

The Roles of Moslem and Christian Figures in Resolving Conflicts Among Village Communities

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ABSTRACT

A cultural diversity is not beneficial from political, economic and socio-cultural sides. This present studies tries to explain any process in decision making by religion leaders as culture broker in resolving conflicts. Using the background of social conflicts in Maluku islands, this study tries to present the roles of religion leaders as culture brokers in two villages representing two different religion communities. In this present study, a qualitative approach is employed. The results of this study show that the two communities namely *Negeri Sepa* (Islam) and *Negeri Amahai* (Christian) believe in two different religions, but they possesses a traditional social relationship through a social institution named *nela gandong*. Social conflicts among the two religion followers occurring out of the two communities once may trigger conflicts between Sepa and Amahai communities. Due to the tradiitonal roles of religion leaders of the two communities as culture brokers, a harmonious relationship between Sepa and Amahai communities gradually may be built up again so that a social stability between the two communities can be reestablished.

Keywords: Religion leaders, Social conflict, Culture broker, Social stability

INTRODUCTION

Sociologically, a social conflict is something that commonly happens, is a necessity, and even needed (conflict theories and methods) in order to bear a reconciliation and agreement on the commitment towards (positive) changes. In a socio-religious context, a majority and minority matter may become a source of conflicts; meanwhile a national stability is one of important factors in development. Therefore, a harmony among Islam's and Christians in a wide sense is a big problem that cannot be neglected and should always be seriously paid attention by all concerned parties. It is positive but it may become a problem if the conflict may even destroy any values and pillars of human life.

Indonesia is an archipelagic state with more than three hundreds ethnic groups and 250 vernacular languages. Diversity, plurality, heterogeneity are parts of archipelagic states possessing thousands of ethnic groups. Therefore, Indonesia is one of countries that have the highest level of diversity in the world, of which there are some populations with the standard of life as that in developed countries, and those with the lowest level of life as commonly found out in developing countries. According to some studies, cultural diversity is not something beneficial, either politically, economically or socio-culturally. Politically, a high number of ethnic groups in a country may trigger a conflict and political instability [1]. Psycho-socially, a heterogeneous society should try more hardly to build a trust or social capital among that a homogenous society. An economic gap, political accesses, and others including differences in ethnic groups, religions and races (horizontal inequalities) will easilly trigger some conflicts.

Sometimes hard encounters between Christians and Islams in Indonesia are caused by many complicated factors. Such encounters will increase in intensities in the future. Therefore, understanding of factors on such hard encounters is highly relevant and urgent in roder to anticipate anything happen [2]. A life harmony between Christians and Islams in Indonesia, as happens in religion followers in other countries, is often disturbed by ripples of social conflicts. Such a fact sometimes comes into a surface in either printed and electronic media. Contextually, a harmony between religion followers may become unstable, although there are numerous verses of the Holy Koran and hadists (in Islam) and Bible (in Christian) that suggest, call for and even command people to always do positive things in order to establish a harmony, a unity and a oneness, love and affection among human beings. The fact shows that moslems or some of them do not believe in the Holy Koran and Hadits from the Prophet anymore, so that they ignore the verses and Hadits that may be the guide and insurance of their lives [3].

The God decree in the epistle of al-Baqarah (2) verse 256: "*There shall be no compulsion in [acceptance of] the religion. The right course has become clear from the wrong. So whoever disbelieves in Taghut and believes in Allah has grasped the most trustworthy handhold with no break in it. And Allah is Hearing and Knowing.*" (al-Qur'an, 2:256 in Department of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, 1993). Moreover the Prophet Muhammad SAW states that one shall not come into in the heaven due to his/her action and deed that result in his/her neighbours feel unsafe [3].

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This teaching also applies to the Christians and others who forget their Bible as their life guide and assurance in this place and this moment [4] as stated in the Galatia 6:10 as follows “*Therefore, as we have opportunity, let us do good to all people, especially to those who belong to the family of believers*” (Indonesian Biblical Institute, 1995:438). It continues in the Philipi 2:3-4 as follows “*Do nothing out of selfish ambition or vain conceit. Rather, in humility value others above yourselves, not looking to your own interests but each of you to the interests of the others*” (Indonesian Biblical Institute, 1995:452).

The content in the texts of the two religions is in line with the view of an anthropologist, sociologist such as Durkheim [5] stating that religion is a system of belief and practice dealing with holy (sacred), uniting all its followers into a single miral community. The something holy, Durkheim states, possesses seven types of characteristics: (1) recognized as a power ; (2) ambigouus: physical-moral, human-cosmic, positive-negative, interesting-disgusting, helpful-harmful; (3) not utilitarian; (4) not empirical, (5) not involving knowledge, (6) reinforcing and supporting whorshippers; (7) making miral demand on its worshippers. Besides Durkheim, Spencer and Metta Inkeles also suggest that religion leaders (Protestant clergymen, Ulama) serve to be social and identity controls. So then what is the function of religion as taught in the religion texts in the society if it is studied in a sociological perspective? Empirically, Nottingham (1990) says that religion can have functions in a society among others as a factor that (1) integrates a society; (2) disintegrates a society; (3) preserves social values and (4) may play roles in creative, innovative and even revolutionaly fashions.

A conflict among religions in Central Maluku has happened eleven years ago and it is now at a reconstruction stage. Such a conflict once occured in some other areas with different scales and forms. But the level of furioucity in the conflicts city is almost the same. There is one group of people that attacks, burns, and assassinate other groups, it can be called *lupus esthomo homini*, meaning one person becomes a wolf for others. This condition has destroyed a harmony principle among religion followers and also *pela gandong* culture which is the basic value of social stability of t especially the village people and society in Central Maluku in general.

In general, the people of Maluku have a specific concept of reconcilement, although it sociale has segregated in the colonial era. Turmoils once happened turned out having opened the eyes of those who quarrel. And it applies to *Negeri Sepa* and *Negeri Amahai*. Religion leaders who are parts of the government institutions in each community play roles in raising their communities’ historical awareness. On the basis of the backgrounds above, it seems that the forms and characteristics of conflicts in a social life are not always the same. Thare ara some variations in conflicts, either in terms of the forms, characteristics or causes so that the solutions are also different. In any conflicts, the context of structure and function of the social life of the concerned society should be paid attention, since teh society as a unit of entity will really influence on the existence and continuation of the conflict. As a result, the research problem of this present study is as follow: how is the process of the decision making made by religion leaders as culture broker in resolving the conflict in *Negeri Sepa* and *Negeri Amahai*, in Central Maluku regency?

The topics of the roles of religion leaders, conflicts among social or religion groups and the way to creating a harmony or social stability among the plural society have actually been discussed, for examples, Ghaffar [6] and Pahrudin’s studies [7] on the roles of religion leaders which are relevant with this study. But Gaffar’s study [6] was made before an open conflict happened. In other words, the extent to which a potential conflict among a plural society has not been definitely measured. Whereas this present study was made in an area where an open conflict once happened, so that the existing potential conflict that has really happened can be directly seen. Dealing with any efforts to create a people endurance, Hadisaputro, Thoyib and Armawi’s research [8] seems to be relevant to depict a safe and harmonious situation of a plural society. But, the research was also still made in an area with no open conflict, since it sees that each heterogenous society is assumed to have a potential conflict.

There are some previous researches reffered to measure the causes of conflicts namely those of Tumanggor [9] and Noer and Syam [10]. The similarity between the researches and this present research is that they were done in an area with an open conflict and adopted a functional and conflict theories. The differences are that Tumanggor [9] did not describe the roles of social institution or leaders and tended to disscuss the background of the conflict and did not formulize a strategic step to keep a social stability. Meanwhile Noer and Syam [10], although observed the community participation, but the findings merely showed normative sides of the citizens’ obligations and duties im a hetereogenous life.

Another previous research relevant to this present research is the one made by Tualeka [11], but there are similarities and differences between Tualeka’s and this present researcg. Both reseaches principally studied the area of conflict in Maluku, but the atmosphere Tualeka described is urban areas, meanwhile this present research, rural areas. Dealing with variables and indicators, both used the same, namely characyeristics of society and understanding of religions. In terms of theories, Tualeka [11] adopted an approach to conflict theories, meanwhile this present research adopted an approach to functional theories.

The roles of religion leaders in the context of confilcts involving the international world also have given some understanding that religion leaders among civil societies may create a social stability. This concept

seems to have a similarity with that in this present research. Methodologically, this present research placed *ulama* as key informants. The main difference with this research is in its characteristics of the conflict. Warkak *et al* [12] studied a political-loaded conflict in a religion, but this research observed many loads, including political load, in different groups of religions.

From some previous researches, it seems that this present research shows some novelty elements. First is the area chosen is that with an open conflict, so that the resulted analysis is more measurable on the basis of conditions that had really happened. Second is that the roles of leaders really showed a more strictly functional approach from the leaders who really determined the society stability among the heterogenous society without ignoring other elements. Third is at up to know the conflict that caused disputes among religion groups has still been an important social issue to resolve. The early trigger of such a conflict is usually social, economic and political factors. Therefore, the strength of this present study is on how to formulize some strategic steps to establish a social stability. It is not explicitly shown in previous researches which tend to describe factors resulting conflicts. Fourth is the choice of rural areas that had not been made by previous researchers, since they assumed that the triggers of the conflicts were easier to explain for urban areas. This research would try to raise other sides of rural areas in Indonesia that have a specific uniqueness, one of which is the existence of social partition formed in the colonial era and it has been existing up to now. On the other hand, there is a custom mechanism (*pela gandong*) that has been being recognized as a control for the social borders and partitions.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

In this present research a qualitative approach was adopted where in the process it would produce descriptive data in the forms of written words or orals from the people and behaviors that are observable [13]. Moreover, the description would be made in a descriptive-analytic pattern. In this case, the data obtained would be written in the forms of numbers or statistical numbers, but in a qualitative form by explaining the situation research in a narrative.

This research was focused on the roles of Islam leaders (Tuan Guru) and Christian Protestant (Clergymen) in rural areas as culture brokers. The focus was made on the basis of an idea that in a qualitative research, any symptom is holistic in nature (comprehensive, inseparable), so that the research in this case determined the focus on the basis of the whole social situation examimen including aspects of place, actor, and activity which are sinegircally integrated [14]. This research is located in Negeri Sepa and Negeri Amahai which are two village in the areas of Central Maluku regency. The wo villages are representation of Islam and Christian villages, respectively. When the turmoils with religion nuances happened from 1999 to 2002, the two villages were also involved in the conflict. But interestingly, compared with a number of other areas in Central Maluku regency, the two villages showed the quickest step in the relation normalization.

The data sources consisted of primary and additional ones. The primary data were in the forms of words and actions, while the additional data were documents [13]. In this research, the data sources were the informants and documents. There are two types of unformants namely key and supporting informants. The key informants are religion leaders considered to understand and to possess various main information needed in this research. The concerned religion leaders are Ruan Guru (Islam) and Clergymen (Christian Protestant). Both may be categorized as having authorities in guiding the people in order to have images, behaviors and life philosophy which are in accordance with religion teaching. Meanwhile supporting informants are the people and elements from custom figures, journalistic cover, and government institutions which are directly involved in the social interaction studied.

As stated before, the data sources are relevant documents, either those in the forms of results of reports from the government institutions, social and religious institutions, journalistic cover, observable real condition, or manuscripts related to historical backgrounds of *desa/negeri* and informants (religion leaders) as the research subject. The key informants from Islam leaders (tuan guru) and Christian Protestant (Clergymen) were pusposively determined by taking into account the relevance of the concerned subject with the four parameters suggested by Miles and Huberman [15], namely actor, setting, event and process.

Moreover, to obtain the needed data, reviews, observations, documentations and searching form audio-visual materials methods were adopted. to ascertain the data validity, a control was made using a triangulation method. The technique of the triangulation adopted was examination through other sources, namely by comparing and rechecking the confidence level of an information obtained in different time and tools in a qualitative method ([16]).

In line with the design, this research would show a descriptive study in an effort to explore the roles of religion leaders in realizing the social stability. Concerning with the parameters or certain dynamics of social backgrounds, the instrumentation in this research was made by considering all relevant aspects relevant to the objectives of this research.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A portrait of Social Stability in Negeri Sepa and Negeri Amahai

Like other societies in Maluku Island, mos society in Negeri Sepa and Amahai earn their living as fishermen and farmers. As a coastal negeri focusing on the aspect of marine fishery as their economic commodity, the people in the tro negeri make the marine potential and their main traditional earn of living. The next important earn of living is farming (farmers) with the main commodity of plants such as clove, nutmeg, pepper, coconut, coffee, cocoa, and vanily. Besides as fishermen and farmers, the people in the two negeris also earn their living as workers in either the government or private institutions, teachers, or nurses.

Dealing with agricultural land holding in Negeri sepa, the lands are possessed by land labourers, and also tuan gurus. In other words, the gurus, directly or indirectly, also do activities as farmers. Meanwhile there are some Sepa people who actually have lands. This condition also makes a better relationship between tuan gurus and the population in the negeri. And this relationship is not only between the tuan gurus and their ummah, but also land owners and land laborers. Viewed from a good governance, either Negeri Sepa or Negeri Amahai also applies the regulations on the village government. But there are some special characteristics of the traditional government that distinguishes the model of village government in Maluku province and those in other villages in Indonesia.

The terms Saniri and Raja in the model of the negeri government are maintained and this implies to some aspects, such as a succession mechanism. In this matter Raja was elected through deliberation and custom election made in Baileo. The candidates are representatives from each clan considered ti hape roles in the process of establishing the negeri society. Some clans are considered to possess strong traditions in the roots of history of the population so that they are considered to suitable to lead negeri.

From the socio-cultural aspect, the people in the two negeris may be viewed from the aspects of cultural values, diversity of the tribes, language, religion and education. For more information, see Table 1.

Table 1. The Socio-cultural Condition of the people in Negeri Sepa and Negeri Mahai, in Central Maluku Regency, Indonesia, 2011.

No.	Socio-cultural Condition	Village (Negeri)	
		Sepa	Amahai
1	Daily Languages	Indonesian, Malay, Ambonesse, Sepanesse, Nuaulunesse	Indonesian, Malay- Ambonesse, Amahaian
2	Places of Woship	Mosques (3), <i>Musholla</i> (2)	Church (2)
3	Social Institutions	<i>Tahlil, Barzanji/Shalawatan</i>	Public worship, holy prayer, Sunday School
4	Staple Foods	Sagoo, rice	Sagoo, rice
5	Cultural Institutions	<i>Masohi, pela-gandong</i>	<i>Masohi, pela-gandong</i>
6	Affiliations of Religion Organization	Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama	Gereja Protestan Maluku, Persekutuan Gereja-gereja Indonesia

Source: Monography of Government of Negeri Sepa dan Negeri Amahai, 2011 (data processed)

Table 1 shows the institutions of *pela gandong* culture in the two negeris. *Pela* is a statement of kinship or brotherhood with a binder power to establish unity and oneness between parties having the cultural relationship with certain sanctions if the tabooed prohibitions are violated. The sanctions and prohibitions are irrationally made but they are believed as a part of ancestors-inherited customary values. It is from these binds that the citizens of negeri believing in Islam may help the members of negeri with the faith in Christian, and on the way around. Although the relationship is very close, the members of the two negeris are forbidden to marry one another. It is even stipulated in the *pela* agreement. The term *gandong* in the people of Central Maluku refers to the similarity of ancestors or parents of the two communities with different religions. *Gandong* means 'from one womb of one mother.

The kinship relation between the two or more negeris through *pela gandong* commonly happens among negeris of which their communities believe in different religions such as in negeri Sepa and Amahai. In the social institution in Maluku communities, it is *pela gandong* that serves as a basis to establish the social relation among native people. The real form of the *pela gandong* relation is reflected in the *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation) called *masohi*. The values of *masohi*, in general, are not only reflected in the internal affairs in a village but among villages.

From the religion point of view, it seems that the condition in *Negeri Sepa* and *Negeri Amahai* shows a social segregation that has been built since the colonial period. The social segregation is built on religion, so that it results in a strong relationship between a connotation of a certain religion and the members of a certain village/negeri. In general this condition is considered not to be weakness, since the communities with different religions existing in the two negeris, even in Maluku, has possessed an institution to manage it (pela gandong). The composition of the believers in the two negeris are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. the Composition of Believers in Religions in *Negeri Sepa* and *Negeri Amahai*, in Central Maluku Regency, Indonesia, 2011.

No.	Negeri	Religion	Percentage (%)	Description
1	Sepa	Islam	99,1	Believed by all population in Negeri Sepa spread in some dusuns, including some members of Nuaulu tribe becoming mualaf.
		Traditional belief	0,9	Believed by Nuaulu tribe that are customarily affiliated to the government of Negeri Sepa. Administratively, some believing in Christian are noted in the population data as believing in Hinduism.
2	Amahai	Christian	100	Majority of people believed in Christian Protestant.

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Central Maluku Regency, 2011 (data processed)

The Contribution of Religion Leaders in Realizing Social Stability

In this present research, the religion leaders give an important contribution for the formation of elements supporting social stability. The supporting elements are those in a society coming from individuals or communities, natural and social environment. The following will be presented the contribution of religion eladers for the establishment of supporting elements of social stability in negeri Sepa and Amahai. The supporting elements consist of characteristics of village environment, supporting elements (custom figures and government institutions), village characteristics, religion leaders, and conflicts.

For *gurus* in Negeri Sepa, characteristics of village environment are used to make the ummah to work hard to improve the field productivity as taught by previous generations. Therefore, no changes happen in its use from year to year. Even for reaching the objective, the gurus, as the religion leaders, take part in land processing as land possessors employing some members of the community. Meanwhile, the clergymen in Negeri Amahai tend to focus the attention to coastal regions which has been more empowered by the people since the colonial periode up to now. No wonder that in negeri Amahai fishermen and trade ports inter the neighbouring islands are found out.

The way of thinking growing up in such an environment gradually influence the belief and the view of the community towards the characteristics of their lives. The result is a familiarity with the main earn of living of the people of negeri Sepa as farmers and fishermen. The people of negeri Amahai connote themselves as fishermen and farmers. Such an order of jobs namely farmers and fishermen show the priority of the main earn of living as a form of the familiarity with the condition of the village environment. The belief and viw finaly produce a synergy between the people of negeri Sepa and Amahai in order to meet its shortages. The overpluss of agricultural commodities in Sepa will fulfill the shortage in Amahai. On the other hand, the people in Amahai have also developed the coastal region by providing facilities for the fish action and ports for the people, including the people of Sepa. This shows that the social stability can be built from the familiarity iwth the condition of village evironment, where a harmonious relation bwteen Negeri Sepa (Islam) and Negeri Amahai (Christian) exists.

Dealing with supporting elements, the religion leaders have a direct, strong relationship with either *raja* or *saniri/latupati* element. In the instrument of the government of custom negeri, gurus/clergyment actively give inputs to the raja and have an equal diiscretion to make active decisions. Even to make decisions dealing with the matters of relihion, the raja should admit the fatwas/decisions. It is a strong basis on why the religion leaders have actively still made decisions, including taking parts in the initiavies of conflict resolutions. Then, at the level of relation with the leaders of formal institutions, the sociological atmophere of the people of Maluku still give a special place for religion leaders to participate in any decision makings.

In general, the characteristics of the people in negeri Sepa and Amahai are similar due to the similarity in tribe and culture. The attitudes of simple, firm, open and hard are commonly found among them. Therefore, the religion leaders are also easy to implant their religious thinking and ideas in to the soul of the people. This condition is supported by either the custom or social legitimation accepted by the religion leaders from one generation to the next. The moments of celebrations of holidays such as *tahlilan,maulid nabi, idul fitri, idul adha*, holy prayer, easters, or weekly activities such as *Jumat prayer, orpublic worship* are the important channel for religion leaders to implant their ideas.

As the characteristic of the pela gandong relationship, the established traditional relationship is based on custom rules. In this case, the people in the two negeris are open, they do not mix among religious ritual matters, but they tende to develop common cultures and values. For example, in the ceremony of the raja

ininauguration attended by the members of the two villages, each community often also contribute to the activity. Another example is in building places of whorshipes. Either the people of Sepa and Amahai understand that helping build the place of worship does not mean that they take part in religious ritual. They view custom houses as a cultural product where masohi (mutual cooperation) values can be built in it.

Social Conflicts and the Process in Decision Making by Religion Leaders in Resolving Conflicts

The conflict firstly happened among the drivers of general transportation and their passengers in Ambon city in 1999 and it was not related to any religion. But those involved in this conflict have different religions where the drivers are Moslems while the passengers are Christians. Then the social conflict involved the Islam and Christian followers in almost all of the Maluku Island. There are many possible explanations for this conflic, one of them is a geographical condition. The archipelagic condition of Maluku with villages spread over with the borders of the oceans may result in an assymmetric information. Even in the land area, the location of each village tends to be distant one another bordered by forests and also agricultural areas. The next possible explanation is the the potential fanaticism as *anak negeri (indigenous people)* of a village that happens to, due a social segregation during the collinial era, result in defining themselves as another form of a certain religion. For instance, the people of Sepa are always Moslem, and Amahai, Christian.

Due to such a real condition, religion leaders needed to resolve a conflict through a process of taking a proper decision. For religion leaders, it was necessary for them to give right information and to convey weaknesses and strengths to their ummah about the strengths and weaknesses in order to resolve the conflict during the post era of the social conflict. But as previously stated, the resolution of the conflict was made more quickly than those in other places that simultaneously happened.

The paradigm adopted in the process of the decision making is as follow: problem diagnosis, perception processing, alternative choices, and decision making. Each will be furtherly described below. The first is the process of diagnosing problems. The religion leaders, the gurus and the clergymen adopted a pattern of an internal communication by taping the community perception from each negeri. The first thing to take is their perception on the impact they got during the conllicft, including any difficulties they faces in their daily activities. Then the religion leaders also tapped the raja's perception on the custom matgters and other traditional consequences. Even in the problem diagnosis, the gurus and the clergyman, and also with saniri/latupati, discussed the results with the rajas.

Second is during the perception proceses the supporting element of custom government was made use of. Either the gurus or clergymen in this case tried to accomodate and to become mediators for various opinions after the problem tapping was done at the grassroot level. In this process the forum asked some youth leaders representing each clan in the negeri to come to the meeting since ean each problem determination involving negeris in resolving conflicts, such a clan representativeness is very vital for the people of Maluku.

Fourth is that during the process of alternative choice, since the problem is a social conflict under the name of religion, the rajas entrusted the management and the formulation of the resolution to either the gurus or the clergymen who would have a relationship with the rajas and the negeri and with also the religion leaders. It is also an old tradition which is maintained as a form of the central role of religion leaders, especially those dealing with religion problems, either internal or external ones. The main background why the rajas give a big role to the religion leaders is that the leaders are older than the rajas. For instance, the raja of Negeri Sepa was 56 years old, meanwhile the gurus were above 65 years old.

Fifth is the process of decision making or the results of internal agreement conveyed to the party of another negeri. It is the official discourse from the conflict resolution submitted by each party. In the case of Negeri Sepa and Negeri Amahai, the formulation of resolution from each negeri was traditionally conveyed by the raja of each negeri accompanied by saniri negeri (a custom apparatus in a village), including religion leaders. Then it was symbolically stated by reading the results in baileo (custom house) of the two negeris, where all representatives of gurus, clergymen, sanirinegeri and the local government attended the meeting. The procession was packaged like a custom ceremony such as the the ceremony of unauguration of raja or the like so that sacred contents can be felt by those who attend in them. The last process of resolving the conflict was determined in the city hall of Central Maluku regency.

Theory Reconstruction

The results of this research showed that the roles the religion leaders played to create a social stability suggested three things namely (1) social stability in Central Maluku regency involved the participation of religion leaders; (2) the involvement of religion leaders was then in line with expectation flourishing among the ummah, and (3) the roles of religion leaders would really determined the decision making and was active before and after the conlflct and during and also after the conflict, but in different conditions since it stared to lead to a symbolic leadership.

Before the conflict, the form of roles the religion leaders played was as a filter for new culture that would enter into the area. This roles was ontained because the ummah came to the gurus and clergymen to ask about

religious and practical problems according to a traditional conception of ruralistic leaders. This condition is similar with a position of a kyai in rural areas in Java who sociologically possesses a role similar to the gurus or clergymen namely as expert power (figures with high knowledge of religion) and *referent power* (figures adequate as referent/model). The position is obtained through reputation built by the line of offspring from their parents who were also prominent religion figures before. This condition is not fully the same with that the clergymen experience ut the tendency is the same. The example is a statement of a guru in Negeri Sepa who referred to the opinion and historical background of his father.

The above mentioned condition becomes a strong reason for a guru or clergyman to respond to the need of his ummah and as a basis to try to improve the social, economic and spiritual condition of the ummah. The effort is supported by the roles of the formal government as Mansunoor [17] described as unplanned, ad hoc and detached. In this case, the formal government positions itself as a neutral party or becomes a facilitator and does not take sides to one party. Even in some cases, the formal government does not have a certain plan so that it tends to give a pattern of relationship among the people to an established mechanism (custom). On the other hand, the custom government of either Negeri Sepa or Amahai still recognizes the existence of religion leaders as a part of the development actors of the negeris with the rajas and a whole members of saniri agency.

Another factor existing in the two negeris is the feeling of tiredness and awareness of the use of ummah by interest groups to lengthening the conflict and this has made the people in the two negeris to be more intelligent. Such a conflict would not give any benefit for them, except for interest groups out of them. Moreover, one of the clergymen also said about the importance of a communication forum for inter-ummah and this showed that religion leaders tend to create a social stability through the establishment of a wide community in line with a structural functional concept, besides maintaining a local wisdom, *pela gandong*.

The next is an effort to create a social stability by the religion leaders which is in line with the people's expectation. The views of youth and custom leaders show that the people in Negeri Sepa and Amahai began to orient to a more open way of thinking from each party. A socio-economic dependence factor between the two negeris and the demographic condition show the orientation. The political and administrative access to the social development in the future will be thought by the youth figures representing the people in the two negeris. It is this aspiration which is caught by the religion leaders as expectations to do the roles of social changes while still maintaining traditional roles as the ummah leaders. Therefore, understanding and accommodating the people's expectation, the religion leaders still play roles of active decision makers.

The role the religion leaders play is still consistent with their traditional ones as culture brokers, namely middlemen bridging two cultures in order to reduce conflicts and to do changes [18]. This role is impossible to play if the religion leaders merely play roles as a change agent in the concept of Rigers [19] since the main duty of the change agent is to make changes as the change agencies intends.

Another thing that proves that religion leaders have a position as a culture broker, not merely as change agent is all processes before and even after the conflict where religion leader always became active decision makers. Even in the condition of post conflict, the Gurus and Clergymen were willing to be arbiters to stop small sporadic conflicts. In this condition, customarily the presence of religion leaders was really felt as those bridging the relation between the two groups involved in the conflict. The formal government (the local government) tended to give a space for them to play their traditional roles considered constructive for peace.

The above mentioned roles are a reflection of the position of religion leaders as a culture broker, namely those standing upright among the intersection of two communities/cultures. If one has moved from one culture to another, he has shifted his roles as a culture broker, since he has become a pati for the culture where he has moved from. Consistent with the position as a culture broker, religion leaders may build trust in the eyes of their ummah. In this present research it is found out that religion leaders showed that they were consistency with maintaining the trust of their ummah they lead.

CONCLUSION

The process in the decision making to resolve conflicts by the religion leaders in order to create social stability gives an understanding that the gurus and clergymen possess active roles in the effort. The success of the two negeris in realizing the social stability more quickly than those of others in Maluku island shows a big role and contribution of religion leaders as a culture brokers when making a decision. Moreover it also shows their sensitivity to the expectation of their ummah while maintaining their traditional roles in conditioning supporting elements of social stability in the conflict areas through conflict resolution as a part of the process of the decision making.

The consistent attitudes as a culture broker and their sensitivity to the expectation of the ummah and also their traditional roles has made the religion leaders succeed in managing and conditioning the supporting elements of social stability. The gurus and the clergymen hold an opinion that any elements that may form characteristics of a community should be formed and built in such a way so that it enables the social stability to come true. The result of such a condition is that active decisions making resulting in the conflict resolutions can be made.

Then, dealing with the condition of the existing negeris, the religion leaders had considered what it was to be done to the area with coastal regions and which is directly related to the mountaneous areas. The condition of the supporting element with a concrete relation to religion leaders, namely Saniris and the Rajas themselves could also be taken into account. The religion leaders really realized their important roles in the community of Maluku custom which still respects the masohi and pela gandong values. This condition serces as a main key to build trust of the society, besides their status or their traditional roles which are formally recognized in the structure of custom. Moreover, the characteristic of conflict which is under the name of religion should be carefulley understood by the religion leaders so that they may make decisions that may assure the realization of social stability and may always pay attention to their traditional roles and accommodate the expectations of their ummah.

IMPLICATION

The success of the religion leaders in maintaining and developing roles before and after conflict since their existence is considered as a respected party due to their custom position and a strong and rooted, but it can be formed with the religion leaders are still consistent with their position as a culture broker, instead of shifting their position as agent of external forces.

Then, this research results in a blue ribbon on the debat of the abilities of religion leaders (gurus, kyais, buyas, ajengan, clergymen) in Indonesia to still play roles in the establishment of the orders of the state called Indonesi, the blue ribbon is on the concept of the position consistency as a culture broker and of the sensitivty to the expectations and traditional roles. Previous researches produce some propositions of one of teh concepts culture of culture broker but no that of censitivity to expectations and traditional roles. As a result, some results of the previous researchers are in line with the results of this present research and some others produce some criticisms.

Moreover, there are some practical implications of this research.

First, the community of the ecology of agricultural farm with some mix of coastal community with practical, simple and open attitudes shows how the religion leaders really understand their people and the characteristics of the local condition where they have roles. In this case, the consistence of the religion leaders to still maintain their position a a culture brokers is determinant to realize the social stability. The consistency is also supported by their ability to be sensitive to the expectations of their ummah in the one hand and on the other hand to still maintain their traditional roles as their guide and protectors of their ummah.

Second, to make the religion leaders always support and take active parts in the process of establishing a social stability, it is necessary to give them a disresion to develop a functional conception they really understand by opening a communication channel among the ummah of different religions. The ability of the religion leaders to maintain their position as an active decision makers during the the conflict tended to be symbolic if the tension in the society was really loose. The process of developing a social stability by an idea of wastablishing a whole community is really visible from the views of some religion leaders either from Islam or Christian Protestant.

Third, by paying attention to the central roles of the religion leaders in creating a social stability, it seems that each leader tends to still maintaing their traditional roles in guiding his ummah. Based on such condition, elements supporting the the stability, especially from the elements and Rajas and Saniris and also youth figures should make proper fomulations on the structure and the position of religion leaders in the custom in order that they alway possess innovative and advanced thinking, compared with their roles before the conflict broke out.

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