Masohi in the Christian and Islamic Villages of Siri Sori, Central Maluku, Post-Conflict

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Abstract

This article aims to explain the role of *masohi* in maintaining relations between the Christian and Muslim communities in the Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori, Central Maluku, that witnessed the communal religious conflict in the period of 1999-2004. Post-conflict social relation has the potential for establishing harmony, which is particularly important given the conflict's tragic impact and complex social implications. This can be achieved through *masohi*, which embodies local wisdom. *Masohi* can contribute to peace and conflict resolution between the two communities. The research question in this study is whether *masohi* can adequately serve as a solution in that context. This research uses a qualitative approach using observation, literature study, and interviews with Christian and Muslim figures from the two communities who have practiced *masohi* in the Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori. All the data about *masohi* is collected, sorted, analyzed, and reconstructed using culturally-based historical awareness perspective. The results of this study show that: (1) *masohi* manifests in interfaith cooperation between the two communities in their history culture; (2) *masohi* has a constructive humanitarian characteristic; and (3) *masohi* can be preserved to ensure the welfare of the people and to preserve peace sustainably.

Keywords: *Masohi*, History of culture, Cooperation

Abstrak

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan tentang masohi untuk memelihara relasi antara masyarakat Kristen dan Muslim di Desa Siri Sori Kristen dan Desa Siri Sori Islam, yang telah mengalami konflik komunal berbasis agamapada tahun 1999-2004. Relasi sosial di antara mereka pascakonflik potensial untuk berada dalam harmoni dalam dinamika dampak tragis akibat konflik itu sekaligus kehidupan bermasyarakat yang kompleks, khususnya melalui masohi yang merupakan kearifan lokal yang telah berkontribusi bagi perdamaian dan resolusi konflik antara dua komunitas tersebut. Masalah penelitian dalam penelitian ini adalah apakah masohi memadai untuk dikembangkan sebagai sebuah kelanjutan solusi di konteks sedemikian. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan melakukan observasi, studi pustaka, dan wawancara dengan para tokoh Kristen dan Muslim dari kedua komunitas itu, yang telah mempraktikkan masohi di Desa Siri Sori Kristen dan Desa Siri Sori Islam. Semua data tentang masohi tersebut dihimpun, dipilah, ditelaah, bahkan direkonstruksi dengan menggunakan perspektif kesadaran historis berbasis budaya dalam studi sejarah budaya. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa: (1) masohi memanifestasikan kerjasama lintas iman antara kedua komunitas itu dalam sejarah budaya mereka; (2) masohi mempunyai karakteristik kemanusiaan yang konstruktif; dan (3) masohi dapat dilestarikan demi membawa kesejahteraan bagi mereka pascakonflik secara utuh dan berkelanjutan.

Kata Kunci: *Masohi, Sejarah budaya, Kerjasama*

Background

It is important to the plurality, dynamism, and diversity of the various ethnicities in religions, especially when this diversity leads to conflict. There has been conflicts between ethnic groups and religious communities in the past, one of which occurred in Kalimantan, Maluku, and Papua. These conflicts are often difficult to handle, due to

differences in values, traditions, religious beliefs, and the interests of the conflicting parties. Meanwhile, the noble values based on a contextual culture that embraces various layers and identities of society in Indonesia are still under development in the academic realm.

There are several studies regarding noble values focusing on various religious based conflicts, especially in the context of religious diversity in Indonesia. For example, Dian Adi Perdana and Budi Nurhamidin argue that the prevention of religious conflicts in South Mopuya Village, North Sulawesi, can be done by a persuasive approach, especially by religious leaders and the government.[1] By developing the study of *tabayyun*, David Eko Setiawan highlights how the practice of *tabayyun* can be a conflict resolution strategy in Indonesia society.[2] In addition, by highlighting radicalism among Islamic Senior High School students, Zarkasih, Nelly Yusro, Rian Vebrianto, and Musa Thahir has encouraged the implementation of religious tolerance teaching.[3] Furthermore, by utilizing Christian practical theology, Mariani Harmadi has proposed the dining table metaphor to build tolerance in the midst of a pluralistic society in Indonesia with the philosophy of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*.[4] Using an ethnographic approach, Christopher R. Duncan affirms that the revitalization of *adat* (custom) does not deny or dismiss local understandings of religious violence, and seeks to cool down religious tensions in North Maluku after the conflict of 1999-2000.[5] By using the perspective of social

psychology, Ichsan Malik argues that the spirit of brotherhood *baku bae* (the Maluku language which means "doing good to each other") between Muslim and Christian communities in Maluku is an important element of post-conflict peace.[6]

The studies above show that *masohi* has been useful in the context of social relation between the Christian and Muslim communities in the villages of Siri Sori, Central Maluku, Indonesia. *Masohi* (the Maluku language which means cultural collaboration between the Christian and Muslim communities in villages of Siri Sori) contains the noble values that unite the two communities. *Masohi* is not only useful, in the context of the tragic religious-based conflict between the two communities in 1999-2004, but also outside that period.

There are two reasons why *masohi* should always be studied. *First*, *masohi* is a local wisdom of the Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori, that has been useful in resolving conflict and maintaining social relations during times of peace. Thus, *masohi* needs to be promoted steadily to enrich culturally-based social relation management during post-conflict periods and to prevent similar conflicts from happening. *Second*, *masohi* is a real contribution of the Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori. As such, *masohi* is a central aspect of Indonesian unity. M*asohi* fosters peace and maintains unity in the local and global stages.

There are some studies that discuss *masohi*. However, they do not discuss it through culturally-based historical awareness perspective in the post-

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[1] Dian Adi Perdana & Budi Nurhamidin, 'Strategy Management in Overcoming Religion Conflicts in Plural Communities in Mopuya Selatan Village, Bolaang Mongondow District,' *Islam Realitas: Journal of Islamic and Social Studies* 7.2 (July-December 2021), p. 210-224, https://ejournal.iainbukittinggi.ac.id/index.php/Islam_reali tas/article/view/4828.

[2] David Eko Setiawan, 'The Significance of Tabayyun Practice as Conflict Resolution in Indonesia Society,' *Islam Realitas: Journal of Islamic and Social Studies* 7.2 (July-December 2021), p. 181-193, https://ejournal.iainbukittinggi.ac.id/index.php/Islam_reali tas/article/view/4654.

[3] Zarkasih, Nelly Yusro, Rian Vebrianto & Musa Thahir, 'Identifying Radicalism Potential in Senior High

School Students in Riau Province,' *Islam Realitas: Journal of Islamic and Social Studies* 8.1 (January-June 2022), p. 98-110, https://ejournal.iainbukittinggi.ac.id/index.php/Islam_reali tas/article/view/5286.

[4] Mariani Harmadi, 'Metafora Meja Makan sebagai Upaya Membangun Toleransi di tengah Kehidupan Masyarakat Indonesia yang Majemuk,' *Dunamis: Jurnal Teologi dan Pendidikan Kristiani* 4.1 (2019), p. 99-111, https://sttintheos.ac.id/e-journal/index.php/dunamis/article/view/193.

[5] Christopher R. Duncan, *Violence and Vengeance: Religious Conflict and its aftermath in Eastern Indonesia* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 2013) p. 177.

[6] Ichsan Malik, *Resolusi Konflik: Jembatan Perdamaian* (Jakarta: Kompas, 2017) p. 172-180.

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conflict context. M. Syafin Soulisa sees *masohi* as *ta'awun* by using the thematic interpretation model of Al-Quran (*maudhu'i*).[7] By using economics approach, Tri Handayani Amaliah confirms that *masohi* is internalized in *papalele* (peddler) in Maluku.[8] By developing a cultural approach, Endang Sriwigati, Lindyastuti, Dahlia Silvana, and Sukiyah explain that *masohi*, especially in Ambon, is a cultural cooperation system of Ambonese.[9] In addition, by utilizing an ethnopedagogic perspective, Anasufi Banawi, Sunaryo Kartadinata, and Mamat Supriatna argue that *masohi* values exist in the rite of *Buka Sasi Lompa* (culturally based management of natural resources) in Haruku, Central Maluku, Indonesia.[10] However, studies that discussing *masohi* by using culturally-based historical awareness theory are rare.

Historical awareness based on the culture of *orang basudara* ("the relationship between members of communities that are culturally related"), which comes from one ancestor, is considered by Johan Robert Saimima to be adequate to continue to be developed in the Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori.[11] Developing Ahimsa Putra's view, Saimima says that awareness is based on the notion that this world nothing but an intersubjective human world. Thus, awareness is built is social or shared together.[12]

The use of a culturally based historical awareness perspective that focuses on *masohi* in the post-conflict context of the villages of Siri Sori has never been studied by any researcher, except by Saimima, who focuses on revitalizing local wisdom with some other traditions during this post-conflict

study. Referring to the views of Hans-Georg Gadamer, Hans Fantel, and Suhartono W. Pranoto, Saimima states that:

> "Historical awareness does not merely retrace past traditions but also reflects and interprets them according to the context as well as being used to reconstruct an inclusive relationship today in society, especially between the Christian and Muslim communities in the Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori post-conflict."[13]

By using a culturally-based historical awareness perspective, our present study focuses on whether *masohi* is adequate to be developed as a solution for maintaining harmonious social relation between the Christian and Muslim communities in the Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori post-conflict. The objective of this research is to offer *masohi* as a continued effort to keep preserving the stable relation between the Christian and Muslim communities by analyzing the practice of *masohi*. The two communities can be enriched by various strategies of harmonious interfaith cooperation with cultural-based wisdom, that is *masohi*, in post-conflict resolution in Indonesia.

Qualitative research is conducted in this study through the data collection method, namely observation, literature study, and interviews with the Christian and Muslim figures, who have practiced *masohi*. There are five figures: (1) Alex Robert Tutuhatunewa, a Christian lecturer of the Indonesia Christian University in the Moluccas; (2) Wilhelmina J. Liklikwatil, a pastor of the Gereja Protestan Maluku (GPM); (3) Maryam Saimima, a

[7] M. Syafin Soulisa, 'Budaya Orang Basudara dalam Perspektif Al-Quran,' *Jurnal Studi Islam* 9.1 (2020), 1-27, https://jurnal.iainambon.ac.id/index.php/JSI/article/view/2049.

[8] Amaliah, Tri Handayani Amaliah, *Konsep Harga Jual Papalele: Refleksi Budaya Maluku* (Gorontalo: Ideas Publishing, 2015) p. 75, https://opac.perpusnas.go.id/DetailOpac.aspx?id=992985.

[9] Sriwigati, et. al., Endang, *Masohi Ambon: Ambon sebagai Sentra Kepulauan Maluku* (Jakarta: Kementerian Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata, Deputi Bidang Pelestarian dan Pengembangan Kebudayaan, Asdep Urusan Hubungan Antar Budaya, 2004) p. 18-24, https://repositori.kemdikbud.go.id/10694/.

[10] Banawi, et. al., Anasufi, *Masohi Dalam Upacara Buka Sasi Lompa Di Haruku-Maluku Tengah* dalam *Etnopedagogik: Kajian Nilai-nilai Etnokultur Sebagai Landasan Pendidikan*, eds. H. Mamat Supriatna, Yena Sumayana, and Rif'at Shafwatul Anam (Bandung: Salam Insan Mulia, 2009), p. 155-184.

[11] Johan Robert Saimima, *Kesadaran Historis: Eksplanasi Sejarah sebagai Perekat Persaudaraan Masyarakat Siri Sori Islam dan Kristen* (Yogyakarta: Grafika, 2021) p. 49-50.

[12] Johan Robert Saimima, 'Fenomenologi Agama: Pendekatan Fenomenologi untuk Memahami Agama,' *Jurnal HERMES Komisariat Teologi Universitas Kristen Indonesia Maluku/UKIM* 1 (Oktober-November 2016), p. 21-41.

[13] Saimima, *Kesadaran Historis*, 2021, p. 11-13.

Muslim staff of Sekolah Menengah Pertama Negeri (SMPN) 45 of Central Maluku; (4) Jacomina Saimima, a Christian teacher of SMPN 45 of Central Maluku; and (5) Umi Saimima, a Muslim teacher of SMPN 45 of Central Maluku. The data obtained are sorted, organized, analyzed, and developed with a historical perspective in mind. Thus, this paper presents an exploration of *masohi* as social capital that can maintain the harmonious relation between the Christian dan Muslim communities in the Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori and to the unity of Indonesian society.

Masohi in the History of the Christian and Islamic Villages of Siri Sori

Masohi is a cultural and historical practice of the Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori. This is attested in our interviews with Saimima, Soulisa, Amaliah, Sriwigati, et. al., Banawi, et. al., Aholiab Watloly, et. al. According to Saimima, from the very beginning of the formation of the Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori, the two communities agreed in the 15th century to end the hereditary hostility of their ancestors.[14] Therefore, when they became part of the population of Soa Honimua, who were travelers from Seram Island who had previously occupied Tanah Iha, which was also divided into two mutually hostile groups, namely *Pata Siwa* and *Pata Lima*, they decided to build a better relationship with each other.[15] The relationship became a close friendship, as shared in marine resources, forests, and agriculture. They also hid together in the forests when enemies attacked from the sea.[16] Sriwigati, et. al. adds that this relationship was based on a patrilineal kinship system, as well as close ties of the mother's family.[17]

The pattern of friendly relation continues even when Islam entered the region in the 16th century and was accepted by most of the *Pata Lima* groups

and Christianity entered the region in the 17th century and was accepted by most of the *Pata Siwa* groups.[18] The name *Siri Sori* (which in the Maluku language means "no bathing") was used during the Dutch colonial period in the 17th century to replace the previous name *Louhata* (which means "gathering people").[19] However, the Dutch implemented the policy of divide and rule by segregating the two communities based on their religions in order to perpetuate rifts in the colonized society.[20] The Christian and Muslim communities in Siri Sori continued to maintain their unity based on the common origin of the Siri Sori founders and the shared cultural values, such as *masohi*.[21]

Before the Maluku conflict between the Christian and Muslim communities in 1999-2004, earlier conflicts have happened. After the conflict ended, *masohi* was carried out by the Christian and Muslim communities in the Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori. From a shared historical awareness as cultural brothers and sisters, the Christian and Muslim communities in the Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori often help each other during those three periods.[22] For example, in terms of building villages and sanctuaries, the two communities would unite and help each other for the common good. In the past, usually the community in Maluku also tried to find new dwelling places from mountains to the coasts or from one island to another.[23] At the beginning of the conflict in 1999, the Christian community from the Christian village of Siri Sori was escorted by the Muslim community from the Islam village of Siri Sori to the village's border safely after they met during the Eid celebrations.[24]

During the past Maluku conflict, the Christian and Muslim communities in the Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori conflicted, fought, and

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[14] Saimima, *Kesadaran Historis*, 2021, p. 25-33.

[15] Saimima.

[16] Saimima.

[17] Sriwigati, et. al., *Masohi Ambon*, 2004, p. 11.

[18] Saimima.

[19] Saimima.

[20] Sriwigati, et. al., p. 9.

[21] Saimima, *Kesadaran Historis*, 2021, p. 57-69.

[22] Saimima, *Kesadaran Historis*, 2021, p. 3, 44-45.

[23] Banawi, et. al., *Masohi Dalam Upacara Buka Sasi Lompa Di Haruku-Maluku Tengah*, 2009, p. 173.

[24] Aholiab Watloly, et. al., *Perdamaian Berbasis Adat Orang Basudara* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2016), p. 176.

killed each other. The Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori, Saimima would emphasize that the conflict between the two communities occurred because there were interventions of third parties from outside the villages of Siri Sori. These third parties were not clearly identified. They had interests and collided with the two villages of different religions but had cultural ties.[25] However, the Christian community in the Christian Village of Siri Sori also provided food assistance when the Muslim community in the Islamic Village of Siri Sori took refuge in the forest.[26]

The communal conflict which was stoked by religious issues eventually ended thanks to the strong cultural influence possessed by the Moluccans, especially through ethnic unity which was revived by various parties because of the tragedy they experienced.[27] Some examples of the impacts are as conveyed by Rouli Retta Trifena Sinaga, namely that many people died.[28] In addition, both groups experienced material losses and were increasingly segregated in terms of residency.[29] The traditional social ties inherited from the past, that are internalized and implemented in various contexts of social relation post-conflict, are explained by Watloly, et. al. The conflict also hardened the social distance between the Christian and Muslim communities in their daily lives.[30] Sriwigati, et. al. argues that this is in line with the nature of human nature, which requires other people to cooperate with to fulfill basic needs.[31] Furthermore, Amaliah sees that *masohi* is a kind of awareness and obligation for people to be altruistic and to maintain rationality in satisfying one's needs.[32]

The church and school buildings in the Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori are real evidences of the *masohi* between the two communities. They would cooperate in the formation of committees, finances, and inauguration.[33] Likewise, the Christian community would participate in special events such as the King's inauguration, which was carried out by the Muslim community.[34] In daily activities, the two communities have returned to their ways before the conflict: living side by side and visiting each other on religious days, families' celebrations, mourning the dead, and sharing food and money for those in need. Amaliah adds that in commerce activities *masohi* is also practiced: the price is set to benefit all sellers and buyers and merchants can entrust their wares to friends based on the spirit of honesty, trustworthiness, and solidarity.[35] Moreover, Banawi, et. al. confirms that *masohi* is practiced as an expression of thanksgiving to God and an effort of preserving the ancestors' heritages and natural resources.[36] Other than these examples, the constructions of houses and traditional residences (*baileo*) are also carried out by the two communities through *masohi* by giving various materials, food, and their labor, as observed by Soulisa.[37] Here all components of society are involved, namely: community leaders, religious leaders, traditional leaders, society, government, and various non-governmental organizations.

Thus, *Masohi* is not foreign to the Christian dan Muslim communities in the Christian and

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[25] Saimima.

[26] Watloly, et. al., p. 178-179.

[27] Johan Robert Saimima, Rouli Retta Trifena Sinaga & Resa Dandirwalu, 'The Relation of Orang Basudara to Unite Muslims and Christians of Siri Sori in Saparua Island, Maluku,' *Multicultural Education, 6*.1 (2020), p. 166-170, http://ijdri.com/me/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/20.pdf.

[28] Rouli Retta Trifena Sinaga, 'The Importance of the Protestant Church of Moluccas (GPM)'s Pastoral Care for the Christian and Moslem Trauma Survivors at the Post-communal Conflict in Moluccas,' *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research (ASSEHR) 187, International Conference on Religion and Public Civilization (ICRPC 2018),* p.

58-64, https://www.atlantis-press.com/proceedings/icrpc-18/55912134.

[29] Sinaga.

[30] Watloly, et. al., p. 177.

[31] Sriwigati, et. al., 7-8.

[32] Amaliah, *Konsep Harga Jual Papalele*, 2015, p. 102, 143, 147.

[33] Saimima, *Kesadaran Historis*, 2021, p. 3, 47-57; Watloly, et. al. p. 183-186.

[34] Saimima.

[35] Amaliah, p. 101.

[36] Banawi, et. al., p. 161, 165.

[37] Soulisa, 'Budaya Orang Basudara dalam Perspektif Al-Quran,' 2020, p. 1-27.

Islamic villages of Siri Sori, but it is culturally rooted in their lives since their ancestors' era. *Masohi* never left by them despite they face the challenges throughout their history. Even based on interviews conducted by the researchers, *masohi* is found to be a good aspect of people's lives when dealing with plurality. These conclusions are also derived from the following interview results.

Table 1. Interview results on the *masohi's* history in the Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori[38]

Interviewee	Position	*Masohi's* History
Alex Robert Tutuhatunewa	Lecturer of Indonesia Christian University in the Moluccas	Developing the local community as their part of lives since the ancestors' era
Wilhelmina J. Liklikwatil	Pastor of GPM	Social and religious activities that fosters cooperation beyond religious differences since the ancestors' era
Maryam Saimima	Staff of SMPN 45 of Central Maluku	Helping each other's need since the ancestors' era
Jacomina Saimima	Teacher of SMPN 45 of Central Maluku	Activities in solidarity with the local community since the ancestors' era
Umi Saimima	Teacher of SMPN 45 of Central Maluku	Mutual cooperation in the local community since the ancestors' era

Masohi as a Constructive Cultural Cooperation from the Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori

In the Moluccan tradition, people live in the spirit of cultural brotherhood or sisterhood. They also uphold cooperation between two or more villages based on sharing the same fate. When the two or more villages have a special bond inherited from their ancestors, the community cannot break it. If this bond is broken, they will be ashamed and believe that the ancestral oath will not be accepted.[39]

John Chr. Ruhulessin has argued that illness, death, and gardens do not produce results. For the Moluccans these aspects of life need traditional rites to consolidate and harmonize the balance of the microcosm and macrocosm, especially when the people have turned their backs on the tradition or the cosmos.[40] Bambang Hudayana says that the spirit of local wisdom maintains the sustainability and balance of ecosystems. This contributes to a sustainable common life.[41] Rikardus Nasa and Gisela Nuwa have also observed that the values of local wisdom can become a guide for certain communities that usually functions to correct imbalance.[42] Such is the relationship between the Christian and Muslim communities in the Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori.

Saimima emphasizes that *masohi* is carried out jointly in the Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori by the residents without being compelled to do so by formal orders or advice from traditional elders.[43] This is a manifestation of the social responsibility of the Christian and Muslim communities. They prioritize the common interests and welfare without seeking personal gains.[44] In addition, Dieter Bartels states that *masohi* is also a form of cooperation related to organizing village parties, so that the communities' unity and harmony can be supported.[45] *Masohi* can compete

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[38] Tutuhatunewa, Liklikwatil, Saimima, Saimima, Saimima (*Masohi's* History of Culture), *Interview*, {December 28}.

[39] Saimima.

[40] John Chr. Ruhulessin, *Etika Publik: Menggali dari Tradisi Pela di Maluku* (Salatiga: Satya Wacana University Press, 2005), p. 263.

[41] Bambang Hudayana, *Pemberdayaan Masyarakat: Bunga Rampai Antropologi Terapan* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2017), p. 148.

[42] Rikardus Nasa & Gisela Nuwa, 'Resolusi Konflik Berbasis Kearifan Lokal dalam Kehidupan Etnis Sikka Krowe,' *Edukatif: Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan* 4.1 (2022), p. 1-6, https://edukatif.org/index.php/edukatif/article/view/1720/pdf.

[43] Saimima.

[44] Saimima.

[45] Dieter Bartels, *Di Bawah Naungan Gunung Nunusaku: Muslim-Kristen Hidup Berdampingan di Maluku Tengah* (Jilid I:

with social conflicts such as political, religious, and land disputes, because *masohi* is one of the pillars of social cohesion and stability of the Moluccans.[46]

For Watloly, et. al., customary values are sacred norms for the Moluccans. Thus, they maintain and develop them in their respective traditional communities. They do this by collaborating with each other.[47] They do this in order to achieve unity, peace, and mutual prosperity in their community.[48] This kind of local wisdom is also, as explained by Watloly, et. al., demonstrates the social solidarity of the Moluccans.[49] In fact, this custom shapes their thinking (mind), inner nature, and behavior (ethos).[50]

Therefore, Watloly, et. al. says that after the conflict in Maluku about 20 years ago, peace can be pursued by reviving empathy and caring for each other (*hidup basudara*) as a basic way of life.[51] Karel Steenbrink adds that after the conflict, both the Christian and Muslim communities of Maluku showed preference for inclusive language rather than religious language to maintain social unity and good relations.[52] This is in line with the Jerry Irawan's opinion that every community has the potential to resolve conflicts. This approach has proven to be more effective than involving outsiders.[53]

In another work, Watloly asserts that the social system of the archipelagic community is formed from genealogical kinship relationships based on common interests and a close and emotional

similarity of place of residence (territorial).[54] Therefore, the social system of the society of Maluku Islands is collective and always prioritizes social relations with others.[55] This aspect of togetherness is the core value that is prioritized in making archipelagic society strong and able to survive and develop life in the face of various challenges.[56] However, the cooperation system in *masohi* does not impose a clear, effective, and firm division of tasks. Thus, it seems to be weakened in a competition system.[57] Norms, codes of conduct, and individual interests are also not opposed to the collective interest of this archipelagic society.[58]

Watloly also explains that the socially powerful tradition for the common good of the archipelagic society is to carry out a strong internalization process to build a shared identity as a traditional, cultured, and dignified society.[59] In addition, various differences are cultivated to build an effective social force, not to compete against each other but to win together, to stand on an equal footing, and to accept each other in openness.[60] The tendency of archipelagic development is also not to be exploitative in nature. This is also connected with the interests of the Indonesian's progress.[61] People who are agents of development get benefit from the development, although now there are also distortions and failures of development practices as well as materialism and immorality.[62] According to Watloly, this is due to the attitude of the planners and development

Kebudayaan) (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia/KPG, 2017), p. xxiv, 246.

[46] Bartels.

[47] Watloly, et. al., p. 77.

[48] Watloly, et. al., p. 133.

[49] Watloly, et. al., p. 134.

[50] Watloly, et. al., p. 141.

[51] Watloly, et. al., p. 144-145, 173.

[52] Karel Steenbrink, 'Interpretations of Christian-Muslim Violence in the Moluccas,' *Studies in Interreligious Dialogue* 11.1 (2001), p. 64-91.

[53] Jerry Indrawan, 'Kearifan Lokal Suku Sasak dan Suku Bali di Lombok sebagai Upaya Rekonsiliasi Konflik (Using Sasak Tribe and Balinese Tribe Local in Lombok as an Effort to Reconcile Cnflict),' *Verity: Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional* 12.23 (2020), p. 49-61,

https://garuda.kemdikbud.go.id/documents/detail/171948 2.

[54] Aholiab Watoly, *Cermin Eksistensi Masyarakat Kepulauan dalam Pembangunan Bangsa: Perspektif Indigenous Orang Maluku* (Jakarta: Intimedia CiptaNusantara, 2013), p. 413.

[55] Watloly.

[56] Watloly, p. 417-418; IndonesiaKaya.com, *Makna Masohi di Dalam Membangun Sebuah Kota*, online Portal, 2022, <https://indonesiakaya.com/pustaka-indonesia/makna-masohi-di-dalam-membangun-sebuah-kota/>{accessed October 21, 2022}.

[57] Watloly.

[58] Watoly, p. 413.

[59] Watoly, p. 176.

[60] Watloly, p. 289.

[61] Watoly, p. ix.

[62] Watoly, p. 506-507.

actors who are ignorant of the life values and characters of the archipelagic society.[63]

All figures in the interview also stated that *masohi* is a positive and necessary value and is beneficial for the society. *Masohi* cannot be replaced by pseudo-cooperation too. These conclusions are available in the following table.

Table 2. Interview results on the characteristics of *masohi* in the Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori[64]

Interviewees	Position	Characteristic of *Masohi*
Alex Robert Tutuhatunewa	Lecturer of Indonesia Christian University in the Moluccas	Spirit of non-violence and reviving attitudes of helping each other
Wilhelmina J. Liklikwatil	Pastor of GPM	Spirit of brotherhood and maintaining peace in the context of religious differences in the society
Maryam Saimima	Staff of SMPN 45 of Central Maluku	Spirit of helping each other by giving material and non-material support
Jacomina Saimima	Teacher of SMPN 45 of Central Maluku	Spirit of doing good to others
Umi Saimima	Teacher of SMPN 45 of Central Maluku	Spirit of building togetherness and minimizing bad issues in the society

Continuation of the Post-conflict *Masohi* Preservation

Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries Western European expansion brought various values, beliefs, practices, experiences, and languages to the colonized regions of the world. As argued by Frank L. Cooley,[65] there are challenges to the impact of social change in the Maluku context. This is increasingly complex due to the pluralistic society that already exists and which continues to grow until now. Ruhulessin explains that the isolation between nations, religions, races, and ideologies will be openly realized during this 21st centur. There is also a mix of shared ideas between societies, nations, and religions.[66] Nevertheless, the local wisdom of *masohi* that is constructive for the Christian and Muslim communities in the Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori during the post-conflict period still needs to be enacted.

According to Hudayana, the reproduction of local wisdom is not just to revive the original culture, but instead to give birth to a culture that can respond to problems during this era of development.[67] Nawari Ismail's research in five regions (Tasikmalaya, Surakarta, Kulonprogo, Pasuruan, and Mataram) as well as Samsul Ode's research in Maluku reveal that local culture has proven to be a medium in overcoming and controlling social conflicts, which involve people of different religions.[68] Local wisdom is the most powerful medium for finding solutions in conflict resolution, because it contains traditional institutionalized values, ethics, and behaviors. Therefore, people who live together under the guidance of a value system will complement their rules with local policies that are entrenched.[69] In addition, the values of local wisdom play roles in

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[63] Watloly.

[64] Tutuhatunewa, Liklikwatil, Saimima, Saimima, Saimima (Characteristic of *Masohi*), *Interview*, {December 28, 2022}.

[65] Frank L. Cooley, 'A Church Reformed and Reforming,' *International Review of Mission* 51.201 (January 1962), p. 26-32.

[66] Ruhulessin, p. 241.

[67] Hudayana, p. 99.

[68] Nawari Ismail, 'Konflik Umat Beragama dan Budaya Lokal,' <*https://adoc.pub/konflik-umat-beragama-dan-budaya-lokal-oleh-dr-nawari-ismail.html*> {accessed October 24, 2022}; Samsul Ode, 'Budaya Lokal sebagai Media Resolusi Konflik dan Pengendalian Konflik di Provinsi Maluku (Kajian, Tantangan, dan Revitalisasi Budaya Pela),' *Politika* 6.2 (2015), p. 93-100, https://ejournal.undip.ac.id/index.php/politika/article/view/10715.

[69] Herlina Astri, 'Penyelesaian Konflik Sosial Melalui Penguatan Kearifan Lokal,' *Asiparasi* 2.2 (2011), p. 151-162, https://jurnal.dpr.go.id/index.php/aspirasi/article/view/439.

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finding solutions to prevent conflicts and to foster a spirit of togetherness between communities.[70]

In answering the problem of handling communal conflicts in society, Watloly, et. al. has argued that cultural conflicts and peace management of the Moluccans also exist and have been attempted, namely:

> 1) *Bikin tado perkara* (the stage of conflict resolution to stop the conflict); (2) *bikin aman keadaan* (the stage of calming the conflicting parties); (3) *bikin dudu perkara* (the stage of conflict management); (4) *bikin bae* (the stage of relational restoration between those who are in conflict and affected by the conflict); (5) *baku dapa* (meeting) with intermediaries (mediation); and (6) *putus perkara* (arbitration).[71]

In addition, there is also the court as the community's settlement institution. However, according to Muhammad Saifullah, the settlements through are generally slow, a waste of time, formalistic, technically overloaded, and will always end in winning and losing decisions.[72]

Meanwhile, what is needed is a way that does not pit the Christian and Muslim communities in the Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori against each other but embraces all parties including past events in order to fix the present and future. *Masohi* can be the intended way, namely as an activity of humanity that is non-violent, not trapped in the romanticization of suffering and against crime based on the spirit of compassion and transformation. However, the possibility of social conflict due to pluralism still exists. *Masohi* as an artifact of local culture can be viewed according to

Bordieu's idea, as stated by Thriwaty Arsal, et. al. that it is a habitus that contributes to conflict resolution, because habitus contains elements, which include: custom, culture, ideology, and religion.[73] Therefore, *masohi* remains relevant as a reference today in resolving communal conflicts that occurred in the past. The existence of *masohi* show that local wisdom has a significant role in reconciling conflicts between communities and achieving peace and prosperity.[74]

There are two important things related to the preservation of *masohi* besides continuing the various development efforts that have been carried out by various parties so far. *First,* the narrative of the history of culture from the time of the ancestors to the post-conflict period when people practice *masohi*. This is in line with Saimima's view that through social interaction or communication between individuals and groups, awareness of their world can be awakened, which at the same time raises awareness of what is being done and its meaning for the common good.[75] In fact, P. Mutiara Andalas emphasizes that the stories of all parties, especially the victims of a humanitarian tragedy, should be written as a rejection of the eradication of people's memories of the historical trajectory of their communal lives.[76] In other words, *masohi* needs to be consistently focused on targeting aspects of memory based on awareness of cultural history from the time of the ancestors until now without ignoring the joys and sorrows, as well as successes and failures. Such things, as stated by Basri Amin in a book written by W. R. Van Hoevell, are useful for building the power of the

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[70] Ansar Suherman & Arief Sirajuddin, 'Kearifan Lokal sebagai Basis Komunikasi Pemerintah dalam Penyelesaian Konflik Sosial dan Komunal,' *Dialektika* 3.2 (2018), p. 34-42, http://www.ejournal.uniramalang.ac.id/index.php/dialektika/article/view/152.

[71] Watloly, et. al., p. 118-128.

[72] Muhammad Saifullah, *Sejarah dan Perkembangan Mediasi di Indonesia* dalam *Mengelola Konflik Membangun Damai: Teori, Strategi, dan Implementasi Resolusi Konflik*, ed. M. Mukhsin Jamil (Semarang: Walisongo Mediation Center, 2007), p. 209-231.

[73] Thriwaty Arsal, Dewi Liesnoor Setyowati, Puji Hardat, & Hamdan Tri Atmaja, "Penanganan Konflik melalui Budaya Lokal," *Book Chapter Konservasi Alam Jilid 1*, p.

66, https://bookchapter.unnes.ac.id/index.php/ka/article/view/85/81.

[74] Fajri M. Kasim & Abidin Nurdin, 'Resolusi Konflik Berbasis Kearifan Lokal di Aceh: Studi tentang Eksistensi dan Peran Lembaga Adat dalam Membangun Perdamaian di Kota Lhokseumawe,' *Ilmu Ushuluddin* 3.1 (2016), p. 101-118, https://garuda.kemdikbud.go.id/documents/detail/1514492.

[75] Saimima (2016), p. 28-29.

[76] P. Mutiara Andalas, *Kesucian Politik: Agama dan Politik di tengah Krisis Kemanusiaan* (Jakarta: Penerbit Libri, BPK Gunung Mulia, 2008), p. 236.

community's knowledge of their localities for the world and theirs surroundings.[77]

Second, joint participation in creating various breakthroughs and policies that are relevant to society's needs as part of the cooperation imperatives of *masohi*. Cultural values are the right choice to legitimize conflict resolution, which is needed by the society, because cultural values are considered to be supportive of reconciliation between two conflicting parties.[78] Here the conflict resolution approach within the framework of locality can lead the community to work together to find an effective conflict resolution.[79] Conflict resolution involving local wisdom contributes to maintaining social harmony. Therefore, local wisdom patterns based on peace building are needed.[80] Every culture has its own wisdom that guides the group or community in resolving conflicts faced.[81]

Indeed, Ismatu Ropi says that the government is eager to oversee and strictly control religious activities, but at the same time the majority group is interested to steer the direction of state policies to support to their norms and values.[82] The complexity of such context needs to be addressed as follows: (1) although the synergy of all parties; each party needs to be given adequate space to be involved and plays a role in various religious activities as well as social, cultural, and public activities in the state; (2) the religious teachings and symbols must be used as the sources of peace and social solidarity, rather than as instruments to legitimize violent discourses and acts;[83] and (3) although each party tends to prioritize its interests and values, universal ethical principles need to have a central position in building humanity. Thus, from awareness of the history of the Christian and Muslim communities in the Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori, the two communities can also determine their contribution. According to Waito Raharjo Jati, this reconciliation approach which pivots on the potential of local wisdom is has the potential to solidify society cohesiveness.[84] In addition, this local wisdom can be relied upon as a tool for resolving conflicts, which results in social disharmony in the society.[85]

The interviewees' opinion also confirm the explanation above, especially that *masohi* can maintain the harmony between the Christian and Muslim communities in the Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori. *Masohi* can be developed by all parties to bring good results to the community. The following table shows these conclusions.

[77] Basri Amin, *Dunia Maluku yang terus Berubah* dalam W. R. Van Hoevell, *Sejarah Kepulauan Maluku: Kisah Kedatangan Orang Eropa Hingga Monopoli Perdagangan Rempah* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2014), p. xxiii.

[78] Nanang Wijaya, 'Resolusi Konflik Berbasis Budaya oleh Masyarakat Kabupaten Poso,' *Jurnal Kolaborasi Resolusi Konflik,* 2.1 (2020), p. 58-63, https://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/jkrk/article/viewFile/27048/13196.

[79] Arya Hadi Dhharmawan, 'Konflik Sosial dan Resolusi Konflik: Analisis Sosio-Budaya (dengan Fokus Perhatian Kalimantan Barat),' *Makalah: Seminar PERAGI* (2006), p. 13, https://d1wqtxts1xzle7.cloudfront.net/31194465/Konflik-Sosial-dan-Resolusi-Konflik-Analisis-Sosio-Budaya-Dengan-Fokus-Perhatian-Kalimantan-Barat.

[80] Suprapto, 'Revitalisasi Nilai-nilai Kearifan Lokal bagi Upaya Resolusi Konflik', *Walisongo* 21.1 (2013), p. 19-38, https://journal.walisongo.ac.id/index.php/walisongo/article/view/235/216.

[81] Idrus Ruslan, 'Dimensi Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat Lampung sebagai Media Resolusi Konflik,' *KALAM* 12.1 (2018), p. 105-126, http://103.88.229.8/index.php/KALAM/article/view/2347.

[82] Ismatu Ropi, *Religion and Regulation in Indonesia* (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), p. v.

[83] Emilie Biver, 'Religious Nationalism: Myanmar and the Role of Buddhism in anti-Muslim Narratives: an Analysis of Myanmar's Ethnic Conflicts through the Lens of Buddhist Nationalism' {unpublished Thesis of Master of Science in, Global Studies Departement of Political Science, Land University, 2014}, p. 2.

[84] Wasisto Raharjo Jati, 'Kearifan Lokal sebagai Resolusi Konflik Keagamaan,' *Walosongo* 21.2 (2013), https://www.academia.edu/4334687/Kearifan_Lokal_sebagai_Resolusi_Konflik_Keagamaan?from=cover_page.

[85] Zaenuddin Hudi Prasojo & Mustaqim Pabbajah, 'Akomodasi Kultural dalam Resolusi Konflik Bernuansa Agama di Indonesia,' *Jurnal Aqlam: Journal of Islam and Plurality* 5.1 (2020), p. 1-28, https://journal.iain-manado.ac.id/index.php/AJIP/article/view/1131.

Table 3. Interview results on the preservation of *masohi* in the Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori[86]

Respond	Position	Preservation of *Masohi*
Alex Robert Tutuhatunewa	Lecturer of Indonesia Christian University in the Moluccas	The culture and influence of *masohi* are still strong and it should not be eliminated in the future because of social pluralism
Wilhelmina J. Liklikwatil	Pastor of GPM	*Masohi* is still practiced until now and it should be practiced from generation to generation
Maryam Saimima	Staff of SMPN 45 of Central Maluku	*Masohi* is preserved until now and should be maintained continuously as the ancestors' legacy
Jacomina Saimima	Teacher of SMPN 45 of Central Maluku	*Masohi* is still needed now and in the future to improve and advance the two villages
Umi Saimima	Teacher of SMPN 45 of Central Maluku	*Masohi* has been practiced well and it must be preserved better in the future

Conclusion

Post-conflict the Christian and Muslim communities in the Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori have had better relation than before the serious social conflict of 1999-2004 which was full of religion-based violence. Their local wisdoms have contributed to peace and conflict resolution between them. *Masohi* is based on the historical awareness of the two communities on the basis of which they can continue to coexist peacefully and even complement each other for the sake of humanity and mutual prosperity. This can happen, because: (1) *masohi* is rooted in their history of culture; (2) *masohi* is a constructive cultural

cooperation; and (3) *masohi* can be preserved by all levels of society in Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori. Therefore, preserving *masohi* is important, especially through historical narratives and joint activities of the community. Thus, the Christian and Muslim communities in the Christian and Islamic villages of Siri Sori do not just acknowledge each other as "*orang basudara*" verbally, but they also implement it in various aspects of their common life holistically and consistently.

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[86] Tutuhatunewa, Liklikwatil, Saimima, Saimima, Saimima (Preservation of *Masohi*), *Interview*, {December 28, 2022}.

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