Exploring Collective Violence in Sambas
Through The Construction of Collective Identity[*]

Yulia Sugandi[*]

PART ONE

The Analytical Tools

"I felt for the first time that the strongest and highest Will to Life doesn't find expression in a miserable struggle for existence, but in a Will to War, a Will to Power, a Will to Overpower !"

Friedrich Nietzche, *The Young Nietzche.*

Communal conflict that used ethnicity as derivation such happened in Sambas 1999, acquires a *meta-historical* dimension since it implies the extermination of those who are 'different', calls into question *the concept of identity.* On the one hand, forgetting one's roots can be dangerous for individuals and their cultures; on the other hand, worshiping memories may be a precursor to group discrimination and mass murder (Todorov, 1995)[1]. In anthropological books, ethnic group is known as population, which not merely has similarity in biology and cultural form, but also includes the elements of communication and interaction that uniquely define its own identity. Though is an ascription, the ethnic group's borders can change at any time whenever the group is fragmenting, joining the other group, eroding, unifying and redefining itself from time to time. Sociology views that the socially determined to answer to the question; *"Who am I?"* One's social identity and self-system is comprised of all the roles (and associated social identities), which a person occupies and enacts in the course of a given stage in life. In mass societies, roles are so brief, superficial and manipulative that an identity does not emerge as a stable, discernable pattern. Without social identity, behaviour is often unstable, antisocial and/or self-indulgement. In logic, identity denotes the absolute equality of one thing and another[2]. Since Indonesia is identified as one of the states that has high collectivist values, then automatically holds collectivism where collective or in-group identity and needs over individual ones. In this research, the exploration of collective identity is focused on some communities that are related to Sambas conflict 1999. The strict demarcation between in-group and out-group indicates differentiation of collective identity between 'us' and 'them'. Sambas conflict pointed that when dialogue was no longer exist to integrate above differentiation, aggressive collective violent action was taken. Knowing the tragic humanistic impact from Sambas conflict has urged me to

---

[*] Presented on LIPI-CNRS Reading Group, 11 November 2003.

[*] Please do not quote without author's permission. Comments could be delivered to yuliasugandi@hotmail.com

[1] Ferrarotti, 2001:174.

[2] Dictionary of Critical Sociology.

apply my *deontology*[3]. I believe that having better understanding about the locality character of the conflict would lead to proper conflict management, transformation as well as resolution in order to reduce further human cost. In order to achieve this goal, I raise the major epistemological question or central problem related to Sambas conflict in 1999: **"How was the condition of collective identity building in rural Sambas before conflict in 1999?"** The displaying of this major question would be followed by other minor axiological question: **"What were the impacts of Sambas conflict in humanism frame?"**

In order to be able to answer the major epistemological question, more variables are required to explain further about the condition before (precondition) the Sambas conflict in 1999. The description of precondition of collective identity refers also to peoples' well-being. Gaining better understanding about collective identity or well-being could lead to identify the safety valve mechanism that would be able to improve certain condition. Safety valve literally means an automatic escape or relief valve or an outlet for pent-up energy or emotion[4], but in this case, I view safety valve as one similar to binding agents in integration process, in certain locus or context. My argument is laid on the basic assumption that identification of safety valve could give positive contribution in formulating problem solving as well as making preventive action to avoid any further cost. Thus, the effort to answer this epistemological question might be a precious study case that could prevent similar tragedy to happen in any where else. Furthermore, by correlating the findings in epistemological ones with the axiological question; one would be able to make prescription to make strategic policy in solving the problems.

As comparative, in my interpretation many researches inherently have identified safety valve and its function:

Identification of Safety Valve and Its Function

No.	Researcher:	Locus:	Safety valve:	Function:
01.	Coleman	The structure of relations between persons and among persons (e.g. traders in a Cairo market)	Communication of information/ reciprocity and trust	Reducing many of the costs of transacting
02.	Fukuyama	Large scale economic institutions and industrial structure	Trust with virtues such: truth telling, meeting obligation, honesty and reciprocity	Influencing welfare of the state and facilitating higher degree of innovation and group adaptation
03.	Amartya Sen	Social achievements and its rich history of public action in Kerala, India	Basic education	An important instrumental in facilitating other achievements/social development/progress
04.	Putnam	Regional governments in Northern and Southern Italy	Civic organization and civic engagement/ involvement	Raising more civic involvement
05.	Bourdieu	Upper class urban communities	Possessing of particular durable social relationships (e.g. membership in a prestigious club)	Providing access to resources/ an instrument of power
06.	Varshney	Hindu and Muslim urban communities in India	Strong associational forms of civic engagement (integrated business	Controlling the outbreaks of ethnic violence

---

[3] Webster defined deontology as the theory or study of moral obligation. Webster, 1997: 309.
[4] Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 1994:1030.

			organizations, trade unions, political parties and professional associations)	
07.	Alqadrie	Intercommunity/ ethnic conflict in West Kalimantan	The tradition and dynasty of *Habib*	Reducing conflict intensity that involves Madurese
08.	Shonhadji	Social interaction among inter ethnic rural communities in West Kalimantan, Indonesia	High economic dependency, the strength of social institutions and local leaderships without authority's interference	Reducing/eliminating internal disruptions in the society

Source: Compiled and edited by author from variety of sources

What holds a social structure together? Mills believed that there is no one answers because social structures differ profoundly in their degrees and kinds of unity. The principle of integration - which is also the basic legitimation of the classic liberal society- is the ascendancy within each order of institutions of the free initiative of independent men in competition with one another. There are other types of unity. Nazi, Germany was integrated by 'co-ordination'. The Nazi movement successfully exploited the mass despair, especially that of its lower middle classes, in the economic slump and brought into close correspondence the political, military, and economic orders[5]. Table above describes that locus of research influences the safety valve formation and its function. The safety valve holds an important major element or as precondition in frame of means to end. Thus, locus or specific character has to be noticed in order for the safety valve to be functioned well.

Refer to Table 1, Varshney, Alqadrie and Shonhadji are researchers who tried to view safety valve as integration media that would be able to reduce or manage the conflict in specific locus. How have social scientists explained about the ethnic conflict so far ? Bostock classified explanations about ethnic or analytical frame of ethnic conflict that have been made by social scientists[6]: (1) Exploitation, particularly through colonialism (Balliban and Wallerstein), (2) Relative deprivation (Gurr) and inclusion/exclusion access to power (Horowitz), (3) Ethnic entrepreneurship / mobilization approach --- role of political leaders (Rotchild), (4) Origins of identity (Smith), national identity (Connor), atavistic behaviour and lack of recognition of the importance of consociation or ethno national bonds (McGarry),(5) Psychological approach; role of insecurity or 'loss of control' (Donnelly) and other motivations in generating conflict.

In positivistic way, one could adopt one of these five analytical frames to explain about ethnic conflict, such many reports that have been made regarding explanations about many conflicts in Kalimantan that have already going on for long period since 1968 until today, including Sambas conflict. Nevertheless, lending Pareto's term, the residue of the conflict has not been found yet. This can be shown from the report regarding the West Kalimantan conflict written by The Human Rights Watch (HRW), NY, stated clearly that none of the arguments (cultural, economic and politics) by itself is sufficient to explain what really happened in the conflict that took place in late December 1996 and early 1997[7]. Though there is another report made by Human Rights Watch about Kalimantan conflict in 2001[8] that happened in Sampit, Center of Kalimantan, but no

---

[5] Mills, 1959:44-45.
[6] Bostock, 1997: 95.
[7] Human Rights Watch, *World Report,* 1997. ICE also made report about this Sanggauledo case, West Kalimantan in 1997.
[8] Op.cit., 2001. International Crisis Group (ICG) made a report about Sampit case as well.

explanation made about Sambas conflict in 1999. This fact raises a critical question; How could we plan to apply the proper strategy of conflict management as well conflict resolution, that is on the axiological level, if we could not even reach the ontological and epistemological ones? In other word, there should be a depth, systematic and critical fieldwork in order to gain better understanding about the precondition or safety valve so that be able to build the proper conflict management and resolution strategy. This argument is supported by the facts that from many reports made regarding the conflict in Kalimantan especially the one in Sambas, generally speaking only touch the exogenous frame. This term in introduced by Ralf Dahrendorf to differentiate the type of conflict scope. *Exogenous* pays attention on conflict from the frame of the whole social system, meanwhile, *endogenous* pays attention on conflict from view of the all of the parties involved in the conflict[9].

Indeed, collective identity can not be separated from exogenous and endogenous frame.

Berger and Luckmann (1990) called ethnic group identity as dialectical result between other else's identification and identification by the self, between objectively obtained identification and subjectively obtained identification. According to Berger and Luckmann, this dialectic only underlines the existing dialectic happened in whole social construction, name the dialectic between objectification and subjectification. It underlines that social reality is social construction, not given[10]. Thus, the social construction will be able to change and polarize the identification of this collective identity. Exploring the exogenous (macroscopic frame) and endogenous (microscopic frame) would lead to the identification of safety valve systematically.

In this research I use my own analytical induction that combines the frame of *(1)* relative deprivation-aggression and *(2)* social capital-radius of trust in which both of them are influenced as well by level of primordialism and egalitarian emancipatory. These variables hold position as basic condition in the society (before the riot or other social disorder) that in turn could produce the possibility of the emerging of social deviance including collective or communal violence or a healthy civil society. In other words, these two frames function as safety valve that influence the formation of collective identity in rural Sambas. My analytical frame as the sensitizing concept or tool in analyzing Sambas case as follows:

---

[9] Donald McQuire, ed., 1995: Chapter 8.
[10] TH. Sumartana, et. al., 1999: 200.

Social Geometry
Analytical Induction of Sambas Conflict in 1999
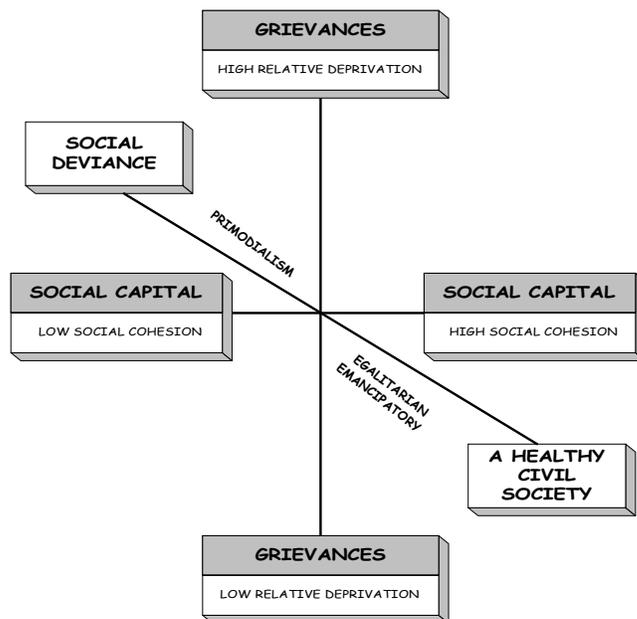
Interviewing Guide Based on Analytical Induction

No.	Element of safety valve:	Grievances: Relative Deprivation	Social capital:	
			Horizontal (among grass toots)	Vertical (between state and people)
01.	Esteem (inward looking)	?	?	?
02.	Socialization about others (outward looking)	?	?	?
03.	Security	?	?	?
04.	Educational level	?	?	?
05.	Economic sectors	?	?	?

06.	Leaderships:			
	a. Traditional/informal leaderships	?	?	?
	b. Formal leaderships	?	?	?
07.	Cultural acquisitions	?	?	?
08.	Associational forms of civic engagement:			
	a. Local civic organization	?	?	?
	b. Political parties	?	?	?
09.	Civic involvement (civic militarism)	?	?	?

The research method that applied the concept of social capital was the research model entitle 'Anomie in Social Change', made by PMB-*LIPI*[11] to analyze the level of anomie and social capital in Bandung (capital city of Western Javanese) and Padang (capital city of Western Sumatera)[12]. The above research is similar with Fukuyama's: uses survey technique in gathering data. On the contrary, rooted from symbolic interactionism, I mainly focus on qualitative method. Fukuyama himself admits that *"There's no agreed methodology for measuring social capital, in part because there are many qualitative dimensions to it….Nevertheless, a qualitative case study is a perfectly appropriate way of studying social capital.[13]"* My primary data is gained through some depth interviews since I agree with Vayrynen's statement that in the multi-ethnic society, in-group's perception is always different from out-group's. Nevertheless, inter-group cooperation will still probably happen, because there are formulas of transformation which create understanding with the out-group in human interaction. In spite of the fact that in ethnic conflict, formulas of transformation are not assumedly needed or eliminated. Therefore, it is important to understand the each group's perspective that is manifested in the pattern of interaction among them. In other words, the focus of conflict analysis about ethnic clash is on the microscopic scope, as Kent described below[14]: *"When explaining why people do the (violent or other) things they do, for the purposes of conflict management is generally more important to understand how the conflicting parties' behaviour is shaped by their perceptions and their reasoning in the situation than it is to know how their behaviour might be influenced by societal forces largely outside their control. People do things because it serves their purposes, bringing about outcomes they prefer. The analyst's task, then, is to identify those preferences".*

Definitions of reality are a collective, social process. One reason that our definitions of reality have real consequences is that our definitions influence our perceptions of reality. Not only our definitions of reality influence our reality, but also another way that our situations may become real in their consequences is through the self-fulfilling prophecy. A self-fulfilling is a process

---

[11] Puslitbang Kemasyarakaratan dan Kebudayaan –Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia or translated into Research Center for Society and Culture – Indonesian Institute of Science.
[12] Syahra, et.al, 2000: 14.
[13] Personal contact with Fukuyama.
[14] Kent, 1993: 390-391.

which our expectations of reality lead us to behave in such way to produce that reality[15]. In my understanding, self-categorization, which can also be called as inward looking, of any community group that manifests into in group normative behaviour is one of constructor elements of outward looking toward out group. The inward looking of certain group is related to the way of people define their character by themselves. One way to measure the importance of group violence is to assess the lingering bitterness and suspicion and aloofness, the residue of distrust and the lust of revenge, that riots introduce or accentuate in ethnic relations[16]. Thus, understanding the self categorization is an optional way to notice level of social cohesion or social distance as well as pattern of interaction between intercommunity members in Sambas, the area where conflict occurred.

---

[15] Branaman, ed. : 2001.
[16] Horowitz, 2001 : 11.

PART TWO

Diagnostic:

The Background Setting

"The aim of scientific knowledge is to bring about the greatest distinction possible between imagination and reality."

Nobert Elias, Wat is sociologie

Geographical Location, Self-Image and Pattern of Interaction

The location of refugee camps or camps for Internal Displaced peoples' from Sambas that were located outside the centre area in Bangkalan Madura Island, which took more efforts to reach, made Sambas refugees felt as peripheral people. The similar self definition was found among people of Jawai in West Kalimantan. Geographical location or natural condition contributes reflexively in constructing inhabitants' perspective on defining their self-image and position in the society. As shown from this section, people of Jawai have the self-image as peripheral and excluded people. By reflecting on their physical surroundings as isolated areas, they displayed some unbeneficial impacts like lack of access to transportation, communication and technology. The unfortunate geographical location was also politically constructed by unjust or imbalanced development process that only reached centre areas whereas the need of peripheral ones were often neglected. Based on such condition, they withdrawn self-image as marginal society.

On the other hand, hard living condition that was characterized by draughtiness in Western Madura produced similar self-image with people of Jawai as peripheral people and drove them to migrate to West Kalimantan. Madurese migrants applied both *gemeinschaft* and *gesselschaft* character at the same time as their survival strategy in Sambas, West Kalimantan. Hard condition in home land and loaded by optimist working ethos as mental capital, drove Madurese to migrate to West Kalimantan. This background condition and *gemeinschaft* character was laid on the creation of strong solidarity among Madurese migrants in West Kalimantan. At the same time based on instrumental reason, during early periods of their arrivals Madurese migrants adopted *gesselschaft* character and building positive social cohesion in form of symbiosis mutualism with out-group or other community members including Malay and Indonesian Chinese descent.

Self Categorization Through Implosion Between Religion and Ethnicity

Popper stated that spiritual bounds play major role in places where happens the weakening of physical or biological bounds[17]. I think Popper's argumentation brought an alternative that put spiritual bounds as one of integration media in multicultural society such in rural Sambas. Looking back at the Sambas riot in 1999, obviously seen that the spiritual bounds between

---

[17] Popper, 2002 : 214-216.

Madurese and Malay community was broken, though they have similar religious identification. This fact made me wondering about the interpretation of the sacred in each of community, especially Madurese and Malay, which could be the capital in building spirituals bounds between them.

In analyzing the interpretation of the 'sacred', we have to bear in mind the important differentiation between religion itself or as Kant said as noumenon or 'the thing in itself' and members of the religious community or the actors who have various subjective understanding about religious values. Along with a Kyai's opinion stated that one had to make a difference between Islam itself and the Moslem as the actors who practiced Islam. By doing this perspective differentiation, one would see its bias. The knowledge as well as cultural pattern of the actors would produce various definitions among them[18].

In Durkheim's interpretation, religion and the sacred unite humans into a moral community with a shared set of fundamental beliefs. Sacrality is grounded in the collective force with which it is not identical, however. Durkheim used 'sacred' as an adjective-not as a noun- referring to things that were set apart and forbidden. Thus, sacred is not mystical force that shines *through* an object, but a value that the society places *on* an object. It refers to a systematically rooting out of attachment to the profane world, and thus is a pragmatic concept, not an ontological one. 'Sacred' expresses those vital distinctions that enable a community of people to define themselves as a separate unit. According to Anttonen, combining ethnographic data and etymologies of various words for 'sacred' shows that the notion of the sacred derives form ideas of marking something off, separating, as well as of growth and power. The sacred is something set apart from the ordinary life of the community, yet it serves to bind the community together. A community is bound together through ritualised behaviour in relation to that which set apart. Ritual connects the isolated individual back to the community[19].

Religious is the major identity-serving categorization for rural Malay and Madurese community. Even implosion between religious and ethnic identity occurs in both of these communities. Meaning that without having similar religious identity with majority members, which is Islam, one is less considered as member of Malay or Madurese. Malay identified their collective identity with Islam so that they do not mind if converted people (converted into Islam) from other community members are labelled as *masuk melayu* (converted into Malay). As for Madurese, apart from practicing religious completely, Madurese Moslem can be considered as *fanatic* or primordial. For Madurese, religious identity has become an unalterable part of their identity. Meaning that if a Madurese converted to another religion but Islam, he would feel that his Madurese identity has been degraded or even lost. Furthermore, his social environment would consider the same thing[20].

So far, above explanation displays the similarities differences manifestation of implosion between religious and ethnic identity as self-serving categorization of Malay and Madurese community. As seen from the explanation, this implosion self categorization through implosion between religious and ethnic identity produced different ingroup normative behaviour. Izikowitz said that border appeared over the ethnic groups as an effect of social and cultural differences, was divided

---

[18] Interview with a Madurese *Kyai,* Madura Island, October 2002.
[19] Pyysiainen, 1996 : 17-24.
[20] Wiyata : 2002 (b).

into three groups[21]: *first,* differences in the way of expressing oneself such language, ritual activity, attitude, etiquette and customs, *second,* value system that possibly appears as an effect of social structure and social construction, *third,* self-identification that includes one's opinion about which group someone belongs to, or the group acceptance of his existence which also includes overleaf, self-recognition that someone does not belong to another group in his circumstance. Let's explore these three elements. Besides having similarity by putting religion as the major parameter of associative or assimilation, for instance through mix marriage, still many differences of expressing oneself could be identified: (a) language preferences in routine collective rituals such sermon and informal religious schools, (b) though similarities are found in incidental collective rituals such *hadrah*, but no similarity found in more routine collective rituals such evening *dzikir*, (c) the existence of physical religious symbol in custom, (d) perspective, attitude and etiquette based on group hierarchies. Effect caused by above differences: the moving of some collective rituals done in more intense interaction (routine) into more private sphere that involve certain-groups or individuals as well as pattern of interaction based on group hierarchies. Thus, the implosion between religious and ethnic identity that was applied in both Malay and Madurese community contained different ingroup normative behaviour so that produced group border.

My following social geometry based on the implosion of religious and ethnic identity as self-categorization of Malay and Madurese community:

Social Geometry
Self-Categorization of Malay and Madurese Community
Based on Religious and Ethnic Identity
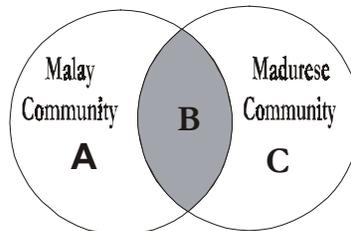
Note:

A and C : -Language preferences in routine collective rituals and informal religious
                 schools
                 -Routine collective rituals
                 -Physical religious symbol in custom
                 -Perspective, attitude and etiquette based on group hierarchies
      B : -Religion as the major parameter of associative or assimilation process
                 -Incidental collective rituals

---

[21] Lauer, 1993 : 379.

Primordialism as Collective Esteem

The following analytical description shows the imbalanced interaction that is rooted from primordial character in both of Madurese and Malay community. I have reconstructed Frank and Johnson's snowball effect of the formation of stereotype [22] into 'the snow ball effect of Madurese and Malay state of mind', which had been transformed into reality frame in both of these communities:

Diagram

The Snow Ball Effect of Madurese and Malay State of Mind

Class Valedictorian
(Class splitting as the result of stereotype affects anything we see and remember about the action of out-group member)

Madurese community: class splitting is related to Madurese state of mind or perception on the 'sacred'. In other words, the level of social class depends on its 'sacred' position in Madurese perception

Malay community: perception about the 'other' has been socialized in early age that produces the horizontal inequalities or fragmentation between in-group and out-group

↓

Oversimplified picture of out-group members

Overestimate the similarity of behaviour among out-group members

Madurese community: Madurese perception about the other groups who are considered as ones that are not attached to this 'sacred' label or out-group, influences the pattern of behaviour among them

Malay community: hierarchy in mind manifests into hierarchy in perspective about the other. Any action done by the other would be colored by prejudice.

↓

False Consciousness
(Consensus agreed merely based on the own in group super ordinate parameter)

Madurese community: The strong image about this above privileged creates Madurese loyalty toward the above upper level class since consensus is agreed merely based on the super ordinate's parameter

Malay community: Implosion between reality and imagination about the other so that cause egoistic relative deprivation (social comparison with other individuals similar to self and/or within self comparisons between actual and desired conditions)

↓

Self-Fulfilling
(Inter group interaction, on which the presence of stereotype is behaviourally made stronger)

---

[22] Johnson and Frank, 1994 : 383.

Madurese community: Inter-group interaction between ordinary Madurese and the upper level class, which at the same time represents and strengthen the position of the upper class

Malay community: The image of the other creates low social cohesion and negative peace in intercommunity relations

$\downarrow$

Scapegoating

(Group whom attached feeling of guilty but defensive seeks for a way our by scapegoating something for an expression of anger and frustration caused out group)

Madurese community: The other community members that are considered as the outsiders have to do the exchange with the upper class in order to be included as insiders

Malay community: Correlating the social disorder with the image about the other

$\downarrow$

Develop a 'rationale' and explanation to justify our stereotypes and prejudices

Madurese community: The reason, which is laid on the Madurese religious primordial, is used as parameter of Madurese pattern behaviour

Malay community: Any deviation done by the out-group would justify the image about the other

$\downarrow$

Destructive Conflict

(It can be manifested in massive conflict)

Madurese community: Any action that against or 'destruct' the sacred image of the upper class could drive social conflict

Malay community: Any action destruct the dignity of in-group could transform the personal disputes into public issues

$\downarrow$

Clearer Differentiation

(Stereotyping finally make the differences among the groups clear)

Madurese community: The Madurese state of mind that is laid on religious primordial, finally makes the obvious differences between ordinary Madurese people and the upper level class as well as with the out-group or non-Madurese community

Malay community: In-group favourable becomes parameter of acceptance that brings about the primordial behaviour toward the out-group

Violence Manifestation of Collective Pride

Any expression of defending one's self esteem through violence needs certain mechanism that would be able to hamper or abate its negative impact. The absent of inner mechanism as well as external forces to control deviance would give birth to uneasiness among community members in rural Sambas. Though *carok* was rare found in rural Sambas, but values produced inherently from this action brought worries to villagers. The image of preserving deep hatred and manifesting if into violent revenge action, created fear and long social distance between Madurese and other community members.

Marginalized Cultural Rights and Well Being
The description about cultural rights in West Kalimantan showed the absent of two components of the democratic body of faith that was proposed by Wallace: first, belief in the sacredness of the individual and in the unlimited possibilities of both man and nature which can be made manifest if those who are gifted in science, art and religion approach the unknown reverentially, and not under the compulsion of producing immediate results for the glorification of one man, one group, one race or one nation, second, tolerance and humour in recognizing the right of all men to be different[23]. Vertical relations between State and civil concerning cultural rights displayed contradictory realities. The admission of privileged status held by indigenous people such Dayak, was followed by proper policy and infrastructure. On the contrary, ethnocide took place by destroying the perceived Dayak's most sacred symbol, which was forest, through corporate capitalistic between State and its stake holders. In adopting custom law, government did not pay much attention on its impact on the existed positive law as well as socializing the custom law to other community members so that it produced horizontal inequality in cultural frame.

Similar to Dayak, Malay community was marginalized in their cultural rights. Though Malay community was recognized as indigenous people of Kalimantan, but their cultural heritage which manifested into Sambas Sultanate was not gained much admission from the government. Malay's cultural values were not socialized well in educational curriculum. On the other hand, cultural rights of Indonesian Chinese descent community was oppressed and even taken away by the State. New Order regime prohibited Indonesian Chinese descent from doing any of their cultural expression in public.

The cultural oppression done by the State influenced much in horizontal relationships across communities in rural Sambas. Besides not having any positive impact of culture to the building of healthy mentalistic structuralism, its major impact was the reduced possibility of having cultural cop traditions. Meaning that cultural exclusion spared less room for conducting any collective rituals that could bound community members together.

Legitimate Crisis Toward Primary Patriachalism
The *primary patriachalism* in Malay community showed the lack of social capital between The Sambas Sultanate and both of Local Government as well as Grass roots from other community (Madurese community) as pointed by my following social geometry:

---

[23] Wallace, 1940 : 31-32.

Social Geometry

Inter correlation Between Madurese community,
Formal and Traditional Authority

Formal/rational legal authority :
Local government

A   B

Migrant
Grass Roots :
Madurese Community

A

C

Traditional legal authority :
The Sambas Sultanate
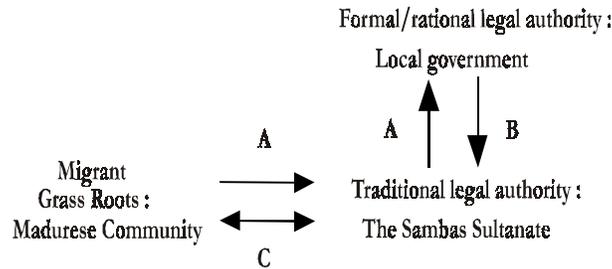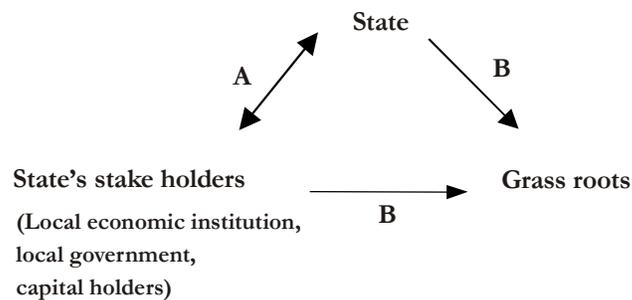
Note:

A : Legitimate crisis

B : Marginalization

C : Historic romantic bound

Imbalanced Power on Economic Based Interest

Referring to analysis provided by this section about measuring social cohesion based on economic interest, I made the following social geometry to describe the economic cooperation in Jawai District:

Social Geometry

Economic Cooperation in Jawai District

State

A   B

State's stake holders   Grass roots

(Local economic institution,   B
local government,
capital holders)

Note:

A: Symbiosis mutualism; beneficial relationships

B: Symbiosis parasitism; exploited and oppressed relationships

The unhealthy economic cooperation occurred as well in Teluk Keramat District. Instead of building patronage relationships, the capital holder from Madurese community grew antipathy from other community members. The imbalanced power in economic cooperation both in Jawai and Teluk Keramat District brought further impacts: influenced other important sector such educational level, transformed personal troubles into public issues, drove relative deprivation that

upgraded aggressive character, reduced social trust toward State's stake holders, created long social distance among between grass roots and State as well as among grass roots themselves.

Undemocratic Civic Engagement
There was no cross cutting of political affiliation between Madurese and non Madurese community in rural Sambas since each of them chose different political organization. Thus, there was not any interest bound in political life of Madurese and non Madurese community in rural Sambas. Nevertheless, the interplay between politics and civic engagement manifested into another form. This interplay relationship was engineered by the State. In other words, the civic engagement was not built *bottom up* naturally. For instance civil organization called *LKMD* or *LMD* that was supposed to be the proper expression media for all community members, was penetrated by State. Instead of being independent civil organization, New Order Regime used it as media of political mobilization to affirm mono loyalty to the government. The well established civil engagement that had been built by the Indonesian government related to involvement civil in militarism to fight against the external forces such supporting confrontation program with Malaysia as well as internal disruptions like against separatism in Papuan Island and rioters during crisis period. Besides not having *bottom up* or natural form of civic engagement that was based on free will, the form of civic engagement in militarism indicated the socialization of violence as problem solving.

Uneasiness as Public Issues
What are the major issues for publics and the key troubles of private individuals in our time? To formulate issues and troubles, Mills stated, we must ask what values are cherished yet threatened, and what values are cherished and supported, by the characterizing trends of our period. Formulating issues for publics and the key troubles of private individuals in certain period:

Mills's Issues Formulation for Public and Key Troubles

Cherish some values	Feel any threat	Experience
Yes	No	Well-being
Yes	Yes	Crisis (a personal trouble/public issues)
No	No	Indifference (apathy)
No	Yes	Uneasiness (anxiety/deadly unspecified malaise)

Source: Edited version by author from Mills, 1959:11

Data described in this section indicate that villagers in rural Sambas experienced the unesiness as Mills proposed since the in-group members felt that they did not cherish any value with the out-group and moreover, they felt any threat directed toward them. The insecure feeling of the society that had structural strain such Jawai District and was resonance by self-fulfilling stereotype, produced collective believe among in-group members about the cause of the structural strain. In this kind of panic situation where polarization of power between in-group and out-group occured, the social control had to be fixed soon to avoid the collective violence. Unfortunately, with a decline in TNI/Polri capacity as the final arbiter of inter-communal disputes, the absence of impartial and legitimate institutions has increased the likelihood of violence. As the political

15

scientist Samuel Huntington argues, 'a society with weak political institutions lacks the ability to curb the excesses of personal and parochial desires'[24].

Smelser mentioned six conditions that could drive collective behaviour or collective violence: *(1)* conducive social structure, *(2)* structural strain, *(3)* collective believe among actors of social violence about the cause of the strain, *(4)* lack or absent of social control , *(5)* mass mobilization by the leader, *(6)* trigger factors[25]. Looking at the comprehensive data provided in Chapter Two, I could draw conclusion that the condition in rural Sambas during pre Sambas conflict period already fulfilled the earlier four six conditions mentioned by Smelser. It would only need another two later conditions (point *5* and *6*) that open bigger possibilities for collective violence to happen.

---

[24] Huntington, 1968:24.
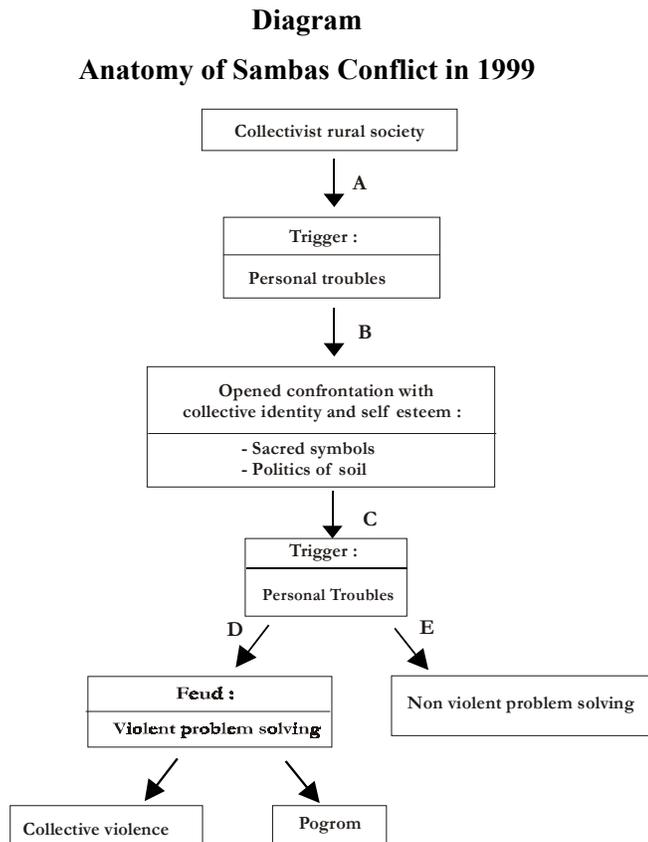[25] Marzali, 2001: 270.

PART THREE
Remedial:
The Match and The Cost

"A fanaticism composed of superstition and ignorance has been the sickness of all the centuries… No such perpetual peace as the Abbe de St.Pierre had pleaded for could ever be realized unless men learned to tolerate one another's philosophic, political and religious differences. The very first step towards social health was the destruction of the ecclesiastical power in which intolerance has its root."

Voltaire

Anatomy of Sambas Conflict

My following diagram displays the anatomy of Sambas conflict in 1999 in more microscopic frame:

Diagram

Anatomy of Sambas Conflict in 1999

```
            ┌──────────────────────────┐
            │  Collectivist rural society │
            └──────────────────────────┘
                        │ A
                        ▼
            ┌──────────────────────────┐
            │        Trigger :          │
            ├──────────────────────────┤
            │    Personal troubles      │
            └──────────────────────────┘
                        │ B
                        ▼
            ┌──────────────────────────┐
            │  Opened confrontation with │
            │ collective identity and self esteem : │
            ├──────────────────────────┤
            │    - Sacred symbols        │
            │    - Politics of soil      │
            └──────────────────────────┘
                        │ C
                        ▼
            ┌──────────────────────────┐
            │        Trigger :          │
            ├──────────────────────────┤
            │    Personal Troubles      │
            └──────────────────────────┘
              D  /                \  E
                ▼                  ▼
   ┌─────────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────────────┐
   │      Feud :          │   │ Non violent problem solving │
   ├─────────────────────┤   └──────────────────────────┘
   │ Violent problem solving │
   └─────────────────────┘
        /           \
       ▼             ▼
┌──────────────┐  ┌──────────┐
│ Collective   │  │ Pogrom   │
│ violence     │  └──────────┘
└──────────────┘
```

Note:

A,B,C,D,E :   **Lull period**, which is loaded by some significant elements including

- Peace meeting/agreement
- Degree of in-group solidarity

- Charismatic/key leaders
- Rumours
- Law enforcement
- Radius of trust toward others
- Supernatural belief/ sacred values
- Gun supplies

The second chapter of this thesis already explained about the social, political, economic and cultural construction that characterized collectivist rural society in Sambas, whereas the elements loaded in the lull period would influence the reaction taken to deal with any trigger action. Different elements in each of conflicting process produced various decision making in solve the conflict; collective violence could be seen in Jawai and Teluk Keramat District, pogrom was found in some peripheral rural Sambas areas and non violent problem solving was noticed in Matang Terap village. I think it is necessary to identify this variation in order to formulate the next steps in solving the conflict.

The Lost of Humanity as The Cost of Conflict
The violence is still going in both in rural Sambas and refugee camps in Madura Island. The existing relative deprivation and social exclusion in both of these areas drive internal disruptions in form of aggressive action toward other in-group members since there is not any common enemies any longer. One should realize that the 'true' enemy in such situation is the structural strain itself. The anomie coloured both of the areas (rural Sambas and refugee camps in Madura Island): most of community members have been trying hard by themselves to 'redefine' their collective identity.

The anomic condition that was resonance by the present of "violent in mind" in some rural Sambas areas has manifested into aversive racism, violation of women and children rights, escalating number of personal troubles, violent self defence and intra communal conflict. On the other hand, aggressive violent actions could be found as well in the refugee camps in Madura Island that were coloured by high frustration among Sambas refugees. Having no self expectation and powerlessness was the major issues as the cost of the Sambas conflict. The negative physical and psychological impact of a prolonged experience of powerlessness has been shown to be dire (Sashkin, 1984) and can lead to a tendency to become rigid, critical, controlling of others in low power, and ultimately, more irrational violent (Kanter, 1977)[26]. Differentiation of status and power among in-group members becomes more obvious and has raised in-group fragmentation. Thus, strategic steps are urgently required to break this chain of violence.

---

[26] Coleman, in Deutsch, et.al., ed., 1999: 111.

Reconstruction Toward Egalitarian, Critical and Independent Collective Identity
Construction of Collective Identity in Rural Sambas Before Year 1999

No.	Element of safety valve:	Grievances: Relative Deprivation	Social capital:	
			Horizontal (among grass toots)	Vertical (between state and people)
01.	Esteem (inward looking)	High	Low; Self image as parameter to evaluate others	Low; Marginalized by imbalanced development
02.	Socialization about others (outward looking)	High	Low; Self fulfilling stereotyping interaction	Low; Penetrated or coordinated integration
03.	Security	High	Low; Interaction based on prejudice and distrust	Low; Legitimate crisis toward security forces and the justice system
04.	Educational level	High	Low; Different perspectives on viewing the importance of education (rational/ascribed status) and the sacred (supernatural/achieved status)	Low; Put aside the men empowerment over other State's program
05.	Economic sectors	High	Low; Different working ethos and non patronage relationships	Low; Exploitative, symbiosis parasitism State's interference
06.	Leaderships: c. Traditional/informal leaderships	High	Low; Long social distance between traditional rulers and commoners	Low; Hegemonized
	d. Formal leaderships	High	Low; Legitimate crisis toward formal rulers	High; Centralized election
07.	Cultural acquisitions	High	Low; Lack of cross cultural programs	Low; Marginalized and oppressed cultural rights
08.	Associational forms of civic engagement: c. Local civic organization	High	Low; Memberships not based on willingness	High; Supporting 'mono loyalty'
	d. Political parties	High	Low; Different political affiliation	High; Manifestation of State's interest
09.	Civic involvement (civic militarism)	High	Low; Volatile inter ethnic/community border	High; Problem solving through violence

Table 18 is the continuous description of former similar interviewing guide written in Chapter One. As explained earlier, the elements of safety valve were the determinant variable of the construction of collective identity in rural Sambas during pre conflict period in 1999. The above referred Table also shows that during period before Sambas conflict in 1999, the relationships between State and the people or civil was bounded by certain agents such as political parties, local social organization and formal leaders that played as State's allies since they served merely State's interests. The infrastructure of these agents as well as their elite layers were chosen and

decided by the State. Thus, the social capital that was built between these agents and the State was, lending Pareto's term, a circulation of elites so that it hampered the egalitarian emancipatory that involved grass roots participation. My above argumentation is in line with Deutsch's (1985) that differences in the value of egalitarianism also affect one's moral orientation to power: egalitarianism is the ideal of equality of power for all and the belief in the opportunity for people to participate equally in the decisions that control their lives[27]. On the other hand, the low level of social capital among grass roots level indicated the emerging of strict demarcation between in-group and out-group. The strong collective identity could be found merely in certain in-group, so self identification that popped up was as in-group members (as "we" and "them") and not as "us". The interest was accommodated collectively according to the in-group membership. Some medias, which were supposed to distribute tolerance values across community members such culture and education, were not able to produce critical awareness so that primordial element grew in rural Sambas. Having high relative deprivation and low level of social capital created possibility for social deviance such collective violence to happen. Definitely, some strategic efforts that intend to reduce the grievances are required to reconstruct the level of social capital of conflicting parties.

What can be done to reconstruct the conflicting parties of Sambas conflict during the post conflict period? Many steps could be taken in dealing with impact of the conflict. I agree with Galtung who prefers to use the term "transformation" as he sees "conflict as something ever-changing, ever-dynamic" and "basically conflict transformation is a never-ending process". Old and new contradictions open up. Because of this, a solution acceptable to all parties (actors) is a goal but can only be a temporary one. The ability to handle the transformations in an acceptable and sustainable way is a more significant goal, he says. By this he draws attention to the fact that life goes on and conflicts will continually build up. If there is interaction, there are contradictions. In praxis, however, each conflict needs to be handled in order to reach a sustainable solution. It is just because the relationship between the actors (at all levels) is so important and their interaction will continue (in most cases) that resolution is generally preferred to settlement or regulation[28].

This regulation or in my own term, reconstruction in post conflict period, is needed to be applied to all layers (children, women, men and elders) of conflicting parties. *Autistic hostility*, which was described earlier, caused the segregation of the place of living. Each of conflicting parties of Sambas conflict live in separate place. Though some small number of Madurese community members live in some places in Sambas under strict condition, generally speaking non Madurese community (Dayak, Malay, Bugis, Indonesian Chinese descent, etc) occupy Sambas, while Madurese community who used to live in Sambas now days live somewhere else including became Sambas refugees in some refugee camps in West Kalimantan such as Marhaban, Tebang Kacang, Kampung Nyamuk and some others live in some refugee camps in Bangkalan,Madura Island like Geger, Kokop, Tanjung Bumi, Sepulu.

The comprehensive policy applied in post conflict period is along with Turpin and Kurtz (1997) that conceptualised violence as a "web": *"The causes of violence, from interpersonal to global, are connected, as are the consequences. Discourse about violence from interpersonal to global also frames violence in a similar fashion. Finally, solutions to violence, from interpersonal to global, are generally framed in the same way.[29]"* Thus, the integrated solutions to violence is needed. Nevertheless, before designing the strategic solution steps, I believe it is necessary to

---

[27] Coleman, in Deutsch, et.al., ed., 1999:118.
[28] Carlsson, 1999: 67.
[29] Carlsson, 1999: 84.

identify the power relations. Kent states that social violence is rooted in social conflict[30]. Each of social violence is based on conflict. However, conflict often appears without the presence of violence. The absence of violence does not always mean the absence of others form of violence. Peace can be observed from two sides, namely negative peace which means the absence of physical violence, and positive peace which means the absence of all forms of violence, just as the physical, economic, political and cultural violence. In brief, to find the roots of violence in the conflict, we also need to analyse the structural and cultural setting in regard to balanced power distribution.

Coleman proposed four perspectives of power found in social science literature: "power over", "power with", "powerlessness and dependence" and "empowered and independent".[31] Power relations described during period before Sambas conflict in 1999 (pre conflict period) was consisted of : *(a)* among conflicting parties and *(b)* between conflicting parties and State.

Chapter Two described the imbalanced power of above elements that led to relations of "power over". The strict demarcation between in-group and out-group created horizontal inequalities. Each of perceived in-group with its collective identity had "power over" the out-group whereas grass roots in rural Sambas were marginalized and even oppressed by the State so that it allowed the State to have "power over" the civil. How to change this imbalanced power relationship? Referring back to my Social Geometry 1 (Chapter One) forming the 'primordial' element into critical awareness could balance the level of horizontal equality whereas by upgrading 'egalitarian emancipatory' in frame of democracy could balance State and Civil relationships. I believe that these effort would transform the "power over" into "power with" relationships. On the other hand, "powerlessness and dependence" was felt by both of conflicting parties in post-conflict period. The urgent steps should be taken immediately to recover or reconstruct the "self" of both of conflicting parties that was affected much after the conflict. The violent heritage has to be paid more attention in order to reduce or eliminate the "violent in mind". Handing interior problems (egoistic relative deprivation) becomes the first and most needed in short time by all conflicting parties. Thus, this step should be taken along with or before taking care of external forces or imbalanced power between actors and institutions related in the conflict (fraternal relative deprivation). By focusing at the psychological impact of the conflict would lead to transformation from "powerlessness and dependence" into "empowered and independent", which was defined by some scholars as having "power to" or "power from", in a sense that one has enough power to achieve one's objectives without being unduly constrained by someone or something else. Coleman believes that if individuals feel empowered in a particular situation, it reduces their need for dependence on others and opens up the possibility of acting independently, thereby bolstering their sense of self esteem, self efficacy and confidence[32]. The transformation process from "powerlessness and dependence" into "empowered and independent" has to reach all aspects related to grievances that held by conflicting parties, which at the same would open possibilities for dialogue to happen. Thus, reducing the gap between expectations and objective realities might be the basic conducive condition for having prospective dialogue along with underlined values mentioned by Deutsch: *(a)* reciprocity; requires each party to treat the other with fairness that it would normatively expect if it in the other's position, *(b)* human equality; differences in status, privileges, power, needs and wealth not be the consequences of one's violation of the other's entitlements, *(c)* shared community; mutual recognition of being part of a broader community that members wish to preserve and share some key values and norms, *(d)*

---

[30] Kent, 1993: 379.
[31] Coleman, in Deutsch, et.al.,ed., 1999:110-111.

[32] Coleman, in Deutsch, et.al., ed., 1999:111.

fallibility; understanding that own as well as the others' judgement may be fallible, *(e)* non violence; coercive tactics both of physical and psychological violence are not employed to obtain agreement or consent[33]. The reconstruction of collective identity that refers to a community that has close "radius of trust" and engage in processes that permit their community members to share some significant elements, as proposed by Lewicki and Wiethoff: *(a)* common interests, *(b)* common goals and objectives, *(c)* similar reactions to common situations , *(d)* situations where they for the same values and principles, thereby demonstrating integrity[34].

Table

Remedial Planning for Managing Residue of Sambas Conflict

No.	Element of safety valve and Grievances:	Policy on Reconstructing Social capital:	
		Horizontal (among grass toots)	Vertical (between state and people)
01.	Esteem (inward looking)	Self criticism of own values	Reducing regional-centre disparity
02.	Socialization about others (outward looking)	Sharing and exchanging ideas with others	Providing media for open discourse about differences
03.	Security	Defining realistic common enemies collectively	Guaranteeing transparent justice for all social layers
04.	Educational level	Critical awareness of knowledge and technology	Covering constructive mentalistic structuralism in any development program
05.	Economic sectors	Across communities economic based cooperation and organization	Creating public's self-sufficiency
06.	Leaderships: e. Traditional/informal leaderships f. Formal leaderships	Building sense of togetherness	Recognizing local autonomous leaderships Conducting grass roots based election
07.	Cultural acquisitions	Performing cross cultural identities in public sphere	Preserving cultural sanctuary
08.	Associational forms of civic engagement: e. Local civic organization f. Political parties	Self initiated cross communities organization Critical understanding about politics	Notifying independent community based organization Securing democratic political system
09.	Civic involvement (civic militarism)	Embracing peaceful coexistence	Growing non violent inter community cooperation

---

[33] Deutsch, in Deutsch, etl.al., ed., 1999:34-35.
[34] Lewicki and Wiethoff, in Deutsch, et.al.,ed., 1999:97.

It is interesting to acknowledge the beautiful insider's perspective about their hope to reach harmony in plurality[35]: Harmony in plurality: *"I have a dreaming idea; I imagine how wonderful it would be if our society could be like a music orchestra that is played by various musical instruments but produces beautiful melody. Each community, which is resented by a music instrument, is allowed to hold its cultural values and forbidden to interrupt other's values. Let's work together under the same regulation that is formal law. In the Indonesian spirit, let's sing our national anthem together. We're in the same nation. In order to sing harmoniously, a good governance as a good conductor is required. The formal law as the musical note has already existed. Now, the problem is how to play it nicely."*

---

[35] Interview with grass roots in West Kaliamantan, February 2003.