Fatima Astuti

**Does Social Resilience resolve Religious Intolerance?**

*An evaluation of inter-communal conflict rehabilitation efforts in Indonesia*

In the year 1999, following the downfall of President Suharto, Indonesia started to face string of religious conflicts in several places particularly in Maluku islands, Poso and Central Sulawesi.

Today, the inter-communal conflict has left a specific ‘trauma’ that creates an environment of less tolerance to anything that symbolizes opposite religions. Some NGOs have initiated rehabilitation programmes to reduce the physical and socio-psychological impacts. These programmes are diverse from rebuilding houses to social reconstructions. There have also been some cultural initiatives that aim to rebuild trust and tolerance among religions. For instance in Poso, a reemployment scheme was started in the traditional market with an aim of inter-mingling people from different religions. Disregarding the important roles of community gathering in trust building within society, the efforts are not enough to eradicate mistrust and intolerance in the post conflict trauma. This paper intends to demonstrate the existence of strong mistrust and intolerance among the members of community who have suffered these religious conflicts.

Moreover, many NGOs are moving out of these regions with either an illusion that the problem has been resolved or citing lack of funds or sometimes both. If those intolerance and mistrust are kept unsolved, there is a fear that it will give another opportunity for communal clash in the near future. The paper emphasizes the important role of religious and community leaders along with the NGOs to enhance the trust and tolerance among these religious communities. The paper concludes by providing some policy recommendations for the NGOs and government to be a part of the same.

Fatima Astuti is a Research Analyst in the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, and currently pursuing the Master of Science (Strategic Studies) Degree at RSIS (2008-10). Born in Indonesia, she worked with several human right organizations in Indonesia from 1999 – 2005 which provided her with an excellent base for her future researches. Her research interests are on radicalism and extremism in Indonesia, Islamic Studies, Terrorist Groups in Indonesia, Counter Terrorism and Human Rights Law. One of her most significant researches was on the clerics networks behind Islamist radicalism in Indonesia in 2006-2007. On terrorism, she had done researches on Indonesia's terrorist groups and insurgents with a special focus on Poso, Central Sulawesi and Central Java. Currently, she is involved in a research project on the radical groups finance capability that investigates and gives projection on the radical groups finance capability. Only a few of her researches have been made available to the public in the form of commentaries and presentations. The main bulk of her researches were published and circulated for internal purpose to exclusive recipients.
The ethnographical analysis of a psychological voluntary work in Thailand

“Psychologists without Frontiers” is an apolitical, non confessional, non-profit association that works in Thailand since 2006. Some psychologists of the association have collaborated with Saint Martin Center in Bangkok supporting homeless babies.

Saint Martin Center, managed by PIME (Papal Institute Foreign Missions), receives children come from the major slum communities of the capital. They are back from different types of traumatic experiences: abandon, working exploitation, sexual abuse, affective deprivation, drugs abuse. Childhood disease happening after traumatic experiences cannot be completely framed through western psychological coding systems when the psychological procedure itself is applied on unknown cultural contexts.

Through the analysis of the inter-subjective interaction between a western clinical psychologist and Chiu, a child who lives in Saint Martin Center, the present ethnographical experience has the aim of investigate: the efficacy of western clinical constructions in understanding local representations of psychological disease, the contribute of the ibridation between catholic pedagogy and Thai and Buddhist background on the meanings of suffering built in the Center, the intercultural dialectics between Thai children and western volunteers, the possibility that a cultural trauma can give aid to the resilience manifestations linked with childhood plasticity.

Giuseppe Bolotta is a clinical psychologist. Beside his clinical practice in Milan, since 2006, he has been working in Thailand with tsunami-hit children and street children.
Weapon of massive social change: the humanitarian response in Myanmar and its consequences on local societies.

While always more questions arise concerning the legitimacy of the humanitarian aid and the collateral issues of the international interventions – may they be political, cultural or economical – the Myanmar example should remain a typical learning case for the future. Indeed, the Union of Myanmar which military government is synonym of human rights’ abuses and closing toward the international community and still a developing country has been struck by the cyclone Nargis in May 2008, followed by an unprecedented entry of International NGOs (INGOs) with their quota of foreign workers. The early refusal of the Myanmar authorities to allow the foreign INGOs to go on the field has been the subject of short but dense critics in the media throughout the world, but after 6 months the international community had almost forget it and turn its eyes towards other humanitarian matters. It has been 2 years now after Nargis’ passage, and ever since the coping processes have been little studied from the beginning to these days.

At the first step we would like to highlight the coping mechanisms available and developed by the affected populations while it is generally assumed that only ‘professional’ humanitarian aid may be able to provide a adapted response to the aftermath. Indeed, despite the involvement of many Burmese social-class based groups (as well as local religious charitable groups) in providing aid to the victims of the cyclone, most of the INGOs claimed the sole pertinence of their actions partly to enter this longstanding closed country. Thus, the second step will be consecrated to the analysis of the humanitarian actions and how, ignoring the local and complex realities of their actions’ fields, they curbed the local coping mechanisms. Besides creating a psychological progression among the population from: “we wait for no help” to: “no NGO come to us” that we want to explore, the humanitarian projects bring crucial changes among the socio-economical structures according to the humanitarian early recovery concept: “retrieve the previous conditions in better”. We even assert that in a certain way, international humanitarian organizations precipitated the effects of the cyclone on these structures.

Finally, as a factor of massive social change, we will undertake the analogy with the effects of the British colonization in the same region on the social and economical local structures, particularly through the patron-client relationship prevailing in the delta’s resources’ exploitation. This may help to better understand the ideology that come under cover of the humanitarian aid and break widely diffused ideas concerning the selfless intervention of the humanitarian system.

Maxime Boutry
Research Fellow – IRASEC (Research Institute on Contemporary Southeast Asia)
Maxime Boutry achieved a PhD in Social Anthropology in 2007 at the EHESS (School of High Studies in Social Sciences) in 2007, dealing with the appropriation of the marine environment by the Burmese fishermen in the Tenasserim (South Myanmar). He is now working about the social change
‘factories’ at the frontiers of the Burmese social space through the case of the Irrawaddy Delta’s populating and the interactions between Burmese fishermen and Moken (few thousands of sea-gypsies inhabiting South Burma and South Thailand). Besides, he works within the IRASEC’s program Borders and Mobility among the Burmese populations of South Burma and South Thailand.

After the cyclone Nargis struck the Irrawaddy Delta the 2nd of May 2008, Maxime Boutry has been involved in INGO projects as local expert that gave him an inside view while studying the impact of humanitarian and development projects implemented with reference to natural disasters.
Salud Mora Carriedo

The Guinsaugon Rock Avalanche Tragedy: Coping with a Disaster and Its Aftermath

This paper explores the lived experiences of some victim-survivors in the Guinsaugon Rock Avalanche Tragedy in Saint Bernard, Southern Leyte, Philippines. Regarded as one of the worst natural disasters to ever hit the country at the early part of the third millennium, it claimed hundreds of lives. Village residents and schoolchildren perished and were buried alive in sweeping mud and rocks coming from the mountains at midday of February 17, 2006.

During the summer school break in April, Ms. Salud Mora Carriedo performed community service to some survivors living in school-evacuation centers. A trained clinical chaplain, she got the chance to process with them their experiences during the disaster; their coping thereafter; and their plans on how to mend their shattered lives.

Central to this phenomenological presentation are the common themes (essences) Ms. Carriedo discovered among the lived experiences of the process-participants; the coping styles of widows and widowers; and her reflections on the Filipinos’ common ways of expressing sympathy in times of deaths and tragedies vis-à-vis with those recommended by her clinical trainings. Some of the victim-survivors’ feedbacks on the relief efforts of GOs and NGOs will also be touched.

A teacher by profession, Ms. SALUD MORA CARRIEDO finds time away from her job to extend clinical pastoral services to individuals and communities. She holds a BA from Ateneo de Davao University, masters in Public Administration from the University of Southeastern Philippines, and in Peace Education from the U.N.-mandated University for Peace in Costa Rica. In addition, she has undergone trainings in Clinical Pastoral Education at hospitals in Nebraska and New York, under the auspices of the Association for Clinical Pastoral Education, Inc. in the USA. Ms. Carriedo is currently an assistant professor at the College of Governance, Business and Economics, and at the Pamulaan Center for Indigenous Peoples Education of the University of Southeastern Philippines in Davao City.
Humanitarian observers of conflict and disaster recovery in Indonesia, both national and international, have remarked with frustration upon the challenges of post-tsunami and post-conflict recovery in Aceh compared with other Indonesian settings such as post-earthquake Yogyakarta or post-conflict West Kalimantan. For many it can be tempting to blame Aceh’s culture and history of recurring conflict; others note a spoiled victim mentality born out of an overabundance of humanitarian assistance since the tsunami. In this presentation, the figure of the “victim” (korban) will be the locus of an ethnographic inquiry into Aceh’s ongoing recovery. I begin with a description of the technologies and discursive practices that define and render korban as a recognizable social type in today’s Aceh. This includes reflections on my own participation in the humanitarian encounter with Aceh after the tsunami and peace agreement. To the extent that it is possible, the voices of self-identified korban konflik and/or korban tsunami will be brought into the discussion to comment upon their status. I argue that the figure of the korban, as both subject position and lived experience, not only describes the challenges of recovery in Aceh but also embodies, in a setting of unprecedented humanitarian intervention, a new articulation of suffering born out of Aceh’s unique and protracted history with disaster, post-Soeharto discourses of Indonesian national belonging, and far less tangible global processes that influence the distribution of aid and development, conflict and peace, around the world.

Jesse Hession Grayman, is currently Research Coordinator at the Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution Studies at Syiah Kuala University in Aceh. He has two Master’s degrees from the University of Michigan in 2001, an MA in Southeast Asian Studies, and an MPH in International Health Epidemiology and has yet to complete his PhD. Meanwhile, he writes lucidly about the complexities of Peace and Conflict Resolution in Aceh, and elsewhere in Indonesia.
Anne Y. Guillou

Abstract

“Dealing with the Khmer Rouge mass graves. The UN, the Cambodian government and the peasants”

The killings occurred in Cambodia during the Khmer rouge regime (1975-1979) have originated hundreds of mass graves. Since the end of the genocide in 1979 such mass graves have been dealt with in many different ways depending on the changing perception of the genocide itself both inside and outside Cambodia. This paper analyzes various perceptions and practices related to mass graves. It specifically focuses on the rituals performed by some neighboring villagers in Bakan district, Pursat province (Western Cambodia).

Anne Yvonne Guillou is a researcher at the French National Center of Scientific Research (currently working in the Center of Southeast Asian studies, CASE, Paris). She has been trained in Sociology (Master, 1988), Khmer studies (BA, INALCO, 1989) and Anthropology (PhD, EHESS, Paris, 2001).

Her research interest is social suffering and post-genocide social recovering; Khmer popular religious system; general anthropology of Cambodia; body, sickness, healing practices, medicines and practitioners; health and migrations. She has been doing research on Cambodian people since 1986, firstly in France among refugees and then, since 1990, in Cambodia, where she has spent more than five years.


http://case.cnrs.fr/spip/case/Guillou-Anne-Yvonne
Gender, Vulnerability and Social Suffering in the Aftermath of the Tsunami in Thailand

It has been over five years since a massive earthquake triggered the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami that hit the shores of fourteen countries in Eastern Africa and South and South-East Asia. About 230,000 people died and nearly 2.5 million people were affected by losing family members, homes and livelihood. People in the affected areas have recovered but life will never be the same as it was before the tsunami. I have followed survivors’ recovery after the 2004 tsunami in the South of Thailand and the ethnography in this paper is based on longterm anthropological fieldwork in Thailand on the recovery process after the catastrophe especially in Phang Nga, the worst hit province. In Thailand about 8,000 people were assumed killed by the tsunami and among the Thai who perished were 54.8 per cent female and 45.2 per cent male. When disasters happen, the strength of a society’s entire web of structures and relations are tested. In the recovery after the tsunami Thai people have shown to be both vulnerable and resilient. The survivors used their local networks and assisted each other and the strength of local agency was apparent. In the early stage in the recovery process many NGOs and volunteers provided immediate relief and resolved immediate problems. However, for a long time after the tsunami the relief operations were chaotic and sometimes dysfunctional. Buddhist temples, monks and nuns played important roles after the tsunami and became a refuge for the survivors. Religious explanations and the daily and other religious practices were of major significance in the recovery process after the tsunami. This paper will address the interplay between vulnerability, suffering, and local agency in the aftermath of the tsunami in Thailand. Social suffering involves health, welfare, legal, moral, and religious issues and this paper will explore how certain political, economic, and institutional power affected Thai people stricken by the tsunami. The tsunami affected people unequally and the paper will especially focus on how Thai women experienced the hardships after the tsunami. I will approach the issue by exploring the vulnerability experienced by the survivors. Vulnerability contains a combination of external and internal aspects. Some people run higher risks to be hit by disasters and some people have more difficulties than others to cope and to recover after a disaster. Vulnerability focuses on limitations or lack of access to resources and vulnerability is often the result of inequality. Disasters occur in gendered contexts, and in disasters women are generally defined as more vulnerable than men.

Monica Lindberg Falk is a social anthropologist and lecturer and researcher at the Centre for East and South-East Asian Studies, Lund University, Sweden. Her research interests include gender, Buddhism, anthropology of disaster, women’s movements, religious movements, education, development and social change in South-East Asia. Her scholarship includes extensive fieldwork in Thailand. She has published a monograph and several articles on themes related to gender, Buddhism, education and religious movements. She is currently publishing articles based on findings from her research project, funded by the Swedish Research Council, VR, on gender and Buddhism’s role in the recovery process after the 2004 tsunami catastrophe in Thailand. See e.g. ‘Recovery and Buddhist Practices in the Aftermath of the Tsunami in Southern Thailand.’ In Religion (2010: 2.), "Buddhism and Resilience After the Tsunami in Southern Thailand.” In Sunita Reddy and Harish Naraindas (eds.) Disaster, Recovery and Reconstruction: Social Science Perspectives on the Tsunami. Routledge (forthcoming), “Thai Buddhists’ encounter international relief work in posttsunami Thailand.” In Hiroko Kawanami and Geoffrey Samuel (eds.) Buddhism and International Relief Work. Edwin Mellen Press, (forthcoming) and "Feminism, Buddhism and Transnational Women’s Movements in Thailand.” In Mina Roces and Louice Edwards (eds.) Women’s Movements in Asia: Feminisms and Transnational Activism.” Routledge (2010).
Henri Locard  
Royal University of Phnom Penh, The Buddhist Institute  

A man-made catastrophe: Democratic Kampuchea  
The Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC), as re-constructors, along with DC-Cam & ADHOC

Apart from putting an end to impunity, one of the purposes of setting up the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC), has been to bring about healing from trauma together with reconciliation. It has been the main target of a number of NGOs that have carried out extensive outreach fieldwork throughout Cambodia in order to bridge the gap between victims and the trial chambers, thus making it possible to introduce civil parties participation for the first time in an international tribunal.

Can we say that, apart from the necessity of bringing the main perpetrators to face up to their responsibilities, the Kaing Guek Eav's (Duch) trial has made it possible for the Cambodians to alleviate some of their past sufferings and move towards reconciliation with their torturers?

The trial has had a clear beneficial consequence: tongues have been untied and there has been much more inter-generational debate. On the other had, DC-Cam has been able to publish a well-illustrated book on DK distributed for free in the provinces - 200,000 copies so far. The Ministry of Education has made DK a compulsory subject in year one in Higher education.

But still, if the educators have been loquacious in detailing the crimes of the Khmer Rouge, they have been very short in their explanations of the whys those crimes have been perpetrated. Besides, in the outreach and forums organized by NGOs most of the speakers have been young graduates from the law schools, with no historical knowledge and no experience of the period themselves; they mostly restricted their interventions to legal details that much of the audience could not understand. In the meantime, the numerous explanations to DK policies provided by the accused - Duch - have not been sufficiently disseminated among the population. Most Cambodians have just regarded him as a simulator and a liar. The real benefit of the trial - understanding the real logic behind the killings - has not really been put across to the public.
Context-bound Islamic theodicies and their use to define local identity in the aftermath of natural hazard

In the aftermath of the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami, Muslims in the Satun province in Southern Thailand quickly espoused the explanation of the natural catastrophe as God’s wrath. This interpretation was amplified by the local production of media material by a religious teacher and by the presence of other visual items (both commercial films and Middle Eastern religious production) reinforcing this view.

Apart from representing general understanding of the particular event, the use of theodicies seemed to reinforce the definition of ethno-religious boundaries and local identities. This finding suggests that in the aftermath of natural hazard, research efforts should be devoted to analyzing local discourses beyond the analytical frame of trauma relief intervention, local cohesion, and instead toward a more complex understanding of regional dynamics. The impact of theodicy goes beyond the immediate coping strategies of individuals and communities and affects the future behaviour of individuals, at least ideally.

This paper analyzes the development of local media which progressed from news-reportage layout toward a more refined complex commentary with the definition of alleged proper Islamic identity and conduct. It will also argue that general theological explanations are applied locally with political, educational and disciplinary intents which must be considered during relief interventions.

Claudia Merli obtained a Laurea in Literature and Philosophy (BA, MA, Magna cum Laude) from the University of Rome "La Sapienza" in 1999, with a dissertation in Cultural Anthropology on the colonial and postcolonial perceptions of two gender-specific Malay culture-bound syndromes, amok and latah. During her undergraduate studies she also obtained a Diploma of Piano from the Conservatory of Perugia, and attended the Experimental School of Chamber Music at “S. Cecilia” Conservatory in Rome. Her PhD research and dissertation (2008) in Cultural Anthropology at Uppsala University focussed on reproductive health and bodily practices of Muslim women in Southern Thailand. She has a broad research interest in the Southeast Asian region and Thailand, especially: male and female genital cutting, gendered bodily practices related to reproduction, Buddhist and Muslim female spirit mediums, ethno-religious conflict in Southern Thailand, theological discourses in the aftermath of the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami.
Indonesia 1965: Oral memory redressing the past?

Following the military coup in 1965 that brought Suharto into power in 1967, hundreds of thousands of people suffered from political oppression, were killed or imprisoned, often during decades, in the name of anti-communism. This period of mass violence got very little recognition on the international scene and memories of the massacres remain very fragmented in Indonesia.

A majority of political prisoners (TAPOL, Tahanan Politik) were released by the Suharto government at the end of the 1970s. Suharto’s successor, Habibie, set free those still alive in 1999. But even when free, most political prisoners were exposed to various restrictions.

Indeed, the New Order regime consolidated its rise to power through the writing, teaching of a version of history that demonized the PKI, presenting the 1965 events as a necessity in Indonesian history, erecting Suharto and the Army as the nation’s saviours from the Dutch and then from the communist threat.

Since the end of the New Order Regime in 1998, there has been a blossoming of memoirs and biographies by former political prisoners and researches about the 1965 events, challenging official history and giving space to “multiple truths” and “victims voices”. Nonetheless, Gus Dur’s failed attempt to lift the ban on the communist ideology and the failure of the government to set up a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, despite ongoing discussions about such a body since 2000, ending with the cancellation of the draft bill by the Supreme Court in 2006, confines these endeavours to reopen history to a narrow space. No official response nor any judicial device to address the 1965 massacres have been set up until now.

Still, Human rights organizations labeled ex Tapols as “victims” who deserve rehabilitation and reparations for the trauma they endured. But at the local level, anti-communist paramilitaries often use threat to prevent the rehabilitation of any leftist discourse.

We will base our paper on the reading of Himar Farid and John Roosa’s essay Tahun yang Tak Pernah Berakhir: Memahami Pengalaman Korban 65, Esai-esai Sejarah Lisan. (The Year That Never Ended: Understanding the Experiences of the Victims of 65, Oral history essay) (containing 300 interviews with ex-TAPOLS) and the work of Hersri Setiawan, a former political detainee of the New Order, jailed in Buru Island, Aku ex-tapol (I’m an ex-tapol, 2003), and Memoar Pulau Buru, (Memoirs of the Buru Island, 2004) to address the issue of the role of autobiography and oral history as a recovery process for a society disrupted by political violence.

After shedding light on the conditions of production and dissemination of this new genre, we will show that these essays aim at producing a counter-memory that puts the stress on the absurdity of the imprisonments and refuses stigmatization. More generally, they contest the “policy of naming” produced by the national propaganda and deliver a different outlook on Indonesian society. Then, we will try to understand to what extent the narratives are framed, what category of suffering and expression of trauma surface. Eventually, we will try to circumscribe the type of denunciation that the personal narratives convey.

Clotilde Riotor is Phd candidate at the Group of Political and Moral Sociology (GSPM), Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris. She has a Bachelor in Philosophy, Paris 1 Sorbonne, a Master in Political Sciences, Institut d’Etudes Politiques de Paris, a Master of Research in Sociology, School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences. Title of the thesis: The mobilization of the “adat” law within the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation in East Timor. Her Phd thesis deals with the integration of international law and the domestic judicial mechanisms to address Human Rights abuses in Indonesia, focusing on a long-term analysis of the Tanjung Priok “affair
Islamic etiologies of trauma in post-tsunami, post-conflict Aceh

Less than a year after the devastating December 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami struck Aceh, a peace agreement was signed between the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and the Government of Indonesia. However, to date, the complex intersections between the tsunami and the conflict have received surprisingly little attention. This paper examines religious narratives surrounding the tsunami as one example of the multidimensional intersection between the tsunami and the conflict in Aceh.

In particular, I discuss one narrative prevalent during my fieldwork (January 2007 to August 2009): that the tsunami was an act of God intended to resolve the conflict. I show the ways in which three Acehnese women engaged with this narrative in their attempts to overcome their personal suffering from both the tsunami and the conflict. I argue that this narrative demonstrates the ways in which Islamic notions of destiny have come to inform popular conceptualisations of trauma and resilience in Aceh, and the efficacy of religious practice as a form of trauma healing.

Catherine Smith is a PhD student in anthropology at the Research School of Humanities at the Australian National University. Her doctoral research focuses on Acehnese conceptualisations of trauma and trauma healing as told through women’s conflict narratives. Her research interests include medical anthropology, the anthropology of colonialism and the state and the anthropology of racism and violence.
Practices of oblivion: how *zikir* is supposed to help orphaned children recover from trauma in Aceh (Indonesia)

In Aceh, a 30 year-long civil war and a massive natural catastrophe (the tsunami) have had a major impact upon thousands children. Specific literature in psychopathology has no final word about children's and adolescents' resilience after a collective traumatic event: authors show that on top of specific individual situations, different sections of different societies have or lack the specific resources to deal with children's difficulties. This, of course, plays a role in each child's life as an adult. Such specific resources are the object of this paper, based on ethnography carried out in Aceh in 2009 and 2010.

I shall relate about an Acehnese Islamic residential institution which was created in 2001, in Banda Aceh, with the precise scope to shelter the children victims of war. I shall point to a set of practices which are supposed to engender oblivion of past experiences and underline discourses about oblivion.

I argue that for the children, the negotiation of a sense of the self as a victim is a disturbing though relevant element in such practices.