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DAFTAR ISI

THE AMBIGUITY OF PEACE NARRATIVES IN RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES OF WEST KALIMANTAN

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Abstract

A lot of conflicts have occurred in West Kalimantan, and the latest was the anarchic treatment of the Ahmadiyya and the Gafatar. This study seeks to explain the ambiguity of peace narratives in a plural society in West Kalimantan, and to find out the community's response to such conflicts. This study is qualitative-descriptive research which was conducted through collecting observational data, making documentation, and doing literature studies, analyzing data using data display, reducing data and drawing conclusions. The results of this study showed that West Kalimantan is known for its plural society and for voicing for peace, but there are still various conflicts in the form of anarchy in religious communities. This study concluded that the response of the people of West Kalimantan is relatively different; some see conflict positively especially those who have interests in it, and negatively especially those who feel disadvantaged. The ambiguity of peace narratives can be seen when individual or group interests are the main consideration in peace-building. The advocated peace is merely an empty discourse in a plural society that is unable to manage conflict. The ambiguity of peace narratives, which is still rife with conflicts from religious anarchy, is caused by the religious leaders, the government and the religious communities not working together to build peace.

Keywords: *Ambiguity, Peace, Religion.*

Samsul Hidayat & Sulaiman

Abstrak

Berbagai konflik yang terjadi di Kalimantan Barat yang terakhir bentuk perlakukan yang anarkis terhadap kelompok Ahmadiyah dan Gafatar. Penelitian ini menjelaskan tentang keambiguan narasi perdamaian di tengah masyarakat majemuk di Kalimantan Barat. Serta melihat respon masyarakat terhadap konflik-konflik yang terjadi pada masyarakat majemuk di Kalimantan Barat. Penelitian ini termasuk ke dalam klister kualitatif-diskriptif dengan cara pengumpulan data observasi, dokumentasi, serta kajian-kajian pustaka, analisis data menggunakan display data, reduksi data dan menarik kesimpulan. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukan bahwa Kalimantan Barat terkenal dengan mayarakat yang majemuk dan mensuarakan perdamaian akan tetapi masih ada berbagai konflik yang berbentuk keanarkisan masyarakat beragama. Kesimpulan penelitian ini bahwa respon masyarakat Kalimantan Barat sangat relatif, ada yang melihat konflik secara positif bagi yang mempunyai kepentingan dan berbentuk negatif bagi yang merasa dirugikan. Keambiguan narasi perdamaian nampak ketika kepentingan individu atau kelompok menjadi pertimbangan utama dalam merajut perdamaian. Perdamaian yang dijunjung tinggi hanya isu belaka dalam masyarakat majemuk yang tidak mampu mengelola konflik. Kembiguan narasi perdamain yang masih maraknya terjadi konflik dari keanarkisan umat beragama, hal ini disebabkan oleh para tokoh agama, pemerintah dan umat beragama tidak bergandengan untuk merajut perdamaian.

Kata Kunci: *Ambiguitas, Perdamaian, Agama.*

Introduction

The peace narrative that is always voiced by religious people is an effort to build peace, especially in a plural society.[1] However, the pretext for peace-building in the name of religion actually occurs the other way around; it is the religious factor that triggers conflict.[2] The use of religious issues has caused conflicts in plural society, such as in Sintang and Mempawah, West Kalimantan, particularly in the cases of the Ahmadiyah and Gafatar groups. The Ahmadiyya and Gafatar are believed by the local Islamic community to be heretical groups and their existence and development must be prevented.

The issues of conflict in recent decades have contributed to the development of a nation based on religious freedom. Tensions within and between religious groups have tinted the issues of religious conflict which are still widely-discussed today. Religious conflict

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[1] See Roni Ismail, "Islam dan Damai (Kajian atas Pluralisme Agama dalam Islam)", *Religi,* Vol. 9, No. 1, 2013, p. 38-49; Roni Ismail, "Rahmat Islam bagi Semua", *Suara Muhammadiyah*, No. 03 Th. ke-93, Februari 2008; Roni Ismail, "Hakikat Monoteisme Islam (Kajian atas Konsep Tauhid *Laa Ilaaha Illallah*), *Religi,* Vol. X, No. 2, Juli 2014; Roni Ismail, "Menggagas Sebuah *Peace Theology* (Perspektif Islam dan Kristen", dalam Roni Ismail (ed.), *Antologi Studi Agama,* (Yogyakarta: Jurusan Perbandingan Agama, 2012).

[2] Michael Alexander, "An Explanation of Religion-Based Violence and an Attempt to Move Beyond It," GENEVA: Journal of Theology and Mission 17, No. 2 (2019): 115–38, https://www.sttiaa.ac.id/e-journal/index.php/geneva/article/view/16%0Ahttps://www.sttiaa.ac.id/e-journal/index.php/geneva/article/viewFile/16/18. See also, Roni Ismail, "Konsep Toleransi dalam Psikologi Agama (Tinjauan Kematangan Beragama)", *Religi: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama,* Vol. 8, No. 1, 2012.

has somehow become a parasite for peace-building because religious communities feel that they are the most righteous and therefore it is difficult for peace to occur in a multi-religious society. In recent decades many conflicts in the name of religion have occurred, such as anti-witchcraft campaigns in Java and conflicts between religious groups in Sulawesi and Maluku in 1998-2001,[3] as well as the conflict between Ahmadiyah or Gafatar and the local community some time ago that occurred in West Kalimantan. This proves that the plurality of religious communities is a reason for conflicts to occur because of religious justification.

Numerous conflicts that have occurred in Indonesia pose a huge challenge for the government and religious leaders who play a role in building peace with the state. As a plural nation, we generally experience conflicts as part of the country's development towards maturity. Conflicts often occur at the time of change of government in Indonesia.[4] All circles of society are involved in it, even religious leaders, and hence the justification for religious communities to achieve what is expected. Such justification causes conflicts in the name of religion to occur even though it could only be limited to defending certain interests.

West Kalimantan is known for having a history of ethnic and religious conflicts,[5] which has affected complex dynamics of the people in this province, such as people's cognition, psychology and contextual dynamics that have further affected the economy.[6] The effects are very clear in the aftermath of the conflicts, such as the destruction of infrastructure, instability of social order, etc.[7] Religious conflict has a major impact on the progress of a plural society because it stems from interests in the name of religion.[8] The issues of religious conflict have become a hot topic in the discussion of religious communities. This is in part caused by religious and cultural pluralism. A plural society consists of groups that work together in one area. However, they are separated by their respective social cultures. A plural society can be seen from two ways, namely; cultural and social aspects. In terms of culture, it can be seen from genetic and social views of class, institutions, etc.[9] This can be a benchmark in seeing the diversity of society in the environment. Plural society affects social relations between religious communities both from a social and cultural points of

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[3] Mohammad Takdir, Identifikasi Pola-Pola Konflik Agama dan Sosial (Studi Kasus Kekerasan Berbasis Sektarian dan Komunal di Indonesia), RI'AYAH, Vol. 02, No. 01, 2017. p 46

[4] Andre Pebrian Perdana, Kekerasan Atas Nama Agama: Perspektif Politik. Jurnal Tapis: Teropong Aspirasi Politik Islam 17 (1) 2021. p 85. See also, Roni Ismail, "Resolusi Konflik Keagamaan Integratif: Studi atas Resolusi Konflik Keagamaan Ambon", *Living Islam,* Vol. 3, No. 2, 2020, p. 451-469; Roni Ismail, dkk. "Resolusi Konflik Keagamaan berbasis Kearifan Lokal: Studi atas Pela Gandong di Ambon", *Living Islam,* Vol. 5, No. 1, 2022, p. 93-108.

[5] Sujarwoto, "'Geography and Communal Conflict in Indonesia,'" *Indonesian Journal of Geography,* 49, no. 1 (2017), p. 89–9 (2017): 89–96.

[6] Elyta Elyta, "Penanganan Konflik Melalui Keamanan Di Kalimantan Barat Indonesia," *Jurnal Politik Profetik* 9, No. 2 (2021): 1–15, https://doi.org/10.24252/profetik.v9i2a9.

[7] Wiwin Agustian and Katon Nugroho, "Analisis Dampak Negatif Dari Terjadinya Konflik Antar Karyawan Pada Asuransi Jiwa Bersama Bumi Putera 1912 Kota Palembang," *Jibm* 3, No. 2 (2020): 122–33.

[8] Sigit Kusrahmadi Dwi, "Pendidikan Agama Dalam Masyarakat Majemuk," 2008.

[9] Yulia Citra dan Lenda Dabora JF. Sagala. 2016. *Penginjilan dan Pendidikan Agama Kristen dalam Masyarakat Majemuk.* Ungaran: Sekolah Tinggi Teologia Simpson. p. 81.

view. In fact, such pluralism is enriched by local wisdom which develops and persists in society. Therefore, undeniably the people of Sintang and Mempawah can live side by side despite having a plural society, but unfortunately at the same time pluralism actually triggers conflict in society.

John Sydenham Furnivall argues that Indonesian society is plural, that is, a value system it adheres to in part results in a lack of loyalty to a society that lacks harmony.[10] This has been a prevailing condition in West Kalimantan for the community to unite for a common goal because of justification in religion which leads to horizontal conflict in society. The progress of the people of West Kalimantan can be seen when there is contestation in the Regional Head Elections which refer to community groups through religious and ethnic leaders and even cultural figures. These interests have become hot topics in recent studies that view the community from the perspectives of the issues of conflict, whose domain should be properly addressed, even though today the conflicts are still viewed negatively.[11] This is the topic that this paper will discuss in order to offer solutions to dealing with the conflict issues.

Studies on conflicts in West Kalimantan have been done by among others, Elyta, entitled *Conflict Management through Security in West Kalimantan*;[12] Zakiyah, entitled *Muslim Scholars and Discourse on Ethnic Conflicts in West Kalimantan*;[13] Arkanudin, entitled *Tracing the Roots of Inter-ethnic Conflicts in West Kalimantan*;[14] A. Muchaddam Fahham, entitled *The Role of Religious Leaders in Handling Social Conflict in Sambas Regency, West Kalimantan*;[15] The conclusions drawn from the above studies are among others: 1) the conflicts were caused by economic factors; 2) conflict could be resolved through local community's wisdom; 3) Scholars became a sector in conflict studies; 4) conflicts were caused by socio-cultural differences; 5) involvement of religious leaders in conflict resolution; 6) the conflicts have not been resolved by religious leaders and the government to date.

In light of the above discussion about what has happened for several decades and a lot of studies on it have been carried out by researchers, this research has several problem formulations, namely: first, how do religious communities respond to issues of conflict that occur in the people of West Kalimantan? Second, how is the ambiguity of the religious peace narrative that occurs in a plural society in West Kalimantan?

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[10] Megawati Manullang, Misi Dalam Masyarakat Majemuk. Jurnal Teologi Cultivation 3 (2). 2019 p. 50

[11] Ricksen Sonora Roffies, Yohanes Bahari, and Fatmawati Fatmawati, "INTEGRASI SOSIAL MASYARAKAT MULTIETNIS DALAM PERSPEKTIF" 2, No. 2 (2019): 327–36.

[12] Elyta, "Penanganan Konflik Melalui Keamanan Di Kalimantan Barat Indonesia."

[13] Zakiyah Zakiyah, "Cendekiawan Muslim Dan Wacana Konflik Etnis Di Kalimantan Barat," *Panangkaran: Jurnal Penelitian Agama Dan Masyarakat* 1, No. 2 (2017): 1–23, https://doi.org/10.14421/panangkaran.2017.0102-01.

[14] Arkanudin Arkanudin, "Menelusuri Akar Konflik Antaretnik Di Kalimantan Barat," *Mediator* 7, No. 2 (2006): 185–94.

[15] A. Muchaddam Fahham, "Peran Tokoh Agama Dalam Penanganan Konflik Sosial," *Kajian* 15, No. 2 (2010): 311–41.

Literature Review

Ambiguity is a word that has a double meaning. Ambiguity easily causes doubt and difficult for others to understand. Its emergence is due to culture and because of the wrong sentence structure and the use of words that have polysemous characteristics.[16] Ambiguity in religion has been widely examined by scholars such as: M. Syafi'ie who conducted research on *Ambiguity of the Right to Religious Freedom in Indonesia and Its Position After the Constitutional Court Decision*.[17] Michael Alexander, *Peace and Reconciliation: An Explanation of Religion-Based Violence and Efforts to Get Over It*.[18] Sulanam, '*A COMMON WORD' as a Muslim-Christian Point of Understanding*.[19] M. Fachrurrozi and Siti Nur Ami'in, *The Epistemological Crisis of Islamic Boarding Schools in the Study of Religious Pluralism*.[20] Wasisto Raharjo Jati, *Local Wisdom as a Resolution of Religious Conflicts*.[21]

The following conclusions can be drawn from previous studies: 1) the right to religious freedom amid the applicable laws; 2) religion which basically teaches peace and justice but it also becomes a sector of violence in society; 3) religious dialogue can basically build peace, but being closed to dialog will create prejudice that leads to conflict; 4) the crisis of the study of pluralism which tarnishes its point of view and the classical mindset towards the differences that exist in Islamic boarding schools; 5) local wisdom can reduce conflict and provide an understanding to people in conflict, either religious or ethnic conflict, but different socio-culture causes conflicts and it continues to occur and take root.

The above description explains ambiguity in the difference between the previous studies and the current research. Previous studies shed light on efforts to create peace originating from conflict, but current research discusses the concept of peace which is always voiced by the government, religious leaders and society but it still occurs in the form of violence so that the narrative of peace becomes ambiguous. Religious leaders, the government and society must cooperate in building peace in the domain of religion and ethnicity.

Findings and Discussion

West Kalimantan is a province in Indonesia that is rich in differences, especially in terms of religion, culture and ethnicity, so it is classified as a plural society.[22] The issues of conflict in

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[16] L. Ben Crane, Edward Yeager, and Randal L. Whitman, *An Introduction to Linguistics* (USA: Harcourt Brace College, 1981). 164

[17] M. Syafi'ie, "Ambiguitas Hak Kebebasan Beragama Di Indonesia Dan Posisinya Pasca Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi," Jurnal Konstitusi 8, No. 5 (2016): 675, https://doi.org/10.31078/jk853.

[18] Alexander, "Sebuah Eksplanasi Kekerasan Berbasis Agama Dan Upaya Melampauinya."

[19] Sulanam Sulanam, "'A COMMON WORD': Sebagai Titik Kesepahaman Muslim – Kristen," *TOLERANSI: Media Ilmiah Komunikasi Umat Beragama* 11, No. 1 (2019): 1–14, https://doi.org/10.24014/trs.v11i1.8287.

[20] Fachrur Rozie and Siti Nur Ami'in, "Krisis Epistemologis Pesantren Dalam Kajian Pluralisme Agama," *Islamic Review: Jurnal Riset Dan Kajian Keislaman* 10, No. 1 (2021): 39–58, https://doi.org/10.35878/islamicreview.v10i1.274.

[21] Wasisto Raharjo Jati, "Kearifan Lokal Sebagai Resolusi Konflik Keagamaan," *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 21, No. 2 (2013): 1–24, https://doi.org/10.21580/ws.2013.21.2.251.

[22] S. Husin. Ali, *Rakyat Melayu:Nasib Dan Masa Depannya.* (Jakarta: PT Inti Sarana Aksara., 1985).

West Kalimantan have been under discussion for quite a long time. In several decades from 1996 to 2021 there were inter-ethnic conflicts, such as between ethnic Madurese and ethnic Dayak, ethnic Malay and ethnic Dayak, ethnic Madurese and ethnic Malay.[23] In addition to ethnic issues, the conflicts also had an impact on the economic sector, leaving a trauma on the people in conflict. Conflicts occur despite the efforts made to build peace, such as what happened to the Ahmadiyah and the Gafatar who often receive physical violence from the local community. The government and religious leaders are expected to be able to facilitate and mediate the disputing parties by prioritizing legal and religious aspects, so that physical conflicts can be prevented and will not become a spectacle for the public.

Figure 1. Violent conflict against the Gafatar di West Kalimantan

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[23] Suheri Harahap, "Konflik Etnis Dan Agama Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Ilmiah Sosiologi Agama (Jisa)* 1, no. 2 (2018): 26–45, https://doi.org/10.30829/jisa.v1i2.5096.

Figure 2. Violent conflict against the Ahmadiyya di West Kalimantan

Community's Response to Conflict Issues

The response of religious communities to the conflicts is that these conflicts are a taboo for them. This is because people in conflict demand justice or feel disadvantaged and hope to build peace. Various things have become the objects of study on the issues of conflict that occur in society. Some people support conflict because they have certain interests, and some reject it because they have nothing to gain from it. Conflicts in a plural society are very complex and require specific resolutions.

Religious communities in West Kalimantan have various cultures, rituals and religious symbols as this province has a plural and heterogeneous society.[24] In social interaction, conflict is inseparable from a plural society, because pluralism will create rifts that are clearly visible in the community. It receives various responses from both religious leaders and ordinary people. The problem of conflict which has always been a hot issue in religious communities has somehow 'forced' the community to find ways of managing conflict, both within and between religious groups.

The issue of conflict in West Kalimantan is not only concerned with the ethnicity, but it has begun to penetrate the religious realm. Religious pluralism is the reason for the conflict. Kimball describes five signs to watch out for because they carry the potential for violence in the name of religion. The five signs include claims of absolute religious truth, obedience without critical reasoning, setting 'ideal' times, justifying any means to achieve

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[24] Elyta, "Penanganan Konflik Melalui Keamanan Di Kalimantan Barat Indonesia."

religious goals in the public sphere, and declarations of holy war.[25] It is clear that the five signs described by Kimball form a logical thing in a plural society. It all begins with a claim for truth that creates panic in religion which is carried over to the social domain so that conflict is inevitable. Afterall, certain interests in the name of religion also justify all means.

The issues of conflict in West Kalimantan should be thoroughly addressed by the government, especially religious leaders, in order to build sustainable peace. So far, many things have been done by the government and religious leaders united in the Forum for Religious Harmony (FKUB) for the purpose of peace-building, such as holding a national seminar on how to prevent terrorism as part of anti-conflict efforts made by religious leaders in West Kalimantan. However, this is merely in the form of an effort to give people hope for peace.[26] In fact, it does not affect religious communities particularly those who are hardliners claiming of religious truth.

The community members' response to the conflict depends on their own interests. Some are merely spectators and some take part in the conflict depending on who they look up to and what is instructed to them, especially if they see that it does not conflict with existing local wisdom, they will respond to it quickly.[27] This causes ambiguity for peace-building, especially in the context of religious freedom.[28] When people see a new religion that is different from what already exists, it will get a negative response and even anarchy.[29]

Ambiguity of Peace Issues

Peace is the hope of all religious people so that conflicts do not occur. However, in West Kalimantan there are things that may trigger conflict, as was the case some time ago between the Ahmadiyya and the local community in Sintang,[30] expulsion of the Gafatar group in Mampawah,[31] and economic conflicts involving plural societies.[32] These conflicts should be addressed by the government immediately and society must pay attention to them as part of efforts in peace-building in the midst of pluralism. The active role of the community is very influential on social relations that may lead to conflict such as the

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[25] Charles Kimball, *When Religion Becomes Evil: Five Warning Signs,* (canada: Harper Collins, 2008).

[26] Syafi'ie, "Ambiguitas Hak Kebebasan Beragama Di Indonesia Dan Posisinya Pasca Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi."

[27] Jati, "Kearifan Lokal Sebagai Resolusi Konflik Keagamaan."

[28] Ihsan Ali Fauzi, "Ambiguitas Agama Sebagai Pluang Dalam Menciftakan Perdamaian Agama," *Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama* 5, No. 2 (2015): p. 239-240.

[29] Syafi'ie, "Ambiguitas Hak Kebebasan Beragama Di Indonesia Dan Posisinya Pasca Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi."

[30] https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&source=web&rct=j&url=https://amp.kompas.com/regional/read/2021/09/03/145813 178/massa-geruduk-jemaah-ahmadiyah-di-sintang-kalbar-bangunan-dibakar-dan&ved=2ahUKEwi8jYSL9PH7AhVHg2MGHcO7 AOAQFnoECBYQAQ&usg=AOvVaw2X6GCoRR8_pH7BR-biJNOF

[31] https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&source=web&rct=j&url=https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita_indonesia/2016/01/ 160120_indonesia_pengusiran_gafatar.amp&ved=2ahUKEwi-3-6i9PH7AhXizjgGHb79DtwQFnoECBIQAQ&usg=AOvVaw0U Kz7XAJQV5iNcLfsuH5DO

[32] Elyta, "Penanganan Konflik Melalui Keamanan Di Kalimantan Barat Indonesia."

economy, which is one of the most dominant factors that causes conflict,[33] and socio-culture.[34]

Conflict is basically not an urgent issue if it can be managed. Conflict has two impacts, positive and negative.[35] The positive impact occurs when it brings constructive and progressive change. Every change requires conflict to cause change for the better. Conversely, conflict has a negative impact when it leads only to destruction, and there is no benefit for change. However, the conflict that society understands today only takes the form of physical destruction and damage. This is what makes people's thinking patterns lead to gaps that contribute to peace in society.

The Father of Peace Studies, Johan Galtung of Prio argues that peace is a condition without violence which is not only personal or direct but also structural or indirect. Galtung also emphasizes that peaceful conditions are conditions without violence and social injustice in society.[36] This is what has become ambiguous in the area of West Kalimantan, because the people of West Kalimantan work hard to build peace, but there are many minority groups that feel disadvantaged by the situation. It has penetrated into the domain of religion, such as minority religions, sects, and even being in a different organization may lead to ostracism in cultural society such as the response to the Baha'i religion[37] despite Indonesia's efforts to guarantee religious freedom. According to Galtung, peace that is only felt by people who have interests for themselves or certain individuals is not real peace, but a hidden conflict with interests.

Peace according to Galtung can be divided into two categories, namely: a) there is no conflict between two or several parties or there is no egocentrism to achieve expectations. This can be seen in the absence of oppression of and harming other groups or other people.[38] The first category which relates to providing an understanding to the people of West Kalimantan that peace has common interests, so only the elite feel that they are enjoying peace without seeing the people who are struggling to feel peace within themselves.

Ambiguity on the issue of justice is also becoming a taboo especially when in terms of the point of view of the political elites who express it. Likewise, from the point of view of ordinary people where there is no sense of justice, peace is . The issue of peace becomes ambiguous and cannot be applied in society. And consequently, peace remains only as an issue. The conflict that occurred in West Kalimantan was a failure on the side of both the

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[33] Muhammad Dharmariza, Rahmad Hidayat, and Miftah Faridl Widhagdha, "Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Sebagai Strategi Resolusi Konflik Sosial," *Jurnal Kebijakan Publik* 11, No. 1 (2020), https://doi.org/10.31258/jkp.11.1.p.1-6.

[34] Arkanudin, "Menelusuri Akar Konflik Antaretnik Di Kalimantan Barat."

[35] Prakoso Aji and Jerry Indrawan, "Memahami Studi Perdamaian Sebagai Bagian Dari Ilmu Hubungan Internasional," *Jurnal Pertahanan & Bela Negara* 9, No. 3 (2019): 65–84.

[36] Loreta N. Castro dan Jasmine N. Galace, *Peace Education: Pathway to A Culture of Peace,* (Cuezon City: Centre of Peace Education, 2010). p. 19

[37] Samsul Hidayat, "Stereotif Mahasiswa IAIN Pontianak Terhadap Agama Baha'i," *Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama,* 7, No. 1 (2017).

[38] Johan Galtung, *Peace By Peaceful Means,* (London: SAGE Publications, 1996). P. 2

people and the government that were unable to find a middle course as agents of peace. In the case of the Ahmadiyya and the Gafatar, people were hostile towards the presence of the two, but the government was unable to do anything to prevent such hostility. The government should have brought the Ahmadiyah group and the local people of Sintang as well as the Gafatar and the people of Mampawah together for peace talk. Even if these groups had to leave or be disbanded, people should not have used violence; they could have reached a consensus through deliberations by mutual agreement.

Galtung's second category of peace is b) advocacy in conflict resolution and prevention. This can be seen in the absence of oppression and fear, protection from a system that operates for conflict resolution.[39] This must be taken into account by the government and religious leaders because at this time peace needs to be questioned. Because conflicts do not necessary have to be physical clashes. Nevertheless, people force their own will and advance their own agenda. Some policies have even caused the conflicts to continue. Is this what we call peace? The discussion above is why conflict management in solving problems is badly needed.

Therefore, Galtung offers an opinion on the current situation which is a shared problem in the ambiguous peace issue, namely; there must be good relations whether there is structured and non-structural conflicts to ensure peaceful and non-divisive environment. It seem to be impossible in a plural society, since there are a lot of hidden interests that are linked to shared peace but that is merely individual interests.

Certain conditions are considered peaceful because there is no physical (structural and non-structural) violence, but religious anarchy will reappear with a different pattern and system.[40] As a result, peace is sometimes filled with a sense of trauma among members of the community. Thus, there is a need for a forum for stewardship as a peace agent so as to establish a point of understanding in a conflict so that peace is not just an issue. This study also makes projections about the future to see human interactions in the context of understanding the potential for conflict between them. Johan Galtung's famous statement: *"By peace we mean the capacity to transform conflicts with empathy, without violence, and creatively a never-ending process"*.[41] Peace Studies must lead to the creation of peace between plural societies, without structural and non-structural conflicts.

Luigi and Porto argue that peace will bring good and prosperity to people who live in a plural society. Conflict hinders peace in a plural society. The gaps in society pose as social inconvenience and will create an individualist society. Those with certain interests in the name of togetherness pretend to build peace, even though the reality is the opposite to what has been discussed as joint peace, and hence peace remain only an issue.

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[39] Johan Galtung. p. 3

[40] Charles Webel and Johan Galtung, *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies,* (New York: Routledge, 2007). p. 6

[41] Johan Galtung, *Peace By Peaceful Means,*. p.11

The ambiguity of the narrative of peace in West Kalimantan is caused by the absence of indicators that serve as a reference in peace-building. Mutual respect in the midst of differences is an old narrative prevailing among religious people. Religious sentiment is still a pattern of people's life and it claims what is outside it. The government and religious leaders as well as the community cannot get rid of public sentiment, such as the anarchist behavior that people showed in Sintang and Mempawah. Physical conflicts have become a common spectacle for the future nation's children. Even deliberations and mediation are not likely to occur, let alone inculcating a mindset about differences and firmness from the government. However, it is a matter personal choice and interests.

Conclusion

The religious conflicts that occurred in Sintang and Mempawah have shown that peace is vulnerable and most of the time only appeared on the surface which gave rise to the mindset of religious people that peace was merely an issue, an empty discourse, and the narrative that was being told was unable to create a positive impact. This is because many religious sentiments have resulted in discrimination, anarchy and conflict. The government should be able to provide solutions that favor all religious groups.

In light of the foregoing explanation, it can be concluded that the people of West Kalimantan have a complex diversity. Conflicts that have occurred have been responded in various ways. Some view the conflicts as having positive impacts on groups or individuals who have certain interests. Some think that the conflicts have negative impacts on disadvantaged groups or individuals, so the response is subjectively relative. The ambiguity in the narrative of peace which has always been fought for, echoed and upheld is only an issue for society, be it peace between religious followers, ethnic groups, cultures, and even people of different economic backgrounds. In reality, there have been a lot of conflicts in a plural society due to the ambiguity of the narrative voiced by the government and society.

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