

Erosion of Tolerance and Religious Social Conflict in Indonesia: Case Studies of the Ambon and Tolikara Conflicts

Silar Mayulita

Universitas Islam Negeri Imam Bonjol Padang

Mayulitasilar@gmail.com

Abstract

This article discusses two major social conflicts in Indonesia, namely the Ambon Conflict and the Tolikara Conflict, with a focus on analyzing the sources of triggers, the role of religion in the escalation of conflicts, and the efforts made to resolve them. The Ambon conflict was triggered by a clash of beliefs between Muslims and Christians, exacerbated by social stratification, ethnic differences, as well as local political provocation and third parties. Meanwhile, the Tolikara conflict began with tensions between Muslims and Christians that culminated in violence, showing the potential for religion-based horizontal conflict. This research uses a descriptive qualitative method with a literature review approach, aiming to describe in depth the characteristics and dynamics of the two conflicts. Data was collected through a literature study of relevant primary and secondary sources. The results show that both conflicts have the same roots, namely inter-religious tensions triggered by social, political and economic factors. The resolution of the conflict in Ambon involved a reconciliation approach and interfaith dialogue, while in Tolikara, despite the resolution efforts, the challenge of building interfaith trust remains a major obstacle.

Keywords: *Social Conflict, Ambon Conflict, Tolikara Conflict, Toleransi*

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depending on how the individual or group responds to the situation they face. The type of conflict most often found in society is social conflict, which is a clash that occurs between members of society covering various aspects of life. Conflict itself is not a foreign thing in social life, because it is generally embedded in the mindset of the individuals involved or those who are in a conflict situation. (Budi sunarso, 2023).

Introduction

Conflict is a condition that causes discomfort due to a discrepancy between an individual and another individual, or between one group and another. The impact of conflict can be positive or negative,

From a theological point of view, religion is understood in various forms and interpretations. These differences are sometimes used as reasons to separate people from each other. The diversity of views on religion provides space for individuals to choose, whether to believe or not. However, this freedom also brings

consequences in the form of personal responsibility, including accepting the consequences of the choices made. Meanwhile, from a sociological perspective, humans basically cannot live alone and are very dependent on one another. Compared to other creatures, the level of human dependence is high because humans are social creatures. In general, religion acts as the main source of values that shape a culture. (St. Aisyah BM, 2014).

In the context of religious conflict, two concrete examples that are often discussed are the conflicts in Ambon and Tolikara. In general, the conflicts that occurred in the Maluku region show that conflict is part of the social reality that cannot be completely avoided in social life. The main cause of this conflict is the difference in social interests that are not in line, which then triggers social imbalances. This imbalance can lead to serious problems such as discrimination, poverty, oppression, and crime. The conflict that occurred in Ambon itself became one of the major events in the period after the fall of the New Order regime, with a huge impact, including many casualties and displacement of residents. Some of the factors that triggered this conflict included economic problems, political tensions, and the weak role of traditional leaders in reducing conflict. Basically, humans are social creatures who not only need each other, but also a conducive environment. Therefore, conflict is a challenge that humans will continue to face throughout their social life. (St. Aisyah BM, 2014).

This research uses a descriptive qualitative method (literature study), which is an approach that aims to explain and describe an event or research object in the form of a narrative description. (Asep Mulyana, 2024). This method was chosen to make it easier for the author to analyze the case studies studied, especially the

conflicts that occurred in Ambon and Tolikara, and to make it easier to describe the dynamics of religious conflicts that took place.

This research uses the social construction approach developed by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann. This approach is considered effective for analyzing conflicts in Ambon and Tolikara because it is able to reveal inter-religious tensions that are influenced by social, political and economic factors. In the Ambon case, conflict resolution was carried out through an interfaith dialog and reconciliation approach. Meanwhile, in Tolikara, despite various settlement efforts, there are still major challenges in building trust between religious groups. Within the framework of the social science paradigm, this research aims to gain knowledge based on logical and systematic rules. In addition, this research also emphasizes continuous critical analysis. (Asep Mulyana, 2024). Data collection was conducted through a review of relevant journals and documents, by first ensuring their appropriateness and relevance to the dynamics of contemporary religious conflicts, especially the conflicts that occurred in Ambon and Tolikara.

This method was chosen by researchers because qualitative research basically aims to understand the meaning that arises from various social and humanitarian issues. (Adhi Kusumastuti, 2019). In this article, the author examines the issue of religious social conflict that occurred in the community, especially in the Ambon and Tolikara regions.

AMBON CONFLICT

The term “conflict” comes from the verb *conficere* which means to hit each

other (Irwandi & Chotim, 2017). In social life, conflict tends to be unavoidable, both on a small and large scale. Conflicts can arise due to a clash of interests, differences of opinion, or desires involving two or more parties. According to Soerjono Soekanto, conflict is a social process that occurs between individuals and other individuals, or between individuals and groups, each of which tries to achieve goals by opposing the other party (Irwandi & Chotim, 2017). Based on this understanding, it can be concluded that conflict is a form of social interaction that arises from differences in interests and understanding, which can then trigger a rift in relations between individuals or groups in society. Meanwhile, Lambert et al. define conflict as a situation that arises due to differences in views, perspectives, or opinions between individuals, groups, and even between organizations (Khovivah et al., 2024). In a negative sense, conflict is seen as a form of opposition or dispute between two parties who try to achieve their goals by outperforming the other party. In this context, conflict becomes a competitive arena that has the potential to bring down opponents in order to gain recognition or power. Therefore, conflict is often considered something that needs to be avoided because it can disrupt harmony and solidarity in people's social lives.

The Ambon conflict was one of the largest social conflicts ever to occur in Indonesia, lasting between 1999 and 2003 (Khovivah et al., 2024). The conflict involved clashes between two groups of people, Ambon Islanders and Moluccans, triggered by religious and ethnic differences between them. This paper will discuss in detail the root causes and

triggering factors of the conflict, the role of religion in exacerbating the situation, and the various resolution efforts that have been made. The chronology of the Ambon conflict was influenced by several main factors. First, juvenile delinquency and pure criminal acts. Second, inequality in the placement of employees in the Maluku Governor's office and higher education institutions, which are dominated by certain groups and regions. Third, political maneuvering by PDIP in an effort to win the election. Fourth, the emergence of social jealousy from Maluku indigenous people towards migrants who are economically superior. Fifth, the conflict also developed into an inter-religious conflict, particularly between the Muslim and Christian communities (Indrawan & Putri, 2022). The religious conflict that occurred in Ambon has indirectly affected the social structure of the community, and changed the prevailing values and norms. The impact can even shift the culture that has developed in the area (Rudiansyah, 2016).

A. Sources and triggers of conflict

Every conflict has an underlying cause, including the conflict in Ambon. There are various factors that trigger the conflict, depending on the goals and interests of each party involved (Rudiansyah, 2016). These conflicts are not solely caused by differences in belief or religion, but are also influenced by social stratification in society as well as cultural dimensions. In this case, religious values and norms are often manifested in the form of local customs and culture (Rudiansyah, 2016). From an economic point of view, social inequality also creates stratification that distinguishes between the better-off and the less well-off, which has become one of the triggers of social conflict in the Maluku region. In addition, differences in social systems, such as norms, values and

customary traditions, also played a role in worsening relations between Muslim and Christian communities. The conflict in Ambon was also triggered by ethnic factors. Tribal differences were the starting point for disputes that later developed into religious conflicts, as social and religious group identities are closely intertwined. In this context, religion plays an important role in the formation of culture, so that differences in values, norms, customs and culture between Muslims and Christians in Maluku also strengthen the dividing line that becomes a source of conflict.

Historically, the conflicts that occurred in Ambon were not only caused by religious differences, but were also influenced by various other factors such as politics and economics. These two aspects are known as factors that are prone to trigger conflict in a society. One of the most striking examples is the conflict in Maluku, which occurred as a result of political and economic instability after the collapse of the Soeharto regime (Indrawan & Putri, 2022). This instability is reflected in disputes between political elites, power struggles, and attempts to control natural resources and strategic positions. In this situation, elites tend to utilize ethnocentric sentiments to strengthen their power, especially in accessing economic and political resources (Rudiansyah, 2016). In some cases, forced population transfers have even occurred as part of this strategy. From an economic perspective, this kind of conflict is very likely to occur because economic needs are a fundamental aspect of human life. In addition, segregated settlement patterns based on ethnicity and religion, as well as competition for natural resources such as gold mines, exacerbate tensions. Traditional leaders also highlighted that the conflict was also triggered by the misuse of customs. Adat was used as a tool to legitimize inter-tribal solidarity for political and economic

interests. This has created discontent among communities and deepened existing conflicts.

In addition to the economic and political factors that have been mentioned as triggers for conflict in Ambon, there are also other factors that play a role, namely social and cultural factors. The diversity of ethnicities and tribes in Maluku makes social relations between community groups more vulnerable to conflict. As explained earlier, apart from being triggered by religious differences, the conflict was also influenced by ethnic and socio-cultural factors. In the economic context, the resulting social inequality can create social stratification, which gives rise to differences in status in social life. This conflict involved religious differences, namely between Muslims and Christians. These religious differences have an impact on cultural differences, because religion is an important element in the formation of a society's culture. At first, differences in religion, ethnicity and culture did not cause conflict. However, conflicts began to emerge when political elites manipulated these differences and used them as tools to create divisions among communities, solely for their personal interests. The conflict not only revolves around these differences, but also involves extreme acts of violence, including killing without hesitation. In Maluku, there are four main tribes involved, namely Buton, Bugis, Makassar and Ambon.

Movements made by several groups caused one tribe to become dominant, while other tribes felt disadvantaged, which then triggered a rebellion. This was the beginning of the conflict. From a religious perspective, there are six religions officially recognized by the government, including Islam and Christianity. These religious differences, on the one hand, can be the root of division. Intolerance and lack of respect

for the rights of others among adherents of different religions are the main factors that trigger conflict and division. The conflict in Maluku is often described as a long-standing enmity between Muslims and Christians. The violence of this conflict resulted in the loss of nearly 5,000 lives, and a third of the Maluku population was forced to flee due to homelessness and insecurity. In Ambon, the conflict reached its peak due to ethnic and religious differences. The conflict that was initially triggered by ethnic differences later developed into a religious conflict. From this incident, we can identify the factors that caused the conflict and, with that understanding, work to avoid and minimize the possibility of similar conflicts occurring in the future.

B. Religion can enter the vortex of conflict

The conflict that lasted for about three years was not only triggered by economic, political and socio-cultural factors, but religion also played a role in worsening the situation. This incident is clear evidence that religion can be a dominant factor that greatly influences the course of conflict. In this case, Islam and Christianity were involved as warring parties. Before the Maluku conflict occurred, the relationship between Muslim and Christian areas was already affected by differences in beliefs. The conflict further exacerbated this relationship, while the times and modern values made the bond between the two groups fragile. In this case, religion was politicized by political elites to exacerbate and prolong the conflict (Rudiansyah, 2016). Religion plays an important role in the lives of Maluku people and is the basis of their beliefs, which makes them very sensitive to issues related

to religion. Political elites utilize religion as a tool to achieve their personal interests, especially to maintain power, both in the political and economic aspects.

Maluku religion plays a dominant role as a symbol to maintain solidarity among community groups. When they share the same religious beliefs, they tend to protect each other and establish good relationships. However, when differences in beliefs arise, the relationship can turn hostile. These differences often lead to feelings of being at a disadvantage, which eventually pushes them to engage in violence, even to the point of war and murder. The politicization of religion by political elites also exacerbated this condition, which eventually triggered riots among the Maluku people. As a result of this politicization of religion, the conflict widened and caused a serious refugee problem, where the civil and cultural rights of the refugees were often ignored. Religious fundamentalist movements (Sinulingga, 2014) has been the long-term impact of post-conflict in Maluku. The hostilities caused many casualties, with thousands of people dying and hundreds of thousands displaced. In terms of physical damage, many houses, places of worship and public facilities were destroyed as a result of the conflict. This left the victims and the community as a whole deeply traumatized, especially after the irreplaceable loss of life.

C. Ambon Conflict Resolution

When conflict occurs, each party tries to find ways to resolve it. One of the more effective approaches is to use an adjustment model that is appropriate to local conditions (Bakri, 2015). The conflict resolution process usually goes through

several phases. The first phase is usually negotiation, followed by deliberation (Lindawaty, 2011), which aims to find a mutual agreement. In this process, all parties will discuss, either among themselves or by involving a third party as a facilitator or mediator. This approach is used to avoid tension and to ensure that discussions proceed in a calm, orderly and mutually desirable manner. After conflicts triggered by various factors, including the inclusion of religion, there are efforts to resolve the conflict. In the case of the Ambon conflict, various steps have been taken to end the problem, including the direct involvement of the central and local governments, security forces, local communities, women's groups, and international and local SLM (Ismail, 2020).

There are two main approaches used to resolve this conflict: the security and emergency approach, and the recovery and development approach. However, in this case, the government did not have a clear long-term strategy or plan. Therefore, the main solution relied upon to resolve the conflict was security assistance and troops sent from outside Maluku. This prompted the central government to facilitate peace negotiations between the Muslim and Christian communities, eventually reaching a peace agreement through Malino II. Before the Malino II peace talks began, the local government had made several attempts to resolve the conflict, but these efforts did not produce the desired result of achieving peace between Muslims and Christians. Some of these failed attempts included a policy taken by the Governor of Maluku Province, who established an informal group of religious leaders in late January 1999 called Tim 6. This group consisted of six religious leaders from the Muslim, Christian and Protestant communities. Their task was to prevent the

destruction of mosques, churches, houses, and to prevent widespread violence in Maluku. However, the leaders appointed to carry out this task did not take their mandate for peace seriously. Instead, they were complicit in the violence. As a result, Team 6 had no influence at all on peace efforts in the Ambon conflict (Ismail, 2020).

The solution implemented to resolve this problem, as formulated in the government's work plan, was to prioritize an understanding of the Pancasila Ideology as well as a humanitarian and cultural approach. This policy resulted in the Malino II Agreement, which was led by the Coordinating Minister for Welfare, Yusuf Kalla (Irfan, 2022). Several points of agreement reached in Malino II aimed to create peace between Muslims and Christians, among others:

- a. Stopping all disputes, especially those that take the form of violence.
- b. Upholding the rule of law in accordance with applicable regulations, supported by the entire community.
- c. Reject the separatism movement.
- d. Recognize the existence of all communities and give them equal rights.
- e. Prohibit all forms of unlicensed armed organizations in Maluku and require them to surrender their weapons; otherwise legal action will be taken, and disruptive outsiders in Maluku must leave the area.
- f. Repatriate refugees to their place of origin and grant them their civil rights.
- g. The government will provide support for social, mental, economic

rehabilitation and public facilities for the community.

h. Building solid cohesion between TNI and Polri in maintaining order in Maluku.

i. To maintain harmonious relations between religious communities in Maluku, all da'wah activities must respect the plurality and beauty of local culture. Supporting rehabilitation, especially Patimura University, with the principle of common progress. Therefore, recruitment and other policies are carried out in a transparent, fair, and qualified manner.

To enforce all legal provisions, it is necessary to establish a national independent investigation team to thoroughly investigate the events of January 19, 1999, as well as to deal with groups such as the Maluku Sovereignty Front, RMS Christians, Laskar Jihad, Laskar Christ, and cases of forced religious conversion.

The Malino II agreement was an alternative to resolve the conflict that occurred in Maluku. The implementation of conflict resolution is carried out through various approaches aimed at accelerating the reduction of conflict escalation. Each approach applied is faced with the development of existing situations and conditions, which can be measured by clear results. In this case, the role of the community in resolving conflicts directly can be realized through a cultural approach.

Overall, the conflict that occurred in Maluku can be concluded as an inevitable reality in social life. This conflict arises due to the existence of incompatible social

goals, creating an imbalance that can lead to various problems such as discrimination, poverty, and oppression and crime. The conflict in Maluku, especially that in Ambon, was one of the largest after the fall of the Soeharto regime, with many casualties and refugees. Factors contributing to this conflict, as already explained, included economics, politics and the weakness of adat leaders. The conflict eventually ended in peace through negotiations between Muslim and Christian communities, which became one of the alternative solutions. In this process, the role of figures trusted by the community, such as traditional leaders, was crucial. In addition, the media also played a key role, either as a tool to build peace or as a potential instigator of violence. Various ways were taken to realize peace, which was finally achieved through planning that successfully brought peace to the people of Maluku

TOLICARA KONFLIKT

The Tolikara conflict occurred on July 17, 2015 in Tolikara, Papua, Indonesia, triggering inter-religious tensions. The incident was triggered by a misunderstanding over religious permits and activities. The conflict began when Muslims in Central Tolikara performed Eid al-Fitr prayers in a field, while at the same time, members of the Church of the Gospel of Indonesia (GIDI) also held a seminar and revival at a location not far from the prayer site. The difference in activities on the same day, coupled with religious differences, became the root cause of the conflict.

Similar incidents often occur in areas with different religious majorities and minorities. The conflict ended tragically with the death of Endi Wanimbo, a 15-year-old teenager, from gunfire, injuring 11 other residents. A total of 58 kiosks were burned, 24 buildings were damaged, and 16 buildings were looted. A total of 153 people from 38 families became victims. Although previously, the implementation of Eid prayers in Karubaga was guaranteed safe by Tolikara Police Chief AKBP Soeroso and GIDI President Dorman Wandikmbo, but six days before the incident, GIDI Tolikara region issued a circular letter prohibiting Muslims from carrying out Eid prayers in Karubaga, because it coincided with the TRC seminar which invited thousands of guests, including representatives from the Netherlands, the United States, Papua New Guinea, Palau, and Israel (ROSYID D, 2017).

The purpose of the circular was to ensure that the international GIDI seminar on July 13-19, 2015 could take place in a solemn manner. The circular was discussed in three meetings and then submitted to the Regent of Tolikara, Usman G. Wanimbo, and the Chief of Police. However, a copy of the circular was not received by the Chief of Police. The circular was finally received by the Chief of Police through intel staff from the Special Forces Command Post on July 13, 2015 at 10am. On the same day, the Imam of Al-Muttaqin Mosque in Tolikara went to the Kapolres to discuss the circular letter.

He immediately contacted the President of GIDI, Dorman Wandikmbo, who stated that the circular would be revoked. The next day, he contacted the Regent of Tolikara, who was in Jakarta, and informed him of the circular. The Regent then contacted

Pastor Nayus Wenda of the Tolikara Region GIDI Executive Board to inform him that the circular would be corrected. The revised letter was finally issued on July 15, 2015, two days before the tragedy, allowing Eid prayers to be held in Karubaga District, but only in mosques and mosque yards, not in open fields due to the limited capacity of mosques. The revised letter also included a ban on wearing the jilbab and a ban on religious denominations other than GIDI from building places of worship in Tolikara, including a ban on the Adventist Church in Paido District. The letter, numbered 90/SP/GIDI-WT/VII/2015, was addressed to Muslims in Tolikara and copied to the Tolikara Regent and Police Chief. However, the correction letter was only received by the Tolikara Police Chief and the Imam of Al-Muttaqin Mosque on July 18, 2015, the day after the tragedy.

According to Nayus and Marthen, they only gave the corrected letter on Saturday, July 18, because the Tolikara Regent had informed the Chief of Police of the contents of the letter by telephone. Ronny Mandang stated that Muslims and Christians had agreed to slaughter two cows (one from Muslims and one from Christians) as a sign of peace, on condition that the Eid prayer was held without loudspeakers and not later than 8am. However, loudspeakers were in use from 4am, and Marthen requested that they be turned off, but there was no response from the Muslim side. This triggered the church youth (about 150 of the 2,000 seminar participants) to start throwing stones at the field where the Eid prayer was being held. On July 19, 2015, the seminar was closed, and four days later, religious leaders in Tolikara made peace efforts at the Karubaga Koramil yard. Police later named Arianto Kogoyo and Jumdi Wanimbo as riot suspects, with both considered provocateurs who stoned and attacked Muslims who were performing the Eid prayer. At the time of the incident,

Regent Usman was sleeping in his office after staying up until 3am. (ROSYID D, 2017).

A. Sources and triggers of conflict

The riots that occurred in Tolikara were basically caused by a difference of opinion between the majority group, Christians, and the minority group, Muslims. The conflict was also triggered by opposition between two individuals or institutions that have different goals in meeting their needs. These differences have the potential to cause conflict, hostility and crisis in social relations. One of the main factors that triggered this conflict was the difference in religion, which was exacerbated by the clash between their respective religious activities on religious holidays. However, not all conflicts have to lead to violence, because if conflicts can be managed properly, they will not end in violence, let alone lead to murder. As is known, in the social life of the community, conflicts are bound to occur, whether they stem from small or large problems.

In the context of the conflict in Tolikara, prior to the incident, a circular letter had been circulated from the GIDI led by Pastors Marthen Jingga and Harianto, which prohibited the implementation of Eid prayers outside the mosque and the use of loudspeakers (toa). GIDI held their activities and did not want to be disturbed by Eid prayers held in the field with loudspeakers. Pastors Marthen Jingga and Harianto even used megaphones to urge the Eid prayer congregation not to perform the prayer. However, the Muslims ignored the

appeal and continued to pray on the field using loudspeakers (ROSYID D, 2017).

B. Religion can enter the vortex of conflict

Religion can act as a factor of integration or disintegration in society. In the context of Tolikara, religion is more likely to be a factor of disintegration. As noted, in addition to social and economic factors, religion was also one of the causes of the conflict in Tolikara, mainly due to differences in beliefs between Islam and Christianity. Although initially this conflict was not based on religion, due to the lack of mutual respect and inclusive attitude, religion eventually became the main trigger of the dispute. Based on social background, the majority of the population in Tolikara is Christian, while Muslims are a minority who are vulnerable to being treated differently or even ridiculed. As explained earlier, these tensions started due to the Eid al-Fitr celebrations that coincided with seminars and services organized by GIDI.

This misunderstanding led to the burning of kiosks and mosques, although mosques were not the main objective. Differences in belief or religion are used as a tool to mobilize the masses, particularly in the Tolikara conflict, where religion was used to strengthen the solidarity of certain groups while discriminating against other different groups. In this situation, religious sentiment triggered violence from both ordinary people and government officials, showing that religion can be a powerful factor that exacerbates conflict. Basically, religion is part of the identity of different groups, but the root of the problem is also related to other factors such as economic, social and political. Therefore, what needs to be emphasized here is the importance of mutual respect and appreciation of

differences. Even though a region has the same beliefs, if there is no mutual respect, major conflicts can occur, both related to economic interests and social relations.

Problems arising from religious conflict can include rejection of religion, the relationship between religion and the state, and the way religious life is viewed. This can be reduced if religious people understand that religion is a right that is believed in the heart and expressed in life by religious adherents, so as to create social order and social harmony. The role of the state in the context of human rights is to protect, respect and fulfill these rights. Some argue that the legacy of colonization has become the basis of life so that tolerance between religious communities is difficult to achieve. Conflicts are often triggered by the meaning of "freedom". There is an expression that says "there is no freedom without limits," where one person's freedom is limited by the freedom of others.

In reality, this measure of freedom is often misused by individuals or groups for self-glorification on the one hand and demonization on the other. Therefore, it is important to work on the existing gaps by interfaith dialogue, facilitated by religious leaders. This is done so that conflict does not occur and in order to understand each other's procedures and ways of social interaction between religious communities. The first step is to mature religious leaders starting from the local or small group level. Second, maturing between religious leaders through periodic gathering forums. Third, optimizing the role of the Religious Communication Forum (FKUB).

The existence of FKUBs is based on the Joint Regulation of the Minister of Religious Affairs and the Minister of Home Affairs (PBM) Number 9 and 8 of 2006, which regulates the Guidelines for the Implementation of the Duties of Regional Heads / Deputy Regional Heads in Maintaining Religious Harmony, Empowering FKUBs, and Establishing Houses of Worship. According to Banawiratma, interfaith dialogue can be carried out sequentially and continuously, because with this dialogue, the potential for conflict can be minimized, especially in Indonesia, which is rich in diversity, including the diversity of beliefs embraced by the community.

C. Ambon Conflict Resolution

Based on the analysis of the causes and course of the conflict, it can be concluded that differences in beliefs (religion) between one group and another are one of the main factors in the conflict. To defuse or resolve the conflict, there are several approaches that can be taken. One of them is to build an interfaith dialog network at the community level. Through this approach, mutual respect between religious leaders, the community, and state officials can be fostered, because these figures have an important role in supporting the success of conflict resolution. In addition, the clashes that occurred between the community and the authorities showed the need for fair law enforcement. This is important to restore public trust, especially among Muslims, in government institutions. In a social society that does not fully understand the meaning of tolerance, especially in ethnically and religiously diverse areas, the presence of institutions capable of providing an understanding of

the importance of the value of tolerance is urgently needed. So, to support the conflict resolution process as a whole, education about tolerance is also needed. The application of tolerance values can be done gradually through education that encourages mutual respect and by establishing interfaith dialog institutions. This kind of education is very important, especially in conflict-prone areas - as happened in the Tolikara case - so that people can be better prepared to face differences without having to fall into violence or division. (ROSYID D, 2017).

The tolerance education program can be realized through the preparation of learning materials that actively involve the real practice of tolerance values. This can be realized in the form of direct interaction between educational institutions and between students from different religious backgrounds, with full support from the local education office. This approach is not limited to teaching and learning activities in the classroom, but can also be expanded through various activities such as seminars that discuss topics around tolerance across religions, ethnicities and cultures, or through community training that aims to foster a more inclusive understanding in the community. If traced from the root causes As a result of the conflict, it appears that the role of traditional leaders in carrying out their functions has not been optimized. Therefore, another important step in creating peace is to revive and strengthen the role of local leaders in Tolikara. This role should include all groups in society without discrimination, in order to create an inclusive and harmonious social environment. Conflicts that arise in Indonesia, including in Tolikara, often stem from differences that have become part of tradition, so their resolution requires a dialog-based approach. Religious leaders throughout Indonesia are also required to cultivate a humble attitude, respect the

teachings of other religions, and not impose their beliefs on others. The most important thing is to avoid being exclusive and prioritize the values of inclusiveness, because by being inclusive, interfaith communities will more easily establish good communication and prevent conflicts. If all of these steps are applied consistently, then no matter how big the conflict is, including the conflict in Tolikara, it still has a chance to be resolved peacefully and constructively.

Overall, the government's assertiveness is needed in taking action against local governments that enact local regulations (perda) that contradict the mandate of the 1945 Constitution and other national regulations. Without such a firm stance, the goal of realizing tolerance between religious communities will be difficult to achieve. One example is the local regulation enacted in Tolikara Regency, Papua, which prohibits the construction of houses of worship for people other than those belonging to the Evangelical Church in Indonesia (GIDI). This regulation became one of the initial triggers of the conflict that led to the burning of the At-Taqwa Mosque during the Eid al-Fitr celebration in 2015. The incident not only caused wounds in Tolikara, but also sparked concerns and tensions in other areas, requiring a quick and wise response from all components of the nation.

Law enforcement against violations that occur must be carried out fairly and transparently, including conveying the legal process and decisions to the public as mutual learning. In addition, the post-conflict recovery process must also be the government's main concern. Recovery measures must be seriously guarded and facilitated thoroughly so that the impact of conflict can be immediately overcome and social wounds can be healed. Social

comfort and tranquility is a very valuable value, so it needs to be maintained through optimizing education, both in formal schools and through character education in the family. This effort must also be supported by strengthening the role of the Religious Communication Forum (FKUB) and the establishment of interfaith communities as a space for healthy and constructive social interaction. Thus, the values of tolerance can flourish in society and become a strong fortress in preventing similar conflicts in the future.

The conclusion from the interconnectedness of the conflicts in Ambon and Tolikara shows similarities, both involving tensions between Muslims and Christians. The root of these divisions is rooted in the lack of inter-religious tolerance, and reinforced by ethnic differences among the community. The different ethnic backgrounds triggered the emergence of conflicting interests, thus increasing the potential for conflict. Both the Ambon and Tolikara conflicts eventually led to peace efforts. The process towards reconciliation involved the active role of the government through various policies and approaches, and was supported by the contribution of traditional leaders and broad community participation. With the cooperation of these various parties, conflict resolution steps can be carried out in a more structured manner in order to create a peaceful and harmonious life.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this article asserts that the conflicts that occurred in Ambon and Tolikara are a reflection of the declining spirit of tolerance among

religious communities, which is influenced by various factors such as social, political, economic, and cultural. In both events, religion and ethnicity were not the main cause, but rather used as a tool of provocation by certain parties to strengthen group identity and maintain their respective interests.

This conflict was also triggered by social inequality, discriminatory practices, as well as the weak role of traditional leaders and the lack of responsiveness of security forces in responding to the situation. The solutions offered in both cases demonstrate the importance of synergy between the state, religious leaders and communities to create sustainable peace. This can be achieved through a deliberative approach, counseling on the importance of tolerance, and intensifying interfaith dialogue. Peace agreements such as Malino II in Ambon and the interfaith dialogue initiative in Tolikara are concrete evidence that peace can be realized if all parties - including state officials, traditional leaders, and grassroots communities - are willing to work together and uphold the values of humanity and justice.

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