ARCHITECTURE OF PEACE IN AMBON:
Reading Dynamics of Peace After Ten Years of Conflict

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ABSTRACT

The dynamics of peace in Ambon have been getting stronger during the last ten years, but to what extent this phenomenon can be considered as a solid basis for peace, would require a critical analysis. This paper is the result of field research on peace in Ambon using the theory of "peace architecture" developed by Luc Reychland (2006). The results of the analysis obtained several important conclusions. First, the peace process in the city of Ambon has been going on in a participatory manner in various aspects of life. Second, in an architectural perspective as put forward by Reychland, the peace in Ambon has sufficient potential to develop into a structure of peace which is getting stronger. It is characterized by the strengthening of an increasingly inclusive dialog and communication between citizens, as well as the effectiveness of public arenas such as markets, offices, schools and coffee shops as a medium of integration. It is also supported by the accommodative practices of economic and political transformation. Third, in line with the positive development, the public still need to be reminded of radical religious ideas and identity politics that are harmful to the sustainability of peace.

Keywords: architecture of peace, Maluku conflict, inclusive communication, Ambon.

INTRODUCTION

The conflict that occurred in Maluku over the period 1999-2004, eventually came to an end after going through a process of a long and winding road of dialog. Especially after Malinopada Agreement in 2002 which managed to push the Muslims and Christians to come to terms (Ernas, 2012).[1] Slowly, social relations between people in Ambon City were once again re-established. Since 2005, violence in Ambon city has increasingly been pressured to lowest point possible as indicated by the absence of violence between religious groups. In addition, peace groups began to grow, both at the level of local government,

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[1] Saidin Ernas, *Policy of Social Conflict Resolution; Implementation of The Malino Agreement*, Journal of Govermant and Politics, volume 3, Number 2, August 2012.

civil society, and educational institutions.

The latest social phenomena occurring in Ambon, certainly could be a positive sign of peace but whether it became a solid foundation for building harmony and peace, would require specific study on the latest developments in the city of Ambon, especially with rgard to the architecture of peace that has been established in this city. The study of the architecture of peace is very important to analyze the process of change that has occurred in the wake of the conflict. For the architectural concept of peace is not only about social integration of plural society of different religions and ethnicities in a common identity or assimilation between minorities and dominant groups, but as discussed Luc Reychland (2006: 7),[2] it can also show substantial things like communication increasingly inclusive, integrative aspects of the environment, local leadership that increasingly promoting peace and other forms of social and political structures that ensure the growth of authentic, inclusive and democratic social relations. The study on the architecture of peace can also be used to examine the extent to which new morality has grown to support harmony and peace in society. Biku Parehk[3] (2008: 118) called it a moral contract that binds people in a balanced social system (social equilibrium).

Communal conflict in Ambon with all the impacts it has caused should serve as an a crucial experience to develop a structure of peace that is more authentic and participative in the life of society, so that peace and social harmony can have strong roots. Just to comapre, the structure of peace and harmony is also a goal of the strugles that are trying to be achieved by the Towani Tolotang as Hasse J. (2016) reported from his work based on his project in South Sulawesi. This article is basically an attempt to conduct a critical evaluation of the dynamics of peace in Ambon that have been established over the last ten years, and to analyze its sustainability in the future.

This paper is part of research reports on contemporary dynamics of peace in Ambon City. The field data collection was carried out throughout July and November 2015, using data collection methods commonly used in qualitative studies, such as field observations, interviews, documentary studies and Focus Group Discussion (FGD) (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994).[4] More than 20 people have been interviewed in the field research. The data collected were then analyzed using interactive descriptive models offered by Abdullah [5]. *First,*

[2] Luc Reychland, *Researcher Peace Building Architectur.* (Leuven: Centre for Peace Research and Strategic Studies, 2006), p. 7

[3] Biku Parekp. *Rethinking Multiculturalism, Keragaman Budaya dan Teori Politik.* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2008), p. 118

[4] N.K. Denzin dan YS. Lincoln, *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, (California: Sage Publication. 1994), p. 12

[5] Irwan Abdullah, *Handout Pengantar Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif.* (Yogyakar-

examining and reducing the data that have been collected in the research and thematically grouped according to topics of the main questions in the study. *Second*, displaying the data and examining the data connection to the external context, such as social environment, culture, economics, religion and even politics. *Third*, giving a final conclusion on the displayed data. Furthermore, these data are grouped based on the problems of research and described in writing, so as to produce a full understanding.

DISCOURSE THEORETICAL ARCHITECTURE OF PEACE

Luc Reychland (2006), discused the theory of architecture of peace in his book entitled " Researcher Building Peace Architecture". Reychland's study refers to post-conflict community life, which in the context of Ambon is contextual enough to be applied, especially on Reychland's four variables that determine whether a peace process has a chance to grow to a more positive trend.[6]

First, the function of the (effective) communication channel that enables the process of discussion, clarifications, and corrections to the dissemination of information or rumors that could potentially lead to tensions between conflicting groups. Formally, communication channels can be found in the form of citizen forums, village consultation meetings, and so forth that regularly bring together people from various circles. However, informal forums are also available through gathering places such as coffee shops, food stalls, and alternative media groups which could have a much more important role. To Reychland, peace is a situation that must be created, but the process of peace-building must take place within an inclusive communication system. In contrast, in other writings Reychland (1999) mentioned that peace that is built in an exclusive manner and controlled by hegemonic languages foster a fragile peace building[7].

Second, integrative their social environment that is psychologically capable of creating a climate that allows inter-group interaction in the community. Several social scientists such as Putman (1993) and Varsney (2003) referred to integrative social environment, as discussed by Reychland, as part of social capital that should exist in society. Putnam divided social capital into two forms, bonding and bridging. The former refers to the tendency of social groups to establish patterns of relations that are limited to one group identity, while the latter refers to the pattern of relations that connect different social

ta; Sekolah Pascasarjana UGM. 2007), 21-217

[6] Luc Reychland, *Researcher Peace Building Architectur.* (Leuven: Centre for Peace Research and Strategic Studies, 2006), p. 21-37

[7] Luc Reychland. *Democratic Peace-Building and Conflict Prevention: The Devil is in the Transition*, (Leuven; University Press, 1999) p. 24.

groups.[8] This is confirmed also by Varsney (2003) who formulated the same pattern of social relations which he called civic association, which is patterned with multi-ethnic relations, well-organized civic network or everyday civic network.[9]

Third, the community leaders support peace in adequate proportion (critical mass of leadeship). According Reychland public figures from various fields such as religious, political, economic, cultural, and media have an important role in maintaining peace. Maluku conflict generally indicates that the escalation of conflict into violence occurs because mass mobilization was driven by influential leaders, either personally or backed by those who have political-economic resources. Therefore, the presence of leaders supporting the peaceful situation with critical mass is essential to prevent the escalation of conflict. Critical mass according to Ahnaf (2013), refers to the strength of the influence of pro-peace leaders who are more powerful than than the those pro-conflict[10].

Fourth, the realization of socio-political structure that supports the realization of justice in society. Peaceful community has a stable political and economic situation. Therefore Reychland stressed the importance of economic and political transformation of the system to support the establishment of peace. Although this is the ideal situation with relative level of success, it is important to notice that a peaceful situation (in the sense of free from physical violence) will not last long without the creation of social structure, political and economic justice.

Basically, social systems imagined by Reychland (2009) through the pillars of peace that he described, intends to keep the social dynamics of the community in equilibrium, so that conflicts and social deviation in the community may continue to be controlled by a established social system.[11]

THE DIVIDED AMBON CITY

According to some writers, as put forward by Syafuan Rozi (2006), the Ambon conflict dramatically occurring throughout 1999 and 2004,[12] has resulted in

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[8] Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work.*(Princeton; 1993), p. 163-181.

[9] Asutosh Varshney, *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India.* (New Haven: Yale University, 2003).

[10] Mohammad Iqbal Ahnaf, *Mengelola Keragaman dari Bawah, Ko-Eksistensi Santri-Tionghoa di Lasem Kawa Tengap.* (Yogyakarta; Sekolah Pascasarjana UGM, 2013), p. 191

[11] George Ritzerdan Douglas J. Goodman. *Sociological Theory,* translated by Nurhadi, "*Teori Sosiologi; dari Teori Sosiologi Klasik Sampai Perkembangan Mutakhir Teori Sosial Moderen*". (Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2009), p. 258.

[12] Syafuan Rozi, et al. *Kekerasan Komunal; Anatomi dan Resolusi Konflik di Indonesia.* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar dan LIPI, 2006), p. 12

thousands of deaths, injuries, and destruction of various public facilities and people's homes. In addition, the impact of the conflict also resulted in the division of the Maluku people into two communities, namely Muslims and the Christians. People who had lived and settled in a village consisting of diverse ethnic, racial and religious groups were displaced and separated, and gathered together or fused with their respective communities. After Malino Agreement implementation in 2002, the city of Ambon has so far been slowly conducive, characterized by decreasing intensity of the conflict , weapon destruction, construction of public facilities and the return of refugees who had been displaced in various places (both in the city of Ambon and other areas outside the Maluku).

However, the refugees faced the reality of trauma and fear to return to their homes and meet neighbors of different religions. So, generally the refugees chose a new settlement with homogeneous population, as reported by Subakir et al (2008).[13] Christian refugees went back to the predominantly Christian settlements, as well as Muslim refugees who started to build their house in the settlements that are 100% Muslim. Most refugees initiated barter with those of different religion to acquire new homes in the settlement of the same religion. Muslim communities generally inhabit the areas in Waihaong, Silale and scattered Batumerah village whose inhabitants are increasingly crowded. Some houses had to be built on the slopes of mountains and hills with safety concern and damaging the environment and preservation of nature. Batu merah Village which is not big was forced to accept thousands of refugees looking for a new place to live in the Muslim village. Meanwhile, the Christian communities chose to live in the subdistrict of Nusaniwe, such as Latuhalat, Amahusu, Kudamati, Batu Gantung, Wainitu and Mangga Dua. Christian areas include Karang Panjang, Ahuru and several other places in the areas of Galala and Paso in the subdistrict of Baguala. In fact, the Christian area looks wider than that occupied by the Muslim community, but it still has crowded settlements.

Social segregation created sociologically is very worrying indeed. Settlements built on group identities which are homogeneous and exclusive are unhealthy and will easily give rise to suspicion and social problems that may lead to the conflict. The reason is no other group will serve as a catalyst for the issues of conflict and dispute that arise in the community. In fact, it is expected that in a neighborhood where residents have different religions, social integration would occur and the opportunity to protect each other is higher. Petter Blau and Schwartz (1984) mentioned the importance of heterogeneous situation to

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[13] Subair, et al. *Segregasi Pemukiman Berdasarkan Agama.* (Yogyakarta; Graha Guru, 2008), p. 73

strengthen the dual loyalty in civic life[14]. It is as a consequence of being in the same dwelling. Through heterogeneous relations, community members can maintain and protect each other.

At the beginning it was mentioned that the Ambon conflict presents an interesting dynamic, where the social system formed after the conflict tends to find a new pattern in the relations among the people. Slowly but surely, the people of Ambon (Muslim and Christian) try to find new forms of awareness about peace. That realization led to new forms that can be identified as an architectural model of peace formed in a divided society of the city. Starting with the economic pressures, people have to make personal contacts and groups in the economic centers such as the market, and then shift to offices and other public arenas. At the same time the awareness began to appear to strengthen the of harmony in the midst of differences. Society seeks to revitalize cultural symbols to find new values that can strengthen social equilibrium. Then public awareness came closer for them to be together and help each other. This section will elaborate the architectural forms of peace that comes as part of what was mentioned by Luc Reychland (2006) in his description of the architecture of peace.

DIALOG AS A MODEL OF INCLUSIVE COMMUNICATION

It seems that social segregation that is still strong, has raised a new awareness in the community to find ways to communicate with each other. Such communication takes the model of inclusive dialog, both to discuss shared interests and obviously looking for opportunities to learn from each other. The dialog process was pioneered by religious groups, civil society, the academic community and even political forces. Meanwhile, the youth community of various groups of hobbies and interests also began to promote peace movement, such as the phenomenon of peace journalism, pro-peace photographers, fans of hip-hop, etc. These groups are quite active in conducting dialog to create an active model of harmony.

Religious institutions in Ambon have increasingly facilitated intensive interfaith dialogs. Specifically, among the Maluku Protestant Church, which officially made the concepts of inter-religious dialog as part of religious services.[15] Education and training curriculum for Christian priests in Maluku, began offering intensive study on inter-religious dialog: Islam and Christianity.

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[14] See research by Peter Michael Blau dan Joseph E. Schwartz,*Crosscutting Social Circles: Testing a Macrostructural Theory of Interrelation*(Orlando: Academic Press. 1984)

[15] Interview with Rev Jecky Manuputy. Ambon, 19 September 2015.

No longer a study of comparative religion containing a slightly apologetic perspective.

The strength of civil society that flourished in post-conflict period, also appears as a force which campaigns for the active model of harmony, as shown by a number of theologians and activists who joined the agency EL-AI-EM. Since 2005 a number of activists of the institution have been focusing on consolidating public dialog related to various social problems, including religious theological issues. Holding a public dialog to build mutual perception of some contemporary issues rolling in everyday public discourse in Ambon city, such as HIV / AIDS, corruption and waste management. In addition, it also conducted a limited variety of interfaith meetings, to examine and map the development of the security situation from time to time. Activist of the El-AI-EM, Wakano Abidin said that the efforts to establish a dialog is a way to grow the characters, tolerant and religious life in Ambon as part of an active harmony[16].

The participation of people from different groups of religion in religious events such as the MTQ (Qur'an Recital Festival), *Pesparawi* and participation in securing houses of worship during the Muslim holiday and Christmas is a real form of active harmony. The community members are not only willing to respect differences, but also engage in concrete action to institutionalize the values of harmony as a way to build a tolerant life together.

THE EMERGENCE OF LOCAL PEOPLE " PEACE PROVOCATEURS "

There are a number of elites in society who became patrons and leaders who are respected and followed by society, as pointed out by Eisenstadt &Roniger (1984).[17] Therefore Reychland (2006) looked at the important role of local elites as a decisive variable in maintaining peace [18]. In other words, the presence of actors for peace consisting of elites Ambonese will increasingly be enlightening in proportion to increasingly being critical mass of leadership which is an essential part of describing the architecture of peace in Ambon city today.

Local leaders who act as 'provocateurs' of peace can be found in two groups, formal and informal leaders. Formal leaders usually are powerful figures in the world of politics and government, holding certain formal positions.

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[16] Interview with Abidin Wakano, Ambon, 28 August 2015

[17] Eisenstadt, S. N and L. Roniger, *Patrons, Clients and Friends;Interpersonal Relations and the Structure of Trust in Society*(Cambridge University press London, 1984)

[18] Luc Reychland, *Researcher Peace Building Architectur.* (Leuven: Centre for Peace Research and Strategic Studies, 2006), p. 21-37

However, this does not limit them playing an important role in promoting peace. Meanwhile, the informal leaders are community leaders who lead traditional and religious institutions.

During the conflict in Maluku, many public figures, especially informal leaders, became sponsors of war and unrest. They became highly respected figures because they led 'battle' and assistance posts on behalf of ethnic groups. These leaders mobilized people in the conflict, and became leaders in the field. The presents of such informal leaders caused imbalance in the ratio between pro-conflict and pro-peace figures, so the efforts to strengthen peace froze. However, after the conflict was over, an interesting phenomenon occurred; informal leaders of pro-conflict successfully returned to their village of origin, gave room for the emergence of pro-peace figures, especially those coming from customary and religious leadership.

Indigenous leaders who are referred to here are the "kings" who lead the customary "lands" (villages) in Ambon city, such as the Batu Merah King, Soya King and Passo King, and Galala King. After the conflict, these appeared as a local leaders of the pro-peace. They strived to offer local knowledge as part of the social capital of peace in Ambon City. They took the initiative to revitalize the concept of local fraternity such as Pela and Gandong to be more contextual and actual regarding social changes in the post-conflict period. This has been manifested in the *panas pela* inter-village rituals which were performed systematically after the conflict.

The cultural approach is one of creative options to encourage a peace process that contain transformative values for local communities in Ambon. For example, promoting a return to the spirit of *Pela* and *Gandong* among the younger generations through educational practices in schools such as in the activities of *angkat pela antar-sekolah* (promote pela between schools) or *angkat pela antar kampus* (promote pela between campuses) initiated by a number of schools and universities in Ambon last year. These activities aimed to introduce the values of local wisdom to the younger generation since early age, as well as to strengthen brotherhood among the students. Even in practical terms, it also serves as a school social capital to prevent possible conflicts between students (brawl).

 Meanwhile, the role of religious leaders in Ambon city also cannot be ignored, either from Islamic circles that joined MUI or leaders in the Protestant Church of Maluku. Generally they start to improve

dialog and mutual understanding and build new concepts to achieve tolerance between Islam and Christianity. Chairman of the Christian Moluccan Protestant Church, Jhon Ruhulesin, Rev Jecky Manuputty, Rev Lies Marantika, etc. The leaders who led the Church began to adopt the message of peace in the sermons material and church activities. They sometimes also ask for input and views of Muslim leaders to the strategic policies of the church.

The most prominent Muslim groups are youth groups led by figures such as Abidin Wakano and youth leaders in Waehaong and Negeri Batu Merah. According to Abidin Wakano, some Islamic leaders also began to develop the idea of the need to build unity for a better life together. However, there are several obstacles related to the quantity, structure of the Islamic religious organizations that are still rigid and controlled by elders who still tend to be conservative and it poses an obstacle to the peace process.

Meanwhile, academics in higher educational institutions such as IAIN, STAKPEN and UKIM also had a role in the search for academic concepts and ideas to support the fragile peace in Maluku. Good relations between local elites will make an important contribution to strengthening peace architecture. They indirectly establish peace in the configuration of the social network in Ambon.

THE EXISTENCE OF PUBLIC ARENA AND SOCIAL ASSIMILATION

Other efforts to bridge the social segregation are to build an integrated social climate in the community. It is in fact difficult, because as discussed earlier, the conflict has divided the people of Ambon city in settlements separated by religion. So, to build social integration as understood in the structural-functional paradigm, is not easy. Putnam (1993) argued that a possible step is to build a 'bridge' in the split society. A free public arena can also serve as an assimilating bridge.

Public arenas that have an important role in Ambon the the market, offices, schools and centers of the informal meeting of residents in the form of a coffee shop that naturally strengthen the structure of growing peace. At this moment, there are more than 112 new coffee shops in Ambon. Coffee shops such as Lela Coffee Shop, Sibu-Sibu, Joas, and Hatukau are favorite and always crowded with people of all walks of life in Ambon city from morning to evening. In these coffee Shops, the residents of Ambon both from Christian and Muslim communities as well as other ethnic groups and social status

meet, just hanging out with colleagues, having business talks, or even lobbying political deal among local politicians. In local elections, for example, the elections of Governor and Mayor, the Declaration of peace often takes place at coffee shops.

This phenomenon above indicates the strengthening of public arena as a place of encounter for diverse social and political groups, and therefore should be maintained and enhanced. In many places the division of public arena based on communal identity plays an important role in the formation of mutual suspicion and hatred. This is because the distance or the demarcation of space restricts communication between different ethnic and religious groups. Without communication space that allows corrections and clarifications on negative information or knowledge on the other, the seeds of hostility can easily grow back and develop into communal clash. However, it is increasingly difficult to develop in Ambon, as it is now naturally clarified in intensified interaction in public arena.

TRANSFORMATION OF ACCOMMODATIVE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SYSTEM

Another thing offered by Reychland (2006) to see the architectural context of peace is an attempt to build the economic structure that empowers all groups of society, particularly local communities in Ambon that have been marginalized by a hegemonic economic structure. The transformation of the political economy in question here is the extent to which the local economic and political structures in Ambon has undergone substantial change of conditions before and during the conflict to a new order of awareness and open spaces of participation and legitimacy to all groups in Ambon.

As far as what can be observed, it seems that what mentioned above is still difficult to go through radical changes, because the system of informal economy in Ambon city is still dominated by immigrants from Bugis, Makasar, Buton and Sumetara. The group is still the dominant traders in the local economic activities. Bugis and Makassar dominate the textile market, while goods of basic necessities are still likely controlled by Buton merchants and the restaurant sector is still under control of people from West Sumatra (Padang). Ambonese who want to enter into the economic activities mentioned are very few.

However, there has been a shift in views among the native Ambonese. They are interested in engaging in informal economic activities, although the number is still lacking. Even the Christian communities of Ambon are slowly willing to be involved in non-formal economic activities. They began to engage in

trading activities in local markets such as in Mardika and Batu Merah. They offered a variety of local snacks, fish and a variety of vegetables and fruit harvested from their farm or collected from Butonese farmers around Ambon.

The awareness to improve work ethic and leave the *ambtenar* mentality behind apparently grew more in socio-economic practices in Ambom city today. Even admirably local communities in Ambon also started to work various jobs which in the past had been taboo to do. For example, working as pedicab driver was regarded as a low class job that had been done by groups of migrants from Bugis and Buton. Currently many native ambonese are found on the main streets in the city offering pedicab ride, motorcycle taxi and city transportaion.

The context of systematic changes in local politics is shown by the growing political consensus to create a distribution of political power that involves all parties. Local consensus in Ambon always demands politicians of different faiths to share a role in political offices and local bureaucracy. Top jobs as mayor and deputy mayor for example are always assumed by political figures of different religions, such as the current mayor is held by Richard Louhanapesy (Christian) and Syam Latuconsina (Muslim). Besides filling positions in the bureaucracy, more aspects of balance are considered based on religious distribution. The point is political consensus about the balance based on religion, driving the transformation of politics, so that it is not hegemonic and only de facto controlled by one particular religious group. It also aims to eliminte political jealousy which can trigger antagonism and conflict within society. As discussed above that one of the roots of the conflict in Maluku is the fact that the political power struggle that used religious setting.

CAMPAIGN OF PLURALISM AND MULTICULTURALISM

Pluralism and multiculturalism are basically two new discourses emerging in response to various conflicts in the name of religious, ethnic and interest groups that occurred in the past decade. Pluralism and multiculturalism are basically not only related to the diversity of religions, ethnicities and cultures, but also related to equality. The emergence of pluralism based on the effort to eliminate the truth claim which often leads to a process of getting rid of the other group. In the context of Ambon today, attempts to bring pluralism and multiculturalism as a conceptual framework for building peace in the city has also been increasingly done by various institutions, such as NGOs, religious institutions and colleges. Such institutions are trying to internalize the discourse of pluralism and multiculturalism both in the context of academic and practical terms in the local people's life. They make it as a campaign

theme, religious slogan, a vision of institution or cultural conversations in public arenas and, of course, in the academic world. There is even a university formally adopting both of the concepts as part of the institution's vision and mission.

Pluralism is demonstratively used by Malaku Protestant Church (GPM) in framing religious dialogs. Pluralism is usually paired with the practices of local wisdom such as *Pela* and *Gandong*. When celebrating its 80th anniversary in 2015, the GPM's main theme was pluralism as outlined in the text of the church and public campaign.[19] The discourse of pluralism is considered as the extraction of the experience of protracted conflict. Lis Marantika of Maluku Protestant Church (GPM) said that promoting pluralism at the Maluku Protestant Church is in line with the spirit of the brotherhood in our sacred religious and moral messages[20]. What Lis Marantika said certainly supports empirical justification if one looks at the whole process of the transformation of post-conflict Maluku Protestant Church which significantly continues the program to encourage an understanding of pluralist religious practice in Maluku. For GPM leaders, Ambon and Maluku society can set pluralism as a new narrative to glue themselves in diversity. And the process is done through egalitarian dialog, and the revitalization of the values of local wisdom in Maluku that is progressive and contextual in the interpretation of the scripture texts. In line with the Church, a Christian college[21], Maluku Christian University (UKIM), is also doing campaigns of being a "Campus of Brotherhood", which according to its president is a campus that will provide knowledge to all students regardless of religion and ethnicity[22].

Meanwhile, the Muslims continue to campaign on the concept of multiculturalism as a social discourse to express the spirit of brotherhood. Even the State Institute of Islamic Studies (IAIN) Ambon incorporates multiculturalism as the primary vision and a central theme that frames the entire academic activities. Multiculturalism has been adopted in the academic curriculum of all study programs, student activities and other academic activities. As part of the implementation of the vision of multiculturalism, in 2015 a number of students from the Department of Sociology of Religion IAIN Ambon sent interns to the Maluku Protestant Church (GPM). The internship at the church is one of the important breakthrough by any IAIN in building students' understanding and knowledge of diversity and difference.

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[19] *Term of reference(TOR)* of the these for 80th anniversary of GPM Maluku held at Dobo Aru Islands, September 2015.

[20] Interview with Rev Lis Marantika. Dobo, 3 September 2015.

[21] As to compare, Syahmidi (2014) also reported that education of multiculturalism is also condected by a Chatolic school in Palangka Raya to promote multicultural education.

[22] Interview with Agustinus Batlajery. Ambon, 11 September 2015

By learning the difference directly (by experiance), students are expected to have an attitude and character that respects differences and can be friendly to other groups who have different beliefs. As a form of multicultural practice, in 2015 and for the first time in the history of the college, IAIN Ambon admitted Christian students. According to Dr. Subair who is also Chairman of the Department of Sociology of Religion at IAIN Ambon, academic activities to foster a multicultural insights will be increased. It has even been planned for 2016, and will encourage student exchange programs between STAKPEN and IAIN Ambon. The program is to send students to follow the lectures in the curriculum where there are similarities between IAIN Ambon and STAKPEN Ambon

After a decade of conflict in Maluku, it appears that the architectural concept of peace as envisioned by Luc Reychland (2006) has been created gradually and naturally. This increases the trust between citizens. Trust has allowed different and segregated groups in society to be no longer involved in acts of violence or to attack each other based on religious motives. Criminal occurrences will not be easy to trigger communal violence anymore.

In the context of substantive peace architecture, it certainly does not deny the existence of conflict and tension as a social phenomenon present in society. But as is the case in a democratic society, conflict simply serves as a form of social dynamics. A good social system would be able to keep competition and contestation from leading to destructive conflict. Future developments will be neutralized through the structures of peace that has been created in the community. As discussed in this study, the architecture of peace in question is inclusive communication systems, media blending, pro-peace local leaders and socio-political and economic structures that are accommodating and fair for everyone. These are the peaceful social developments in the city of Ambon, although everyone should always be aware of the potential conflict.

CHALLENGES OF RELIGIOUS RADICALISM AND POLITICAL IDENTITY

Although this article has shown various positive developments on peace in Ambon city and new values attached to them, along with that there are still some potential conflicts that need to be watched , particularly related to the threat of religious radicalism and practices of political identity.

Among Islamic circles, radicalism network still has institutionalized cultural roots since the conflict occurred. Movements built by radical groups such as Laskar Jihad and Mujahideen still leave bases of

inherited cultural religious worldview that tends to be exclusive.[23] These groups were born of the ex-combatants who did not return to their home. They settled in Ambon and built new religious movements and groups different from the religious movement that existed during the conflict. According to the records of National Counter Terrorism Agency (BNPT), this movement call itself *salafi* that simply cannot be categorized as a terrorist movement, but in the long run, if not handled with care, it will lead to a radical exclusivism which is hard and rigid[24].

Although not too prominent, in Christian circles there are also religious groups that have a religious view which tends to be exclusive as well. They display the Christian understanding which is likely to be different to the one developed by the Maluku Protestant Church. Exclusive Christian groups tend to be aggressive and are considered less tolerant. Yance Z. Rumahuru said that this group comes from the radical Charismatic and Pentecostal Christian Church that are usually aggressive in their mission[25]. The pretext is looking for the lost sheep in Maluku. In fact, sometimes they also denominate other Christians who are not like-minded. However it seems that this group is not dominant, so their religious views are less thriving in religious discourse in Maluku.

In addition to religious radicalism, another challenge that needs to be watched is the phenomenon of identity politics. Identity politics is basically a part of the efforts of ethnic, religious communities, and cultures to be accommodated in the local political system. But it's worrisome when displayed in Ambon which is recovering from the wounds of conflict. The phenomenon of identity politics can bring back religious and ethnic sentiments easily leading to violent mobilization. Patterns operationalization of identity politics can be encountered in the reality as what happened in the community indicated by the number of conflicts of interest and the phenomenon of sectoral ego in Ambon, among others: first, identity politics is shown by the rampant issue of ethnicity and symptoms primordialism promoted through religious issues and ethnicity in important moments such as local elections and legislative elections. Similarly, native and immigrant ethnic issues also contain majority and minority sentiments. Second,

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[23] See tulisan Eko Prasetyo, *Memahami Wajah Para Pembela Agama,Potret Gerakan Islam dalam Pusaran Arus Global.* (Yogyakarta: Insist,2002).

[24] Laporan BNPT dan Policy Brief, *Memperkuat Inisiatif Islam Moderat dan Mendorong Peran Gerakan Salafi tentang Isu Anti-Terorisme di Maluku.* TT,

[25] Interview with Yance Z. Rumahuru. Ambon, September 2015

in the context of identity politics Maluku, it also uses the religious 'expression' that contains the tendency of "geting rid" of other groups who are considered minorities.

Based on both of the operationalization patterns, identity politics seems likely to distort the inclusive religious insight being built in Malukue especially in the last decade, and efforts to increase the political role of local groups in Ambon city continue to take a political identity setting.[26] Local elections have teased elite and political actors to consolidate political interests in the name of religion and ethnicity that is actually quite dangerous for peace building.

CONCLUSION

This study indicates that although there are still many problems related to the construction of peace, current social dynamics give hope that the architecture for peace is intensifying in the city of Ambon. In connection with these dynamics, there are some records that can be used as an important conclusion. First, the process of peace building in the city of Ambon has been going on in a participatory manner in various walks of social life, politics, economy and culture. Second, in the perspective of peace architecture imagined by Reychland, the peace in the city of Ambon has a good potential to develop into a structure potential of getting stronger in the future. It is characterized by the strengthening of the models of increasingly inclusive social dialog and communication between people especially those initiated by religious institutions, civil society and traditional institutions. The development of new public arenas such as markets and coffee shops are also becoming increasingly important assimilation media to bring together people from various religious groups in the city of Ambon. Meanwhile, the emergence of peace leaders from both Muslims and Christians who campaign on the values of brotherhood and peace has become a positive example for the people to make peace with those of different religions and cultures.

Third, this study also warns that although the architecture of peace in Ambon is getting stronger and evolves to a more positive trend, the people of Ambon should be wary of the growth of radical religious ideologies that to a certain extent still exist in public life both among Muslims and Christians. At the

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[26] Dirk Tomsa, *Electoral Democracy in Devided Society; The 2008 Gubernatorial Election in Maluku, Indonesia.* Journal of *South East Asia Research*, 17, 2, pp 229–259, 2008.

same time, the charm of identity politics that emerged in the local political momentum such as general elections and local elections must also be addressed with caution, because it can indirectly bear primordial and ethnocentric attitudes that are harmful to the development of peace in the future.

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