



INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM
ON RELIGIOUS LIFE

**Building a Tolerance-Based Society:
How Socio-Cultural Modality Affects Post-Conflict Harmony in the Moluccas**

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes how people in Ambon City and the Tual City of Moluccas Province build harmony in the differences after the conflict struck these two cities. This study builds on the results of the 2017 field research in the two regions using qualitative methods to see how local people build relationships between groups and build post-conflict harmony. Because this study data is qualitative, qualitative analysis is carried out and presents it descriptively. To help develop the concept, the study discussion uses the perspective of social construction theory and social capital. This study found that the people both of the cities had experiences of differences in community groups that were used as an excuse to conflict almost two decades ago, but community groups in both cities in Eastern Indonesia also have their own mechanisms to get out of conflict. build peace and foster harmony, which in this study I call building community-based harmony. In this case there are ways that the people in Ambon City and Tual City can be categorized as social capital or cultural capital, which is used to build harmony and manage diversity in the differences that each group has. In this regard, it was found that there were a number of communities in the both cities, with their own initiative to conduct activities that strengthen social capital to build harmony or social harmony, and have the potential to better manage diversity, and contribute to sustainable peace building. Community groups that are not institutionalized and formal but have a positive contribution to building post-conflict harmony in Ambon City and Tual City as intended by the authors are categorized as follows: economic groups in traditional markets, interest groups or hobbies and friendships.

Keywords: harmony, post-conflict, Ambon, Tual, Maluku, Indonesia

INTRODUCTION

Community life after the conflict or known as the conflict that occurred in Moluccas province from 1999 to 2002 and still continues with different escalations in 2004, 2005, and 2011 in Moluccas province is now getting better. In Ambon and Tual City, for example, settlement segregation and relocation due to conflict is not the reason for the community to build relationships, communication and intermingling between different religious and ethnic groups so as to contribute to the formation of harmony or social harmony in society. As is known, the cause of disputes in Maluku province, even though many researchers called it due to political and economic factors (Rumahuru, 2005, LIPI Team, 2004, Pieris, 2004, Bertrand, 2004), but religion was made dominant so that it is often referred to as religious conflict (van Klinken, 2005, 2007; Mas'oed, M., (ed.), 2000). Moreover religious symbols significantly give legitimacy to the construction of the causal factors of conflict (Mujib, and Rumahuru, 2010; Mujiburrahman., 2006) . One of the reasons for religion to be a factor in the conflict in Maluku is because of religious fanaticism that exceeds traditional or cultural fanaticism (Rumahuru, 2016). Even so, today's facts show that people of different religions in the two cities in Maluku Province have lived side by side peacefully and continue to build mutual trust, both by individuals and by communities or groups in society. This cannot be separated from the role of a number of communities or community groups in these two regions.

Like what forms of community activity and factors that support the establishment of social harmony in the city of Ambon and the city of Tual attract the attention of writers to be studied. The reason why this is important to study is first, the people in both cities have their own effective mechanism to build social harmony or post-conflict harmony, even though the disputes that hit these two regions have left a profound impact and trauma, which is predicted by some to restore post conflict conditions. Second, in 2016 Ambon City and Tual City in a national survey on inter-religious harmony in Indonesia were designated as harmonious city categories and included in the top 10 cities with the best harmony index in Indonesia (Ministry of Religion 2016).

Paying attention to the facts presented certainly cannot be separated from community contributions, in addition to the efforts made by the government. This research portrays the forms of community activities or community groups that contribute to social harmony as well as the factors that influence it, which in this writing is referred to as the construction of society towards post-conflict social harmony. In the perspective of course, this research can be positioned as an effort to understand the social capital of society for sustainable peace development, and management of diversity. Community activities carried out consciously or not

but contributing to harmony, peace and diversity management according to the author's opinion are the work of many parties that deserve to be documented and made learning about peaceful social capital in a pluralistic society. This study will complement previous studies of the people of Ambon City and the City of Tual in terms of building post-conflict relations and reintegration as conducted by several researchers before. Among the many studies on Ambon City and Tual City that pay attention to similar issues, can be called among others, Latuconsinan (2013), examining interreligious and ethnic relations among high school students in Ambon City. Secondly, Rahawarin (2010) examined the collaboration between religious groups in resolving conflicts in Ambon City and the Tual City of Maluku. Third, Ubra (2016) examines multicultural based relations and peace building in Wayame village, Ambon City. Fourth, Rumahuru (2005) examines dialogue and peaceful initiatives in Ambon City; (2016) examined the relationship between post-conflict interfaith indig Theoretical framework

The theories used in this study are (1) the social construction theory of Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann. (2) theory about social capital.

Social Construction

Berger and Luckmann (1967) view that society is not a single, static and final reality. It is a dynamic and dialectical reality. Reality is a plurality characterized by a person's relativity when looking at reality and knowledge. Society is a human product, but constantly has a return to its producers. Conversely, humans are also a product of society. A person or individual becomes an identity person if he stays and becomes an entity of his community. Here, Berger and Luckmann concluded that human reality as socially constrained by reality. Reality is a social construct, it is something that is formed. Humans cannot be separated from the community. Society is a dialectic phenomenon, in the sense that society is a human product formed through several processes. The formation according to Berger and Luckmann (1994) through the three processes. The three processes are externalization, objectivation, and internalization.

First, externalization is a continuous outpouring of the human person into the real world, both in physical and mental activities. Humans according to empirical knowledge cannot be imagined separate from their continual outpouring into the world they occupy. Ecosystemization is a dialectical process in which there is a process of socio-cultural world self-adjustment as a human product. This externalization process was marked by a meeting of ideas from various actors involved, both from the community and the state, and various institutions.

Secondly, objectivation is the carrying of products of human activity (both physical and mental), a reality which is faced with the original producers, in the form of a fact that is

external to the producers themselves. In this process, there is interaction in an inter-subjective world that is institutionalized or undergoes institutionalization. These two stages are the formation of a society where a person or community tries to acquire and build a place in society. They make efforts to get recognition. In both of these processes, people view society as an objective reality. As a product of social construction, this reality is an objective reality that has forced power that influences subsequent actions, because of a mutual agreement.

Third, internalization. This is a re-infiltration of reality by humans. Individuals identify themselves with social institutions where they are members. Then, humans transform it back from the structures of the objective world into the structures of subjective consciousness. This process is a continuation of the two previous stages in which the created institutions are continued and maintained. To guarantee the continuity, there must be justification made by humans through the process of legitimacy which is called secondary objectivation. Here it is clear that through externalisation, society is a human product. Through objectivation, society becomes a unique reality. Through internalization, humans are a product of society (Berger, 1994: 4-5). Of the three processes, the construction of social reality is the result of the synthesis of the three which originated from human creation and interaction. The object structure is not the end product of social interaction because the structure exists in an objectivation process towards a new form of internalization which will bring about an externalization process and then new and continuous objectivation.

Social Capital

The concept of social capital as an analytical tool among social scientists was proposed by James Coleman (1988), and popularized by Putnam (1993) Fukuyama (1995) and there are still many scientists in the fields of sociology, economics and politics.

Putnam (1993) examines political life in Italy, finding that social capital is a major element in the development of civil society (civil society or civil community). This social capital refers to the main aspects of social organizations such as trust (trust), norms (norms), networks (networks) that can improve efficiency in one community through coordinated action facilities. Putnam argues that collaboration is easy to occur in a community that has inherited a number of substantial social capital in the form of rules, reciprocity exchanges and networks among citizens (Putnam 1993: 67).

Fukuyama (1995), who studies economics states that the core of social capital is trust. According to him, trust is a dimension of life that is crucial in leading to the success of economic

development. This is different from material capital or economic capital because social capital actually increases and is increasingly managed and used properly.

In Fukuyama's view, trust or trust arise if the community divides values (shared values) as the basis of life to create general hope and honesty. With trust, people will not be easily suspicious which is often a barrier to development strategies. In addition to trust, networks (networks) have a very positive impact in an effort to increase economic development and local development.

The concept of social capital as expressed by Putnam and Fukuyama which emphasizes the existence of trusts, norms and networks as a prerequisite for community groups in building it can be used as a reference frame for analyzing daily activities or the usual activities of each community or in this study community groups in Ambon City and Tual Maluku. In this case the activities of community groups that appear ordinary have the potential to become peaceful development activities that are realized or not have contributed to building mutual trust among citizens who have been involved in open conflict and cause deep trauma. Through the activities of community groups that transcend sensitive religious boundaries during times of conflict and post-conflict, consciously or unconsciously, intense communication is established that forms new networks during conflict, and to maintain the relationships that are built there are also no agreements. written which is the common norm among groups.

DISCUSSION

Ambon and Tual: Two Cities One Story

The city of Ambon and the City of Tual are now recovering from a dispute involving two members of a major religious group (Islam and Christianity) face to face with each other, but the predicate city of conflict is still attached to these two cities. On this occasion I did not want to talk about conflict which kept a lot of trauma and revenge, but wanted to talk about the actual condition of the community who are actively building themselves after the conflict.

The position of Ambon City as the capital city of Ambon City and the capital city of the province has its own characteristics compared to the city of Tual or other district capitals. Ambon's existence as the center of the province and the city of Ambon itself shows the dynamics of complex community groups. As a center of economy, government and education in Maluku, Ambon City became a destination visited by various groups of job seekers, students, students and various other interest groups. It is not surprising that Ambon City is a crowded and dynamic urban city in Maluku. Urbanites in Ambon City come from (1) other islands in the Maluku Islands, such as: Haruku Island, Saparua, Nusalaut, Seram, Buru, Kepulauan Kei, Banda, Aru, Tanimbar, a group of islands in West Southeast Maluku and Maluku Southwest

(Romang, Kisar, Wetar, Leti, Moa, Lakor, Luang, Sermatang, Babar, Selaru, Sera, Yamdena, Sula, Bacan, Halmahera, Ternate and Morotai. (2) Islands and other provinces in Indonesia, such as: Sulawesi, Papua, Timor, Lombok, Sumbawa, Bali, Java, Kalimantan and Sumatra. (3) outside Indonesia who work in Maluku as from countries in Asia (Japan, Korea, China, Arabia), Australia, Europe and America. this one states that Ambon city population is a heterogeneous and diverse urban community group in terms of ethnicity and religion.

Ambon's position as the center of government and trade has indeed occurred since the colonial era so Ambon is known as a migrant city, because it is the destination of the arrival of the Mirgan, especially for economic purposes, and then the purpose of education. In the development to date the city of Ambon with an area of 359.45 km Ambon city shows a relative good face of relations between groups, although there was a 1999 conflict that almost undermined the image of Ambon Manise as a tolerant multicultural city in Indonesia. If before the economic conflict as one of the factors forming the pattern of social life, the community was segregated by calling the small non-formal and informal economic bases controlled by immigrants from outside Maluku and especially Muslims and vice versa formal economic bases such as employees (government and private) many are controlled by local residents and especially those who are Christians, so today the condition as mentioned has changed greatly. Both small and non-formal and informal economic areas and formal economic areas have been carried out by all residents of Ambon city in a balance between immigrants outside Ambon or Maluku as well as by local Maluku residents themselves. Even so, city government policy is still needed in the structuring of public areas to improve the economy of the city population as well as engineering to better build post-conflict social relations and harmony.

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Administratively, Ambon City currently consists of 5 sub-districts, respectively (1) Nusaniwe District, (2) Sirimauw District, (3) Baguala District, (4) Teluk Ambon District and (5) Leitimur District. Based on 2015 statistical data, the population of Ambon city is 395,423 people, spread over the five sub-districts.

Tual City is the result of expansion of Southeast Maluku Regency. Administratively, the City of Tual and Southeast Maluku Regency in the event of the conflict in 1999 is still a district, namely the Southeast Maluku Regency with the entire islands in Kei Kecil and Kei Besar. Tual City was expanded into an administrative area only in 2007, with the center or capital in Tual, and its territory covers most of the Kei Kecil area, while Southeast Maluku Regency with the district capital in Langgur, its territory includes a portion of the Small Kei and the entire Kei Besar. As is known, the conflict that occurred in Maluku from 1999 to 2004 originated from the conflict in Ambon City on January 19, 1999. Conflict in the Southeast Maluku region or at present the City of Tual and Malra District, occurred in April 1999, and in 2000 it has recovered.

Just like the city of Ambon, Tual City is an urban city in the southeastern part of Maluku which is the destination of people coming from islands throughout the Southeast region, and other islands in Maluku, outside Maluku, even citizens of other countries outside Indonesia like China, Thailand, Vietnam, Taiwan, Myanmar, Canada, America and the United Kingdom. Administratively, the City of Tual currently consists of 5 sub-districts, respectively: (1) Kecamatan P.P. Kur, (2) Subdistrict of South Kur, (3) Subdistrict Tayando Tam, (4) Subdistrict of P. Dullah Utara, and (5) Subdistrict of P. Dullah Selatan. Until 2015, the population in the City of Tual was 65,882 (Tual in Figures 2015).

Forms of Community Activities that contribute to Social Harmony

This section portrays the forms of activities of community groups in Ambon City and Tual City which contribute to the establishment of harmony. The conditions of social harmony or harmony in these two conflict cities can be seen from a number of fields such as economic activities, educational activities, art activities, religious activities, customary activities, and political activities and governance. Whether we realize it or not, post-conflict Maluku gives its own stories and learning, because in addition to poignant stories, trauma and revenge due to

conflict, there is also a story of peaceful knitting among communities or community groups in each region.

The forms of community activities as intended by researchers are the activities of communities that are carried out independently of government interference and carried out on their own initiative. Therefore, the following discussion focuses on community activities in Ambon City and Tual, which may not be considered as significant by certain circles at a glance, but if observed closely it contributes significantly to the opening up of communication and segregative relationships that allow acceptance and mutual trust (trust) among community groups. Community activities as intended are carried out based on interest groups or hobbies, friendships, similarity in identity and professional relations. Some communities from the categories mentioned include literary, photography and art groups that work across religions and ethnicities. Activities that are carried out by groups or communities, as they are called, are realized or ineffective in supporting the integration and establishment of post-conflict relations that enable the establishment of social harmony and peace in a sustainable manner.

The following are some forms of community activities in the city of Ambon and the City of Tual, which are carried out in the awareness to build and foster peace, which in this study is called an effort to build social harmony in post-conflict communities. The types of activities mentioned here occurred between 2004 and 2015 and have continued or impacted to date.

The initiative of the community of economic interests in the market

As is known, between 1999 and 2003, sellers in the main market in the city of Ambon, namely '*Pasar Mardika*' were still limited to one religious community (Islam), because in some areas in the Christian community there was a market on its own initiative during the conflict, known as the market shocked. Even so, in this era there were always initiatives of sellers to meet, transact and intensely build communication between fellow traders of different religions and ethnicities. Initiatives of these traders directly or indirectly stimulated the creation of a sense of security in the community, prompting the Ambon city government in late 2003 to certify shocked markets and to focus market activities on the Islamic and Christian communities together in the Mardika market.

From the narrative of several Ambonese citizens of Ambon city who have been selling in Mardika market since 2003, it is known that for Christian sellers who were diverted from the market were shocked to the Mardika market there were a number of problems faced at the beginning of the market centralization policy in Mardika by the Ambon City government. First, security guarantees, especially for those who do not have strong networks or good relations

with traders from Muslim communities. Second, reluctance to compete with other traders who are considered to have better capital and trading networks. Behind this reason is also concern for the buyer, because the market is shocked on average they already have a subscription, which when they move location is not necessarily they can maintain their customers. Third, speculation about land ownership in the market. This is related to the existence of kiosk buildings provided in the market, it has been sold or contracted to certain groups so that it is difficult to get it. In fact, even sidewalks have been claimed by each individual trader in the market.

Apart from the various things mentioned before, there is a fact of polarization in a market based on religion at the beginning of a joint market activity after a conflict. Even so, it should be recognized that the initial polarization is so thick at this time it has melted and the interaction and communication in the market is a strength of its own for groups of people of different religions and ethnicities in the city of Ambon to build mutual trust between citizens. Just like in the city of Ambon, in Kota Tual the same activity took place in the Tual market and port, this was earlier than in Ambon, namely in 2000. In the city of Tual the initiative of the community to conduct economic activities in the market and port was carried out with a strong evav identity awareness and get government support to promote local cultural symbols to build relationships and better communication. Individual market activities are real, have formed mutual trust, the value of recognition of humanity's existence and formed a network between sellers and buyers that continues to strengthen among the citizens of both cities to date.

Activities in traditional markets that appear at first glance, there are routines of buying and selling or transactions between sellers and buyers cannot be seen as trivial, because this ordinary activity in the context of post-conflict society has a profound effect on assimilation and contributes greatly to the establishment of mutual trust which allows for the establishment of agreements (even if not written) that are used as a shared value among the community, as well as forming new networks among sellers and sellers and sellers with buyers or buyers-with fellow buyers.

Interest, hobby and friendship group initiatives

Starting from the intention of gathering, telling stories, laughing at oneself, telling the past and channeling hobbies, finally arrived at the activity of peace building. This statement is the conclusion of the researcher from a number of informal conversations with interest-based individuals and communities or hobbies and friends in the city of Ambon and the city of Tual. In the early days of post-conflict recovery (2004-2010), then the conflict in 2011 occurred again in

Ambon City, community groups in the city of Ambon and the city of Tual were both seeking forms of reconciliation, apart from what the government sought through a security approach and a formal reconciliation formula through meetings between leaders and community leaders. In this case the community groups in their own ways take the initiative to communicate to strengthen networks, build shared values to get out of the shackles of discomfort due to the conflict in each region.

In the city of Ambon and the City of Tual there are a number of activities of community interests, hobbies and friendships, which in fact contribute to building harmony between religious communities after the conflict. Of the many communities and activities it can be called, among others: first, the development of photo talents among young people with a perspective of peaceful development. This community developed both in Ambon City and in the City of Tual. Referred to as a community of peaceful bina photos because of the photo activity of those who export peaceful symbols and promote harmony in society. This activity began in 2007 until now and there are a number of photo exhibitions with religious themes but have peaceful educational values. An informant (S.E) told me that he saw his own interest among young people to do a photo shoot with various viewpoints partially. This new hobby is then managed to give perspective and include education among young people with photography hobbies. After being fostered, the result is that they themselves are looking for funds to buy a standard camera for professionals and take photos of a number of events, and community dynamics that are considered to educate the public. Their photos aside from being exhibited, they are also published on social media so that many people see and like them.

Second, the development of literary interest. This community develops from the activities of students on campus. Just like photography, literary interest can be called a new segment among young people in Ambon city that fills in the gaps and needs in this field. The literary community that developed from the campus then influenced the formation of community literary groups in several villages in the city of Ambon and outside Ambon. The activities of this literary group are from writing stories, creating poetry reading, musical poetry, theater or drama performances (sound or voiceless), to poetry, music and theater collaboration in one performance. The literary community forms networks among groups of people of different religions and ethnicities consciously, builds trust and fosters integrity or character to build harmony in differences. In the context of Ambon city, the process of literary communities can be found, among others, in the so-called (1) TrotoArt, (2) Teartro and (3) Maluku Theater.

Community of arts (dance and music) involving two different religious communities. The history of collaboration between dance and music groups in the city of Ambon has been

pioneered by certain people long before the conflict so that during the conflict, no one would know that they still meet together and practice in Ambon and other cities in Indonesia to campaign on brotherhood and inter-community relations that remain good. Initiatives of these communities were then responded to during the reign of Mayor M.J. Papilaya, the music group was institutionalized into Ambon Orchestra, identification of the forms of community activities, especially those carried out by groups in the community in the cities of Ambon and Tual post-conflict, shows that the activities of photography groups, literary groups, art groups (dance, instruments and vocals), and friendship relations in both cities this greatly affects the dynamics of urban society, especially because many of these communities are active in social media, segments that can reach various levels of society. Their activities naturally affect society at large to no longer think about conflict or dissolve in the trauma they have, but want to think forward like people in other regions.

Construct new social capital

In my opinion, the activities of community groups as mentioned before have formed new social capital among the people of Ambon city and the city of Tual. It can be seen that their initiative is realized or does not produce a trusting attitude between them, forming a value and networking that currently can be felt by many people.

In the perspective of Berger and Luckmann's social construction, the processes of externalization, objectification, and internalization occur in each community that is the target of this study as follows. First, externalisation. The average community that until now has survived and is consistent with its vision of building and fostering peace, has gone through a serious inner struggle to finish with themselves first. Many of the members of the community who were deemed not to have escaped the inner struggle of peace with him, especially willing to remember and forget and build a better self together in Ambon City or the City of Tual and Maluku in general. Second, objectification. The production of literary works received by other people across the community in addition to being a special satisfaction for this community, the most important thing in the work of peaceful development initiatives is their acceptance by different religious and ethnic communities. After the stage, for example, the children of the literary community become the same person as most people, wanting to get wider acceptance, not limited to appreciation for their work. What is desired is real when they are finally accepted by various groups and can visit or train, one thing that has never happened before or after the conflict. Third, internationalization. In this process, such communities are called to experience a process of self-reflection to strengthen the vision of building and building peace in various

scales and levels. Acceptance capital strengthens their existence to continue to expand networks, involve more communities, explore their potential and produce new works, perform and run continuously with determination or confidence in what is done to benefit many people.

Factors Influencing the Establishment of Post-Conflict Social Harmony

As stated earlier, many communities in Ambon city and Tual city work partially but have the same goal, to open communication bottlenecks due to conflict, prejudice and trauma to build mutual trust, reconciliation and long-term peace building. The goal and vision together are those that are formulated in writing, but some are not written. This is because the nature of the community is more fluid and most of them do not formally institutionalize themselves. Even so, when asked about the vision that serves as a guide to carrying out peaceful development activities, they will explain it as such.

A description of the types of activities presented before implicitly illustrates that there are a number of factors that influence the importance of social harmony or harmony among groups of different religions in these two regions. This study found that of the various factors mentioned, can be categorized in two forms, namely: psychological factors and physical factors. First, the factors included in the psychological category include: (1) trauma, (2) critical awareness of the initial conflict, (3) the desire for peace.

Second, the factors included in the physical category are as follows: (1) availability of many public spaces to meet such as markets, supermarkets, malls, schools, workplaces, Pattimura park (for Ambon city). (2) new fellowship or community based on religious and ethnic identity, (3) peaceful development activities that receive widespread support.

CONCLUSION

There are a number of communities in the city of Ambon and the city of Tual, with their own initiative to conduct activities that strengthen social capital to build harmony or social harmony, and have the potential to better manage diversity, and contribute to sustainable peace building. The forms of community activities, especially those carried out by groups in the community in the cities of Ambon and Tual post-conflict, such as economic groups and interest groups show that the initiative of these groups to build relationships and construct social capital internally is realized or not has impacted positive for the creation of social harmony among the people of both cities. I call the initiative of the groups referred to as community-based harmony.

Two categories of factors that influence the initiative of community groups to conduct activities that contribute to social harmony and better management of diversity are psychological

factors and physical factors. First, the factors included in the psychological category include: (1) trauma, (2) critical awareness of the initial conflict, (3) the desire for peace. Second, the factors included in the physical category are as follows: (1) availability of many public spaces to meet such as markets, supermarkets, malls, schools, workplaces, Pattimura park (for Ambon city). (2) new fellowships or groups based on religious or ethnic identity, (3) peaceful development activities, especially among young people who have wide support.

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