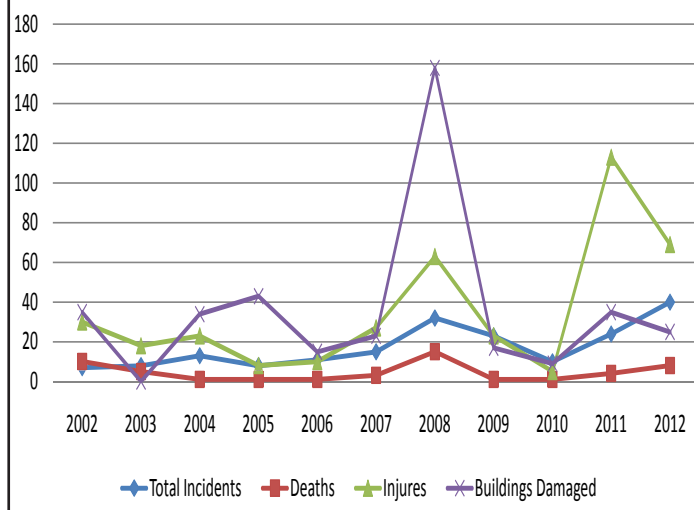
Following gold mining disputes, most fatalities were due to land conflicts. According to Fraasen (in Adam, 2010) the issue of land disputes in Maluku began to emerge in the 70s because of population pressures, the soaring price of cloves, and the arrival of migrant workers from Buton. These three factors caused rising competition for access to resources, including land disputes. This was made worse by a lack of precise borderline or unclear/unwritten evidence of agreements. Throughout 2012 alone, 40 incidents of land disputes occurred resulting in 12 deaths, a two-fold rise compared to the previous year. When observed since the post-communal conflict period, 191 incidents were recorded resulting in 50 deaths, 389 injuries, and 394 buildings damaged. Most of the incidents and impact came from the District of Central Maluku.²⁷

In the post-communal conflict period, land disputes have also occurred between refugees and land owners. In Ambon for example, refugee houses in Warasia were claimed to have been built on land belonging to an indigenous group. The disputes were taken to the courts and the refugee groups lost the case. Now, the refugee houses have been marked with paint to show that the buildings stand on land belonging to the indigenous group. As land disputes have claimed many lives and occurred since a long time ago in Maluku, this issue needs to be settled quickly. Therefore, efforts to strengthen the capacity of indigenous groups and local governments in mediating land settlements are urgently needed.

26 See The Habibie Center Peace and Policy Review Edition 2/November 2012.

27 A more in-depth analysis on this issue can be seen in The Habibie Center Peace and Policy Review Edition 1/July 2012.

Graph 4. Incidents and Impacts of Land-related Violence in Maluku (February 2002-December 2012)



In 2012, Maluku still witnesses identity-related conflicts, especially ethnic and religious identities. In February a dispute over the inauguration date for a traditional house in Pelauw, Saparua, ended in clashes between residents resulting in six deaths, 24 injuries and 300 buildings damaged. The clashes contributed to the biggest impact of damage in 2012. In addition, nine incidents related to interfaith issues in Ambon were recorded. These incidents resulted in one death, 54 injuries, and one building damaged. Several important incidents recorded were a series of incidents in May that began with the Pattimura torch parade on May 15, 2012, the stoning of public transportation, and youth fights that began in Terminal Mardika. Other incidents were the discovery of and throwing of bombs in June, a bomb explosion in Terminal B, Nusaniwe in October, and a series of clashes between residents of Air Salobar and Pohon Mangga in December. These incidents could be localized and did not escalate due to a quick response from the government and security forces as well as the religious and traditional leaders.²⁸ In addition, most of the Maluku communities, especially in Ambon, are already tired of conflicts and chose not to be provoked into doing acts of violence. However, these incidents showed that need Maluku post-conflict communities are vulnerable to a recurrence of communal violence, such as that in September 2011.²⁹

North Maluku

Based on NVMS data analysis of January-December 2012, the issue of clashes between villages in North Maluku attracted attention. In 2012, clashes between villages occurred 24 times resulting in one death and 45 injuries. Ternate was the most dominant area (88%) for clashes between villagers in the North Maluku Province. Incidents of intervillage clashes often took place between residents of Mangga Dua and Toboko Sub-districts in

28 For example, following clashes during the Torch Parade on May 15, 2012, GPM Synod approached the mob that had gathered around Rehobot Church, Ambon to quell the potential acts of violence by the mob.

29 The riots in Ambon on September 11, 2011 were one of the major incidents after the 2002 peace agreement. The incident was triggered by the death of a Muslim *ojek* (motorcycle taxi) driver in a Christian neighborhood in Gunung Nona. Riots even occurred at other points, such as Batumerah, Wainitu, and around Trikora Statue. These riots resulted in 10 deaths, 160 injuries, and 302 buildings damaged.

Box 4: Several Incidents of Separatism-related Conflicts in Papua in 2012

A group from Komite Nasional Papua Barat (National Committee of West Papua/KNPB) under the leadership of Mako Tabuni (MT).	29/5/2012	A German citizen was injured after being shot by KNPB members consisting of MT (as the brain behind the shooting) and his three followers in Pantai Base G Tanjung Ria, North Jayapura.
	4/6/2012	A student from Skyland Kotaraja area, Abepura was shot in his back by MT and two KNPB members.
	5/6/2012	Two residents from Hamadi Pasar and Kloffkamp was shot in the waist by MT and two KNPB members in front of Kantor Perhubungan (Transportation Office), Jalan Sam Ratulangi Trikora, North Jayapura.
	5/6/2012	A member of military personnel in Pemda 1 Entrop housing complex, South Jayapura was injured in the chin after being shot by MT and two KNPB members.
	6/6/2012	A civil servant sustained wounds in the neck after being shot by MT and KNPB members behind the Mayor's Office, Jalan Baru Entrop, South Jayapura.
	14/6/2012	MT was fatally shot by the police at Perumnas III Waena housing complex, Heram district, Jayapura Kota when the police wanted to arrest a suspect involved in a property destruction case and seven other cases. It was reported that the victim tried to resist arrest causing the police to open fire.
Separatism-related Conflict in Paniai District	17/8/2012	A group from Organisasi Papua Merdeka (Free Papua Organization/OPM) shot three civilians in front of the victims' house in Obano Market, Obano Village, West Paniai Sub- district, Paniai resulting in one deaths and one injury.
	21/8/2012	A police officer on the outskirts of Enarotali Airport, Paniai Timur district, Paniai Papua was killed after he was shot by an OPM group, JY leadership.
	22/8/2012	Exchange of fire occurred between a combined police/military team and an OPM group at Paniai, Papua. The combined police/military team burnt an Honai (traditional Papuan house) suspected of hiding OPM members.
	11/10/2012	Gunfires occurred in Sungai Kebo 1, Kebo Sub-district, Paniai between the members of OPM and 40 military personnel resulting in two soldiers being shot with homemade firearms.

Ternate Selatan. In addition, the largest impact of injuries (58%) was caused by several incidents of clashes between the residents of the two sub-districts.

In this period, the worst incidents of clashes between the sub-districts of Mangga Dua and Tobok occurred in May and August causing 13 and 18 injuries respectively. On May 13, 2012, clashes between groups of youths from the two sub-districts occurred as a result of mutual taunting following a football game. Incidents of clashes occurred again the following day (May 14, 2012). Clashes on August 14, 2012 were also a result of clashes from the previous day. Incidents of clashes between the Districts of Mangga Dua and Toboko tended to continue during this period.

When examined, the phenomenon of clashes between the Sub-districts of Mangga Dua and Toboko has occurred for a long time. NVMS 2009-2011 data show 20 incidents of clashes resulting in 28 injuries and 25 buildings damaged. Several incidents contributed to the rise of the impacts of injuries and destruction; for example, on September 28, 2009, clashes on a bridge connecting the two sub-districts resulted in 12 injuries and 20 buildings damaged. On September 11, 2010 clashes at the border of the two sub-districts caused four injuries and three buildings damaged. On April 19, 2011, a large clash resulted in six injuries.

The triggers of the violent incidents between the two sub-districts are varied. *First* is the reason of injured pride. The act of mutual taunting during a sports game, such as football, often culminated in clashes. *Second* is acts of revenge for previous incidents of violence. *Third* is the high group sentiment between residents allegedly due to differences in regional and ethnic origins. Residents originally from Tidore dominantly live in Toboko Sub-

district while the Makian ethnic group mostly live in Mangga Dua Sub-district.³⁰ This makes mass mobilization easier to do to in incidents of clashes. For example, in August 2012, clashes took place for two days. The clashes were Toboko residents' response to an attack by the Mangga Dua residents the previous day (*Tribunnews.com*, August 21, 2012).

In the last few years, a number of peace efforts have been undertaken.³¹ For example, on *Idul Fitri* (Eid) 2011 a peace negotiation between the residents was facilitated by the Mayor of Ternate and *Muspida*. Efforts to deescalate the clashes of May 2012 were also carried out by the district leaders of South Ternate and also attended by the police. At the borders separating the two sub-districts, security posts were built to prevent clashes. Unfortunately, these efforts have not successfully ended the clashes. As peace negotiating efforts are carried out only when classes occur, one might have the impression that the measures by government, security forces, and related parties are only reactive, and not anticipative, toward incidents of clashes.

Therefore, more comprehensive peace efforts need to be emphasized by creating routine dialogues between residents and youth leaders and joint activities between the two sub-districts facilitated by the local government. The security forces should also be firm in handling perpetrators of violence and confiscating weapons often used in clashes.

³⁰ An interview with a local respondent (March 20, 2013).

³¹ As reported by several local and national newspapers such as *Malutpost* (May 16 and August 24, 2012 as well as April 23 2011) and *Kompas.com* (May 15, 2012).

Papua

In 2012, Papua saw 336 incidents of violent conflict resulting in 74 deaths, 929 injuries, and 255 buildings damaged. Several highlighted issues in 2012 were separatism-related conflict, identity-related conflict, and violent conflicts related to elections and public administrations.

In 2012, NVMS data recorded 46 incidents of violent conflict related to separatism issues causing 23 deaths, 58 injuries, and 18 buildings damaged (See Box 4).

Data show that civilians³² were the largest victims due to separatism-related conflicts with a total of 13 deaths and 48 injuries, followed by police officers (six deaths; one injury), separatists (three deaths; one injury), and military personnel (one death; eight injuries). In terms of areas of conflict, separatism-related incidents most often took place in the City of Jayapura (14 incidents) and Puncak Jaya District (13 incidents). These mostly involved clashes between suspected separatist groups and the security forces.

NVMS data also recorded that organic firearms (factory-produced) were used in 31 incidents resulting in 19 deaths, 28 injuries, and two buildings damaged. The use of organic firearms occurred mostly in Jayapura and Puncak Jaya that required the security forces investigate the origin of those organic firearms.

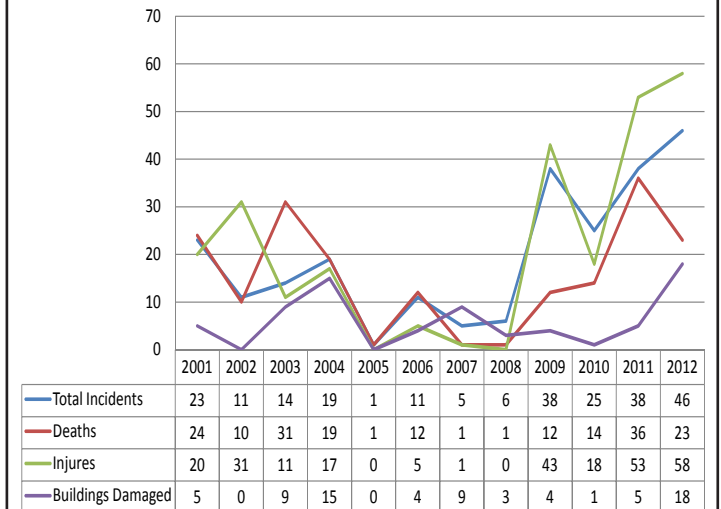
The separatist conflict in Papua has happened for a long time and resulted in quite a number of death toll. In the last 12 years (2001-2012), NVMS data recorded 237 incidents resulting in 184 deaths, 257 injuries, and 73 buildings damaged. In this period, the separatism-related conflicts continued to occur and significantly escalated from 2009 (38 incidents), reaching its peak in 2012 (46 incidents) as shown in Graph 5. Various approaches have been taken, from security, welfare, and dialogue perspective, but have not been able to reduce separatism-related conflicts. Currently, on February 21, 2013 a separatist group even shot and killed eight military personnel and four civilians. Investigations concerning the shooters remain unclear to date.³³

In addition to separatism-related issues, identity-related conflicts were also prominent in Papua with 42 incidents resulting in 13 deaths, 510 injuries, and 22 buildings damaged, as shown in Graph 6. Identity-related conflicts were dominated by intertribal clashes that often occurred in Mimika District. In 2012, at least 26 incidents of conflict between tribes in Mimika (Kuala Kencana and Mimika Baru Sub-districts) were recorded resulting in 11 deaths, 373 injuries, and six buildings damaged while one incident in Lanny Jaya (Balingga Sub-district) in September 2012 caused 12 fatalities and 50 injuries.

32 Civilians referred to as victims of separatism-related conflict in 2012 are business employees, teachers, *ojek* drivers, women, civil servants, journalists, foreigners, and residents suspected of assisting OPM.

33 Shootings by separatist groups occurred on February 21, 2013 at two different locations, namely Tinggi Nambut Sub-district, Puncak Jaya resulting in one military personnel dead and Sinak Sub-district, Puncak District, resulting in seven military personnel dead on the scene (www.tempo.co, February 22, 2013). Two different statements concerning these two incidents were published: first, Irjen Tito Karnavian (Head of Provincial Police of Papua) stated that the shootings were not related to separatism and not carried out by OPM; second, *Menkopolkam* (the Coordinating Minister of Politics, Law, and Security) and *Badan Intelijen Negara* (State Intelligence Agency/BIN) stated that separatist/OPM groups were responsible for the two incidents. The National Police is currently investigating the cases.

Graph 5. Incidents of Separatism-related Conflict and Their Impacts in Papua (2001-2012)



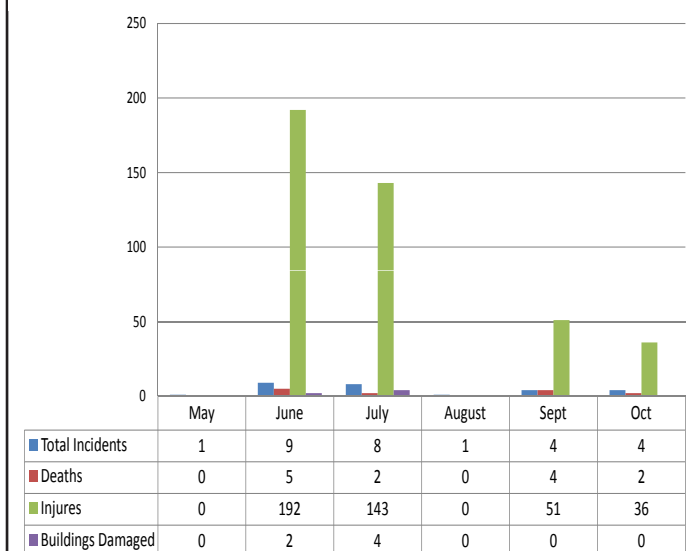
Intertribal clashes in Mimika took place between the Dani tribe (Kampung Harapan/Atas) and Amungme tribe (Kampung Amole/Bawah). The conflict has been going on for a long time caused historically by intertribal grudges and disputes. In 2012, NVMS data show intertribal clashes repeatedly took place every month from May to October in Kuala Kencana Sub-district (Karang Senang and Utikini Baru Villages) and Mimika Baru Sub-district (Kwamki, Kwamki Narama, Timika Jaya and Kwamki Lama Villages). Intertribal clashes were recurrent so persistently that solutions need to be found immediately. In early July 2012, two warring groups came to a peace agreement facilitated by traditional leaders and the local government officials.³⁴ In addition, 25 people were determined as suspects and detained in relation to the conflict between the two tribes (LensaIndonesia.com, July 5, 2012). However, not long afterwards conflict took place again. Consequently, the security forces have an important role in ensuring conflicts not to escalate. Furthermore, the local leadership should also play a role in conducting mediations between the two warring tribes and must take more serious stance in their efforts to settle leaving no impression that they are ignoring these problems.

Throughout 2012, **violent conflicts related to local elections took place every month and 22 incidents of violent conflict were recorded resulting in 19 deaths, 122 injuries, and 137 buildings damaged**. Four areas that became locations of violent conflicts were the City of Jayapura, Puncak, Puncak Jaya, and Tolikara Districts.

The January to February 2012 period saw the largest incidents and impacts of local elections-related violence in those four areas. NVMS data analysis show that local election-related violent incidents occurred for a number of reasons. *First*, mobs from two candidates for regent were very militant in supporting their candidates. When provoked by their opponents, clashes occurred and culminated to killing as happened to supporters of one of the Puncak Jaya Regent candidates. *Second*, clashes also occurred due to the different interests of political party leaders in determining regent candidates. Clashes occurred between supporters of two candidates although they

34 Cultural rituals that have been carried out in the peace process included *belah kayu* (splitting of wood) and *pemanahan terhadap babi* (arrow shooting at pigs).

Graph 6. Incidents and Impacts of Interethnic/tribal Clashes in Mimika (May-October 2012)



came from the same political party. *Third*, objections were raised over the neutrality of local electoral organizers.³⁵

As a result of these violent conflicts, a number of local elections were postponed and even the local election for Puncak District was finally held in 2013. In addition, the government of Puncak District had to provide compensation of 17 billion rupiahs to injured victims and family of dead victims during the previous year's local elections-related violence.

West Papua

According to the NVMS database, in 2012 West Papua saw 113 incidents of violent conflict resulting in four deaths and 102 injuries. In this period, conflicts that need attention were separatism-related violence that took place in January, October, and November. In January, a rally was held calling for an end to the socialization of *Unit Percepatan Pembangunan Papua dan Papua Barat* (Development Accelerating Unit of Papua and West Papua/UP4B).³⁶ The objections toward the Unit were based on several reasons. First, UP4B was considered to be a continuation of Special Autonomy which, many viewed, did not contribute to raising people's welfare. Second, its formation was carried out without any dialogue with Papuan communities. Third, it only focused on physical development and disregarded law enforcement and human rights issues.

Besides the objections to UP4B, efforts to carry out dialogues appear difficult due to a lack of trust towards the central government and a perception that the military approach is more emphasized in overcoming separatist movements. Incidents of demonstrations calling for a referendum continued to take place. For example in West Manowari, on October 23, 2012, a mass demonstration was held by the *Komite Nasional Papua Barat* (National

³⁵ See The Habibie Center Peace and Policy Review Edition 1/July 2012.

³⁶ UP4B was established by *Peraturan Presiden* (Presidential Regulation/Perpres) Republik Indonesia No. 66/2011. According to the *Perpres*, UP4B is valid until 2013. The institution is assigned to assist the President in coordinating and synchronizing supports for planning, facilitating, and managing the implementation of the Development Acceleration of Papua and West Papua.

Committee of West Papua/KNPB)³⁷ supporting the formation of the International Lawyers for West Papua (ILWP) in London, United Kingdom³⁸ and calling for a referendum. The demonstration ended in clashes between the KNPB supporters and the police resulting in five police officers to suffer injuries from stone throwing and 18 civilians to suffer injuries from rubber bullets or police beatings. On the same day, a demonstration also took place in the City of Sorong but was dispersed by combined security forces.

Separatism-related violence did not only occur between mobs and security forces. In November, at West Manokwari, an incident of assault occurred, perpetrated by KNPB activists towards a civilian who was unwilling to support their actions. The victim suffered stab wounds and later dies on December 22 after being hospitalized.

Although separatism issues are infrequent in West Papua, the above examples of incidents need attention because they are related to inequality of development, human rights violations, and neglect by the Indonesian government towards the Papuans. At the local level, indigenous communities have a perception that important economic assets are controlled by outsiders. In addition, the local communities also perceive the security forces to not act firmly towards outsiders who committed violence and looting. In November for example, there was a joint mass demonstration by *Solidaritas Rakyat Papua Peduli HAM* (Papuan People's Solidarity on Human Rights) in Sorong demanding action over the looting and destruction of 19 houses. Other issues that emerged were violence by the security forces against the local population as seen in the shooting of seven fishermen from Pulau Raam (Pulau Buaya) Sorong, in the area of Raja Ampat waters.³⁹ According to the security personnel, the shootings occurred because the fishermen resisted arrest using fish bombs. However, one victim who survived the incident stated they were forced to disembark, lined up with tied hands, and then shot in the middle of the night. Four fishermen died on the scene while the three others managed to survive after falling to the ground and pretending to be dead. Two⁴⁰ of the three survivors escaped using a backup boat while the other ran into the jungle where he later died.⁴¹ Noting the contradictions in claims concerning this case, an open investigation needs to be conducted so that the public can find out what truly happened.

³⁷ KNPB is a group of Papuan NGOs that aims to campaign for Papuan independence (both Papua and West Papua provinces). KNPB was established on November 19, 2008 and receives legal support from International Parliamentarians for West Papua (IPWP) and International Lawyers for West Papua (ILWP) for the Papuan people's self-determination.

³⁸ ILWP was formed by 68 international lawyers in Oxford, United Kingdom. In a number of press releases, the group supports a referendum for Papua and West Papua and urges the United Nations to place Papua under international administration.

³⁹ www.kompas.com, December 30, 2012; www.radarsorong.com, December 29, 2012.

⁴⁰ Two of the survivors of the shootings by military personnel reported the incident to La Ode Ida, Deputy Chairman of Indonesian Senate and accompanied by the manager of *Kerukunan Keluarga Sulawesi Tenggara* (The Community of Southeast Sulawesi Families/KKST). The seven fishermen came from Southeast Sulawesi.

⁴¹ www.radartimika.com, December 24, 2012.

Reflections for 2012

According to the result of a closed cabinet meeting on internal security held at the beginning of 2013, Menkopolhukam (the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs) stated that based on the political, legal, and security analyses, the escalation of violence was still a challenge for the government. Violence, social conflicts, and horizontal frictions are still occurring in 2013 added with to the heating political climate approaching legislative and presidential elections in 2014.⁴²

Reflecting on the cases of violence in 2012, we need to highlight several issues. First, the government apparatus appeared slow in responding to potentials of violence and put less emphasis on preventative security actions. This condition encouraged violence to occur easily and to repeat continuously. Second, there were incomplete settlement processes for violent cases that previously took place. This left residues of violence (such as feelings of revenge, injustice, poverty, etc.) that can trigger further violence. Third, the law enforcement processes are less satisfactory and do not create enough deterrent effects, to the extent that they encouraged perpetrators to continue doing violence. Furthermore, victims of violence often carried out revenge attacks when the legal processes against perpetrators were deemed insufficient. Fourth, the use of violence was often considered as a solution by communities in responding to problems. A number of cases show that whenever a problem could not be resolved by a community, they would tend to use violence.

Departing from the cases of violence that took place in 2012, strategic actions that provide solutions need to be formulated. Therefore, it is important to establish integrated efforts in handling violence from the lowest to highest levels of government. To date, the handling of violence tends to be reactive and partial at both the local and national government levels. This needs to be changed

42 www.waspada.co.id, January 7, 2013.

by strengthening the institutional, resources, evaluations, and continuity aspects. If these not strengthened, the integrated handling will only possess elitist characteristics that do not address the problems of violence existing in the societies.

The government has already issued Law No. 7/2012 on the Handling of Social Conflicts, followed by Presidential Instruction No. 2/2013 on the of Handling Internal Security Disturbances. However the effectiveness of the two legal products must still be examined because large-scale conflicts have continued to take place, such as a riot which is related to local elections in Palopo, South Sulawesi on March 31, 2013. On another note, the discourse to remove the process of direct elections for regents and governors can hurt the democratic process that Indonesia currently enjoys.

The next Peace and Policy Review will analyze data from January-April 2013 and will be published in June 2013. For more information please contact nvms@habibiecenter.or.id.

The Habibie Center was established by Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie and family in 1999 as an independent, non-governmental, non-profit organisation. The vision of The Habibie Center is to create a structurally democratic society founded on the morality and integrity of cultural and religious values. the mission of The Habibie Center are first, to establish a structurally and culturally democratic society that recognizes, respects, and promotes human rights by undertaking study and advocacy of issues related to democratization and human rights, and second, to increase the effectiveness of the management of human resources and the spread of technology.

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