



## ANALYSIS OF THE MEDIATION PROCESS OF THE SUM-BAWA-BALI ETHNIC CONFLICT 2013

LALU AMAD TAUBIH, FIRDAUS ABDUL MALIK, NURUL JANNAH

Universitas Teknologi Sumbawa, Universitas Mataram, Univeritas Teknologi Sumbawa

lalu.ahmad.taubih@uts.ac.id, firdausmalik145@gmail.com

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### Abstract

*This reasearch is titled Analysis of the Mediation Process of the Sum-bawa-Bali Ethnic Conflict 2013. This conflict is one of the significant events involving social tensions between two ethnic groups, triggred by social jealousy and economic inequality. This study aims to deeply analyze the mediation process, especially in building effective dialogue to create sustainable conflict resolution. This research uses a qualitative approach with a case study method. Data collection techniques were conducted through in-depth interviews and document analysis with re-search subjects including Mediators from the Sumbawa Regency Regional Government, in this case handed over to the Religious Harmony Forum (FKUB), representatives of the conflicting parties, namely Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia (PHDI), and several involved actors, namely the Secretary of the Tana Samawa Traditional Institution (LATS). Data was analyzed using the Miles and Huberman technique, which includes Data Reduction, Data Presentation, and Conclusion Drawing. The results show that the conflict mediation process did not directly involve representatives from both parties, namely the Samawa ethnic group and the Bali ethnic group, so the mediation stages of the PUSAD Paramadina theory were not carried out, neither the problem identification stage nor the problem-solving stage. Mediation focused more on formal resolution, such as law enforcement and physical reconstruction, without addressing the main root causes, namely, socio-economic inequality. This led to a lack of deep dialogue and long-term peace in conflict resolution.*

**Keywords :** Cnflct; Mediator Conflict; Mediation Process; Sum-bawa; Bali Ethnic; Conflict 2013



## A. introduction

Indonesia, as a multicultural country, often faces challenges in maintaining harmony among its diverse ethnic groups. One such area is Sumbawa Regency in West Nusa Tenggara Province, which is home to various ethnicities, including the indigenous Samawa, as well as Balinese, Sasak, Mbojo, Bugis Makassar, Minang, Sumba/Timor, Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Chinese, and Arab communities<sup>1</sup>. Although the relationship between the Sumbawa community and immigrant ethnic groups in Sumbawa Regency is close and conducive, the heterogeneous nature of the society (plural society) still has the potential to trigger inter-ethnic conflicts. This is due to the inherent characteristics of heterogeneity, can lead to differing traits and disharmony within society<sup>2</sup>. Typically, these issues stem from three main factors: (1) competition for resources, means of production, and economic access; (2) expanding social and cultural group boundaries; and (3) clashes of political, ideological, and religious interests. If these differences continue to be sharpened and contested, it can lead to social disintegration within the community.

To reinforce the above explanation, we can revisit major conflict events that have occurred in Sumbawa Regency. This conflict has been ongoing since 1980, particularly between the Balinese and Sumbawa tribes. At that time, the conflict between the two tribes showed no signs of resolution. The pattern of conflict in this area has

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<sup>1</sup> Iskandar S., *Konflik Etnis Samawa dengan Bali: Tinjauan Sosial Politik dan Upaya Resolusi Konflik*, *Journal of Airlangga*, hlm. 290–292, 2010

<sup>2</sup> iskandar S., *Konflik Etnik dalam Masyarakat Majemuk*, Malang: UM Press, 2006.



a long duration, as evidenced by subsequent conflict events in 2003 and 2013. 1980 marked the peak of tension in Sumbawa Besar, which originated from the increasing presence of the Balinese tribe as immigrants in the local community. Their success, in addition to the involvement of the Balinese tribe in various government sectors and social activities, as well as their distinctive customs, led some people to consider them more dominant. This situation impacted the Sumbawa community, which found it difficult to accept social differences, eventually causing tension and potential conflict. The dominance of the Balinese tribe in various aspects of life and social imbalance created inequality between the two groups. The Sumbawa community felt that the presence of these immigrants caused an imbalanced change in their way of life, including what they considered unfair treatment by the government towards the Sumbawa tribe; consequently, a sense of suspicion towards the Balinese tribe emerged<sup>3</sup>.

The peak of tension occurred on November 17, 1980, in the form of riots. Mr. Jufrie, a resident of Sumbawa Besar who witnessed the conflict, stated that the 1980 event was triggered by the Sumbawa community's perception that the Balinese tribe had dominated various aspects of life, particularly the economy, thereby limiting access for the local community. This perception developed among the community and eventually became the main trigger of the conflict, which

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<sup>3</sup> F. A. Rishanti, P. Santoso, dan A. P. Utama, 'Penyelesaian Konflik Sosial di Sumbawa Berdasarkan Undang-Undang No 7 Tahun 2012 Mengenai Penanganan Konflik Sosial (Studi Kasus: Konflik antara Suku Samawa dengan Suku Bali Tahun 2013)', *Jurnal Tarombo Pendidikan Sejarah IPTS*, 3(1), 2022, hlm. 18–26.



was further exacerbated by the elopement between a Sumbawa and a Balinese tribal member. This incident became the starting point of open conflict, where social problems turned into ethnic and religious nuances<sup>4</sup>. The situation intensified due to provocations circulating in the community, fueling emotions and triggering violence. From this testimony, it can be concluded that the conflict between the two tribes in 1980 was triggered by social and economic inequality that developed in the community. Violations of customary norms often became the main factor triggering inter-tribal conflicts, which then spread, causing large riots and many casualties.

Tension between the two groups re-emerged in 2003. This incident began when a University of Samawa student named Mustakim had an accident and was rushed to Sumbawa General Hospital. However, before receiving adequate medical treatment, he was taken by the police for detention. After two hours in detention without proper medical care, Mustakim died. Mustakim's death sparked anger among the Sumbawa community, especially because the police officers handling the case were from the Balinese tribe. The Sumbawa community felt that the death of one of their citizens was a result of arbitrary actions by the police. Although the 2003 conflict did not last long, its impact was quite significant for both parties and

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<sup>4</sup> Cikal et al., Perkembangan Konflik Sosial Suku Samawa dan Suku Bali di Sumbawa Besar Tahun 1980–2013, *Daya Nasional: Jurnal Pendidikan Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora*, hlm. 150–151



further exacerbated the relationship between the Balinese and Sumbawa tribes<sup>5</sup>. A similar event reoccurred in 2013, which had a conflict pattern similar to the previous event. This incident involved a police officer named I Gede Eka Swarjana, who was from the Balinese tribe, and a University of Samawa student named Arniyati. This event raised issues in the community regarding the cause of Arniyati's death. The emergence of issues among the community, including allegations of violence, assault, and harassment, triggered protests from students. Various rumors circulating further exacerbated the situation, eventually leading to a major riot in 2013 involving the destruction of dozens of homes belonging to Balinese residents.

Overall, the conflicts that occurred in Sumbawa from 1980 to 2013 were triggered by factors of social and economic inequality and distrust between the two ethnic groups. This series of events indicates that the tension between the Sumbawa and Balinese tribes remains a recurring problem and has the potential to recur if there are no comprehensive resolution efforts.

In resolving the issues, resolution efforts have been made. According to Iskandar (2010), in the 1980 incident, several efforts to resolve problems between the Sumbawa and Balinese ethnic groups were carried out, including: 1) coordination meetings at the Muspida level involving various ethnic leaders in Sumbawa, especially the Balinese ethnic group, to de-escalate wider conflict; 2) increasing the

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<sup>5</sup> Cikal et al., *Perkembangan Konflik Sosial Suku Samawa dan Suku Bali di Sumbawa Besar Tahun 1980–2013*, *Daya Nasional*.



intensity of communication between ethnic groups and factions to anticipate provocative issues; 3) firmly prosecuting perpetrators through searching/detaining, and punishing them according to applicable laws; 4) appealing to the Balinese ethnic group to remain calm and patient and to review the display patterns of Sumbawa<sup>6</sup> 5) providing compensation assistance to the Balinese ethnic group who suffered property or life losses. Conflict handling in 2013 was also carried out, referring to Law No. 7 of 2012 through power intervention involving the police, community leaders, and TNI. The steps included prohibiting physical violence, establishing a Kabupaten-scale conflict status, emergency actions for victim rescue and protection, and deploying TNI for further security<sup>7</sup>

In addition, mediation efforts have also been made by the Sumbawa Regency government along with a number of parties. This mediation process includes important meetings with several actors to conduct negotiations, mediation, and conflict reconciliation<sup>8</sup>. Involving the Sumbawa Regency government, namely the Regent of Sumbawa as Mediator, the Religious Harmony Forum (FKUB) as Mediator, the head of Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia (PHDI) Sumbawa as Negotiator, the Police and TNI as Executors. Mediation is one

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<sup>6</sup> Iskandar S., *Konflik Etnik dalam Masyarakat Majemuk*, Malang: UM Press, 2006.

<sup>7</sup> Rishanti et al., 'Penyelesaian Konflik Sosial di Sumbawa', *Jurnal Tarombo Pendidikan Sejarah IPTS*,

<sup>8</sup> Lalu Ahmad Taubih, G., "Anatomi Proses Konflik Etnis Samawa dan Bali di Kabupaten Sumbawa Tahun 2013," *Journal of Universitas Gadjah Mada* (2018): 74

of the optimal ways of conflict resolution. Three important approaches that can bring solutions to the structure of conflict resolution formulation are arbitration, mediation, and negotiation. Mediation as a conflict resolution method plays an important role in maintaining long-term peace, especially in multicultural societies<sup>9</sup>.

This research attempts to fill a gap not deeply discussed by previous studies. One example is the research by Taubih and Lele (2018) titled "Anatomy of the Samawa and Bali Ethnic Conflict Process in Sumbawa Regency in 2013." This research did not specifically discuss the conflict mediation process. Therefore, this research focuses on the mediation process in improving conflict resolution optimization. If this conflict recurs without optimal handling, the impact will be very detrimental to the community. Prolonged social tension can deepen division between ethnic groups, increase social polarization, and damage harmony within society<sup>10</sup>. Social conflict can hinder economic growth in Indonesia. Even though projections show that Indonesia's economy will reach the top 10 in the world by 2030, this potential will be difficult to achieve if social conflicts continue to recur<sup>11</sup>. The impact of the Sumbawa-Bali conflict in 2013 is a

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<sup>9</sup> Suyitno, "Tiga Pendekatan Kunci untuk Resolusi Konflik, Simak Penjelasan Berikut!", *Balitbang Diklat Kemenag*, 23 Desember 2023.

<sup>10</sup> Taubih, "Anatomi Proses Konflik Etnis Samawa dan Bali," 74

<sup>11</sup> Cindiyara A., *Kompas.com*, "Dirjen Kemenristek Dikti: Konflik Sosial Hambat Pertumbuhan Ekonomi," 4 Mei 2017, diakses 12 November 2024, dari Dirjen Kemenristek Dikti: Konflik Sosial Hambat Pertumbuhan Ekonomi <https://Nasional.Kompas.Com/Read/2017/05/04/22214201/Dirjen.Kemenristek.Dikti.Konflik.Sosial.Hambat.Pertumbuhan.Ekonomi>



real example of how social tension can damage societal stability. Based on data, the conflict resulted in 39 cases of fire, 41 heavily damaged buildings, and 274 lightly damaged buildings. If similar conflicts continue to recur without effective resolution, their negative impact will hinder overall social and economic progress<sup>12</sup>. Therefore, this research aims to analyze the mediation process of the Sumbawa-Bali ethnic conflict in 2013. This research is expected to provide deeper insights into creating effective and sustainable conflict resolution approaches. How was the mediation process of the Sumbawa-Bali ethnic conflict in 2013?

## **Theoretical Framework**

### **Definition of Mediation**

According to Pusad Paramadina (2023), mediation can be defined as a dispute negotiation facilitated by a third party, where the ultimate decision remains with the parties themselves. Mediation occupies an intermediary position between negotiation and arbitration, with the mediator acting as a facilitator to assist the parties in reaching a mutually agreed-upon solution. This process creates a more effective communication channel for parties who may find direct negotiation challenging. Furthermore, mediation can also serve as an initial step should they wish to engage in direct negotiation in the future<sup>13</sup>. Several stages can be undertaken by a mediator during mediation meetings.

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<sup>12</sup> Taubih, "Anatomi Proses Konflik Etnis Samawa dan Bali," 74.

<sup>13</sup> Pusat Studi Agama dan Demokrasi Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina (PUSAD Paramadina), *Pelatihan Mediasi Profesional bagi Aktor Lintas Agama dan Masyarakat Sipil*, Jakarta Selatan: Pusat Studi Agama dan Demokrasi, 2023.





**Figure Mediation Process**



Based on the image above, the mediation stages are divided into two main phases: the upper triangle represents problem identification, while the lower triangle represents problem resolution.

### **First stage: Problem Identification**

**Introduction.** At this stage, the mediator warmly welcomes the parties. The mediator can inquire about their well-being and engage in friendly conversation to create a relaxed atmosphere, ensuring both parties feel comfortable

**Mediator's Welcome.** The mediator then leads introductions, while simultaneously ensuring that the attending parties have the authority to make decisions; briefly explains mediation and the mediator's role; briefly explains the stages of mediation, code of ethics,

and mediation rules of procedure; confirms the parties' commitment, and provides an opportunity for the parties to ask questions.

**Parties' Presentations.** At this stage, the parties are given the opportunity to articulate their problems and desires. The mediator can begin with general questions. The mediator can learn questioning and reframing techniques to further explore the interests and needs of the participants. Each party is asked to listen and not interrupt the other during the presentation. The mediator will provide dedicated time if any party wishes to convey something. The first turn is usually given to the party requesting mediation.

**Identifying and Scheduling the Process.** At this stage, the mediator formulates and sequences the issues to be discussed and resolved based on the parties' presentations. These issues are outlined in the form of questions. Each point is written in sequential order, and the order is mutually agreed upon by the parties.

### **Second stage: Problem Resolution**

**Negotiation and Decision-Making.** The negotiation session usually takes the most time. Here, both parties negotiate each issue point that has been scheduled and agreed upon in order. The mediator guides the process, reframes negative statements, summarizes, and records the parties' communication. The mediator also asks questions to the parties and their representatives.

**Separate Meetings if Necessary.** Agreement may occur during negotiation. However, if negotiations reach an im-

passe, the mediator can conduct separate meetings or caucuses. In these meetings, the mediator further explores alternative solutions, encourages the parties to reconsider their offers and desires, and reminds them of the process already undertaken and the consequences of not reaching an agreement.

**Final Decision-Making.** The parties are brought together for deliberation after the caucus. The mediator needs to ensure that all issues have been discussed. The parties are ensured to accept all agreed-upon results and make them a joint decision.

**Drafting the Agreement.** The mediator asks the parties whether the decision will be legally formalized in court, legally without court, or an agreement before the mediator. All agreements are written and printed. Generally, only the main points of the agreement are written, but in other cases, the agreement is written as detailed as possible.

**Closing Remarks.** In the closing, the mediator expresses appreciation for the parties' cooperation and their willingness to follow the entire process until a mutual agreement is reached. The mediator reiterates that the agreement did not come from the mediator but from the parties themselves. If there are any questions outside the forum, the mediator provides time for discussion. The mediator then formally closes the mediation.



## B. Metodologi

This study employs a qualitative approach using case study methodology. The qualitative approach was chosen because the study aims to gain an in-depth understanding of the mediation process in a specific context, namely the mediation of the conflict between the Samawa and Balinese ethnic groups in 2013. This study focuses on the process that occurred in the mediation of the Samawa-Bali ethnic conflict in 2013. The main focus of this study is to analyze how the mediation process took place between the mediator and the conflicting parties during the mediation process, as well as to evaluate whether the mediation process was in accordance with mediation methods. The data collection technique used by the researcher was purposive sampling, with the criteria for research subjects including: mediators who facilitated the mediation process and parties involved in the conflict, such as the Sumbawa Regency government, namely the Regent of Sumbawa in 2013, the Chair of the Sumbawa Religious Harmony Forum (FKUB), the Chair of the Indonesian Hindu Dharma Council (PHDI) Sumbawa, and the Secretary of the Tana Samawa Customary Institution (LATS). The data collection methods used were in-depth interviews, documentation, and observation of the subjects while the researcher was conducting in-depth interviews. The data analysis technique employed by the researcher was the Miles and Huberman model, which includes: Data Reduction, Presentation, and Drawing Conclusions. Finally, the research period began in August 2024 and concluded in January 2025 (5 months).

## C. Result and Discussion



## Overview of the Sumbawa-Bali Ethnic Conflict 2013

According to Taubih & Lele (2018), the ethnic conflict between Sumbawa and Bali in Sumbawa Regency in January 2013 originated from the death of a woman named Arniyati, a Samawa ethnic resident, who was found dead in a deplorable condition on Batu Gong street. Her death was initially categorized by the police as a traffic accident. However, various speculations developed in the community, including the suspicion that the victim was actually murdered by her boyfriend, who was of Balinese ethnicity and a police officer. Photos of the victim's body circulating widely via mobile phones further strengthened public opinion that there was injustice in the investigation of this case. Public distrust of the police triggered heated discussions in public spaces. Tensions escalated when Universitas Samawa students, who had an emotional connection to the victim, organized a peaceful protest on January 21, 2013. They demanded transparency in handling the case, including urging the police to investigate the alleged involvement of the victim's boyfriend as the perpetrator<sup>14</sup>.

On January 22, 2013, the peaceful student protest, which was initially orderly and organized, turned into a mass riot. After demonstrating at the Police Station and Sumbawa Regional Government Office, the crowd, influenced by emotion and provocation, began to attack Pura Giri Nata. The riot around the temple began with stone-

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<sup>14</sup> Taubih, "Anatomi Proses Konflik Etnis Samawa dan Bali," 74



throwing that damaged temple facilities, followed by further destruction until furniture inside was burned in the middle of the road. The crowd also vandalized the Dynasty mini-market, which was known to belong to Balinese residents, and burned the building. The riot did not stop there but spread to villages where Balinese residents lived. Houses, shops, and other facilities were damaged, looted, and even burned. This conflict created a tense atmosphere in Sumbawa Regency. Patients in the Regional General Hospital (RSUD) near the riot location had to be evacuated for safety. The situation only began to be controlled on January 23 after the government declared an emergency status, deployed additional security forces, and established evacuation posts for more than 4,000 affected Balinese residents. Dozens of rioters, including provocateurs, were arrested. However, the impact of this conflict continued to be deeply felt by both sides.

### **Description of the Sumbawa-Bali Ethnic Conflict Mediation Process 2013**

According to Taubih & Lele (2018), several actors were involved in the mediation process, including the Regent of Sumbawa (Mediator), FKUB (Mediator), PHDI (Negotiator), and LATS Sultan Sumbawa (Negotiator)<sup>15</sup>. The author conducted interviews with four figures to obtain information related to the resolution process of the riot. The four actors are:

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<sup>15</sup> Taubih, "Anatomi Proses Konflik Etnis Samawa dan Bali," 74.



a. Regent of Sumbawa for the 2011-2015 period (Drs. H. Jamaluddin Malik)

Based on the interview on December 15, 2024, Mr. Jamaluddin Malik explained that at that time, he took initial steps to de-escalate the situation by contacting important figures, such as the head of PHDI, the head of FKUB, and the Sumbawa Sultanate, as well as instructing law enforcement to maintain security stability. He explained that everyone was gathered in the Regent's office hall for a discussion. During the deliberation process, Mr. Jamaluddin Malik handed over the mandate to the head of FKUB to resolve the issue. From the interview conducted, the informant, Mr. Jamaluddin Malik, elaborated his statement in the following quote:

*"At that time, the atmosphere was very tense, I gathered everyone in the Regent's Hall. Everyone gathered, I handed it over to the head of FKUB to complete the mediation process, which was a joint deliberation with other religious leaders."<sup>16</sup>*

The interview with Mr. Jamaluddin Malik indicates that there was a mediation process in the form of a deliberation held in the Regent's Office Hall, which he entrusted to the head of FKUB.

b. Head of the Religious Harmony Forum (FKUB) for the 2013-2022 period (H. Umar Hasan).

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<sup>16</sup> Jamaluddin Malik, wawancara dengan peneliti, Sumbawa Besar, 15 Desember 2024.



At the time of the incident, Mr. H. Umar Hasan was ordered by the Regent to come to the Sumbawa Regent's Office Hall. When he was at his residence, he was picked up by one of the Regent's employees to attend the deliberation. When he arrived at the Regent's Hall, he was asked to resolve the issue. As he stated in the interview on December 18, 2024:

*"At that time, I was picked up at my house by the Regent's driver. Yes, when I got there, I was asked for my opinion. I said that those who committed mistakes must be punished according to applicable laws. During the resolution process, there were no Balinese or Sumbawa parties because we focused only on the perpetrators of the looting."<sup>17</sup>*

From the interview above, the informant shows that at that time the deliberation process was carried out without involving party 1, namely the Sumbawa ethnic group, and party 2, namely the Balinese ethnic group, focusing on punishing the perpetrators of the looting.

- c. Head of Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia (PHDI) for the 2021– Present period (I Nyoman Mandi).

As a Balinese ethnic resident, at the time of the incident, Mr. I Nyoman Mandi was present in the Regent's Office Hall. He was asked to return from Bima City to see his extended family. Upon arriving in Sumbawa, he saw that his relatives' houses had been looted and burned. At that time, he was not yet serving as the head of PHDI but as TNI. When he became

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<sup>17</sup> H. Umar Hasan (Ketua FKUB Sumbawa 2013–2022), wawancara dengan peneliti, Sumbawa Besar, 18 December 2024



the head of PHDI, he delved deeper into the riot, and even now, Mr. I Nyoman Mandi and other PHDI colleagues often visit Balinese villages in Sumbawa to spread tolerance, especially regarding the Sumbawa and Balinese who are still related. In the interview conducted by the author on December 21, 2024, the informant revealed to the author:

*"At the time of the incident, I was in Bima. Then I returned because I received news of the riot between the Balinese and Sumbawa ethnic groups. When I arrived, I immediately went to the Regent's Office to see my relatives. There was no resolution between Bali and Sumbawa. We, along with FKUB and other religious leaders, agreed to calm and reconcile. Even now, as long as I have been the head of PHDI, I continue to visit Balinese villages such as Wonogiri in Rhee and other villages to convey that Sumbawa and Bali still have family ties because the Kings of Bali and Sumbawa were once in-laws. This is to alleviate trauma and maintain tolerance."*<sup>18</sup>

From the interview above, it shows that the conflict resolution process was carried out with several important figures without involving the Balinese and Sumbawa parties. However, the head of PHDI still visits the Balinese ethnic group to maintain tolerance.

- d. General Secretary of the Tana Samawa Traditional Institution (LATS) for the 2011-2022 period (Syukri Rahmat S.Ag., M.M.Inov)

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<sup>18</sup> I Nyoman Mandi (Ketua PHDI Indonesia 2021–sekarang), wawancara dengan peneliti, Sumbawa Besar, 21 December 2024.

In the interview, Mr. Syukri Rahmat and the Sumbawa Sultanate attended the deliberation agenda held in the Regent's Office Hall. The deliberation did not last long, due to the critical situation. All parties, including the Regional Government, FKUB, PHDI, and religious leaders present, agreed that this incident was not about religion and ethnicity. After the deliberation, the Sultan of Sumbawa, Dewa Masmawa Sultan Muhammad Kaharuddin IV, visited the victims of the looting at the evacuation shelters with the LATS secretary. During the visit, the Sultan of Sumbawa also communicated via telephone with Ida Tjokorda Pemecutan IX, the King of Denpasar, Bali. As the informant stated in the interview:

*"At that time, we went to the Regent's Office, specifically to its Hall. The deliberation did not last long because the atmosphere was very tense. There were no concrete results. After it was jointly agreed that it was not a religious and ethnic conflict, we immediately dispersed. The Sultan and I focused on visiting the victims. At the time, the King of Bali also called the Sultan asking about the condition of the Balinese Citizens, and the Sultan informed him that they were fine. Then, the sultan also asked for the protection of Sumbawa citizens in Bali"*<sup>19</sup>.

As stated by the informant, the conflict resolution process, which was considered mediation in the form of a deliberation, did not last long due to the tense atmosphere and did

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<sup>19</sup> Syukri Rahmat, S.Ag., M.M.Inov (Sekretaris Umum Lembaga Adat Tana Samawa 2011–2022), wawancara dengan peneliti, Sumbawa Besar, 7 January 2025

not produce concrete decisions for both parties, only deciding that the riot that day was not a religious and ethnic conflict

### **Gaung NTB News**

According to Gaung NTB (2013), the Regional Government and security forces took action to de-escalate the situation. The Regent of Sumbawa, Drs. H. Jamaluddin Malik, requested religious leaders, community figures, and the media to convey messages of peace, while sub-district heads were asked to neutralize the atmosphere in their respective areas. The head of the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) and the Sultan of Sumbawa also appealed to the public to exercise restraint and not be easily provoked.<sup>20</sup>

The government implemented symbolic and structural measures by demolishing cafes in Batu Gong, which were considered triggers for many social conflicts. This action was carried out using heavy equipment and strict security by law enforcement. Additionally, evacuation posts were established to accommodate thousands of victims, while food, beverages, and health services were provided. Psychologists were also present to help victims overcome trauma resulting from the riots. In the conflict resolution process, the government and community leaders, including the Governor of NTB, the Regional Police Chief, and various inter-religious organizations,

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<sup>20</sup> Gaung NTB, 'Laporan Khusus Konflik Sumbawa–Bali' (Sumbawa, 23 Januari 2013), hal. 19–22



collaborated to restore stability. Security forces continued to search for the intellectual actors behind the unrest.

### **Analysis based on Pusad Paramadina's Mediation Process**

#### **First Stage : Problem Identification**

##### **1) Introduction.**

**Ideal Process:** The mediator warmly welcomes the conflicting parties to lighten the atmosphere. This stage aims to create a sense of comfort so that both parties feel heard and valued.

**Research Results:** There was no introduction because the two parties (Balinese and Sumbawanese) were not present in the deliberation. The process that occurred was only an internal meeting between FKUB, PHDI, and religious leaders. (Not Implemented)

##### **2) Mediator's Welcome**

**Ideal Process:** The mediator introduces themselves, explains their role and the stages of mediation, and ensures that the parties present have the authority to make decisions. Re-

**search Results:** The mediator did not provide a welcome to both parties, as no representatives were invited to the meeting. FKUB and PHDI acted collectively to resolve the issue without directly involving both parties. (Not Implemented)

##### **3) Parties' Presentations**

**Ideal Process:** At this stage, each party is given the opportunity to convey their problems and desires directly. The mediator's task is to explore the interests of both parties more



deeply. Research Results: There was no presentation from either the Balinese or Sumbawanese parties because they were not invited to participate. The discussion process was limited to mediators and religious leaders without involving representatives from the conflicting parties. (Not Implemented)

#### 4) Identification of Initial Understanding

Ideal Process: The mediator seeks initial common ground to build good faith between the two parties, such as a shared goal to resolve the conflict. Research Results: Initial common understanding was only achieved through deliberation between the mediators (FKUB and PHDI) and religious leaders, without involving either the Balinese or Sumbawanese parties. This understanding was merely a narrative of peace stating that this conflict was not a religious or ethnic conflict, but a criminal case (looting)

#### 5) Identifying and Scheduling the Process

Ideal Process: The mediator formulates and sequences the agenda based on the presentations of both parties, which is then mutually agreed upon for further discussion. Research Results: The meeting agenda was prepared by the mediator (FKUB) without direct input from the Balinese and Sumbawanese parties. This agenda focused more on addressing the impact of the conflict, such as assistance to victims, without discussing the root causes. (Not Fully Implemented)

### Second Stage: Problem Resolution



#### 1) Negotiation and Decision-Making

Ideal Process: The mediator guides negotiations to agree on solutions to the identified problems. Research Results: There was no direct negotiation between the two parties, neither from the Balinese nor the Sumbawanese side. Decisions were made by the mediator through internal deliberation, with the outcome that the perpetrators of the looting would be handed over to the police and TNI, while victims would receive assistance. (Not Implemented)

#### 2) Separate Meetings (If Necessary)

Ideal Process: The mediator can hold separate meetings to explore alternative solutions if negotiations reach an impasse. Research Results: Separate meetings were not conducted because both parties were not invited to participate in the mediation process. (Not Implemented)

#### 3) Final Decision-Making

Ideal Process: The mediator ensures that the final decision is accepted by both parties and becomes a joint agreement. Research results: Decisions were made by FKUB and PHDI without direct involvement of the Balinese and Sumbawanese parties. The final decisions included assistance for the reconstruction of victims' homes and the handling of perpetrators by law enforcement. (Not Implemented)

#### 4) Drafting the Agreement

Ideal process: An agreement is created in a formal document with the option for legal formalization. Research results:



There was no formal document recording the agreement between the Balinese and Sumbawanese parties. The peace narrative was only communicated informally through FKUB and PHDI. (Not Implemented)

#### 5) Closing Remarks

**Ideal Process:** The Mediator concludes the process by expressing appreciation for the cooperation of the parties and reminding them of the importance of mutual agreement. **Research results:** There were no closing remarks because both parties were not involved in the mediation process. (Not Implemented).

The conclusion of this process analysis is that the 2013 Sumbawa-Bali conflict mediation process did not conform to the ideal mediation concept of PUSAD Paramadina. The absence of direct participation from the conflicting parties meant that most mediation stages, both problem identification and problem-solving, were not carried out. This indicates that the approach taken more closely resembled a unilateral decision facilitated by the mediator, without involving direct communication between the parties.

### D. Closing

Based on the research findings from the analysis of the 2013 Sumbawa-Bali ethnic conflict mediation process that occurred in Sumbawa Regency, the researchers concluded that the 2013 Sumbawa-Bali ethnic conflict mediation process carried out by the Sumbawa Regency Government was not in accordance with the



ideal concept of participatory and communicative mediation, such as the PUSAD Paramadina method. There were three important findings, namely (1) The mediation process did not directly involve the conflicting parties; the mediators, consisting of the FKUB (Forum for Religious Harmony) and PHDI (Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia), acted collectively to resolve the conflict through internal deliberations. The absence of the conflicting parties in the mediation process eliminates the opportunity to directly understand their perspectives, needs, and interests. This indicates a mediation approach that is more representative than participatory, where mediators become the dominant actors in determining solutions. (2) A collective approach that ignores emotional and personal aspects; the conflict was resolved by emphasizing the collective narrative that the conflict was not based on religion or ethnicity, but rather a purely social incident. However, this approach failed to address the emotional dynamics of individuals, such as the trauma experienced by victims, particularly those from the Balinese ethnic group. Although this narrative is important for alleviating tensions on a broad scale, the inability of mediation to address personal aspects can leave deep and unresolved emotional wounds. (3) Focus on formal resolution without addressing the root causes; the resolutions resulting from the mediation process are more directed at addressing the impacts of the conflict, such as law enforcement against the perpetrators and the physical reconstruction of the victims' homes. However, this me-



diation did not address in depth the main root cause of the problem, namely the socio-economic inequality between the Samwa and Balinese ethnic groups. This inequality, marked by the dominance of the Balinese ethnic group in the economic sector, is a source of jealousy and tension that underlies the conflict.

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