The Genealogy of Communal Conflict in Vilage in Ambon-Maluku, Indonesia
(A Historical, Sociological and Legal Perspective)

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Abstract

Inter-village conflicts on Ambon Island, Maluku (the Moluccas), have occurred since the Dutch colonial era. Conflicts have always involved acts of violence that continue to occur to this day. So far, the inter-village conflicts in Ambon commonly known as "inter-village fights" have escaped the attention of researchers because the existing studies tend to focus more on religious conflicts or ethnic conflicts in Maluku. Therefore, this paper aims to see how the process of inter-villege fights occur, what factors affect the emergence of such conflict and how locality-based conflict management models can be an alternative for sustainable peace development in Ambon. A qualitative approach is used to discuss these three issues from a historical, sociological and legal context with in-depth data and analysis. This paper shows that the history of inter-village fights on Ambon Island is a historical legacy of the Dutch colonial government which was stimulated by the process of dividing the main villages into two parts, one under the Dutch rule and the other under the rule of the Tanah Hitu Kingdom. Historical, cultural and modernization factors that have brought a climate of openness in Ambon have also affected the escalation of inter-village conflicts in this region to this day. This paper also recommends the need for more comprehensive research on this theme. In addition to looking at communal fighting on a broader scale, in-depth research is also aimed at providing an analysis of more complex aspects such as the victims, the tools used in each fight, as well as mediation process and law enforcement.

1. Introduction

Religious conflict in Maluku (the Moluccas) has dominated social and scientific discourse over the last two decades, and obscures the communal conflict that has become an integral part of the history of Maluku (Moluccan) society. Since the Dutch colonial period, conflicts involving two or more villages have occurred continuously, even showing a persistent and latent nature. Historical records show that the first conflict occurred in 1605 resulting in the death of 1 person (captain Luakabesi) and damaging the Wawane fort in Seit Village and Kapaha-ha Fort in Morella Village belonging to the Tanah Hitu Kingdom. Today, the conflict has taken place on a more massive and worrying scale and has claimed more and more victims. Communal conflicts in Maluku is inseparable from the social processes that occur at a macro level and from the historical context behind it (Utomo, et. al., 2013; Asyathri, et. al, 2014; Pamungkas, 2014). According to Soedjatmiko, conflict is a long experience as a result of less successful problem-solving strategies. In addition, "… *the absence of a long-term societal re-integration strategy that emphasi the absence of a long-term societal re-integration strategy that emphasized on the management of group diversities had resulted in a pseudo or fragile integration that led to societal disintegration*" (Sudjatmiko, 2008).

So far, conflict studies have focused on interreligious conflicts. In Ambon, for example, conflict is understood as the result of friction between different religious groups (Toisuta, 2006). Fighting occurs in every process of the relationship between humans, and relationships between humans can occur anywhere and anytime, from the interpersonal level between groups, between communities, to between nations. Thus, the frequency of fighting always occurs from a small to a large scale in a society between various parties, driven by various factors, such as ethnic, racial, religious, economic, customary, cultural differences. All of this grows because of differences in values, faiths and beliefs, as well as attitudes towards developing issues. For example, local communities may often face issues such as funding for children's education, lack of facilities in agriculture and animal husbandry, while urban communities face issues of eviction, justice and human rights, lack of public facilities (Safuan, 2006). In an organization, fighting may occur due to differences in value orientation on tasks and functions between leaders and subordinates, between men and women, between ethnic groups and races. Such issues are, in fact, the driving factors for fighting that occurs at these various levels (Pinmongkhonkul, Khamkhunmuang, & Madhayamapurush, 2021).

This paper aims to fill in the gaps in the study of communal conflicts which tend to see conflict from an objective perspective while diverse conflicts are neglected. This paper uses a subjective perspective by accommodating local perspectives in explaining inter-village conflicts. Therefor, three questions are formulated: (a) how do inter-village conflicts occur on Ambon Island? (b) what factors cause the prolonged inter-village conflicts on Ambon Island to continue? and (c) what sustainable conflict resolution model can be formulated?

This study is based on three assumptions, namely (a) the inter-village conflict that occurred on Ambon Island has a historical background rooted in the social structure of the community; (b) communal conflict is a form of response to the fundamental changes that are taking place in society, especially with regard to the weakness of social institutions and law enforcement; and (c) conflict resolution is only possible through participatory support which eliminates tensions and psychological difficulties between residents (Saifan, Shibli, Abd Hamid, et al., 2021).

2.1.   Literature Review

Various studies on conflict in Indonesia can be grouped into three categories; communal conflict, roots of conflict and conflict resolution. In the following, the three categories will be elaborated.

2.2.   Communal Conflict

Communal conflict is defined as a violent confrontation between non-state actors in which the divisions are mostly along ethnic or tribal lines (Wig & Kromrey, 2018). Broadly speaking, communal conflict is a violent conflict between organized non-state groups with communal identities in which it regulates and mobilizes identity lines and uses lethal violence to gain control over some disputed resources or political power (Elfversson, 2015). The basis for group identification can be affiliated with ethnicity (Ilyas, 2014) or religion (Hasan & Mursalin, 2011). Communal conflict is a phenomenon that is often discussed at the level of focus at the state level (Eck, 2014; Yusdarmoko & Putri, 2018) or geographic correlation (Fjelde & von Uexkull, 2012; Saifan, Shibli, Ariffin, et al., 2021).

This form of communal conflict often manifests in the case of migrants versus local residents where migrants are marked as hosts (land owners) while other groups as foreigners (visitors to the community) (Albert, 2001; Nieke, 2017). Communal conflict can also extend to other forms, where in many studies communal conflict has a negative impact on people's lives claiming many victims (Krause, 2019), disrupting livelihoods and causing regional instability which can further lead to civil war (Brosche & Elfversson , 2012; Elfversson, 2019). A study by Adonteng-Kissi, et al., (2019) in Bawku Africa reported that the negative impacts caused by communal conflict are causing regional inequality and practically reducing access to education, retention and achievement.

The study of communal conflict is often discussed at the level of causes and dynamics of communal violence, for example, communal conflict is widely discussed in the context of sub-Saharan Africa (Balestri & Maggioni, 2017; Eck, 2014) where the general idea of the sources of communal conflict in Africa has long been explained as a result of conditions of environmental scarcity (Eck, 2014). Meanwhile in the context of Indonesia, communal conflicts have occurred in Poso caused by historical issues that have been exploited by local political elites through issues of socio-economic and socio-political jealousy between the indigenous population, namely Pamona, Mori and Lore (the majority are Christians) who feel

marginalized by the presence of ethnic Javanese, Bugis and Makassarese (the majority are Muslim) (Alganih, 2016). In addition, communal conflicts have also occurred in Maluku related to ethnic, religious, and racial issues where there is competition between the Bugis Makassar people and the indigenous or local population. Trade competition between migrants and Ambonese has led to social and economic inequality and shifted from economic issues to religious conflict which causes many houses of worship to be destroyed/burned down (Safi, 2017).

2.3.   Roots of Conflict

Fisher (2015:582) defines conflict as "*a social situation involving perceived incompatibilities in goals or values between two or more parties, attempts by the parties to control each other, and antagonistic feelings by the parties toward each other*" and thus conflict has three general components, namely differences in values or goals between individuals or groups, efforts to influence each other, and feelings of resistance that develop along with the existing social situation. Meanwhile, Rahim (2017) defines conflict as an interactive process that is manifested in incompatibility, disagreement, or differences within or between social entities (i.e., individuals, groups, organizations, etc.).

One of the consequences of conflict is violence. Violence often begins as a communal conflict (riots, gang attacks) but escalates to the level of civil war if the state does not intervene (Feraon & Laitin, 2011). In many studies, the roots of communal conflicts are often affiliated with politics, ethnicity, religion, or indigenous people and migrants which gradually become urban pathology due to rapid urbanization and competition over land claims (Agheyisi, 2019) and, in addition, the roots of conflict are materialistic and emotional in nature which generate multiple claims. In line with this opinion, the roots of communal conflict reported by (Arkanudin, 2006) can be caused not only by economic inequality but also by weak national integration, elite conflicts, primordial conflicts, injustice in the administration of government, injustice in the application and law enforcement, social inequality and system of values and cultural orientations that have long been subdues, which is the root of the problem. Meanwhile, weak law enforcement, that tends to be unfair, has given room for conflict escalation.

A study by Chigudu (2019) on the communal conflict that hit Sudan found that the roots of the conflict were caused by disputes over territorial control along the border that connects the north and south and also the conflict between the Juba government and traditional authorities where the government was unable to enforce the bureaucratic order in the new country. In addition to the roots of the conflict above, particularly in social conflicts, the conflicts that occur are also the result of historical and material realities (Friedline, 2018). The roots of conflict can also be caused by primordialism, where conflict is the result of the way people identify with each other. (Davis, 2014).

2.4.   Conflict Resolution

As part of a dynamic process, conflict resolution emerges as a damper for the turbulence of social situations. Aureli (2017:1) views conflict resolution as

integral to the maintenance of group cohesion and the benefits associated with group living for individual group members. In line with the goal of maintaining cohesion and benefit in life, Fisher (2015:582) describes conflict resolution as *the management of differences in a manner that is constructive and cooperative, and yields outcomes that are mutually satisfactory and have a long-term commitment from the parties.* This concern recognizes that there are differences between groups that demand accommodation with mutually agreed outcomes or goals.

In conflict resolution, there are various forms such as agreements mediated through sortition by one or both parties, compromise, surrender, armistice, peace treaty, arms, constitution, trial, amnesty, pretext, purge, international agreement, apology, law, topic changes in arguments, and reparations (Wagner-Pacifici & Hall, 2012:190). Thus, it can be understood that conflict resolution is affected by various forms of mediation and adapted to the situation. In addition, conflict resolution has a character as Davidson and Christine (2004: 7) in their article divide conflict resolution into 6 models, namely: *Developing expectations for win-win solution, Defining the issue in terms of underlying concerns, needs, or interest, Brainstorming creative option, Combining options into win-win solution, Developing a best alternative to a negotiated agreement and other approaches.* Therefore, to achieve conflict resolution, there must be clarity of purpose and clarity of insight around interests and consideration of possible sacrifices that will be made.

Local wisdom has a role in accommodating conflict resolution related to local communities. Local wisdom is a dynamic knowledge resource that is owned, developed and transmitted by a certain population and is integrated into their understanding of the natural and cultural environment (Demaio, 2011). Basically, local wisdom is the basis for the community in solving problems and as a guide for them in social behavior (Ramirez, et al., 2019). A study conducted by Taufiq and Widyaningsih (2016) shows that the alternative form of dispute resolution is to use the Particular Judge model, the mediation pathway, and the Settlement Conference where the mechanism is carried out through a discussion process, the use of a mediator, institutionalization of dispute resolution and the execution of the decision. Another study on conflict resolution is conducted by Akhmad (2019) where in the context of the Papuan community, traditionally conflict resolution focuses more on commodities and has a high social value by exchanging pigs/other commodities and can also be done with marriage as a sign of peace where from it can form clan and family alliances so as to strengthen their social capital.

3. Methods

This paper is basically part of a field study conducted throughout 2015-2018. The data used in this paper were collected through models commonly used in qualitative research, namely observation, in-depth interviews and document studies. Observations were made throughout 2015 when there were many inter-village fights on Ambon Island, and in 2016, and finally in 2018. The villages that were the object of the study were those that saw inter-village fights involving

residents in Mamala and Morela village, as well as Hitu and Wakal Village, two neighboring villages that are often hit by conflict. When compared to villages on other islands in Maluku, villages on Ambon Island rank the highest in terms of cases of inter-village fights (Rumadan, 2011).

We explored information about the roots of the conflict, how the community is involved in the conflict, and the extent of the conflict resolution process that has made through a number of informants interviewed during the research process, both in formal and informal encounters. The informants are community leaders, religious leaders, and youths who have been involved in the conflict. We also studied a number of records, documents, and references that contain inter-village fights. Some of the data were derived from important colonial historical documents. The data collected were then analyzed interactively, from a legal, sociological and historical perspective, so that it becomes a comprehensive study and is presented in this paper.

4. Results

4.1. Map of Inter-Village Conflict on Ambon Island

Ambon Island is one of the main islands in Maluku Province. This island has a unique shape, with Ambon Bay being one of the best ports visited by various ships since the colonial era until now. This strategic position made the Dutch East Indies government choose Ambon as the center of government. Initially, the center of the Dutch government (Governemen van Ambon) was in the Hitu Kingdom which was part of the Leihitu Peninsula, but then it was moved to Ambon Bay which is part of the Leitimur Peninsula. In this modern era, Ambon Island is divided into two parts; the eastern part of Ambon Island (Leitimur Peninsula) is the administrative area of Ambon City which is the capital of Maluku Province and has denser urban settlements. Meanwhile, the western part of Ambon Island (Leihitu Peninsula) belongs to the administrative area of Central Maluku Regency whose capital is Masohi City on Seram Island. This position makes it possible for people of the Leitimur Peninsula (Ambon Municipality) to enjoy economic and other forms of development, while the Leihitu Peninsula area is underdeveloped. The discrepancy felt by the people of the Leitimur Peninsula region has caused unrest.

Figure 1 Map of Ambon Island
Source: beritabeta.com

The occurrence of inter-village conflicts on Ambon Island began with the arrival of the Dutch on the Island in 1605 by dividing the main villages into two villages. Each village that was expanded by the Dutch was led by a king and the villages under the rule of the Tanah Hitu Kingdom were led by a Uli or Pati. In addition, due to the Dutch legacy, the villages led by the King were of higher status than those led by Uli or Latu Pati. The villages led by the King were considered superior to other villages. Also, the villages led by the king were indigenous villages while those led by Uli or Pati were migrant villages. The villages led by the King received more facilities as opposed to villages under the Tanah Hitu kingdom. These differences had an impact on society. Villages that are geographically neighbors and the rwsidents still have kinship (geneological) relationships are often involved in competition and conflict, with various triggering factors.

So far, inter-village conflicts on Ambon Island are more common in the Leitimur Peninsula, which is part of the administrative area of Central Maluku Regency. There are four villages that are the subject of this article which have recurring and increasing cases of violent conflict. The conflict between Mamala Village and Morela Village, the two neighboring villages, has occurred since the early 20th century, then intensified in 1983 and 1985 and escalated in 1999, 2017, 2018 and 2019. Meanwhile, the conflict that occurred between residents of Hitu and Wakal village who are also neighbors, have occurred since the end of the 19th century, then continued in 1985 and 1987. It escalated in 2018 and 2019, or after the end of the religious conflict in Maluku.

Table. 1Conflict Intensity in four Villages on Ambon Island

Event of Conflict	Year	Impact		
		Number of Deaths	Number of injuries	Amount of property damage
Conflict between Mamala and Morela village	1983	-	2	3 houses damaged
	1985	-	2	2 houses damaged
	1999	1	3	4 houses damaged
	2018	-	3	5 houses damaged
	2019	-	3	3 houses damaged
Conflict between Hitu and Wakal village	1985	-	2	2 houses damaged
	1987,	-	2	3 houses damaged
	2018	3	4	5 houses damaged
	2019	2	3	5 houses damaged

Source: processed from various sources

Conflicts that occur from time to time are increasing and becoming more "professional", both in terms of fighting techniques and equipment used and preparation. There is also an increase in the tools used such as Molotov cocktails, poisoned arrows, homemade weapons, even organic firearms obtained illegally through the black market for firearms in Maluku. This has increased the number of

victims, loss of lives and the amount of property destroyed resulting in destruction of settlements, damage to vehicles, destruction of productive gardens such as felling of clove, nutmeg, durian trees, etc., as well as burning of offices, schools, markets, etc. The education sector also suffers such as disruption of teaching and learning activities in schools, from primary to tertiary education.

In schools, teachers and students, students and lecturers who come from conflict villages cannot carry out their activities because they are limited by conflict spaces. Likewise, transportation entrepreneurs do not operate because they are limited by conflict villages. For example, in the case of fighting between the villages of Morella and Mamala (which has occurred three times), each villager used homemade weapons and Molotov cocktails. In the first fight in 1999, one resident of Mamala village was shot dead with a homemade weapon from Morella village. In the second fight in 2018, the Mamala Village Head was assaulted by the Morella villagers which then triggered reciprocal attacks for several days. In the third fight in 2019, five houses were burnt down in Morella village.

Conflicts also occurred in neighboring villages, Hitu and Wakal on the eastern part of Ambon Island. The first conflict occurred in 1985 and then 1987. Then it occurred again in 2018 where there were two events of attacks between these villages using sharp weapons. One resident from Wakal Village died, and two others from Hitu Village were hit by Molotov cocktails and died. Meanwhile, the second fight in 2019 resulted in two Hitu villagers being shot dead with a homemade gun.

So far, there are four parties who are allegedly involved as actors in the conflict; first, the government which is considered weak and unserious in law enforcement and conflict management. There is even an impression in society that the government is letting people fight. Second, every time a fight occurs, community leaders are also involved. The involvement of community leaders can be seen from the participation of the community members during the fights. Third, religious leaders who tend to defend their respective villages. Fourth, the media also plays an important role by providing information to provoke people into fights, because by providing information on deaths or injuries, the fellow villagers from the victims' side always seek to retaliate with any means available. Thus, electronic and print media contributes to encouraging people to get involved in inter-village fights. The four stakeholders with their respective roles tend to condition the conflict which makes it difficult to overcome.

4.1.   Factors Causing Prolonged Inter-village Conflict on Ambon Island

The discrimination factor applied by the Dutch colonial government. By the time the Dutch arrived on Ambon Island, they changed the village government structure that had been formed since the Tanah Hitu kingdom, by dividing the main villages into two parts, limiting the villages under the Tanah Hitu kingdom from attending education, limiting ordinary people from attending education of a higher level. limiting the role of traditional institutions that had been established in society,

such as the Saniri and Latu Pati traditional institutions in their task of fostering the community, and the Dutch took over these tasks. So that over time these institutions lost their function in society and the community members were provoked to side with the Dutch and reject the roles of traditional institutions such as Saniri and Latu Pati.

The forums for conflict resolution have not received the attention of village officials, and the community also does not use these forums to resolve conflicts between villages. Finally, people are slowly losing the trust in these institutions as they focus more modernity. The State's approach through militaristic actions in conflict resolution also weakens the ability of local institutions to resolve conflicts because cultural space for social arrangements is slowly disappearing.

The community is no longer homogeneous. In fact, heterogeneity has become a norm in society (in terms of ethnicity, religion, social class, immigrants, etc.), with the number of different communities inceasing in each village, making indigenous peoples become less friendly with migrant communities. Competition between residents in the fields of education and economy is inevitable, and in this type of competition, indigenous peoples always lose or are left behind. In the field of transportation, for example it is almost certain that ninety percent of the means of transportation belongs to migrants; in social class, one can clearly see the gap between the rich and the poor; certain ethnic groups feel superior to others; certain religion followers see their religion better than the others. The difference in this case has become an identity that serves to distinguish one from another.

4.2. Formulation of a Sustainable Conflict Resolution Model

Conflict resolution is usually done by optimizing the role of the state, through local governments which usually use the roles of religious leaders, traditional leaders, youth leaders, associations of each village in resolving inter-village conflicts on Ambon Island. The government also creates groups of people in human resource development such as developing skills by providing training in fish farming, giving them business capital so that they can focus on productive businesses such as fish cultivation, ornamental plant culture, livestock cultivation. In addition, in the field of art, the government also creates art groups by displaying artistic culture in which the community takes pride with a religious background, and holds physical exercise events attended by youth groups from two villages and two communities with different cultures and religions at the Merdeka Square of Ambon.

Another way is by bringing back the tradition of "*Makan Patita*" involving residents from two warring villages. *Makan patita* is a culture of eating together where food is provided voluntarily by people from the two warring villages. *Makan patita* serves as a forum for communal meetings and dialogue to ease tension between the two parties torn apart due to fights, and to strengthen the genealogy between resients in the two villages. In this way, all the people in each village will learn about the kinship with people in the other village which will further strengthen the clan, and by strengthening the clan, the sense of brotherhood between

reasidents in the two warring villages will also strengthen because island people have clans that are spread out in villages in Maluku and Ambon Island in particular.

Increasing community participation in conflict resolution is something interesting. Communities usually resolve conflicts in various ways, including through traditional ceremonies of *makan sirih pinang* (chewing a mixture of betel leaf and areca nut) together, *makan patitah*, conducting cross-marriage ceremonies between people from the two villages, doing transactions of buying and selling goods between the two villages, commemorating religious holidays together, perform traditional ceremonies together such as the seven-day-after-Eid al-Fitr ceremony, namely the *pukul sapu* event between residents, the seven-day-after-Eid al-Adha ceremony, namely the Abdau event. These ceremonies are carried out by the community members themselves by inviting the government officials to attend. In addition, the community also performs the art of dance by inviting mothers and young women from different villages to dance together. All of these are cultures that have existed in the community that can unite its members after the conflict.

Discussion

4.3. Historical and Sociological Context in Structuring Inter-Village Conflict

Gerry van Klinken (2006) stated that conflicts based on historical backgrounds can last a long time and take root in society because they have strong historical roots. The historical roots of the conflicts in Ambon in fact began with the arrival of the Dutch on Ambon Island in 1605. They built the Amsterdam Fort situated in Kaitetu Village as a defense strategy for their security purposes. To maintain the security and continuity of the fort, people from Seram Island and Saparua Island with different faiths were brought to Ambon. To give them the power of land ownership on Ambon Island, they were given land certificates for free. Meanwhile, the indigenous people of Ambon Island were not given land certificates, so they demanded the Dutch to give them land certificates as well. This request was granted by the Dutch who even used it to appease the indigenous people. Finally, the people around the fort competed to ask for a land certificate from the Dutch and that's when the Dutch took the opportunity to weaken the power of the Tanah Hitu Kingdom which should be the party entitled to issue the certificate. Later, the Dutch succeeded in destroying the two forts of the Tanah Hitu Kingdom, namely the Wawane fort in Seit Village and the Kapahaha fort in Morella Village. At that time, the Dutch used Captain Luakabessi's guards at Wawane fort to become spies for the Dutch, revealing Captain Luakabessi's the secrets and strategies as well as his daily activities in the Tanah Hitu Kingdom. Eventually, Captain Luakabesi was killed. With the death of Captain Luakabesi, Tanah Hitu Kingdom became weak and then lost its power.

Conflict has become a characteristic of the established structure so that it always occurs repeatedly. Conflicts involving tribes and groups within the same community are known as communal conflicts (Wig & Kromrey, 2018). From the description of the root of the problem above, it illustrates that fights have continued since 1605 and are repeated between one village and another, and this is evidenced by the fact that currently villages on Ambon Island are still involved in inter-village fights and no-one knows when it will end, because the legacy left by the Dutch is so deeply-rooted in society that it has becomes a time bomb whenever there is a conflict between villages, it will be followed with fights between villages. In general, inter-village fights on Ambon Island is triggered by individual fights and the whole villagers were involved because maintaining the identity of their respective village has been firmly established within society.

Santoso (2002) explained that psychological fights describe the behavior of basic logics, because conflicts become part of everyday life (occurring on basic logics). The fights in Ambon are in fact built out of basic logic because it has been structured in each resident of the community on Ambon Island. Each villager must defend its own village from the attacks of other villagers. This basic logic has been embedded in the mind of each member of the community on Ambon Island. And from that basic logic, it also becomes the bond for the people of Ambon Island to feel proud when in a fight they are able to defeat enemies from other villages in the form of destroying vehicles and settlements, persecution and murder. So when it happens, they delight in victory and pride because their basic logic is that every time a fight occurs there must be a victim, and while the clash is taking place, the usual questions that arise are who has fallen victim to the fight, or how many people have been killed, how many houses or vehicles have been burnt down?

4.4. Weakening of Social Institutions as a Mechanism of Peace Building

Communal conflict is a reflection of the idea of an unequal society. According to Golbang (in Santoso 2002: 78), fighting is unequal behavior because a system experiences conflict due to different goals. The Dutch arrived on Ambon Island with a different purpose from the goal of the Tanah Hitu Kingdom which eventually led to a conflict between the Dutch and the Tanah Hitu Kingdom. The traditional institutions managed by the Tanah Hitu kingdom such as Saniri and Latu Pati were abolished by the Dutch. This prompted the community to be involved in conflicts between those who sided with the Tanah Hitu Kkingdom and those who sided with the Dutch. Based on interviews with the kings (village heads) on Ambon Island, most reported that there were fights between villages starting from individuals and then involving the community at large, and in addition there was misinformation from the community and the information was usually provocative. In this way, the community quickly becomes involved in inter-village fights. And it usually involves the younger generation. So, inter-village fights do not reflect unequal ideas.

According to Trigono (2001:80), fighting does occur in a process of human relations events from the interpersonal to the group level. Thus, fighting occurs from a small to a large scale in a society between various parties, trigggered by various factors such as differences in ethnicity, race, religion, economy, customs, culture, all of which grow because of differences in values. Communal conflict is a function of the individualization movement. Based on the interviews with the informants (kings) and community leaders, the response is that, in general, fights occur between villages on Ambon Island begin with individuals (the young people) consuming liquor, and from this personal conflict, it then involves families, clans, and villagers. Eventually, the fights spread to the community between two adjacent villages. Obviously, it is the young people who start this commotion at certain occasions, such as wedding parties, football matches, visits to tourist attractions, etc.

Trigono (2001) argued that fighting does occur in every process of human relations events, and relationships between humans can occur anywhere and anytime, between persons, between groups, between communities, and even between nations. Regarding the case in the Ambon Island community where the fighting begins with individual fight then spreads to youth groups and eventually involves the whole community. According to A. Liliweri (2005), little fights include emotions, unaccomplished goals, unachieved expectations. Communal conflict is a picture of increasing ethnic awareness in an effort to achieve common goals. Villages on Ambon Island generally have a community organization whose members consist of school and college students. It is from this organization that fanaticism toward the group, organization, and village develops. In the event of a conflict, this influence are used to defend the interests of individuals, groups, and villages.

4.5. Citizen Participation in Conflict Resolution

According to John Galtum (2009), there are three ways of resolving conflict; first, peacekeeping, namely the process of stopping conflict through the role of the military; second, peacemaking, which is a process whose goal is to treat or reconcile the political attitudes and strategies of the conflicting parties through mediation, negotiation, arbitration at the elite level; third, peacebuilding, namely the process of change implication or social, political and economic reconciliation. From this perspective, with regard to the government's role in resolving conflicts, it can use the power of religious leaders, traditional leaders, youth leaders, associations of each village in resolving conflicts between villages on Ambon Island. This also shows that the public figures in Ambon hae participated in resolving conflicts as the main factor in reducing tension and fears of re-emergence of fights among villagers. This participation also provides a psychological relief to the conflict parties to eliminate the negative experiences during the conflict, and to forget the sadness with regard to the victims the fell during fights. Such participation also provides awareness in society after they get out of the conflict and return to work together in building their respective village and provide awareness to help each other between one village and another in social activities. Therefore, participation is very important after the conflict between villages on Ambon Island.

The form of participation according to Hugono (2002) can be done through an accommodation strategy, namely resolution with competition with a reflection to provide an overall solution, and to take part by being involved in social activities, such as weddings, building mosques, mutual cooperation in traditional ceremonies, for example the *panen sero*, *makan patita* on major Islamic holidays, being involved in the *pukul sapu* ceremony on the seventh day of Eid al-Fitr and the *abdau* ceremony, on the seventh day of Eid al-Adha. All of these activities are a manifestation of community participation in creating harmony between villages involved in fights where each party agrees to build their own village.

Diversity management, according to Hugono (2002), is carried out through compromise and collaboration, namely giving and offering something at the same time to relieve the situation, which benefits all parties. To make it possible, each party should realize their mistakes for their involvement in conflicts between villages and regrets what has happened; both parties should make an effort to eliminate the bad experiences they suffer due to the conflict; both parties should always create a lively, peaceful and sustainable atmosphere from one generation to the next with positive messages; both parties should build trust in managing diversity; each side respects the solutions offered by the other.

5.   Weak law enforcement

Another thing that needs to be considered in conflict resolution efforts is fair and impartial law enforcement as regulated in the Criminal Code/KUHP (Hamzah, 2011), especially in Article 170 paragraph 1 (one) concerning violence that is carried out against people or goods which is punishable to 6 (six) years of imprisonment. Similarly, various legal consequences that have been clearly regulated in paragraph 2 (two), regarding imprisonment for 7 (seven) years, 9 (nine) years and 12 (twelve) years must also be enforced impartially by law enforcement officials.

The worrying thing so far is the reluctance of law enforcement officials to enforce the applicable criminal rules, causing disappointment, frustration and feelings of being treated unfairly, especially felt by the families of criminal victims. This then encourages ordinary criminal conflicts which initially only involve one or two persons and should be resolved by criminal law, but it escalates into communal conflicts with various social impacts. Communal conflict resolution is certainly increasingly difficult to resolve because it involves various groups and community institutions that sometimes have their own interests.

Therefore, law enforcement officials need new methods to enforce the law as an effort to prevent a criminal case from becoming social conflicts. In villages with historical records of violent conflicts, such as the villages on Ambon Island selected in this study, law enforcement officials need to continue to monitor any criminal incident so that it can immediately be dealt with seriously before it develops into a trigger for communal violent conflict. Likewise, the Indonesian government needs to consider creating a new law that specifically regulates conflict

prevention efforts so that it serves as a formal legal instrument that can guide law enforcement officials in dealing with communal conflicts, as in the case of Maluku.

6.　Conclusion

Upon arriving on Ambon Island in 1605, the Dutch took measures to weaken the power of the Tanah Hitu Kingdom by dividing the main villages into two parts, each led by a king declared as the indigenous village, while the villages under the rule of Tanah Hitu Kingdom were led by an *Uli* or *Pati* and regarded as migrant villages. The terms 'indigenous' and 'migrant' village were introduced by the Dutch. These two terms are the basis of the debate on the indigenous and the migrant village, and it is the embryo of the occurrence of conflict within society. Such legacy has been carried over to this day. In the event of a conflict between villages, a village that considers itself to be the indigenous strive to win over the migrant village. Meanwhile, the migrant village always seek to fight for the status of being an indigenous village when in power. The conflict between two villages is latent and has continued to this day.

This paper shows that inter-village conflicts have taken root in the social structure of the community since the fundamental changes in society. Communal conflict is a form of statement on this fundamental change. To date, no proper solution has been found that guarantees the cessation of inter-village conflicts. The solution to the conflict needs to be made with approaches to local wisdom through the revitalization of local institutions of *saniri, latu pati,* and *pela gandung*, which historically have been a source of conflict resolution in Ambonese society. Meanwhile, law enforcement needs to be carried out immediately and appropriately on criminal events, which have the potential to trigger large-scale communal conflicts. The government needs to consider creating a new law that regulates efforts to handle social conflicts in Indonesia.

This paper also recommends the need for more comprehensive research on this theme. In addition to looking at fights on a broader scale, in-depth research is also aimed at providing an analysis of more complex aspects such as the victims and the equipment used in each fight, and more comprehensive mediation and law enforcement processes in resolving communal conflicts in various regions in Indonesia.

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