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## STRENGTHENING PEACE EDUCATION POST POSO CONFLICT TO SUPPORT NATIONAL SECURITY

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Arifuddin Uksan<sup>1</sup>, Achmed Sukendro<sup>2</sup>, Yulian Azhari<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1,2,3</sup>Republic Indonesia Defense University

Kawasan IPSC Sentul, Sukahati, Kec. Citeureup, Kabupaten Bogor, Jawa Barat 16810

Email: <sup>1</sup>[arifuddinuksan123@gmail.com](mailto:arifuddinuksan123@gmail.com), <sup>2</sup>[achmedsukendro@gmail.com](mailto:achmedsukendro@gmail.com),

<sup>3</sup>[azhariyulian6@gmail.com](mailto:azhariyulian6@gmail.com)

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**Abstract:** *The communal conflict that occurred in Poso from 1998 to 2004 was a dark and gloomy episode in the history of the Indonesian nation and a series of acts of terror that were triggered by radical understanding. This research aims to analyze conflict resolution as an effort to strengthen positive peace after social conflict in Poso. The research method used is descriptive qualitative with data collection through interviews, observation and documentation studies. The results of the research findings on the Poso conflict were riots between native residents and immigrants which spread to ethnic, religious, racial and inter-group conflicts. Factors that cause conflict are rooted in economic problems between native people and immigrants, transfer of agricultural land, social inequality, as well as political problems, namely struggles for structural and political positions between native people and immigrants who happen to represent the same religious community, as well as socio-cultural problems, namely changes in composition. the population makes the native population feel marginalized. As a conclusion of the research, the Ethnic, Religious, Racial and Intergroup conflict that occurred in Poso Regency was a complex conflict in terms of the root of the problem, which was then triggered by provocateurs who wanted riots to occur in order to gain profits from the conflict that occurred. Efforts to strengthen positive peace education after the Poso conflict are very important as the right solution to support national security.*

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## INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a pluralistic country with various ethnicities, races, tribes, languages, cultures and religions. The diversity that Indonesia has can be said to mean that this country is a country of multiculturalism. According to Tilaar (2007) [1] multiculturalism contains at least two very complex meanings, namely "multi" which means plural, "culturalism" which means culture or cultures. The term plural contains various meanings, because pluralism does not mean just a recognition of the existence of various things, but a recognition that has political, social and economic implications, therefore this is related to the principles of democracy. The diversity that exists in Indonesian society has multiculturalism as an added

value which is a characteristic of the nation itself. The causes of multiculturalism are due to many things, including the geographical environment, foreign cultures, intermarriage, so it can be said that Indonesia is a cultural source country. [2]

Apart from that, Indonesia is also known as a country that has many religions and various sects of belief that thrive. Therefore, an understanding of religious pluralism in a society that is so diverse is very necessary in order to create stability, order and comfort for the people in carrying out the teachings of their respective religions as well as to create harmony between believers while avoiding the occurrence of social conflicts with ethnic, religious, racial and inter-group nuances.

It is important to understand that in Indonesia there are six religions recognized by the government, namely Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism.

In essence, religion is a sacred shelter that protects humans from situations of conflict, chaos and injustice. Religion contains teachings regarding the highest and absolute truth about human existence and instructions for living safely and happily in this world and the hereafter so that every religious person is expected to appear in their life as a human being who is devoted to God, moral, civilized and behaves humanely, which of course different from the ways of life of animals or other creatures. So religion should not be a causal factor or even more so a trigger for conflict. Religion itself essentially appears as a belief system and can be a core part of the value system that exists in the culture of society, and can be a driving force or driver and controller for the actions of certain members of society to continue to run in accordance with cultural values and religious teachings. [3]

Minority groups have become social entities whose existence cannot be denied. In almost every country, the presence of minorities is a kind of indisputable necessity amidst the hegemony of the majority group. Minority is often interpreted as being different from the majority on the basis of identity, religion, language, ethnicity and culture. This research will try to analyze efforts to strengthen post-conflict peace education to support national security related to the rioting conflict that occurred in Poso.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

The theoretical framework in this article uses theory at the meso level to connect macro theory with micro theory.

### 1) Positive Peace Theory

Johan Galtung, who is known as the founder of science and research on peace,[4] defines peace in two forms: negative peace and positive peace. In the negative peace framework, peace is characterized by the absence of war and the absence of conflicts in the form of violence and disputes. More deeply, peace is not measured by the presence or absence of conflict or violence. Positive peace defines the face of peace in more depth. Peace is understood as a social condition in society that contains the values of appreciation, respect, cooperation, harmony, justice and dialogue. In positive peace, positive values are strongly prioritized.

Positive Peace theory implies that if post-conflict reconciliation in Poso runs effectively, it will certainly create positive peace that supports National Security.

David P. Barash and Charles P Webel (2009) explain the concept of peace from the

perspective of philosophers, religionists and cultural experts. It turns out that the concept of peace directs more towards positive peace tendencies. In Chinese tradition, for example, the word heping refers to a peaceful world; peace among the nations. While the words an and mingsi refer to inner peace; a calm and peaceful inner condition through meditation. Peace always shows two dimensions, namely the inner and outer conditions.[5]

## 2) Conflict Theory

Explanation of the definition of conflict theory from a number of experts including:

### a. According to Malik

Conflict is a social phenomenon that will always exist in social life in every space and time, wherever and whenever. In every social life, humans have interests, desires and goals that are different from each other, which often can lead to conflict. In Indonesia itself, according to Malik, there are at least five sources of conflict, namely structural conflict that occurs if there is unequal access to resources (land, mines, forests).[6]

In the conflict analysis developed by Malik (2015) in the SAT (Structural, Accelerator, Trigger) model, this model is used to look at the basic problems of conflict, things that trigger conflict, and things that make conflict grow. Sat factor analysis (Structural, Accelerator, Trigger) is based on specific indicators of structural conditions, acceleration and triggers in the conflict before and during the event. Structural factors in conflict are fundamental problems in the form of inequality in the economic, social and political fields that have been going on for a long time and continuously. Trigger factors are common events that can become the reason for conflict. Meanwhile, an accelerator is anything that can speed up the escalation of the conflict to something bigger. This conflict analysis model is often analogous to a prairie fire involving dry grass, fire and wind. Fires in dry grasslands (structural) can occur due to sparks (trigger) and strong winds as an accelerator.[7]

### b. According to Galtung

Galtung said that conflict can be seen as a triangle with each peak being a contradiction, attitude and behavior. A conflict situation is a reference to contradiction. This includes the "incompatibility of goals" that the conflicting parties feel. This is caused by "a mismatch between social values and social structure". The conflicting parties, their relationships, the inherent conflict of interests determine the contradiction (Galtung, 1969). [8]

Perceptions of conflicting parties and misperceptions between them and within themselves are part of attitudes. Perceptions can be about certain issues related to other groups. Disputing parties in conflict and violence tend to develop derogatory stereotypes of each other. Emotions are what often influence attitudes, for example fear, anger, bitterness, or hatred and so on. These attitudes include feelings (emotive elements), beliefs (cognitive) and will (conative).

Galtung argued that three components must emerge in a total conflict. A conflict structure without conflictual attitudes or behavior is a conflict laten. Galtung sees conflict as a dynamic process, where structures, attitudes and behavior constantly change and influence each other. When conflict arises, the interests of the conflicting parties enter into the conflict or relationship in which they exist. Then the conflicting parties organize themselves around this structure to pursue their interests. They develop dangerous attitudes and conflictual behavior, so that conflict formation begins to grow and develop.[9]

### 3) Conflict Resolution Theory

Conflict resolution can basically be interpreted as an effort made to resolve a conflict by seeking agreement between the parties involved in the conflict (Miller and King, 2005), and there are two main things contained in the scope of conflict resolution, namely issues and relationships. or relationships between actors. There are four stages of conflict resolution contained in the Problem Solving and Decision Making (PSDM) model explained by Eben A. Wetzman and Patricia Flynn Wetzman in The Handbook of Conflict Resolution. The four steps are: 1). Diagnosing conflict, 2). Identify alternative solutions, 3). Evaluate and select mutually acceptable solutions and 4). Generating decisions and implementing them (Morton Deutsch, 2016). [10]

Meanwhile, according to Hardjana (1994) conflict resolution can be divided into 5 (five) forms, namely; [11]

- a. Compete and compete (competing); master (dominating); and forcing. This method is an approach to conflict that is characterized by win-lose.
- b. Cooperation (collaborating) and confronting (confronting). In this case, the parties involved in the conflict work together and find a solution to the conflict that satisfies the interests of both parties. This method is a win-win approach.
- c. Compromising and negotiating. This method is an approach to conflict where neither party in the conflict wins/loses.
- d. Avoiding or withdrawing. In this lose-lose approach, both parties do not fight for their respective interests and do not even draw attention to the matter in conflict.
- e. Adjusting (accommodating); soften (smoothing); and obliging. This form of conflict management is a win-lose approach (Hardjana, 1994:49).

From the explanation of the theory according to these experts, an understanding can be drawn that what is meant by conflict resolution is the effort made to resolve the conflict by carrying out several steps to resolve the conflict which succeeded in transforming the conflict into peace. In the context of this research, these conceptual boundaries will be used as a basis for analysis in strengthening post-conflict peace education

### 4) Reinforcement theory

Reinforcement theory or reinforcement theory of motivation was put forward by B. F. Skinner (1904 -1990). [12] This theory focuses entirely on what happens to an individual when he acts. This theory is a powerful tool for analyzing control mechanisms for individual behavior. Individual behavior is a function of its consequences (stimulus-response-consequence). This theory is based on a kind of law of influence where behavior with positive consequences tends to be repeated, while behavior with negative consequences tends not to be repeated.

Behavior is a relationship between stimulus and response. Behavior occurs when there is a special stimulus. Skinner believes that a person's personality is formed as a result of his response to his environment, therefore the most important thing in forming a personality is reward and punishment. Rewards will be given for expected responses while punishments will be given for incorrect responses. Skinner's opinion focuses on the relationship between behavior and consequences. For example, if an individual's behavior is immediately followed by a pleasant behavior, the individual will use that behavior again as often as possible.

## RESEARCH METHODS

In this research, the author uses qualitative research methods to examine the condition of natural objects, where the researcher is the key instrument. The data collection technique was carried out by triangulation through interviews, observation and documentation at the source of the conflict (Moleong, 2014).[13] The research approach uses national security and socio-cultural concepts. Researchers try to carry out research procedures in stages, in stages and continuously regarding the importance of understanding community multiculturalism in creating a more harmonious mental condition in society. Data that is relevant to the object under study is taken through interviews, observation and documentation studies. To obtain comprehensive references obtained directly in the field as primary data supported by secondary data in the form of national articles and international journals which have novelty value and are relevant to the topic being discussed by analyzing the data that best suits the topic through data condensation, data presentation, verification, and drawing conclusions using the Miles and Huberman (2014) data analysis model. To obtain valid data, data analysis can be carried out by selecting, classifying, comparing, combining and sorting the most relevant data. To maintain the integrity of the assessment process and prevent miss information, thorough data triangulation is carried out including data sources, techniques, time and place, [14]

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Results

In Poso Regency there was a communal conflict from 1998 to 2004 which led to Ethnic, Religious, Racial and Intergroup conflict and was one of the dark and gloomy episodes in the history of the Indonesian nation as well as a series of acts of terror triggered by radical understanding (Hasrullah , 2004).[15] After Malino's declaration for a peace process in Poso Regency, this prolonged and very complex conflict has resulted in many lives being lost in vain. The result of this situation can certainly have a big impact on the development of the District. Poso in general and especially towards people who are traumatized by situations that have occurred because basically the Poso people want these situations to be resolved immediately (Markarma Bakesbangpol, 2023).[16]

Based on the Documentation of the 1307 Poso Kodim Situation Development Report (Poso Conflict Volume I to Volume III), in general the conflict and prolonged acts of terror were based on radical understanding (Damanik and Rinaldy, 2000).[17]

The ethnic, religious, racial and inter-group conflict that occurred in Poso Regency is a conflict that is quite complex in terms of the root of the problem. Rooted in economic problems between the native population and the newcomers, the transfer of agricultural land which the native population thought was their customary land but which was later taken over by the newcomers and the progress experienced by the newcomers in the trade sector created a social gap between the native population and the newcomers. Political problems, the struggle for structural and political positions based on religion between native residents and immigrants who happen to belong to the same religious community. As well as socio-cultural problems, namely changes in population composition, the arrival of immigrants, and changes in population composition making native residents feel marginalized (Kutoyo and Sutrisno, 1984).[18]

The various roots of these problems were then exploited into a religious conflict,

between the native population, the majority of whom were Christian, and the immigrants, the majority of whom were Muslim. Simultaneously with the momentum of the Poso Regent election in 1998 and the 2001 Regional Secretary election, the political elements who lost in these elections took advantage of the conflict between young people who happened to have different religions which occurred at the end of December 1998 to become the initial trigger for Ethnic, Religious, Racial and Intergroup conflict in Poso Regency. (Sihbudi, 2005).[19]

If you look at the root of the problem explained above, the Ethnic, Religious, Racial and Inter-group conflicts that occur in Poso Regency are none other than the source of power, as explained by Ralf Dahrendorf, every conflict always aims at:

- a) the parties involved in the conflict have the same goal, namely both trying to obtain a source of power.
- b) on the one hand, they want to get it, while on the other hand they try hard to maintain what they have.

The general description of the conflict that occurred in Poso Regency is that it is a conflict that takes the form of violence, because the conflict that occurs takes the form of violence that causes fights and physical clashes that result in loss of life and property.

From the background of the conflict problems that occurred in Poso as described above, it can be concluded in general that the factors causing the conflict are as follows:

- a) Political competition, namely the struggle for the positions of Regent and Regional Secretary of Poso Regency.
- b) Competition in the economic sector between native residents and immigrants.
- c) Shifts in socio-cultural structures and composition of native and immigrant populations.
- d) There are parties who trigger conflict as provocateurs who want riots to occur by throwing around issues of ethnicity, religion, race and intergroup (SARA) to gain profits behind the conflict that occurs.

### Discussion

In Webster's Third New International Dictionary the word peace is defined into three levels.

In the first stage, peace as conceptualized by Galtung in negative and positive peace is translated as a condition free from confusion (negative peace) and a safe condition protected by law, custom and public opinion (positive peace). In this first stage, peace is thick with political overtones.

The second definition, peace is defined as a mental and spiritual condition characterized by the absence of pressure from other parties. Peace is characterized by calmness of heart and mind. Peace in this sense has very personal characteristics.

Third, peace is defined as a victory over all disturbances and finally peace is defined as harmony in human personal relationships which is full of the value of self-respect. In this last sense, peace gets its characteristics as interpersonal or intersubjective peace.

Returning to the concept of peace initiated by Galtung, the concept of negative peace indicates the absence of any war or conflict. In this concept, what we want to highlight is a condition that avoids active and planned acts of violence. Peace in this stage marks the presence of social and political pressure; related to power. Meanwhile, positive peace directs the view to a social condition that minimizes and even eliminates exploitation. In other words, in positive peace, the existence of social law as well as natural harmony dominates. In

further explanation, Galtung highlighted structural violence. This structural violence generally appears in the form of social structures, culture and economic institutions (David & Charles, 2009) [20].

The impact of this structural violence is the denial and suppression of people's rights, for example: the right to expression, political and economic disparities, gender, work opportunities, hunger, intolerance, radicalism, and certain anti-ethnic movements, and so on. The theoretical opinions above can be extracted into several conceptual limitations to support this research. First, as explained at the beginning, Positive Peace is understood as a social condition in society that contains the values of appreciation, respect, cooperation, harmony, justice and dialogue. This can be analyzed through the level of expression rights, political and economic disparities, gender, employment opportunities, hunger, intolerance, radicalism, and certain anti-ethnic movements, and so on. These determinant factors will be used to analyze post-conflict reconciliation in Poso.

Peace education is a long-term method that can be used to minimize the occurrence of social conflicts with ethnic, religious, racial and inter-group dimensions. Peace education can be carried out formally through education at school or informally in everyday life through the family and social groups. In many peace education studies, it is more often studied only in formal educational environments in schools. One of them is research by Noorfutriyani et al (2018) on Prevention of Aggressive Behavior: The Influence of Peace Education and Media Literacy on Students' Understanding of Aggressiveness. This research states that peace education and better literacy levels will reduce students' aggressiveness in making aggressive decisions (Noorfutriyani et al., 2018). This means that support for good peace and literacy education is actually also needed in the environment outside the school. [21]

Meanwhile, most of the peace education in schools is obtained in the form of cognitive knowledge from various subjects. This understanding can equip the younger generation in understanding the context of diversity, from not knowing to knowing. On the other hand, social peace education is a challenge in itself, because in this realm peace education is required to be able to provide a multicultural awareness of society. Where in the awareness of multiculturalism there is recognition of existing cultural pluralism, which is useful in fostering awareness, that the existence of majorities and minorities in a culture must be integrated and accommodated, so that the unique identity of each group is recognized objectively and rationally (Lue and Riyanto, 2020) .[22]

On the one hand, peace is part of the study of multiculturalism, which sees cultural differences or plurality of society as an existing reality, thereby creating awareness and an attitude of tolerance. However, on the other hand, it is necessary to know the difference between peace education and the rise of social conflict which has previously been discussed so as to provide a framework for thinking that conflict management is needed, which includes preventing and handling conflict. In the context of conflicts that are or have occurred in society, handling can be done using a conflict resolution or conflict transformation approach, towards peace and a peaceful state. Meanwhile, at the level of conflict which is still a potential and is considered an unavoidable reality, so that at any time it can occur, conflict prevention is a step that must be taken. One way that can be done is through peace education (H.A.R. Tilaar, 2004). [23]

One of the essence of the goals of education is to make the nation's life more intelligent, in accordance with the mandate of the 1945 Constitution. Meanwhile, world peace as a state

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ideal which is also written in the constitution, cannot be separated from its realization within the country itself. Peace education is a process by which individuals can change their attitudes and behavior regarding violent conflict, acquire values, knowledge, and develop skills and behavior to live in harmony with others. What is emphasized in the realization of peace is the optimal conditions of a dynamic state of peace and adequate adaptation to environmental changes. This condition occurs in individuals, thus fostering peace of mind, social life and the life of the nation and state (Kartadinata, et al., 2015). [24]

According to Woehrle, peace education in the modern context places more emphasis on understanding the presence of conflict as an effort to build true peace (Woehrle, 2017). Or what is known as positive peace. Meanwhile, understanding of a conflict arises from several aspects, namely as follows: 1) The possibility that the conflict produces positive values; 2) Conflict is socially constructed by society; 3) The nature and condition of humans are heterogeneous; 4) Conflict must be seen in its own social context; 5) Conflict can also occur naturally and is dynamic; 6) Seeing conflict as an advantage for the conflicting parties.

A wrong understanding of conflict can have an impact on the development of a culture of peace that is oriented towards peace education. In order to educate the public in a contextual and comprehensive understanding of conflict, peace education can be carried out in strategic areas, as regulated in Law Number 20 concerning the National Education System of 2003. The Law explains that education can be carried out through three domains, namely formal, non-formal and informal education pathways. First, the realm of formal education which consists of early childhood education, basic education, secondary education, and higher education or college level. Second, the realm of non-formal education which includes life skills education, early childhood education, youth education, women's empowerment education, literacy education, family education, skills education and job training/courses, equality education, and other education aimed at developing community capabilities. Third, informal education, namely all education carried out in the family and social environment (Uksan, 2021). [25]

With the existence of various domains or educational pathways that the community can follow, peace education can be implemented in a more focused manner. Of course, the urgency in optimizing peace education must meet the requirements of Indonesian society and involve various components or stakeholders. By understanding the conditions of diverse societies, peace education can adopt several concepts of multiculturalism education. Conceptually, when faced with the realm of education, the study of multicultural education is interpreted as education about cultural diversity, or education that is useful in forming an attitude of respect for the various cultural diversity that lives in society. Multicultural education can usually also be understood as education for cultural diversity that exists in society, which seeks to offer various models of cultural diversity in society

The initial concept that is the substance in transforming peace education is the cultural diversity of society which is not only in a calm condition, but cultural diversity is very vulnerable to triggering conflict. In the education curriculum, peace education has actually been accommodated and integrated into subjects, especially in the subjects of Pancasila Education, Citizenship and Religious Education. Diversity and tolerance materials should be the initial basis for students' understanding. However, it is felt that this is not enough to provide and train students competently in order to respond to developing contemporary

issues, or when social tensions and conflicts occur. Therefore, the implementation of formal education must be supported by non-formal and informal education.

Poso Conflict Resolution which is carried out by implementing peace education as Confidence Building Measures which involves various elements is an effort to realize National Security.

Bambang Wahyudi defines national security as both a condition and a function. In this case, national security is projected to be able to create a sense of security in a broad sense. This sense of security is described as a feeling of peace, comfort, tranquility and order. This change in the national security paradigm changes the scope of national security management from being more state-centered security to being people-centered security. 26]

The National Defense White Paper emphasizes that stable national security is a precondition for the smooth implementation of national development in order to realize national goals. In this framework, national security is a dynamic national interest. National security is influenced by the dynamics of changes in the strategic environment as well as domestic factors, including economic development, education, community welfare, political dynamics, and interactions between communities (Indonesian Defense White Paper, 2015). The conceptual understanding above strengthens the author's initial argument that national security has a close relationship with the previous Post-Conflict Reconciliation Theory.

Realizing that the complexity of National Security issues is not limited to state and military exclusivity, conflict is a determining factor in realizing national security (Anggoro, 2004).[27]

In this research, the author realizes that the effectiveness of post-conflict reconciliation in the Poso riots will not only affect the future of relations between religious groups, as well as regional stability in Poso. Elaborating the theory of positive peace, conflict resolution, and strengthening theory with the concept of national security, will reveal the common thread of how peace at the regional level contributes to the realization of national security significantly.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the description in the discussion, it can be concluded that continuous constructive efforts are needed to create positive peace as previously stated by Galtung. Thus, many social science academics have developed ideas on post-conflict reconciliation. Ideally, reconciliation is a step to prevent conflict experiences from becoming the seeds of new conflicts. This is done by consolidating peace, breaking the cycle of violence, establishing and strengthening democratic institutions. In this case, reconciliation carries out a personal healing program for conflict survivors physically and psychologically, reparations for past injustices, rebuilding non-violent relationships between individuals and communities, as well as acceptance by the parties that the conflict has been resolved and is able to redefine their relationships. in the future.

Peace education is an alternative that plays an important role in preventing and reducing social conflicts with ethnic, religious, racial and inter-group dimensions. Peace education is a long-term method that can be used to minimize the occurrence of social conflicts with ethnic, religious, racial and inter-group dimensions. Peace education can be carried out formally through educational levels at school or informally in everyday life through the family and society in realizing positive peace.

**SUGGESTION**

So that future researchers can deepen research on strengthening peace education in conflict areas so that they find comprehensive results and can be used as consideration for the government to create strategies or policies in order to strengthen peace education for parties in conflict in the future.

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HALAMAN INI SENGAJA DIKOSONGKAN