HANDLING AND RECOVERY OF RELIGIOUS CONFLICT VICTIMS BY LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN INDONESIA: A STUDY OF SUNNI-SHI'A CONFLICT IN SAMPANG AND PASURUAN

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Abstract

One of the religious conflicts in Indonesia is the Sunni-Shia conflict in Sampang Regency and Pasuruan Regency. This conflict has attracted the global community's attention because the handling process deviated from the values of equality in religion and ignored human rights principles. This study was conducted to determine the role of local governments in handling and recovering victims of religious conflicts. This study is expected to contribute to efforts to handle and recover victims of religious conflicts in Indonesia, especially by local governments. The empirical legal research method uses primary and secondary data sources. Practices of Handling and Recovering Victims of Social Conflicts Based on Religion and Belief in Pasuruan Regency and Sampang Regency, namely: 1) There is no policy at the regional level in handling social conflicts, 2) There is no particular regional budget for handling social conflicts; 3) Community participation (non-state actors) in handling social conflicts in Pasuruan Regency has not been maximised; 4) Post-conflict recovery only focuses on physical recovery.

Keywords: *Social Conflict, Freedom of Religion and Belief, Local Government*

Introduction

Indonesia is a pluralistic nation. This plurality can be seen in the many ethnic groups, customs, cultures, languages, and religions throughout Indonesia. Regarding religious pluralism, Indonesia has at least six recognised religions: Islam, Protestant Christianity, Catholic Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism. In addition, each religion has different streams, sects and mass organisations. For example, Islam has two major sects, Sunni and Shia, and organisations such as Nahdatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, Islamic Unity (Persis) and others.

However, this plurality often becomes problematic when there are differences or conflicts between religious communities or faiths. According to SETARA Institute's annual report on the Condition of Freedom of Religion/Belief in Indonesia, from 2012 to 2016, East Java Province has always been among the top three provinces with the highest freedom of religion and belief violations in Indonesia.[1] This is reinforced by the monitoring results of the Surabaya Legal Aid Institute (LBH); from 2010-2020, 38 (thirty-eight) violations of the right to freedom of religion and belief in East Java. The forms of these violations, in general, are (1) Persecution and discrimination against Ahmadiyah congregation, (2) attack and anti-Shiite campaign, (3) prohibition of activities against Majelis Tafsir Al-Qur'an (MTA) congregation, (4) prohibition of activities against followers of Aliran Kepercayaan, (5) discrimination in population administration services, (6) problems with permits for establishing houses of worship, and (7) non-fulfilment of proper education for children of Shia Sampang refugees.[2]

One of the conflicts that has yet to be resolved is the Sunni-Shia conflict in Sampang Regency. The Sunni-Shia inter-religious conflict in Sampang on August 26, 2012, precisely in Karang Gayam village, Omben sub-district, and Bluuran village, Karang Penang sub-district, Sampang regency, East Java, was the peak of the conflict

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[1] Halili, in the Annual Report on the Condition of Freedom of Religion/Belief in Indonesia, published by Pustaka Masyarakat Setara in 2012-2016.

[2] M. Faiq Assiddiqi dkk, *Koeksistensi Kebebasan Beragama dan Berkeyakinan di Provinsi Jawa Timur*, (Surabaya: YLBHI-LBH Surabaya, 2016), 5.

between Shia and Sunni Islamic groups that was accompanied by violence and caused one person to die. Even the Omben Police Chief, AKP Aris, was also a victim in the clash. One person was killed, two people were critically injured, and 37 houses were burned down as a result of the clash. The violence and clashes involved approximately 500 people.[3]

Sunni-Shia conflict occurred not only in the Sampang Regency but also in the Pasuruan Regency. In 2007, thousands of Bangil Pasuruan residents, such as scholars, youth and small communities, rallied to demand the dissolution of the Shia teachings or groups that began to develop in Bangil. They considered this teaching misleading and destroying society, especially Muslims. Besides being followed by parents, the action held in Bangil Square on Friday (20/4/2007) was also filled with teenagers and children. The traffic flow in Bangil that connects Banyuwangi Surabaya was jammed. After performing Friday prayers, about 2,000 people held the action. Starting from Bangil Square, they combed through several corners of the city. The Islamic Boarding School Foundation (YAPI), which was accused by the masses as the base and headquarters of Shia, did not escape the target of the residents.[4] The difference between the two Sunni-Shia conflicts in Sampang Regency and Bangil Regency is that in Sampang Regency, there was 1 death, two critical people, 35 houses were burned, and until now, hundreds of Shia Sampang adherents have had to take refuge in Jumondo Sidoarjo Regency. While the Sunni-Shia conflict in Pasuruan Regency had no casualties, and the conflict could be resolved.

The conflict between Shia and Sunni does not only occur in Indonesia. The conflict has often happened in the Middle East. The conflict between Shia and Sunni in the Middle East does not appear suddenly. The conflict between the two has long

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[3] Rachmah Ida dan Laurentius Dyson, "Konflik Sunni-Syiah dan dampaknya terhadap komunikasi intra-religius pada komunitas di Sampang-Madura" 28, no. 1 (2015). 33-49, https://doi.org/10.20473/mkp.V28I12015.33-49

[4] Abdullah, "Model Pendekatan Kepentingan Sebagai Resolusi Konflik Sunni Syiah di Kota Bangil Pada Tahun 2011," *Transformasi Global* 10, no. 2 (15 Januari 2024): 101–12, https://doi.org/10.21776/ub.jtg.010.02.2.

historical roots, and even the seeds of the conflict have existed since after the era of the Prophet. The Shia-Sunni conflict occurred in Iraq on March 4, 2004, which coincided with the 10th of Muharram 1425 H. At that time, the first Ashura commemoration was held after the fall of the Ba'ath regime. For decades, Shiites, the majority in Iraq, were not allowed to commemorate religious days.[5] Sunni-Shi'a sectarian conflicts in Muslim countries have increasingly intensified in the past two decades as a result of a series of events that destabilised the region, particularly the US invasion of Iraq in 2003 and the Arab Spring of 2010. At a glance, Indonesia, the largest Muslim-majority country in the world, is not an exception to this trend. Agitators in Indonesia have expressed views similar to those of anti-Shi'a leaders in Saudi Arabia, Syria and Iraq, and it is often believed those countries are funding the Indonesian agitators to enhance anti-Shi'a sentiment.[6]

The legal basis of this research is based on the provisions of Law No. 07 of 2012 concerning Handling Social Conflict (Law No. 07 of 2012) and Government Regulation No. 02 of 2015 concerning Implementing Regulations of Law No. 07 of 2012 concerning Handling Social Conflict (PP No. 02 of 2015), explaining that the role of local governments has a very strategic authority in overcoming social conflicts, one of which is conflict that leads to violence in the name of religion and belief. Handling social conflict is the responsibility of the state, local government, and the community, so this research will examine how the state or government should act to overcome and recover victims of social conflicts based on religion and belief.

The study of handling and recovery for victims of social conflict in the name of religion there have been several previous studies, both in Indonesia and abroad. Some

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[5] Humaini Humaini, "KONFLIK SUNNI-SYIAH DI TIMUR TENGAH PERSPEKTIF GEOPOLITIK DAN DAMPAKNYA TERHADAP HUBUNGAN SUNNI-SYIAH DI INDONESIA," *Jurnal CMES* 12, no. 2 (12 Desember 2019): 156, https://doi.org/10.20961/cmes.12.2.37890.

[6] Yuka Kayane, "Understanding Sunni-Shi'a Sectarianism in Contemporary Indonesia: A Different Voice from Nahdlatul Ulama under Pluralist Leadership," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 48, no. 140 (2 Januari 2020): 78–96, https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2020.1675277.

earlier studies include Sumanto Al-Qurtuby[7], Novi Nur Mukharomah[8], Rachmah Ida & Laurentius Dyson[9], Taufani[10], Juhansar and Hengki Firmanda and Dino Krause[11]. Most of the previous research studies have similarities to this research, namely discussing the handling of social conflicts and the recovery of religious-based conflicts, one of which is against Shiites that occur in Indonesia or abroad. This article tries to offer ideas on how the state or government should handle religious and social conflicts and the concept of recovery for victims of conflict. The novelty of this research is to see in terms of methods of resolving religious and social conflicts that place state actors or the government into actors who play a vital role in the process of handling and restoring conflicts, not only just doing conflict resolution between religious leaders or the community but precisely the recovery for victims is essential to be done by the state. What is the role of the Regional Government in handling and restoring victims of religious conflict with a case study of the Sunni-Shiite conflict in Sampang Regency and Pasuruan Regency? By examining the portrait of legal protection and recovery for victims of religious conflicts in East Java, the urgency of this research is to know the handling of social conflicts with religious backgrounds that must be carried out by local governments so that social conflicts do not spread and there are recovery efforts for victims of social conflicts with religious backgrounds.

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[7] Sumanto Al Qurtuby, "Di Luar Perdamaian Liberal : Kekerasan Agama dan Pembangunan Perdamaian Taktis di Indonesia", Jurnal Keamanan Asia dan Urusan Internasional 10 No 2 (Agustus 2023): 145-68. https://doi.org/10.1177/23477970231173525

[8] Novi Nur Mukharomah, "DINAMIKA KOMUNITAS SYIAH DI DESA KARANGGAYAM OMBENG SAMPANG MADURA" 1, no. 1 (2022) : 30-39. https://ojs.mauwh.sch.id/index.php/hj/article/view/3

[9] Ida dan Dyson, "Konflik Sunni-Syiah dan dampaknya terhadap komunikasi intra- religius pada komunitas di Sampang-Madura." Jurnal Masyarakat, Kebudayaan dan Politik Vol. 28, No. 1 (2015): 33-49. https://doi.org/10.20473/mkp.V28I12015.33-49

[10] Taufani Taufani, Juhansar Juhansar, dan Hengki Firmanda, "Religion and Violence: Unraveling Ahmad Syafii Maarif's Philosophical Thought on the Muslim Community's Internal Conflict," *Afkaruna: Indonesian Interdisciplinary Journal of Islamic Studies* 19, no. 2 (27 Desember 2023): 185–98, https://doi.org/10.18196/afkaruna.v19i2.18080.

[11] Dino Krause, Isak Svensson, dan Göran Larsson, "Why Is There So Little Shia–Sunni Dialogue? Understanding the Deficit of Intra-Muslim Dialogue and Interreligious Peacemaking," *Religions* 10, no. 10 (4 Oktober 2019): 567, https://doi.org/10.3390/rel10100567.

Methods

This research is empirical legal research. Empirical legal research is oriented towards primary data (field research results). The approach used is field research by seeing and observing what happens in the field and applying these regulations in practice in society.[12] The legal facts that will be obtained from this approach concern the role of the regional government in handling and restoring victims of social conflicts with religious backgrounds. This research is located in Pasuruan Regency and Sampang Regency. It uses primary and secondary data sources. Primary data sources come from the parties who are the subject of this research.[13] The object of research is the Government of Pasuruan Regency and Sampang Regency and related parties. The secondary data used in this research are documents, such as books, journals, and laws and regulations. This research data collection method is very closely related and mutually sustainable. Therefore, various data collection techniques exist, namely documentary research/documentary research and interviews.

Discussion

Basic Authority of Local Government in Handling Religious Conflicts

The right to freedom of religion and belief is guaranteed to be respected, protected and fulfilled by the State as stipulated in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (1945 Constitution), Law Number 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights (Law No. 39 of 1999) and Law Number 12 of 2005 concerning the Ratification of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Law No. 12 of 2005). The right to freedom of religion and belief is included in the category of rights that cannot be reduced under any circumstances (non-derogable rights), where the guarantee of this right is contained in International Human Rights Instruments and legislation. One is regulated in Article 28I paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution, Article 18 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and Article 4 of Law No. 39 Year

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[12] Abdulkadir Muhammad, Hukum dan Penelitian Hukum, (Bandung: Citra Aditya Bakti, 2004), 134
[13] Bachtiar, Metode Penelitian Hukum, (Tangerang Selatan: UNPAM Press, 2018), 61-65

1999. The first regards the study of religious freedom at the level of social perceptions – through the analysis of constructed meanings and interpretations of this concept at the intersection of personal meanings and contextualised social situations. Religious freedom is an individual human right to protect individual autonomy in the quest for meaning in life.[14]

Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this includes freedom to change religion or belief, with freedom to manifest religion or belief by teaching it, practicing it, worshiping it and observing it, either alone or together with others, in public or in private. In addition, Article 2, paragraph (1) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights states that the responsibility for protecting and fulfilling all rights and freedoms in this covenant is on the State, especially the State party to the ICCPR. So that the State is given obligations in the form of respect (to respect), protect (to protect), fulfil (to fulfil) and promote (to promote). Religious intolerance that leads to religious discrimination and violence violates the constitution of this country, which regulates the right of every citizen to worship, as mandated in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, Law No. 39 of 1999 and Law No. 12 of 2005. Freedom of religion is protected differently in international law. Freedom of religion is a well-established human right enshrined in customary and treaty law.[15]

According to Simon Fisher and Deka Ibrahim et al., social conflict theory consists of Needs and Identity Theory. Human needs theory assumes that "deep-rooted conflict is caused by basic human needs physical, mental and social are not met or that are blocked". According to this theory, conflict occurs due to a clash of interests between humans in fighting to fulfil basic physical, mental, and social needs, which are

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[14] Olga Breskaya, Giuseppe Giordan, dan Siniša Zrinščak, "Social Perception of Religious Freedom: Testing the Impact of Secularism and State-Religion Relations," *Social Compass* 68, no. 3 (September 2021): 282–300, https://doi.org/10.1177/00377686211017493.

[15] Tamara Horbachevska, Olena Uvarova, dan Dmytro Vovk, "Freedom of Religion and Non-Discrimination Based on Gender Identity and Sexual Orientation in Ukraine: Corporate Policy Commitments in Situations of Conflicting Social Expectations," *Human Rights Review* 25, no. 2 (Juni 2024): 205–31, https://doi.org/10.1007/s12142-024-00720-z.

unfulfilled.[16] Meanwhile, Identity Theory assumes that "conflict is caused by a threatened identity often rooted in the loss of something or unresolved suffering in the past." According to this theory, conflict is caused more by the dissatisfaction of certain groups towards other groups or the government for unfair treatment in the past.[17] Religious freedom and tolerance are equally important and have been centre stage in the secularised modern state. With the secularisation of the state and a revived interest in the discourse surrounding religion toward the end of the twentieth century, if we attempt to analyse the meaning of religion or the importance of religious freedom in constitutional theory, then its foundational basis has to be seen from the prism of the right to equality.[18]

Experts express several views on conflict, including the definition of conflict as a form of natural opposition produced by individuals or groups because those involved have different attitudes, beliefs, values, and needs. An adversarial relationship between two or more parties (individuals or groups) who have or feel they have specific goals but are overwhelmed by incompatible thoughts, feelings, or actions. Conflict or dispute is caused by differences in the needs, values, and motivations of the actors or those involved. A process that occurs when one party negatively affects the other party by committing physical violence that makes the other person emotionally and physically disturbed. A form of resistance that involves two antagonistic parties. A chaos of contradictory stimuli within an individual.[19] The division caused by religiosity often sparks disputes that can lead to political unrest and armed conflicts, with enduring financial consequences. Such conflicts may impede investments, incentivise the pursuit of personal gain, and result in increased societal spending. Empirical studies have

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[16] Wandi Adiansah, Nurliana Cipta Apsari, dan Santoso Tri Raharjo, "RESOLUSI KONFLIK AGRARIA DI DESA GENTENG KECAMATAN SUKASARI KABUPATEN SUMEDANG," *Jurnal Kolaborasi Resolusi Konflik* 1, no. 1 (13 Februari 2019): 1, https://doi.org/10.24198/jkrk.v1i1.20887.

[17] Fisher Simon, Ibrahim Dekka, "*Working With Conflict: Skill & Strategies for Action*", (New York: Responding To Conflict, 2002), 98-99.

[18] Neha Tripathi dan Anubhav Kumar, "The Constitutional Struggle for Religious Freedom: A Comparative Study of India and Indonesia" 8, no. 1 (2022). https://doi.org/10.31078/consrev811

[19] Sukardi, "*Penanganan Konflik Sosial dengan Pendekatan Keadilan Restoratif*", Jurnal Hukum dan Pembangunan Tahun ke-46 No. 1 Januari-Maret (2016): 77. https://doi.org/10.21143/jhp.vol46.no1.49

highlighted that violent disputes, reduced expenditures, and heightened governmental spending detrimentally affect financial growth.[20]

Based on Law No. 07 of 2012 concerning Social Conflict Handling (Law No. 07 of 2012) and Government Regulation No. 02 of 2015 concerning Implementing Regulations of Law No. 07 of 2012 concerning Social Conflict Handling (PP No. 02 of 2015), the role of local governments has a very strategic authority in overcoming social conflicts, one of which is conflict that leads to violence in the name of religion and belief. Handling social conflict is not only the responsibility of the State and Local Government but also the responsibility of the community. One of the aspects of handling social conflict is to carry out post-social conflict recovery because the consequences of social conflict can cause loss of security, fear, environmental damage, property losses, casualties and psychological trauma in victims. In addition, the resolution of social conflicts based on religion and beliefs based on the Criminal Code, which is based on Article 156 and Article 157 of the Criminal Code regulates the punishment of the perpetrators of the spread of hatred and hostility will be sentenced to 4 years in prison, but this raises many issues of criminalisation for the perpetrators and does not solve the root causes of conflict.[21]

Post-conflict recovery based on Article 36 paragraph (2) of Law No. 07/2012 states that post-conflict recovery efforts include reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction, which stipulates that the responsibility for conflict recovery is carried out between the Government and the Community. Article 74 of Government Regulation No. 02/2015 stipulates that community participation in social conflict recovery can be in the form of financing, technical assistance, provision of minimum basic needs for conflict victims and labour/thought assistance. The provision of Article 20 paragraph

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[20] Weikang Sun, Zhiqi Wei, dan Shixiang Zou, "Exploring the Impact of Religious Diversity on Market Performance and Financial Growth in Developed Economies," *Research in International Business and Finance* 71 (Agustus 2024): 102440, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ribaf.2024.102440.

[21] Anthin Lathifah dkk., "The Construction of Religious Freedom in Indonesian Legislation: A Perspective of Maqāṣid Ḥifẓ Al-Dīn," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 6, no. 1 (27 Juni 2022): 369, https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v6i1.10957.

(2) of Law No. 12/2005 on the Ratification of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights guarantees the state's responsibility to provide protection and protection from all acts of hostility and hatred in the name of religion.[22]

Social Conflict, according to Article 1 point 1 of Law No. 07 of 2012, is "Feuds and/or violent physical clashes between two or more groups of people that take place within a certain time and have a wide impact resulting in discomfort and social disintegration to disrupt national stability and hinder national development".[23]

According to Article 5 of Law No. 07/2012, it can originate from problems related to politics, economy, and socio-culture. These include inter-religious and/or inter-religious, inter-ethnic, and ethnic feuds, disputes over village, district/city, and/or provincial boundaries, natural resource disputes between communities and/or between communities and business actors, and an imbalanced distribution of natural resources in the community.[24]

According to Law No. 07 of 2012, handling social conflict is "A series of activities carried out in a systematic and planned manner in situations and events both before, during and after a conflict that includes conflict prevention, conflict termination and post-conflict recovery." There are several stages in handling social conflicts, including conflict prevention, conflict termination and post-conflict recovery. Regarding conflict prevention, the stages of efforts include maintaining peaceful conditions in the community, developing a peaceful dispute resolution system, reducing the potential for conflict, and building an early warning system. Meanwhile, in the conflict termination stage, the stages that need to be carried out are stopping physical violence, determining the status of the conflict situation, emergency actions to rescue and protect victims, and assistance in using and deploying TNI forces. In addition, in the post-conflict recovery stage, the stages of efforts are reconciliation, rehabilitation, and reconstruction.

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[22] Muwaffiq Jufri, "Urgensi Amandemen Kelima pada Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945 Terkait Hak dan Kebebasan Beragama" Jurnal HAM No .1 (2021): 636-37. https://doi.org/10.30641/ham.2021.12.627-644

[23] See Article 1 number 1 of Law No. 07 of 2012 concerning Handling of Social Conflict.

[24] See Article 5 number 1 of Law No. 07 of 2012 concerning Handling of Social Conflict.

According to Law No. 07/2012, efforts to handle social conflict are partnerships of all stakeholders that synergise with each other. The partnership concept must be based on and adopt the local cultural wisdom of each region as well as the involvement of community participation. The elements contained in the conflict itself meet the criteria, among others: there are two or more parties involved, a goal is the target of conflict, and that goal is the source of conflict. There are differences in thoughts, feelings, and actions between the parties involved in getting or achieving goals, and there is a conflict between two conflicting parties.[25]

The definition above shows that conflict does not always mean violence or war. That is because many conflicts are still stored and have not surfaced or what we often call latent (hidden) conflicts. We can conclude that even the slightest difference of opinion in society is a conflict, even though this conflict has not hurt society. However, if we do not manage this well and correctly, it is possible that differences of opinion can turn into violent conflicts. Every society has its perspective on the conflicts in its environment. This perspective is highly dependent on the general conceptual framework or culture of the society surrounding it. These different perspectives lead to differences in the meaning of conflict between one community and another, giving rise to myths about conflict. Of course, the cause of the conflict must be known to resolve conflicts that occur in society. By understanding the reason, the conflict is expected to be resolved soon.[26]

In handling social conflicts based on religion and belief, the government's efforts in conflict management efforts, both in conflict prevention, conflict termination and post-conflict recovery, have been formulated into Law No. 07 of 2012. In this law (Law No. 07 Year 2012), the Government builds an institutional system to handle social conflicts by involving all components of society to jointly unite the vision and mission to make efforts to overcome disputes. Even in conflict management, the government

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[25] Sukardi, *Op.cit.*, hlm 81.
[26] Dahrendorf, *Dalam Sosiolog Ilmu pengetahuan Berparadigma*, Jakarta: Ganada Rajawali Press, 1998, hlm 24

recognises existing customary and social institutions and empowers them to carry out conflict management measures together with the government.

In the effort to handle social conflict, social control is one of the effective ways to prevent and overcome conflict. Through this, each individual, group or community is directed to behave in harmony with the norms and values that exist in society. The State holds the central role in social control as an institution that has the authority to regulate through direct action and formulate a series of policies and regulations in implementing social control. In this case, the government includes the President and the Regional Government, namely the Governor, Regent / Mayor and regional apparatus. In addition, Law No. 7 of 2012 concerning Handling Social Conflict (Law on Handling Social Conflict.[27]

In the era of regional autonomy, the Regional Government, both City / Regency and Province, has a central role in policy-making at the regional level. Decentralisation also aims to harmonise the relationship between the central and regional governments, that local governments carry out government affairs that are their authority, except for government affairs that are determined by law to be the authority of the central government. To organise its affairs, local governments are given the broadest possible autonomy to regulate and manage their government affairs based on the principles of autonomy and assistance tasks.[28] Therefore, the principle of regional autonomy makes it very important to consider regional specificities when making decisions for problem-solving efforts.

One is the government's strategy for handling social conflicts. Conflicts are inevitable because of economic, political, social, cultural, and religious interests that lead to friction and violence. In addition, the government should not only act as a 'firefighter', acting only after the conflict explodes into violence or riots. So, it is

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[27] Eva Achjani Zulfa & Sri B Praptadina, "*Diskresi Kepolisian dalam Penanganan Konflik Sosia : Kedudukan Peraturan Internal Kepolisian dalam Penanganan Konflik di dalam Peraturan Perundang-undangan*", Jurnal Hukum & Pembangunan 46 No.4, (2016): 539. DOI: 10.21143/jhp.vol46.no4.126

[28] Ni'matul, Huda, "*Hukum Tata Negara Indonesia*", (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2010), 345.

important to make decisions quickly, namely with the spearhead of local government, when handling social disputes.

The mandate of Law No. 07 Year 2012 clearly and firmly gives strategic authority to the regional government in handling social conflicts, one of which is social conflicts based on religion and belief. So it is interesting to know how the state functions in this case, the local government and its instruments, namely the National Unity and Political Agency (Bakesbangpol), the Regional Disaster Management Agency (BPBD), the Social Service (Dinas sosial) and other regional apparatus organisations (OPD) in handling religious conflicts in their regions.

1)   Conflict Prevention

Enforcement in the law of social conflict resolution is one of the ways to be taken. However, in resolving social conflicts, an integrated handling pattern must be prioritised between stakeholders, namely the government, law enforcement, and the community. The structural, functional theoretical approach by Talcott Parsons states that society is integrated based on the agreement of its members to certain societal values, namely a mutual agreement that has the power to overcome differences of opinion and interests among its members.

This approach can be studied by assuming that society must be seen as a system consisting of interconnected parts. The relationship is mutually influencing, which is reciprocal; although social interaction is not perfectly achieved, fundamentally, the social system always tends to face these changes. Although there are tensions and deviations, the situation can be resolved in the long run by making adjustments.[29]

The handling of social conflicts consists of three stages: prevention, termination, and recovery. In the prevention stage, handling usually assumes that there are conditions in society that have the potential to trigger conflict and tend to lead to social violence. Then, each sector tries to translate these conditions into policies that correspond to its sector's duties and functions.

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[29] Otje Salman, *Beberapa Aspek Sosilogi Hukum*, (Bandung: Alumni, 1993), 13.

This perspective is highly dependent on the general conceptual framework or the society's culture surrounding it. These different perspectives lead to differences in the meaning of conflict between one community and another, giving rise to myths about conflict. To resolve conflicts that occur in society, the causes of conflicts must be known. By knowing the reason, the conflict is expected to be resolved soon. In conflict theory's view, society is always in a state of change, and every element contributes to the occurrence of conflict in society. In the view of this theory, society is united by "enforced unfreedom". Thus, certain positions in society delegate power and authority to others. This fact of social life leads Dahrendorf to his central thesis that differences in power distribution and authority "have always been a factor determining systematic social conflict."[30]

Specific policies directed at preventing conflicts (pre-conflict), for example, can be mentioned from the draft of the Directorate of Conflict Management, Directorate General of National Unity, Ministry of Home Affairs, which includes detecting and analysing early symptoms that lead to disturbances and threats to national unity and integrity, creating situations and conditions conducive to the implementation of public policies, improving capabilities in contingency against various ethnic and social conflicts that threaten national integration.

The routine support programs put forward are monitoring of areas that have the potential to cause conflict vulnerability, conducting analysis of social turmoil that has implications for the emergence of vulnerability to the stability of community peace, conducting studies on the problem of threats, disturbances, images and challenges to community peace and preparing suggestions for countermeasures, compiling evaluations of the implementation of community peace policies both at central and regional levels, compiling and reporting on the implementation of policies both periodically and incidentally.[31]

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[30] Dahrendorf, 34.
[31] Academic Paper, Draft Law on Handling Social Conflict. (Jakarta: Secretariat General of the People's Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011), 154-155.

According to Article 6 of Law No. 07/2012, social conflict prevention efforts are carried out, among others, by maintaining peaceful conditions in the community, developing a peaceful dispute resolution system, reducing potential conflicts, and building an early warning system. All stakeholders must prevent social conflicts based on religion and belief because according to Article 6 paragraph (1) of Law No. 07/2012, the task of conflict prevention is carried out by the Government, Local Government and the Community. It should be necessary to involve the Coordination Team for the Supervision of Belief Cults and Religious Cults in Society chaired by the Head of the State Attorney's Office as one aspect of prevention regarding cases based on religion and beliefs that cause potential social conflicts.

2) Cessation of Conflict

Conflict termination is a series of activities to end violence, save victims, limit the expansion and escalation of conflict, and prevent increased victims and property losses. Based on the provisions of Article 12 of Law No. 07/2012, the Government and/or Local Governments stop conflicts through efforts to prevent physical violence, determine the status of the conflict, emergency measures to save and protect victims and request assistance in the use and deployment of TNI forces. There needs to be a clear division of tasks in the conflict termination stage. If physical violence occurs, the Indonesian National Police must coordinate the resolution by involving the community, namely community leaders, religions, customs, and other non-state actors.

According to Article 14 of Law No. 07/2012, the government and local governments can determine the status of a state of conflict if the conflict cannot be controlled by the Police with increasing conflict escalation and the risk of widespread disruption of administrative activities and service functions to the community. Determination of the status of a state of conflict is carried out for a maximum of 90 (ninety) days and can be extended for a maximum of 30 (thirty) days.

While emergency measures to rescue and protect victims of conflict according to the provisions of Article 32 of Law No. 07 of 2012 are carried out by the Government and Regional Governments, including rescue, evacuation, and identification of victims

of conflict quickly and precisely, fulfilment of the basic needs of victims of conflict, fulfilment of the basic needs of refugees, including the specific needs of women, children, and groups of people with special needs, protection of vulnerable groups, efforts to sterilise conflict-prone places, the rescue of vital facilities and infrastructure, law enforcement, regulation of the mobility of people, goods, and services from and to conflict areas and rescue of property of victims of conflict.

The deployment of TNI assistance in the status of a state of conflict is emphasised that it cannot be done carelessly considering the provisions of Article 33 of Law No. 07 of 2012, which states that assistance in the use and deployment of TNI forces is carried out by the provisions of laws and regulations. Namely, there must be direct permission from the government, in this case, the President and the DPR, which is by the provisions of Law Number 34 of 2004 concerning the TNI, which states that the involvement of the TNI must be by order of the President after obtaining approval from the DPR.

In connection with the handling of social conflicts based on religion and belief that cause tension during some cases that occur, and not infrequently become physical violence, are related to accusations of blasphemy or cults and houses of worship. The first problem mainly occurs within the internal religious community, and the second occurs between religions. In terms of the emergence of these problems and the pattern of handling them, not much has changed from previous years, especially in resolving these cases by law enforcers, which sometimes raises new problems.

From some of the handling of social conflicts based on religion and belief in East Java, one of the handling processes is when social conflicts are accompanied by accusations of cults, blasphemy, and attacks on houses of worship by law enforcement officials carried out to the stage of legal proceedings in court. So one of the institutions that play a significant role is the Prosecutor's Office in handling criminal cases based on religion and belief through Law No. 1 PNPS of 1965, which refers to Article 156a of the Criminal Code has a strategic authority in determining whether or not a case is continued to the prosecution level until it is brought to the court trial. However, the

article is often used as a tool for the majority religious group to ensnare minority religious groups who are considered not in line with the religion adhered to by the majority. So, the blasphemy article in the provisions of laws and regulations in Indonesia can make it easier for the community to mislead other communities to judge someone who has committed blasphemy.[32] The accusation of blasphemy against the teachings of the state's official religions also impacts acts of discrimination and religious-based violence. One example is the sealing action of the tomb of an elder of *Sunda Wiwitan* followers by the Kuningan Regency Government. It was strongly suspected that the sealing action was caused by the demands and rejections of several social organisations against this tomb building.[33]

Several cases in East Java are related to religion and the belief that the Prosecutor's Office institution continues to handle the prosecution level until the Court decides the case. There is the case of Ardhi Husein, the leader of Yayasan Kanker dan Narkoba Cahaya Alam (YKNCA) in Probolinggo (2005), who was sentenced to 5 years in prison on charges of blasphemy related to the controversy over the contents of the book Menembus Gelap Menuju Terang 2 written by Ardhi Husein which was considered heretical by the MUI of Probolinggo Regency, bilingual prayers in Malang (2005) and the case of Ustadz Tajul Muluk Syiah Sampang (2012).[34] The cases of blasphemy in Indonesia that occurred happened to religious minority groups who were prosecuted for the crime of insulting religion, especially Islam in Indonesia. The use of the article has been condemned by local and international human rights organisations that are widely used in Indonesia.[35] Context of legal settlement has only prioritised the formal

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[32] Victor Imanuel W. Nale. "The Politics of Intolerant Laws against Adherents of Indigenous Beliefs or Aliran Kepercayaan in Indonesia", Asian Journal of Law and Society 8, No. 3 (2021): 558-76. https://doi.org/10.1017/als.2020.54

[33] Muwaffiq Jufri, "Regulation Model of Religious Rights and Freedoms for Local Religious Believers in the Majapahit Constitution," *Jurnal HAM* 13, no. 3 (22 Desember 2022): 539, https://doi.org/10.30641/ham.2022.13.539-556.

[34] Fahrizal Afandi, *PAKEM: Salah Satu Upaya Negara dalam Melindungi Agama*, Jurnal Al-Qanun, Vol.12, No.2, (Desember 2009): 487. https://doi.org/10.15642/alqanun.2009.12.2.486-512

[35] Mellisa A. Crouch, "Law and Religion in Indonesia: The Constitutional Court and The Blasphemy Law", Asian Journal of Comparative Law, Vol 7 (2012): 1-46. https://doi.org/10.1017/S2194607800000582

legal aspects of the state, which only trap those who are quantitatively a minority of a religious sect. Hence, the legal policy that has been applied to resolve the Sunni-Shia conflict is only the matter of ensnaring those who have committed blasphemy,5 especially the Shia leaders and figures. Meanwhile, the fate of hundreds of other refugees whom this case has legally harmed has never been maximised so that they can return to enjoying everything that is indeed their right.[36]

So far, the government's policy in stopping the conflict should not criminalise the victims because the process of criminalization of the victims will cause new problems, namely the grudge of the victims of social conflicts based on religion and belief. The concept of a conflict resolution approach with a restorative justice approach should be prioritised in handling criminal cases due to social conflicts based on religion and belief. The restorative justice approach in conflict resolution is applied by using traditional patterns based on the local wisdom of community culture and focusing on the fulfilment of victim justice through equality, partnership, reconciliation, and community participation. This also aligns with the idea of restorative justice proposed by John Braithwaite (1999), which is that the restorative justice approach involves all parties, including victims, to identify victim recovery and its implications. So, this approach emphasises restoring relations between the parties by prioritising the victim's interests. [37]

3) Conflict Recovery

Social conflict not only has an impact on property damage and casualties but also has a psychological impact, namely, causing loss of security, fear, environmental damage, and psychological trauma to victims. If inventory, at least the effect of social conflict that occurs, among others: **First**, *economic impact. Indicators include the loss or reduction of community jobs, a decrease in community income due to conflict, disruption*

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[36] Mukhlis Mukhlis dkk., "Rejection of Former Shia Community in Sampang Perspective on Human Rights Law: Discourse of Religious Rights and Freedom in Indonesia," *Lex Scientia Law Review* 7, no. 2 (30 November 2023): 959–94, https://doi.org/10.15294/lesrev.v7i2.72156.
[37] John Braithwaite, "Restorative Justice: Assessing Optimistic and Pessimistic Accounts", Crime Justice Vol. 25 (1999) : 1-127

of economic activities in the region, a non-conducive business sector, and other broader impacts related to economic activities. Second is the sociocultural *impact*. For example, the emergence of waves of displacement, health problems, disruption of the education process, and psychological trauma to children and women. Especially when the conflict causes physical and mental violence that requires the relocation of victims to a new place, it will cause new social and cultural problems. Third, *Damage Impact.* Damage can occur to infrastructure, houses, places of worship, education, health, government and other public facilities. Fourth, the *impact of political and governmental instability*, namely, disrupting community services, disrupting political institutions, and resulting in political and government conflicts.

Therefore, as Article 33 of Law No. 07/2012 stipulated, a post-conflict recovery mechanism is needed. Post-conflict recovery is a series of activities to restore conditions and improve disharmonious relationships in society due to conflict through reconciliation, rehabilitation, and reconstruction activities carried out by the Government and Regional Governments with the community's assistance.

The Government and Local Governments carry out reconciliation between the parties to the conflict using peaceful negotiations, provision of restitution and/or forgiveness. Reconciliation efforts can also be carried out through customary institutions and/or social institutions or conflict resolution task forces. Post-conflict rehabilitation efforts are carried out, including psychological recovery of conflict victims and protection of vulnerable groups, restoration of social, economic, cultural, security and order conditions, improvement and development of the environment and / or peace areas, strengthening fair social relations for the welfare of the Community, strengthening public policies that encourage the development of the environment and / or peace areas based on Community rights, recovery of economic and civil rights, and improvement of government services, fulfilment of specific basic needs of women, children, the elderly, and groups of people with special needs, fulfilment of reproductive health needs and services for women's groups, improvement of children's health

services and facilitation and mediation of return and recovery of assets of conflict victims.

Reconstruction efforts are carried out through the stages of restoring and improving public service functions in post-conflict environments and/or areas, restoring and providing access to education, health, and livelihoods, repairing public facilities and infrastructure in conflict areas, repairing various structures and frameworks that cause inequality and injustice, including economic disparities, repairing and providing service facilities to fulfil the specific basic needs of women, children, the elderly, and groups of people with special needs, and repairing and restoring places of worship.[38]

Handling and Recovery Practices for Victims of Social Conflict with Religion and Belief Background in Pasuruan Regency and Sampang Regency

Some weaknesses and problems remain in handling social conflict based on religion and belief in Pasuruan, namely in the policy of handling social conflict based on religion and belief in its implementation in Pasuruan Regency and Sampang Regency.

1)   Absence of Local Level Policies in Social Conflict Management

The technical handling of social conflict in Pasuruan is carried out according to the results of the deliberations of various parties who reflect on previous experiences, so it is only reactionary. There is no local regulation or Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) for handling social conflict in Pasuruan. However, based on the Circular Letter of the Minister of Home Affairs No. 460/964.SJ dated February 23, 2015 on the Establishment of Integrated Teams in Implementing the Integrated Action Plan for Social Conflict Handling at the Provincial and Regency / City levels, the Pasuruan Regency Government has formed an Integrated Team for Social Conflict Handling Action Plan Pasuruan Regency through Pasuruan Regent Decree No. 440/53/HK/424.014/2017 dated January 12, 2017 and followed up by forming an

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[38] See Article 39 of Law No. 07 of 2012 concerning Handling of Social Conflict.

Integrated Action Plan for Social Conflict Handling in Pasuruan Regency by Bakesbangpol Pasuruan Regency.

However, the decree did not regulate a clear division of tasks in each Integrated Team, which resulted in the duties and functions being carried out only by Bakesbangpol and also had an impact on the allocation of funds and the division of tasks of each Local Government Organization in handling social conflict. So far, the handling of social strife in the Pasuruan Regency has only used the "unexpected budget," and no special allocation has been given in the Pasuruan Regency APBD.[39]

2)   No Special Budget in the APBD for Handling Social Conflict.

Due to the absence of regulations that specifically regulate the handling of social conflicts in the Regency / City area, the budgeting mechanism in the Regional Budget cannot be allocated for conflict handling. So far, when a social conflict occurs, the budget used is the unexpected budget of the Regency Government. Hence, the handling is often incomplete, especially in post-conflict recovery, namely the reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction stages so far only prioritised physically and have not touched the non-physical recovery of victims of social conflict. Bakesbangpol has done this in the prevention stage through the budget that has been budgeted in the APBD.

3)   Community Participation (*Non-State Actor*) in Handling Social Conflicts in Pasuruan Regency is not yet optimal

The Legal Aid Institute (LBH) Surabaya team has conducted an *assessment* in Pasuruan Regency related to Pasuruan community participation in handling social conflicts based on religion and belief. Some interesting findings are that in Pasuruan, there has not been a synergistic relationship pattern between the government and the community. The government has not involved community groups in handling social

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[39] Bambang Suteja (Head of Politics and Human Rights, Bakesbangpol Pasuruan) in a Limited Discussion between the LBH Surabaya Research Team and the Pasuruan Regency Government regarding "The Role of the Government in Providing Post-Conflict Protection and Recovery for Victims of Religion and Belief-Based Violence in East Java," Pasuruan, March 10, 2021.

conflicts. Some of these problems are caused, among other things, by the Pasuruan government not yet having a Regional Regulation or SOP for handling social conflicts.

Responding to this, M. Iskandar Zulkarnain from *Central Study Activist* (CSA) said:

> "*So far, no community group has strategically partnered with the government to handle social conflicts. So maybe later we can encourage the government to make a local regulation on Social Conflict Handling. Because so far, our partnership with the government is not a strategic partner but only a participant who needs to spend funds.*"[40]

In addition to not having a local regulation, Pasuruan Regency does not have SOPs or rules related to the technical handling of social conflicts based on religion and belief. This is unfortunate, considering that some areas of Pasuruan, especially Bangil, are full of multiculturalism, so if this condition cannot be adequately managed, unwanted things will happen. Alif Prakoso, from the Religious Communication Forum (FKUB), a non-governmental organisation that the Pasuruan District Government always involved in the work of handling social conflicts, said:

> "*There is no agreement on the SOP. In the Yapi attack, the regent even created a forum for the Communication of Muslims (FKUI) with the hope that conflicts among Muslims could be resolved. Its members are MUI, NU, Muhammadiyah and other Islamic organisations, but FKUI has been disbanded. Bangil is not only a conflict among Muslims but also between religions, especially in the establishment of houses of worship. This is because the village and district governments do not know the regulations related to licensing the establishment of houses of worship. Arabs who do not want to accept the tradition in Bangil build their schools and their mosques, so it often becomes a conflict in the community. In addition, the communication patterns of political and religious elites categorise each other.*"[41]

The reality in the Pasuruan area is that the government and the community walk alone. Several community organisations were formed because they were concerned about various problems in Pasuruan. These organisations are engaged in multiple fields,

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[40]M. Iskandar Zulkarnain from Central Study Activist in a Limited Discussion "The Role of Non-State Actors (NSA) in Participating in Providing Recovery for Victims of Social Conflicts Based on Religion." Pasuruan, July 21, 2021.

[41] Alif Prakoso from FKUB, in a Limited Discussion, "The Role of Non-State Actors (NSA) in Participating in Providing Recovery for Victims of Social Conflicts Based on Religion." Pasuruan, July 21, 2021.

one of which is the assistance of children and women, including the Child Protection Agency (LPA) and the Women's Crisis Centre (WCC).

Some of these community groups are strategic sectors that the government should actively involve in handling social conflicts. This is because in every social conflict, especially those with religious and belief backgrounds, there must be child or female victims, so psychologically, they need special handling. Unfortunately, the work carried out by some of these organisations, including providing assistance to cases related to women and children etc., tends to be an institutional initiative without any intervention or synergy from the government.

Wahyudi Tri. W. from the Child Protection Agency (LPA) said that "*children are the most vulnerable in the event of social conflict. So far, LPA has provided assistance to child victims of family conflicts with different religions*".[42]

In addition to the Child Protection Agency, there is also an organisation that focuses on women's issues, namely the Women's Crisis Centre (WCC). WCC is an organisation that fights for equality and social justice for all people regardless of differences in religion, race, wealth and gender, especially women. In its work, WCC focuses on empowering women, including providing psychological assistance to women victims of conflict and so on. WCC is a strategic association that should be able to synergise with the government to help deal with every victim of social conflict that arises. Danil Kurniawan, a member of WCC, explained that:

"*In real terms, WCC has never handled religious conflicts, but WCC has handled a case of a husband who was fanatical about his religion. He abandoned his wife, who was sick, with the excuse of surrendering to the creator*". [43]

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[42] Wahyudi Tri. W. from LPA in a Limited Discussion, "The Role of Non-State Actors (NSA) in Participating in Providing Recovery for Victims of Social Conflicts Based on Religion." Pasuruan, July 21, 2021.
[43] Deril Kurniawan from WCC in a Limited Discussion "The Role of Non-State Actors (NSA) in Participating in Providing Recovery for Victims of Social Conflicts Based on Religion." Pasuruan, 21 July 2021.

The parameter is that the WCC tries to map the source of social conflict problems that often arise. Fanaticism in understanding certain religious doctrines is still the scourge of a series of existing social conflicts.

Finally, handling social conflicts with religious backgrounds needs to involve groups that want to be involved in conflict recovery with a multicultural perspective. So far, state institutions that handle conflicts with religious backgrounds do not understand multiculturalism. In addition, rules related to social conflict must also be improved because, so far, they have often triggered conflicts, such as MUI regulations.[44] The most important thing is a sense of unity and wholeness in society based on a multicultural perspective on religion. Endless divisions and conflicts will quickly hit a nation.[45]

4)   Post-conflict recovery has only been focused on physical recovery

Post-conflict recovery concerns policies that restore a conducive situation, creating a new society that recovers from conflict situations. Post-conflict handling must eliminate the repressive elements of the police apparatus during conflicts so that prioritising dialogue processes must carry out the reconciliation process through *multi-stakeholder* forums by involving the community. Post-conflict recovery in the rehabilitation and reconstruction stages must also involve the community. One way to do this is to strengthen the community's awareness of its rights as victims of social conflicts based on religion and belief, namely the recovery of health, education, housing, and trade.

The fulfilment of basic needs for victims of social conflict based on religion and belief is very important because the consequences of social conflict will reduce the quality of life of the community, which continues to restore the social and economic

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[44] Makhfud Syawaluddin from Lakpesdam NU Pasuruan Regency in a Limited Discussion "The Role of Non-State Actors (NSA) in Participating in Providing Recovery for Victims of Social Conflicts Based on Religion." Pasuruan, July 21, 2021.

[45] Tijani Abdul-Lateef Aremu, Musa-Jeje Ibrahim Aladire, dan Alimi Lawal Sikiru, "An Assessment of Independent Sharī'a Panel (ISP) and Its Roles in Resolving Marital Conflicts in Osun State of Nigeria," *Al-Ahkam* 32, no. 2 (30 Oktober 2022): 233–52, https://doi.org/10.21580/ahkam.2022.32.2.12598.

conditions of the post-conflict community. So, the handling should pay attention to long-term conditions that can be maintained continuously.

In the case of the relocation of Sampang Shia community refugees who are currently in Jemundo Flat Sidoarjo, they do not get essential services from the government, such as education, health and population services. It was observed that around 30 residents who have entered adulthood cannot make an Identity Card (KTP), and residents who already have KTPs cannot change to electronic Identity Cards (e-KTP). The Sampang Regency Population and Civil Registration Office (Dispenduk) asked for recommendations from Bakesbangpol Sampang Regency when residents wanted to make ID and e-ID cards. Then, the National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB) also prohibited residents from returning to Sampang to create ID cards and promised to bring the Sampang Dispenduk to the evacuation site to make residents' e-KTPs on security grounds. However, until now, there has been no follow-up. In addition to the ID card problem, another population data problem is that many children's birth dates on the birth certificate do not match those on the family card. Still, for security reasons, for now, it cannot be changed.[46]

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Post-conflict recovery in the rehabilitation and reconstruction stages must also involve the community, one of which is strengthening the awareness of the victim community of their rights as victims of social conflicts based on religion and belief, namely the recovery of health, education, housing and trade. The fulfillment of basic needs for victims of social conflict based on religion and belief is very important because the consequences of social conflict will reduce the quality of life of the

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[46] Interview with Iklik Al-Milal, one of the Shia Refugees, in the LBH Surabaya Position Paper.

community, which will continue to restore the social and economic conditions of the post-conflict community. So, the handling should pay attention to long-term conditions that can be maintained continuously. Until now, some Shia adherents still survive in the refugee camps because they object to the conditions set by religious leaders in Sampang who require them to move to the Sunni sect, so they have difficulty returning to their hometowns.[47] The concept of Islam that is considered correct by the general public must also accommodate the values of local culture and customs, such as in Madura.[48]

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[47] Safi' Safi' et al., "Bhag-Rembhag Sabhala'an as a Method of Resolving Religious Conflicts in the Madura Legal Tradition," *El-Mashlahah* 14, no. 1 (30 Juni 2024): 95–126, https://doi.org/10.23971/el-mashlahah.v14i1.7819.

[48] Januddin Muhammad Yusuf, Nawir Yuslem, dan Dhiauddin Tanjung, "The Inclusion of Ulema in the Aplication of Islam Nusantara Law for the Aceh Community," *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 23, no. 2 (31 Desember 2023): 186–97, https://doi.org/10.30631/alrisalah.v23i2.1428.

[49] Interview with Iklik Al-Milal, one of the Shia Refugees, in the LBH Surabaya Position Paper..

Conclusion

The Regional Government has a very strategic authority in overcoming social conflicts, one of which is conflict that leads to violence in the name of religion and belief. The authority is to prevent, stop, and recover after religious conflicts. The Practice of Handling and Recovery for Victims of Social Conflict with Religion and Belief Background in Pasuruan Regency and Sampang Regency are: 1. There is no policy at the local level regarding handling social conflicts; 2. There is no special regional budget for handling social conflicts; 3. Community participation (non-state actors) in handling social conflicts in the Pasuruan Regency has not been maximised; 4. Post-conflict recovery has only been focused on physical recovery.

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