

Conflict Prevention Between Immigrants And Local Community In Bogor, West Java

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Abstract. This research examines the conflict prevention between immigrants and the local community in Cisarua, West Java. This research uses a qualitative method with a descriptive approach supported by secondary data. Theories and concepts are used to analyze the conflict prevention between immigrants and local residents in Cisarua, West Java and reveal various factors supporting and inhibiting conflict prevention. This research result shows that potential conflict from the presence of foreign immigrants is still at a low level of conflict escalation and has not yet caused a dangerous situation. The potential for conflict arises from several aspects, such as ideology, socio-cultural, economic, and legal.

Keywords: conflict, early system, immigrants.

Introduction

The existence of foreign immigrants or refugees in a country is a global phenomenon. Their presence brings about a variety of issues, such as psychological adaptation and family dynamics, legal adaptation, the acceptance of local community, local government policies related to their existence and job opportunities, adaptation process and social capital of second-generation refugees, refugees social networks, a revival of refugees diaspora and protection of refugees, social conflicts (Newman and Joanne, 2003)

As a global reality, the existence of foreign immigrants also happens in Indonesia. Until 2014, the number of foreign immigrants (legal and illegal) living in Indonesia reached 10.340 people (UNHCR, 2014). The report also noted that 80% were illegal immigrants who have been left at the Immigration Detention Center (Rudenim). The rest were legal refugees who were allowed to live in shelters. These foreign refugees, especially those from the Middle East, placed Indonesia as a stopover location before heading to Christmas Island, Australia (Alvi 2014). It is predicted that the number of foreign immigrants will continue to increase considering the conflict in African and Asian countries (UNHCR, in Syahrin, 2014).

The presence of foreign refugees in Indonesia raises problems including the formulation of refugee management policies based on the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol on refugees (Krustiyati, 2012), the impact of asylum seekers' stopover on transnational crime in Indonesia (Prahenti, 2013), and the complexity of refugees issues based on the perspective of Islamic and International law (Yuliatiningsih, 2013).

However, the issues concerning conflict and conflict resolution in interactions between the local community and foreign refugees have not received widespread attention among researchers in Indonesia. Although, in fact, cultural and ethnic differences as a pre-universal condition of the emergence of conflicts between them have been fulfilled (Gudykunst, 2003: 295). In addition, conflict is one of the global academic issues as a logical consequence of the existence of foreign refugees in a country.

Conflict always happen because human beings cannot avoid internal feud in the goals, interests, values, and beliefs possessed. Conflicts can occur either between individuals (interpersonal), between groups (intergroup), or even on a large scale (interpersonal). Small conflicts between individuals can develop into large-scale conflict with protracted violence

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and result in the complete destruction of a society or a nation (Bar-Tal, 2011; Galtung, 2004).

This study describes the conflict prevention between foreign immigrants and local community in Cisarua, Bogor Regency, West Java. Many foreign immigrants, with the main destination to Australia, was found in Bogor as their transit area. Moreover, the transit duration of illegal foreign immigrants may reach several years. The conflict prevention between immigrants and local communities should have been carried out as an early warning effort for the conflict that might occur due to differences in these two customs and cultures of people living in Cisarua, Bogor. The search in various literature shows that various conflict resolution models offered to prevent conflict from happening.

Galtung (1969) developed a model that combines conflict, violence, and peace (Deutsch (1973 in Davidson & Wood, 2004). Some researchers also developed a conflict resolution model based on competitive processes (Johnson and Johnson, 1996). Davidson and Wood (2004) developed *Conflict Resolution Model-Australia* (CRMA) as an alternative model of conflict resolution in Australia. However, seeing the characteristics patterns of interaction between foreign immigrants and the local community in Indonesia, such as marriages, culture (ethnic and religious) differences and neglect of formal law, the methods of preventing social conflicts that arise also become specific and contextual. Thus, the conflict resolution models mentioned above tend to be irrelevant and unadaptive to the Indonesian context. For this purpose, a conflict resolution approach or model should have the capacity enable to anticipate the escalation of conflict with violence, develop strategic responses to the existing crisis, and provide optional views on important actors who can be targeted for decision-making purposes.

According to Ganson & Wennman (2016), conflict prevention is an effort to increase the level of stability and decrease the vulnerability that has long been in place and suppress social systems. The factor that creates tension (stress factor) is the root cause of conflict as well as being the orientation of every conflict resolution effort. Thus, conflict prevention can also be interpreted as a form of system resilience in identifying and resolving conflicts in society from its roots.

This study offers a conflict management model called *Conflict Early Warning Systems* (CEWERS). As a form of an information system, CEWERS functions to gather and analyze information from crisis areas. The results of this analysis are then used to anticipate the escalation of conflict with violence, to develop strategic responses to the existing crisis, and to provide an optional view of important actors for decision-making purposes (Institut Titian Perdamaian, 2005:7). As an information system, CEWERS also plays a role in gathering and analyzing information about conflict situations, whether it is a potential conflict or actual conflict. In fact, CEWERS approach facilitates how to set criteria for selecting influential actors at the national, regional, and international levels that can promote peace.

One of the main principles for conflict resolution to be able to reach the root of conflict triggers is cooperation (Christie and Winter, 2001). The CEWERS approach adopts that principle through the elements and nature of its networks. According to Institut Titian Perdamaian (2005:18), by having the nature of a network, CEWERS approach will facilitate the exchange of information or ideas with actors involved in a conflict. More than the exchanges of information, CEWERS will also detect the pattern, effectiveness, and efficiency of coordination in the early conflict prevention system. Of course, ideally, the network consists of a selected group of people who act collectively and by using existing networks, they can jointly prevent the violent conflict in an area (Institut Titian Perdamaian 2005: 63).

Another distinctive characteristic of the CEWERS approach in explaining conflict prevention is the emphasis on dynamic features in conflict prevention and resolution (Malik, 2014). This approach provides space for situation analysis, both in conflict and post-conflict conditions. In other words, the CEWERS approach emphasizes the cohesive (holistic) aspect of understanding the conflict. Conflicts can arise from the escalation of ignored-conflicts, triggers of conflict that have qualified or the effectiveness of provocateurs, both sporadically or jointly. Malik further isolated five components in conflict prevention, namely escalation and de-escalation, conflict factors, conflict actors, stakeholders, and political will from the authorities (Malik, 2014). The five components are interrelated, contribute to each other and influence each other in the occurrence of conflict and peace.

Various scenarios can occur in a dynamic framework based model of conflict prevention. *First*, the level of escalation will contribute to conflict and peace. If the conflict escalation increases in the form of tensions and mass mobilization, then there will be a crisis between parties concerned to resolve the conflict that may continue in the form of violent actions, either limited or on a mass scale causing casualties. Accordingly, it can be said that the escalation has an influence on the occurrence of conflict development. Vice versa, if the escalation has been detected and controlled, deliberations or meetings may be held to resolve conflicts so that tensions and crises can be mitigated. Thus, the condition called conflict de-escalation can encourage peace establishment. However, the decrease in escalation will not necessarily make the problem of a conflict resolved. *Second*, conflict factors can have implications for the emergence of triggers, accelerators, and roots of conflict. The three points give different weights to conflict prevention efforts. *Third*, conflict actors (provocateurs, vulnerable groups, and functional groups) contribute greatly to escalating conflict. *Fourth*, stakeholders that play roles in stopping the conflict and preventing the spread of conflict. *Fifth*, the political will of the authorities in initiating conflict resolution that has occurred completely. This includes publishing legal or policy products that can prevent and resolve conflicts. In the Indonesia context, normatively, there is a law on Handling Social Conflict, that is Law No. 7 of 2012 and also Presidential Instruction No. 1 of 2014 concerning the handling of internal security disturbances, as well as various ministerial decrees related to the management and savings of resources.

Research Methodology

This research departs from the *post-positivism* approach that is categorized based on qualitative research. Research data sourced from data collection (primary data) and indirect data sources (secondary data). Primary data collection is done through in-depth interviews with informants involved in the process of implementing the Government of Indonesia policy, foreign immigrants in the study site, as well as the local community affected by the arrival of the immigrants.

Meanwhile, secondary data were obtained from a review of reports of central and regional immigration, books, journals,

articles and mass media. The selection of informants is done by using purposive sampling technique. The informant's criteria are those who are directly involved or interested in the presence of local immigrants in Cisarua, Bogor, West Java.

The subjects of this study are the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Ministry of Manpower, the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, UNHCR, IOM, Bogor Regency Government, Bogor Regency Manpower and Transmigration Office, Bogor Regency National Unity and Politics Agency (BAKESBANGPOL), Bogor Regency Immigration Service, Bogor District Police, Military Command District of Bogor 0621, foreign immigrants, and local community in Cisarua Bogor, West Java. The objects of this study are the conflict prevention efforts, factors that obstruct and support the realization of conflict prevention and coordination between institutions in implementing the conflict prevention between foreign immigrants and local communities in Cisarua, Bogor, West Java.

This study uses data analysis methods by reducing data. The data obtained is written in the form of a report or detailed data, then compiled based on the data received, reduced, summarized, selected the main things, and focused on the important things. This will provide a sharp picture of the observations as well as making it easier for researchers to find additional data if needed. Data analysis was also carried out by the method of data presentation. The obtained data from data reduction are categorized according to the main problem and made in the form of a matrix to make it easier in finding patterns of relationships between one data and another. Then, the data were analyzed by using the inference and verification method. Data that has been systematically reduced and presented will be concluded temporarily. These preliminary conclusions need to be verified. The verifying technique is a triangulation of data sources, methods, peer discussions and member checking. Finally, this research conducts data analysis by making final conclusions. Final conclusions are based on the verified conclusions which are obtained after the data collection is completed.

This study applies a test of validity and reliability of the data through triangulation which is done by gathering different data sources and examining the evidence from these sources and then using them to

establish a coherent justification of themes.

Results and Discussion

The results of the study found several indicators of conflict potential from the presence of foreign immigrants in Cisarua, Bogor West Java. The indicators of conflict potential are divided into three aspects: legal, socio-cultural, and ideological. From the legal aspect, the indicators are criminal acts and misuse of refugee identity. From the socio-cultural aspect, the indicators are ethnics of courtesy that is against local wisdom, differences in community's religious understanding, and the differences in the time of activity. While, from the aspect of ideology, the indicator is the ideology of a radical Islamic state that is contrary to the ideology of Pancasila. In the end, the problem also had an impact on security that resulted in a non-military threat.

Conflict Potential from the Aspects of Ideology

Ideological differences are often used as a reason for conflicts in various regions in Indonesia. Ethnic, Religious, Racial and Intergroup (*SARA*) is considered to be a sensitive issue that can easily trigger a conflict. Not only different religions can cause a conflict, but even one religion has different opinions that can trigger conflicts. It is similar to what happened in Cisarua, Bogor. Even though both the local community and foreign immigrants alike embraced Islam, there are times when they have differences in understanding and creed. Many Cisarua residents are more adherent to the beliefs of the *ahlussunnah wal jamaah*, or in general, following the Sunni, while the refugees mostly follow the Shia.

Conflict potential with ideological settings may also occur if there are differences in conducting worship activity. For example, in the case of treatment of a corpse, certain teaching requires the procession of bathing and corpse prayer, while the other considered that corpse prayer is not required because the person has already prayed during his or her life.

Such differences can also lead to conflict. If these conditions continue to occur in the community, it is likely that the community would get angry over this matter. In addition to differences in religious understanding between local communities and refugees,

the conflict potential is even greater with the violation of local wisdom committed by foreign immigrants. In addition, it was found that their ideological factors (immigrants) also had an influence here; they brought a different understanding of nationalism which was in contrast with the ideology of Pancasila. These changes also affect different religious creeds at the same time, continuing long interaction with the local community which will probably lead to conflict potential.

The local community claims to be restless with behavior of the immigrants because is not in accordance with the values of the local community. One of the most troubling behavior is prostitution that emerged because of their presence. This also brings the potential to cause horizontal conflict in the community.

Conflict Potential of Socio-Cultural Aspects

Differences in culture and daily habits make the local community feel disturbed by the immigrants' existence which may lead to a commotion. The local community in Cisarua disagrees with the existence of the refugees, firstly because of differences in ethics. Regardless of their economic differences, they are still sensitive and understanding compared to refugees and asylum seekers.

Cultural ethics between the local community and immigrants is certainly different, such as the customs of courtesy, politeness, which the immigrants do not have. The local communities in the village have rules and ethics on how to establish relationships with other people, and those are forbidden to be violated. It turns out that immigrants do not have any manners at all. The ethic of local is often violated when the immigrants try to tempt the women in the village, something which can provoke citizens' commotion. These cultures and daily habits differences can lead to commotion.

From the practice occurred in Cisarua Subdistrict, the two possibilities of the Avruch theory (1998) did occur, i.e. cultural difference can lead to conflict and cultural differences can lead to new cultural adjustments. Besides that, the form of cultural acculturation in Cisarua Subdistrict was often found in places with nuances of the Middle East because until now Cisarua Subdistrict was visited by immigrants and also tourists from of Middle Eastern countries. There is one place in

Cisarua Subdistrict which is famous for the nickname of Arab village or "Warung Kaleng (can stall)", precisely in the Village of North Tugu.

Conflict Potential of Economic Aspects

The main factor of conflict is usually due to economic reasons. The difference in the social status of the community may trigger disputes that lead to conflict and violence. The entry of foreign immigrants to Cisarua region had an impact on the economic conditions of the local community. For example, local communities feel that there is a social gap due to the new economic cycle. Foreign immigrants tend to carry their habits from their original place to where they are now.

Conflict potential can be addressed among others by addressing income inequality that is still quite striking. The problem of poverty is a problem that must be solved systematically. Increasing people's welfare through comprehensive economic programs becomes a necessity by relying on the potential sources that exist in the region. The presence of foreign immigrants with different treatment from the local government will foster social jealousy in the community. In that way, if it is left unchecked, the conflict potential will turn into real conflict and even violence.

Conflict Potential from Legal Aspects

The potential for legal conflict is still on a mild scale, namely the existence of differences in habits. However, if it is left unchecked, the possibility of friction resulting in prolonged conflict is also very likely to occur. Violations of the law that are often carried out by refugees usually occur because refugees feel that their existence is protected by a convention, so that they feel immune to the law and can act arbitrarily, including violating the rule of law in Indonesia. The cases often occur are destruction, sexual harassment, and theft. When they were scolded by the local community, the refugees argued that they were protected by conventions; their status in Cisarua is refugees that have the right to be protected. Due to this misunderstanding, one of them may lead to friction with the local community.

In further analysis, the 1951 Convention on Refugees under Article 1 F (b) and (c) regulated that protection of refugees does

not apply when the refugee commits a dangerous non-political crime outside the refugee country before his entry into other countries as refugees. In addition, this article also does not apply if the refugee commits an action that is contrary to the principles of the United Nations. When refugees commit crimes in transit countries, they must automatically comply with the national laws where the refugees are located. Unfortunately, Indonesia is not a member state in the 1951 Convention on Refugees.

In this research process, it was found that the fact of the 1951 Convention caused jealousy of local communities to refugees. Social jealousy arises because immigrants always get help and special treatment because they are protected by conventions which makes them more dominant. In the end, what happened was mutual jealousy between parties which also reinforced divisions or potential conflicts. This study also found business competition between hotel owners and a small rent house (*mes* in Bahasa), or what was commonly called a community house where the rented-place became an immigrant shelter. The business competition also raises the pros and cons of Cisarua local community themselves.

In general, this research concludes that the presence of foreign immigrants does not create a life-threatening conflict potential. However, the potential of conflict remains or is at the level of vulnerability but not a major threat. Actually, the conflict potential may arise between the local communities themselves, particularly the residents who have a rent-house business. They are being pro and support these immigrants because they get benefits from them. Meanwhile, other residents and community leaders who do not have a rented house business reject the existence of these immigrants and feel disturbed by their daily activities. Arguably, it is all about economic factors. Unfortunately, with the weak oversight from the government, according to other informants, this problem of immigrants has the potential to become a major problem. The lack of supervision also indicates that the problem of immigrants is still far from being prioritized in the urgency of government policy. Thus, the potential for conflict, or what is called as "coals in the husk", is not considered high political consideration for the Indonesian government, even though there are obvious things indicated the potential conflict. The Indonesian government needs to respond to this matter and resolve

it without the need for a specific policy. The resignation of immigrants made the number of immigrants moved to another area. The local informant explained that data on immigrants has not been calculated yet since there are restrictions in recording refugees as they frequently move around.

Discussion

The great potential of tourism in Cisarua Subdistrict makes it a tourist destination, especially for foreign tourists. The number of foreigners is increasing with the presence of immigrants (refugees) and asylum seekers who are placed in Cisarua District, so that this area becomes a place for intercultural meetings. Such a situation creates an opportunity for ingroups and outgroups to emerge as Sandole (2009) theorized.

This difference in identity opens up opportunities for social conflict between foreign immigrants and local communities in Cisarua, Bogor, West Java. This proposition is reinforced by Liatin (as cited in Ishak, 2013) that ethnic identity refers to a group with certain characteristics including culture, language, religion, and race. Also, identity may determine the existence of a group among other groups.

Various methods are used in dealing with potential conflicts between foreign immigrants and local communities in Cisarua, Bogor, West Java. For example, legal issues categorized as a mild level such as squabbles and quarrels between residents and immigrants are handled by the *Kamtibmas* (peace and order in society), *Babinsa*, and influential community leaders. Another method is the deliberation approach. If it is related to technical issues of displacement, the handling of potential conflict prevention is done by providing guidance and counseling, especially for caregivers or those who bring immigrants to local communities, such as UNHCR, IOM, CWS, or JRS. The presence of these institutions makes it easier to take conflict prevention measures because structures that block, such as language, will be penetrated.

Regarding the handling at the level of policymakers, this study found there was an asymmetry between institutions dealing with the problem of foreign immigrants or refugees. Among them are the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, UNHCR, the Coordinator of Human Development and Culture (PMK), the

Directorate General of Immigration or P2MP2S. In addition, different legal instruments were also found that the P2MP2S desk had held meetings with various ministries for the preparation of the Presidential Regulation in the handling and handling of refugees. However, this Presidential Regulation is only an SOP, not a primary solution. Specifically, it is clear that the direction of law enforcement is not hesitant, and confident in carrying out the task because of the existence of the legal umbrella (law protection).

Implementation of CEWERS in the Prevention of Potential Conflicts between Immigrants and Local Communities in Cisarua

The phenomenon of interaction between foreign immigrants and local communities occurred in Cisarua Subdistrict reinforced the theory of Kevin Avruch regarding ethnic communal conflict (Avruch, 1998). This theory holds that there are several possibilities of the implications of cultural change for conflict. On the one hand, the sensitivity of cultural change can lead to social instability and that may lead to conflict. On the other hand, the possibility of changes in cultural values can prove the ability to adapt to the new situation, and individuals who carry local culture can use cultural resources to accommodate. Koentjaraningrat (2005) revealed that there were seven elements of universal culture, namely language, knowledge system, social system or social organization, living equipment and technology systems, living livelihood system, religious system, and arts. Poetra (2001) also added that some anthropologists considered there were three outcomes of an acculturation process, namely acceptance, adaptation, and reaction.

Considering the conceptualization of *Glaslie's Conflict Escalation Model*, the potential conflict between local immigrants and local communities is at the level of "polemic debate" and "action not words". The debate is only limited to bickering and suspicion, not involving physical deeds or serious criminal cases. The escalation completion stage at the "polemic debate" escalation level is carried out by negotiation or mediation with the parties and still does not involve the role of other parties to resolve the existing problems. Some existing stakeholders have also been able to make efforts at the level of resolution in the form of deliberations, meetings with villagers, and other forms of deliberation. In the stage

level of “action not words”, conflict prevention is carried out by mediating efforts involving third parties, including community leaders, the refugee supporting organizations, and officials to solve them.

Seeing the potential of existing conflicts, one of the prevention solutions is the CEWERS approach to prevent and minimize the impact. If conflict escalation reappears, some other ideas are offered. First, the need for cooperation among parties (networks) involved in conflict potential between foreign immigrants and local communities. In this study, the emphasis is on collaboration between institutions in dealing with refugee issues in Cisarua Subdistrict. The early detection system is also regulated in Article 6 paragraph (1) and (2) Law number 7 of 2012 concerning Handling of Social Conflicts stating that conflict prevention is carried out to maintain peaceful conditions in the community, establish a system for amicable dispute resolution, reduce potential for conflicts, and build an early warning system. In paragraph (2), it is also emphasized that the prevention is carried out by the Government, Regional Government, and the community. Second, place the issues of conflict as the initial basis in determining methods of resolving conflicts. Third, actor analysis for mapping the parties involved in handling conflicts. It is important to determine which actors are triggering or vulnerable groups that are easily influenced. Because that group must later be managed so that conflict does not descend into violence.

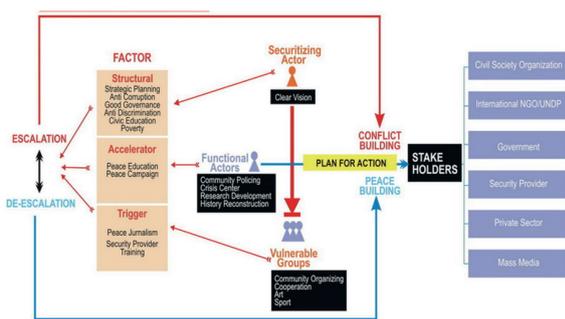


Figure 1. CEWERS Scheme

Based on the CEWERS concept in figure 1 (Titian Perdamaian: 2005), conflicts can basically be prevented from the beginning when escalation has not yet increased. The early detection system starts from conditioning situations (escalation of conflict into de-escalation). In Cisarua, minor conflicts related to foreign immigrants and local communities should have been the focus of

the local government to be resolved. If such a small conflict caused by the differences is not resolved yet from the beginning, it would lead to a major. Conflict escalation can be detected from the beginning because social conflicts never occur suddenly. All conflict indicators can be seen in the process scheme below in figure 2 and should have been prevented from the beginning (this concept through processing results from various sources).



Figure 2. Conflict Process Scheme

Conclusions

In general, this study shows that the potential conflict from the presence of foreign immigrants is still at a low level of conflict escalation and has not caused dangerous conflicts yet. The results showed that the potential conflict arises from several aspects, such as ideology, socio-cultural, economic, and legal. Potential conflicts are currently included at the polemic debate level. The CEWERS approach is one of the ideas to prevent and minimize the impact if conflict escalation arises by taking into account the cooperation between parties (networks) involved in potential conflicts between foreign immigrants and local communities. Collaboration on preventing conflict potential is carried out by all parties including the Government, Regional Government, Toda, Toga, and the community.

Handling potential conflicts between immigrants and local communities in Cisarua is carried out by mediation, negotiation, and an early warning system. Conflict prevention system, in this case, only runs at the district level, whereas at the central level there are Kemenkopolhukan, Kemenkumham, Kemenlu, UNHCR, IOM, and JRS that do not work as expected so that the early system for preventing conflict is still far from perfect.

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