Political communication strategies of Muhammad Yusuf Kalla a case study at the Poso Conflict Peacebuilding

Suharto[1], Abd. Rasyid Masri[2], Arifuddin Tike[3], & Suf Kasman[4]

[1]Universitas Islam Negeri Datokarama Palu
[2,3,4]Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin Makassar

Correspondence Email: suharto@uindatokarama.ac.id

ABSTRACT

The problem addressed in this research revolves around uncovering the Political Communication Strategy Process of Muhammad Jusuf Kalla in mediating the Poso Conflict. The research objective is to ascertain the success of Muhammad Jusuf Kalla's political communication in reconciling the Poso conflict. This study employs a qualitative approach with a case study methodology. The researchers utilize the case study approach to unveil the role of Jusuf Kalla's political communication strategies in mediating the Poso conflict by exploring various information related to the process and the political communication settings employed. Data collection methods consist of interviews and documentation. Data management and analysis encompass four stages: data reduction, data presentation, data verification, and drawing conclusions. The research findings of the process of Muhammad Jusuf Kalla's Political Communication Strategy in designing peace for the Poso Conflict are delineated through six strategic stages: Information Gathering and Conflict Mapping, In-depth Problem Analysis, Confrontation-Collaboration, Negotiation and Declaration, and Post-Peace Outcome. The characteristics of Jusuf Kalla's communication style encompass being firm, swift, measurable, comprehensive, consistent, visionary, solution-oriented, inclined towards win-win solutions, risk-taking, and innovative thinking. The Peace Communication Strategy Model formed is the JK-COVERSITE model, which consists of the following elements: Communication Pathway, Coordination, Observation, Visionary Approach, Egalitarian Principles, Responsibility, Sense of Humanity, Identification, Trustworthiness, and Embrace. The implications of this research are anticipated to serve as a potential model for political communication strategies in conflict resolution, particularly in handling social conflicts based on ethnicity and religion, both at the national and global levels. It underscores the need for governments and societies to prioritize maintaining security and justice and formulating

strategies and policies that enhance well-being and promote religious understanding rooted in multicultural and multiethnic values.

Keywords: Political communication; peace; Poso conflict

1. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia continues to harbor potential conflicts, particularly religious ones, that are a ticking time bomb. In this context, they can erupt at any moment due to various possibilities that may serve as triggers.[1] Similarly, when we examine the issue of religious intolerance among different religious communities in Indonesia, it appears as an endless and easily ignitable nightmare. Although the government has made efforts to prevent such conflicts by enlightening religious communities through the paradigm of religious moderation and the establishment of the Interfaith Harmony Forum, or *Forum Kerukunan antar Umat Beragama (FKUB)*, as a driving force for fostering harmonious interfaith relations, these efforts primarily serve as anticipatory or preventive measures.

However, on the other hand, when conflicts, such as religious or communal conflicts, escalate, concrete strategies and actions are required to resolve them effectively, both at the top leadership level and at the grassroots level. Drawing inspiration from the conflict resolution efforts of the peace advocate, Mr. JK (Jusuf Kalla), his track record in addressing religious and communal conflicts in Indonesia is undeniable.[2]

While dark chapters in history, such as the Poso conflict, may fade from memory, they remain a relevant topic of discussion. Furthermore, key figures in the peace process in Poso are still alive and actively contributing to conflict resolution in Indonesia. One intriguing aspect worth exploring is the political communication strategy employed by Mr. JK in his role as a peace facilitator during the Poso conflict. Notably, he continued his efforts despite no longer holding an official government position, as he was removed from office on April 24, 2000. Nevertheless, even after relinquishing his ministerial post during President Abdurrahman Wahid's tenure, often referred to as Gusdur, he persisted in his mission to bring peace to Poso. He regarded it as a humanitarian calling, demanding special attention in addressing the bloodshed in the region,[3] as disclosed in JK's diary entries, quoted from Hamid Awaluddin's account.

> The Poso conflict, which commenced in 1998, has persisted for three years, resulting in a significant loss of life, with hundreds of casualties, thousands of homes destroyed, and numerous mosques and churches set ablaze. Additionally,

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[1] Sofian Munawar Asgart. "Politisasi Sara: Dari Masa Orba Ke Masa Transisi Demokrasi." *Jakarta: isai* (2003). h. 23

[2] Farid W Husain., and K. B. D. Sp B. *TO SEE THE UNSEEN-Kisah di Balik Damai di Aceh*. PT. Rayyana Komunikasindo, 2018. h. 30

[3] WIM Poli, *Rekam jejak JK: sebuah kajian kepemimpinan*, h. 69

this has led to a substantial displacement of people, numbering approximately 90,000 individuals, constituting nearly 30% of the population of Poso Regency. Consequently, the livelihoods of the local population have been severely impacted, potentially precipitating new pockets of poverty in the midst of the clove and cocoa plantations. The economic losses incurred amount to trillions of rupiah, underscoring the enormity of this calamity. May God grant forgiveness and solace in these trying times.[4]

JK's statement reflects his concern regarding conflicts and their far-reaching impacts on the overall stability of the nation, particularly in conflict-affected regions. JK arrives at the conclusion that the root causes of these conflicts lie in issues related to justice and economic disparities. Furthermore, JK expresses his readiness to engage in open dialogue to resolve these issues, investigating their underlying factors pertaining to economic, political, or cultural issues.[5] Therefore, when tracing back the role of JK's political communication at the national level, with a focus on the peace process during the 2001 Poso conflict, it is plausible to assert that a majority of the Indonesian population would agree that the central figure who played a significant role in resolving the long-standing racial tensions between the two groups (Muslims and Christians) that had claimed many lives was Muhammad Jusuf Kalla[6]. JK was appointed as a mediator and peace facilitator, initiated through the efforts of Pastor A. Tobondo, who contacted the Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), the Minister for People's Welfare Coordination (Menko Kesra) Muhammad Jusuf Kalla (JK), and the Minister of Defense, Mathori Abdul Jalil, to urgently pursue peace in Poso.[7]

2. METHODS

This research employs a qualitative research paradigm. Bogdan and Biklen contend that qualitative research possesses distinctive characteristics, including the following: (a) Qualitative research is rooted in the natural setting as the primary source of data, and the researcher assumes the role of the primary instrument; (b) Qualitative research is fundamentally descriptive in nature; (c) Qualitative researchers prioritize the examination of processes over mere outcomes or products; (d) Qualitative researchers typically employ an inductive approach in data analysis; (e) The concept of "meaning" holds significant importance within the qualitative approach.[8]

The present study applies a qualitative approach through a case study methodology. According to Creswell, the characteristics of a case study encompass the following aspects:

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[4] Hamid Awaluddin, *Perdamaian ala JK; Poso tenang, Ambon damai* (Grasindo, 2009), h. 6

[5] WIM Poli, *Rekam jejak JK: sebuah kajian kepemimpinan*, h. 76

[6] WIM Poli, *Rekam jejak JK: sebuah kajian kepemimpinan*. (PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2014), h.16

[7] W. Purwanto, *Menggapai Damai di Poso* (Jakarta: CBM Press, 2007), h.95

[8] Bogdan Robert C., Biklen Kopp Sari, *Qualitative Research For Education; An Introduction to Theory and Methods*, Allyn and Bacon, Inc., (Boston London, 1992), h. 29-33

1. Identification of a specific "case" for the study;

2. The case represents a "bounded system" defined by time and place;

3. Case studies involve the utilization of multiple data sources to provide a comprehensive and in-depth depiction of responses to a particular event;

4. Employing the case study approach, researchers dedicate considerable effort to describing the context or setting of the case. [9]

This implies that a case can be examined as a study object, [10] or considered as a methodology in itself.[11] Based on the aforementioned discussion, it can be inferred that a case study constitutes an exploration of a "bounded system" or a "specific case/various cases" over time, achieved through collecting comprehensive data from various rich sources within a specific context. These bounded systems are defined by time and place, while cases may encompass programs, events, activities, or individuals.

The case study approach can be employed to gain a profound understanding of the context, processes, and outcomes of peace efforts undertaken by JK. The following formulation considers the characteristics of the case study approach:

1. Singular Case Focus (Casuistic): This research will concentrate on a single case, namely JK's peace efforts in the Poso Conflict. This case is chosen due to its complexity and relevance within the context of the Poso conflict.

2. Descriptive Approach: This research will employ a descriptive approach to gather in-depth and detailed data about JK's political communication strategies in the pursuit of peace. Data will encompass these peace efforts' background, context, processes, and outcomes.

3. Qualitative Data Collection: This approach will utilize qualitative data collection methods such as interviews with relevant parties, direct observations, and analysis of pertinent documents. Qualitative data will provide profound insights into JK's political communication strategies and a better understanding of the context.

4. Contextual Analysis: This research will analyze the context that influences peace efforts in the Poso Conflict. Social, cultural, historical, and institutional factors that play a role in JK's political communication will be considered to comprehend the complexity of the peace phenomenon.

5. Holistic Approach: This approach will adopt a holistic perspective, taking into account various aspects and dimensions of JK's political communication strategies in the Poso Conflict peace process. Internal and external factors, including the

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[9]John W., Creswell, et al. "Qualitative research designs: Selection and implementation." *The counseling psychologist* 35.2 (2007), h. 236-264.

[10]John W., Creswell, et al. "Qualitative research designs: Selection and implementation." *The counseling psychologist* 35.2 (2007), h. 236-264.

[11] Sharan B Merriam,. *Case study research in education: A qualitative approach*. Jossey-Bass, 1988.

interests of the groups involved in the conflict, will be analyzed to attain a comprehensive understanding.

6. Limited Generalization: This research acknowledges the limited generalizability inherent in case studies. Findings and conclusions derived will have restricted relevance to the examined case of Poso Conflict peace.

7. Inductive Approach: This approach will employ an inductive approach in data analysis. Detailed data collected will be analyzed to identify patterns, themes, and hypotheses emerging concerning JK's political communication strategies in the Poso Conflict peace process.

8. Accuracy and Trustworthiness: This research will emphasize accuracy and trustworthiness in data collection and interpretation. Data validity will be ensured by utilizing high-quality data sources, and interpretations will be supported by robust evidence.

Through a case study approach, this research endeavors to provide profound insights into the political communication strategies employed by Muhammad Jusuf Kalla, commonly referred to as JK, in his efforts to facilitate peace during the Poso Conflict. The data sources utilized in this investigation align with the research objectives and encompass both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources in this study involve direct interviews conducted with the principal figure of interest, Muhammad Jusuf Kalla or JK. Furthermore, the researcher has engaged in interviews with key informants who played direct roles in the peace-building endeavors related to the Poso Conflict. These informants represent diverse stakeholders, including local government officials in Poso, Muslim leaders, and Christian leaders.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Reflecting on the peace process in the Poso conflict, a pivotal figure who played a significant role in resolving the longstanding tensions and the ensuing casualties was Muhammad Jusuf Kalla. [12] He was appointed as the mediator and facilitator of peace, initiated by Reverend A. Tobondo, who contacted the Minister of Political, Legal, and Security Affairs (Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono), the Minister of Coordinating Human Welfare (Jusuf Kalla), and the Minister of Defense (Matori Abdul Jalil) to urgently pursue peace in Poso. [13]

The central government subsequently responded to these efforts by appointing the Coordinating Minister for People's Welfare, Muhammad Jusuf Kalla, as the designated mediator in the peace efforts in Poso. The selection of JK as the mediator in the resolution of the Poso conflict was not a mere coincidence but rather a carefully considered decision. This choice was made based on several factors, including his status as a prominent figure

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[12] WIM Poli, *Rekam jejak JK: sebuah kajian kepemimpinan*. (PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2014), h.16

[13] W. Purwanto, *Menggapai Damai di Poso* (Jakarta: CBM Press, 2007), h.95

from Sulawesi and his extensive and influential network within the region. In the course of addressing the conflict in Poso, it was eventually determined that the central government would play a role as a facilitator and mediator in the pursuit of peace in Poso, rather than being the ultimate arbiter of conflict resolution. This decision stemmed from the recognition that the control over the resolution of the conflict ultimately rested with the conflicting parties themselves.[14]

It is intriguing to examine the political communication strategy employed by Mr. JK in his role as a peace facilitator in Poso, even though he had ceased to hold an official position, having been relieved of his ministerial duties on April 24, 2000. Despite no longer being a part of the Gus Dur administration, he felt a humanitarian calling to provide special attention to addressing the ongoing bloodshed conflict. As expressed by Muhammad Jusuf Kalla in his personal diary, as cited by Hamid Awalauddin.

> The Poso conflict, which commenced in 1998, has endured for three years, resulting in a substantial loss of life, the destruction of thousands of homes, and the burning of hundreds of mosques and churches. Additionally, it has led to the displacement of approximately 90,000 individuals, constituting roughly 30% of the population of Poso regency. Consequently, the local economy has undoubtedly faced severe challenges, potentially precipitating new instances of poverty amidst the cultivation of cloves and cocoa. Financial uncertainty has reached trillions of rupiah, marking a profound calamity. May divine forgiveness be extended to all those affected.[15]

The statement by JK can be regarded as an expression of his concern regarding conflicts and their repercussions on the overall stability of the nation, particularly in conflict-affected regions. JK arrives at the conclusion that the root causes of these conflicts are issues of justice and economic disparities. Furthermore, JK asserts his willingness to engage in conflict resolution by laying all options on the table and thoroughly examining the underlying factors, whether they pertain to economic, political, or cultural issues.[16]

JK's success in employing political communication strategies during the Poso conflict, which culminated in the Malino I Peace Declaration in December 2001, serves as a role model for conflict resolution in Indonesia, including longer-lasting and more complex conflicts such as those in Ambon and Aceh, which resulted in greater casualties. [17] JK's approach to employing appropriate and effective political communication in resolving the Poso conflict involved extensive research and accurate reporting of the on-ground conditions.

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[14] Igneus Alganih. "Konflik Poso (Kajian Historis Tahun 1998-2001)" dalam *Criksetra: Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah*, vol 5 no. 2 (2016).

[15] Hamid Awaluddin, *Perdamaian ala JK; Poso tenang, Ambon damai* (Grasindo, 2009), h.6

[16] WIM Poli, *Rekam jejak JK: sebuah kajian kepemimpinan*, h. 76

[17] WIM Poli, *Rekam jejak JK: sebuah kajian kepemimpinan*, h. 73

In the Poso city region, there exists a diverse population with various ethnic backgrounds, including the Pamona, Mori, Bungku, Tojo, Lore, Kaili, Gorontalo, Bugis, Makasar, Toraja, Manado, Sangir, Jawa, Arab, Tionghoa, and others. In the Pamona region, the majority of the population is of Pamona ethnicity. Meanwhile, in the Coastal Poso region, the population comprises the Pamona, Bali, Bugis, Makasar, and Kaili ethnicities. The Lore region is predominantly inhabited by the Lore ethnic group, while the Lage region is primarily populated by the Pamona ethnic group. Therefore, from a socio-cultural perspective, the Poso Regency can be categorized as a region of diversity, especially in the coastal areas. In contrast, the influence of the Pamona and Lore ethnicities is more dominant in the inland or rural areas.[18]

In terms of religious affiliations, a significant portion of the Poso Regency's population adheres to Christianity, with approximately 124,899 individuals, constituting approximately 55.71% of the population. The majority of Christian adherents reside in the socio-cultural regions of Pamona and Lore. The second-largest religious group is the Muslim community, totaling 88,880 individuals or about 39.26% of the population. Muslim adherents are generally concentrated in Poso City and the Coastal Poso area. An analysis of the cultural map of the Poso Regency reveals that the local population residing in the hinterland tends to follow Christianity. In contrast, newcomers, who predominantly settle in coastal areas, tend to adhere to Islam.[19]

Table 1. Presentation of Religious Adherents by District in 2014

No	Subdistrict	(%)				
		Islam	Christianity	Catholic	Hinduism	Buddhism
1	Pamona Selatan	54.59	42.73	0.21	2.37	0.00
2	Pamona Barat	0.17	80.48	0.88	18.47	0.00
3	Pamona Tenggara	0.21	93.50	0.00	2.59	3.71
4	Pamona Utara	0.64	97.74	0.13	1.43	0.06
5	Pamona Pusalemba	-	-	-	-	-
6	Pamona Timur	3.54	95.94	0.26	0.27	0.00
7	Lore Selatan	2.89	96.73	0.38	0.00	0.00
8	Lore Barat	2.48	97.21	0.00	0.00	0.31
9	Lore Utara	44.25	54.30	1.41	0.05	0.00
10	Lore Tengah	3.39	94.18	2.44	0.00	0.00
11	Lore Timur	22.86	43.38	14.78	18.97	0.00
12	Lore Peore	13.15	76.02	1.38	9.45	0.00
13	Poso Pesisir	80.43	19.47	0.08	0.03	0.00
14	Poso Pesisir Selatan	19.92	61.36	-	18.64	0.00

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[18]BPS Kabupaten Poso. Kabupaten Poso Dalam Angka 2022. https://posokab.bps.go.id/publication/2022/02/25/ diakses 25 September 2022.

[19]BPS Kabupaten Poso. Kabupaten Poso Dalam Angka 2022. https://posokab.bps.go.id/publication/2022/02/25/ diakses 25 September 2022.

15	Poso Pesisir Utara	54.21	19.16	0.81	25.82	0.00
16	Poso Kota	98.53	1.16	0.00	0.31	0.00
17	Poso Kota Selatan	26.33	73.28	0.34	0.05	0.00
18	Poso Kota Utara	87.73	11.49	0.12	0.65	0.00
19	Lage	28.06	71.62	0.26	0.03	0.03
	Rata-Rata	39.26	55.71	0,57	4,87	0,13

Source: BPS Poso, 2014

From a socio-cultural perspective, the regency of Poso has undergone a process of division into several other regencies, such as Morowali and Touna. Culturally, the indigenous population of Poso consists of various ethnic groups residing within their respective customary territories. These ethnic groups include the Bungku, Mori, Pamona, Tojo, Pekurehua, Bada, Besoa, as well as remote groups known as the Ta'a ethnic group.

The Bungku ethnic group inhabits the southeastern region of Central Sulawesi, extending to the border with Southeast Sulawesi. The Mori ethnic group occupies the lowland areas between Teluk Tolo and Teluk Bone. The Pamona ethnic group resides in the interior regions of central Sulawesi, particularly around Lake Poso and the northern coast of Teluk Tomini, which is the estuary of the Poso River. The Tojo ethnic group inhabits the eastern coastal areas of Teluk Tomini and the surrounding lowlands.

Meanwhile, the Pekurehua, Bada, and Besoa ethnic groups inhabit the western regions of Poso, specifically the highlands in the Henema mountain area. The Ta'a ethnic group resides in the hilly terrain between Teluk Tomini and Teluk Tolo, particularly along the course of the Bongka River. The diversity of these ethnic groups reflects the cultural diversity, customs, and languages found in Central Sulawesi. [20]

There exist differing theories regarding the inclusion of these ethnic groups in Central Sulawesi within the larger Toraja ethnic group. They reside in the inland and highland areas of Central Sulawesi, as well as some parts of South Sulawesi. During the Dutch colonial period, these ethnic groups were categorized into four groups based on their customary territories, namely Palu Toraja, Koro Toraja, Poso Toraja, and Sa'dang Toraja. The first three groups predominantly inhabited the Central Sulawesi region, while Sa'dang Toraja resided in the South Sulawesi area. The Toraja ethnic groups originally hailed from the southeastern part of Sulawesi, around Teluk Bone. They migrated northward and northwestward, settling in the lowlands around Lake Poso and the highlands to its west. Subsequently, they spread westward, southwestward, and northward, reaching the Toli-Toli Mountains and the western coast of Teluk Tomini.

During this journey, these tribal groups eventually diverged into the Koro Toraja. Meanwhile, other groups remained in the vicinity of Lake Poso, extending to the eastern

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[20] Departemen Pendidikan & Kebudayaan Propinsi Sulawesi Tengah, Sejarah Daerah Sulawesi Tengah (Palu: Dep. P&K Kanwil Prop. SulTeng, 1996), 7.

coast of Teluk Tomini, while another portion continued to inhabit the region surrounding Lake Lindu. These groups later evolved into the Poso Toraja and Palu Toraja, respectively.[21] If this theory is accepted, then the lowlands around Lake Poso would be deemed the primary settlement and cultural development hub for the Toraja tribes from their early days before they dispersed throughout the entirety of Central Sulawesi.

In 1976, bronze axes were discovered in the village of Peura along the eastern coast of Lake Poso. [22] Not far from this location was a cave used as a repository for the remains of ancestors who had passed away. The discovery of these artifacts attests to the fact that the Toraja tribes, who migrated into Central Sulawesi from Bone Bay, had already initiated the development of bronze culture. Meanwhile, in the highlands on the western side of Lake Poso, megalithic sites were scattered, featuring stone statues, stone mortars, and stone reservoirs presumably used for bathing. This indicates that prior to the arrival and cultural development of the Toraja tribes in Central Sulawesi, an older megalithic culture had thrived in the inland and highland regions of Central Sulawesi.

According to the research conducted by Haliadi and his colleagues, this megalithic culture was brought by stone-breaking people believed to have originated from the Japanese archipelago. They entered Central Sulawesi through the Minahasa region in North Sulawesi, traversed the mountains to Gorontalo, and following their journey along Tomini Bay, they arrived in Central Sulawesi, settling in the extensive lowlands to the west of Lake Poso. Shortly after their arrival, potters also migrated into Central Sulawesi from the south. After landing in Bone Bay, they passed through Malili and Wotu before ascending to the Takolekaju mountain region, descending into the valley, and entering the vast lowlands to the south of Lake Poso. This second wave of migration pressured the initial migration group to move upwards into the highland areas to the west.

Subsequently, the first migration group with their megalithic culture settled in the highlands of Fennema Mountains, giving rise to the Pekurehua, Besoa, Bada, and Rampi tribes. Meanwhile, the second migration group with their pottery culture occupied the lowlands around Lake Poso and its eastern areas. This group gave rise to the Pamona, Tojo, and Mori tribes.

According to the research conducted by Haliadi and his colleagues, the megalithic culture in Central Sulawesi was introduced by stone tool-using people believed to have originated from the Japanese archipelago. They entered Central Sulawesi through the Minahasa region in North Sulawesi and crossed the mountains towards Gorontalo. After traversing the Tomini Bay, they arrived in Central Sulawesi and settled in the vast plains to the west of Lake Poso. Shortly after their arrival, pottery-making people also entered Central Sulawesi from the south. Landing in Bone Bay, they proceeded through Malili and

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[21] Departemen Pendidikan & Kebudayaan Propinsi Sulawesi Tengah, *Sejarah Daerah Sulawesi Tengah* (Palu: Dep. P&K Kanwil Prop. SulTeng, 1996), 7.

[22] Departemen Pendidikan & Kebudayaan Propinsi Sulawesi Tengah, *Sejarah Daerah Sulawesi Tengah* (Palu: Dep. P&K Kanwil Prop. SulTeng, 1996), 7.

Wotu, then ascended to the Takolekaju mountainous region before descending into the valley and reaching the expansive plains south of Lake Poso.

Based on the findings of this research, it can be concluded that the original inhabitants of Central Sulawesi consisted of migrants from different regions. They entered Central Sulawesi from two distinct directions, namely from the north, bringing with them the megalithic culture, and from the south, with the bronze culture. The tribes that introduced the megalithic culture resided in highland areas, while those with the bronze culture inhabited lowland regions. The highland tribes, characterized by their megalithic culture, exhibited animistic and egalitarian societal traits. Conversely, the lowland tribes had already begun practicing polytheistic religious beliefs and were familiar with social stratification. [23]

Based on the aforementioned theories and folk narratives, it can be inferred that Poso, Central Sulawesi's original inhabitants were the result of historical migration and population dispersion. Upon their arrival in Central Sulawesi, the first area they settled in was the extensive plains surrounding Lake Poso. This choice can be understood as the lake served as a crucial source of water and sustenance for them. As the population grew, they dispersed to other regions around Central Sulawesi, evolving into distinct ethnic groups. The rugged mountainous geography with dense forests isolated these tribes from each other, leading to the development of different languages, cultures, and customs among them. When Albert Christian Kruyt arrived in Poso in 1892 and interacted with these tribes, he noted cultural differences, linguistic variations, and distinct characteristics among them. [24]

The Mori people exhibit a proclivity for greater inclusivity towards external influences and a greater readiness to modify ancestral traditions, whereas the Pamona people lean towards conservatism and steadfastly uphold their ancestral traditions. [25] Nevertheless, the ethnic groups in Poso share commonalities in the form of communal living within enclosed areas known as "lipu," as noted by Kruyt. The lipu has evolved into a robust entity primarily due to two key factors: blood relations and intertwined destinies.[26]

On one hand, the lipu serves as a fortress where individuals with shared blood ties and intertwined fates congregate to protect themselves from attacks by other ethnic groups. On the other hand, the lipu symbolizes communal life celebrated through customary and magical ceremonies. The majority of lipu are situated atop hills, surrounded by earthen walls adorned with bamboo. Along the hillside, there are rivers or springs for bathing, washing, and fetching drinking water. Typically, each lipu features a

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[23] Haliadi Sadi, et.al., *Gerakan Pemuda Sulawesi Tengah di Poso* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak, 2007), 32

[24] J. Kruyt, *Kabar Keselamatan di Poso*, diterjemahkan oleh P.S. Naipospos (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia1977), 20.

[25] J. Kruyt, *Kabar Keselamatan di Poso*, diterjemahkan oleh P.S. Naipospos (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia1977), 22.

[26] J. Kruyt, *Kabar Keselamatan di Poso*, diterjemahkan oleh P.S. Naipospos (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia1977), 20.

blacksmith who resides at the foot of the hill. If someone traverses the lipu area or has business with its inhabitants, they are only permitted to stay at the blacksmith's house. Only select individuals are allowed to ascend to the lipu and stay there. Regular visitors are accommodated in the village temple known as "Lobo" or on the ground floor of the rice granary.

Special visitors or those with blood relations or family ties reside in the houses of the inhabitants. Conflict between ethnic groups, prolonged drought-induced famine, and disease outbreaks further fortify their communal existence within the lipu. The lipu serves as the venue for various customary and religious ceremonies, such as weddings, funeral rites, initiations, priest ordinations, and magical rituals, among others.[27]

Until the mid-nineteenth century, the indigenous communities of Central Sulawesi existed in relative isolation from external influences. The presence of the Dutch colonial government in the Indonesian archipelago had minimal impact on their lives due to their remote and mountainous inland locations. Major religions such as Islam also exerted little influence on these communities, except for the Bungku people residing in the southern coastal areas of Teluk Tolo and the Tojo communities inhabiting the eastern coastal regions of Teluk Tomini. The Mori, Pamona, Pekurehua, Besoa, Bada, and Ta'a ethnic groups residing in the hinterlands of Central Sulawesi continued to uphold their distinctive cultural and religious traditions.

This social and cultural landscape underwent a significant transformation with the introduction of Christianity to Central Sulawesi in the late nineteenth century. Christianity successfully united these diverse ethnic groups under a common spiritual belief, leading to the establishment of the Central Sulawesi Christian Church. These social and cultural changes were further reinforced by the effective presence of the Dutch colonial government in the region. Consequently, these ethnic communities experienced modernization, particularly through educational and religious initiatives.[28]

1. The Description of Poso Conflict

One of the conflicts that occurred in Indonesia during the transition from the New Order era to the reform era was the Poso conflict, which took place from 1998 to 2001.[29] Poso, initially a peaceful region and considered a microcosm of Indonesia, underwent a transformation into an arena of discord and bloody social conflict, involving ethnic and religious elements within its borders. The conflict, pitting Islam against Christianity and indigenous inhabitants against newcomers, resulted in widespread riots that claimed numerous lives, inflicted injuries, and saw several places of worship reduced to ashes by feuding factions. This conflict compelled individuals from all strata of society, regardless

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[27] J. Kruyt, Kabar Keselamatan di Poso, diterjemahkan oleh P.S. Naipospos (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia1977), 20.

[28] Sairin, Mohammad. "Memodernisasi Negeri Dan Menciptakan Harmoni: Kolaborasi Misionaris, Pemerintah Kolonial, dan Elite Lokal di Poso, 1892-1950." *Moderasi: Jurnal Studi Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial* 3.2 (2022): 40-55.

[29] Igneus Alganih. "Konflik Poso (Kajian Historis Tahun 1998-2001)" dalam *Criksetra: Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah*, vol 5 no. 2 (2016).

of age or gender, to become unwillingly ensnared in the protracted and violent maelstrom of strife. [30]

Figure 1. The polarization of conflicting groups. Source: *Ecip, (2002).*
Judul Buku Rusuh Poso rujuk Malino

The conflict in Poso is attributable to issues revolving around historical concerns implicating the indigenous population of Poso, who perceive themselves as marginalized due to the influx of migrants from outside Poso. The arrival of these migrants has induced socio-economic transformations in Poso, leading to a shift of lands from the indigenous inhabitants to the newcomers. The success of these migrants has engendered social disparities in Poso, triggering social resentment among the native population who feel marginalized and displaced from their native land. Following marginalization in socio-economic aspects, they also experience political marginalization, contributing to a profound sense of exclusion. This phenomenon stems from changes in political power dynamics in the Poso Regency, where previously, Christian elites dominated governance. However, the situation evolved with the increasing number of Islamic adherents in Poso.[31]

Figure 2. Population Composition. *Source: Ecip, (2002).*
Judul Buku Rusuh Poso rujuk Malino

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[30] Lian Gogali. *Konflik Poso: suara perempuan dan anak menuju rekonsiliasi ingatan*. (Galangpress, 2009), h. 21
[31] Igneus Alganih. "Konflik Poso (Kajian Historis Tahun 1998-2001)" dalam *Criksetra: Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah*, vol 5 no. 2 (2016).

With the increasing number of adherents to Islam, the political elite of Islam gain advantages in achieving greater power within the government. This occurs as they can leverage religious sentiments to garner support during general elections. The presence of ICMI (Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals Association) also plays a crucial role in developing patron-client relationships based on the identity of Islamic religion, further marginalizing and displacing Christian elites from the political power arena in the Poso Regency government. [32] This aligns with James C. Scott's assertion that patron-client relationships are mutualistic, giving rise to strong social bonds in their interactions. However, on the flip side, within these patron-client relationships lies an element of exploitation, wherein the elite (patron) establishes dominance over the subordinates or community members (clients) during their interactive engagements. [33].

The Poso conflict initially erupted on December 24, 1998, as a result of tensions between youths of different religious affiliations. This event gave rise to strong religious sentiments among the Muslim and Christian communities. It occurred simultaneously with the celebration of Christmas and the month of fasting, coinciding with a politically tense situation related to the issue of the election of the Regent in Poso. The second conflict, which occurred in April 2000, was closely linked to politics as it also coincided with the Regent election in Poso and the emergence of issues regarding the distribution of power between Christian elites and Islamic groups.[34]

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[32] Igneus Alganih. "Konflik Poso (Kajian Historis Tahun 1998-2001)" dalam *Criksetra: Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah*, vol 5 no. 2 (2016).

[33] James C Scott, "Patron-client politics and political change in Southeast Asia." *American political science review,* vol. 66, no. 1 (1972), h. 91-113.

[34] Igneus Alganih. "Konflik Poso (Kajian Historis Tahun 1998-2001)" dalam *Criksetra: Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah*, vol 5 no. 2 (2016).

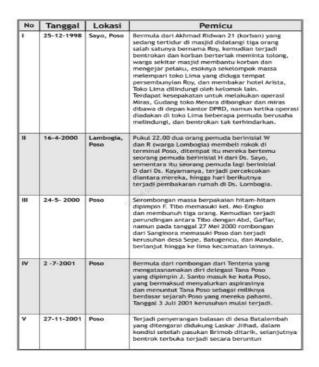| No	Tanggal	Lokasi	Pemicu
I	25-12-1998	Sayo, Poso	Bermula dari Akhmad Ridwan 21 (korban) yang sedang tertidur di masjid didatangi tiga orang salah satunya bernama Roy, kemudian terjadi bentrokan dan korban berteriak meminta tolong, warga sekitar masjid membantu korban dan mengejar pelaku, esoknya sekelompok massa melempari toko Lima yang diduga tempat persembunyian Roy, dan membakar hotel Arista, Toko Lima dilindungi oleh kelomok lain. Terdapat kesepakatan untuk melakukan operasi Miras, Gudang toko Menara dibongkar dan miras dibawa di depan kantor DPRD, namun ketika operasi diadakan di toko Lima beberapa pemuda berusaha melindungi, dan bentrokan tak terhindarkan.
II	16-4-2000	Lombogia, Poso	Pukul 22.00 dua orang pemuda berinisial W dan R (warga Lombogia) membeli rokok di terminal Poso, ditempat itu mereka bertemu seorang pemuda berinisial H dari Ds. Sayo, sementara itu seorang pemuda lagi berinisial D dari Ds. Kayamanya, terjadi percekcokan diantara mereka, hingga hari berikutnya terjadi pembakaran rumah di Ds. Lombogia.
III	24-5- 2000	Poso	Serombongan massa berpakaian hitam-hitam dipimpin F. Tibo memasuki kel. Mo-Engko dan membunuh tiga orang. Kemudian terjadi perundingan antara Tibo dengan Abd. Gaffar, namun pada tanggal 27 Mei 2000 rombongan dari Sanginora memasuki Poso dan terjadi kerusuhan desa Sepe, Batugencu, dan Mandale, berlanjut hingga ke lima kecamatan lainnya.
IV	2 -7-2001	Poso	Bermula dari rombongan dari Tentena yang mengatasnamakan diri delegasi Tana Poso yang dipimpin J. Santo masuk ke kota Poso, yang bermaksud menyalurkan aspirasinya dan menuntut Tana Poso sebagai miliknya berdasar sejarah Poso yang mereka pahami. Tanggal 3 Juli 2001 kerusuhan mulai terjadi.
V	27-11-2001	Poso	Terjadi penyerangan balasan di desa Batalembah yang ditengarai didukung Laskar Jihad, dalam kondisi setelah pasukan Brimob ditarik, selanjutnya bentrok terbuka terjadi secara beruntun

Figure 3. Poso Conflict Episode *source: Ecip, (2002).*
Judul Buku Rusuh Poso rujuk Malino

From May 2000 to December 2001, the conflict evolved into a protracted civil war, extending the conflict's duration and exacerbating the situation. The conflicting groups mutually reinforced their group's existence amidst the whirlwind of discord, with each faction further intensifying their belief that the conflict constituted a religious calling. The Islamic faction regarded it as a jihad, while the Christian faction perceived it as a crusade. Consequently, the compounding effect of these perspectives prolonged the conflict, as each side maintained that defending their religion was an imperative duty. Furthermore, the notion that martyrdom in the pursuit of religious advocacy is considered a sacred act in Islam, juxtaposed with the Christian perspective that views such sacrifice as a holy death, has added complexity to the enduring nature of the conflict.[35]

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[35] Igneus Alganih. "Konflik Poso (Kajian Historis Tahun 1998-2001)" dalam *Criksetra: Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah*, vol 5 no. 2 (2016).

No.	Kejadian	Islam	Kristen
1.	Pembakaran rumah	32	4
2.	Penembakan	12	7
3.	Peledakan Bom	10	2
4.	Penganiayaan	-	1

Figure 4. The conflict events transpiring from July to November 2001;
Source: Ecip (2002), Judul Buku Rusuh Poso rujuk Malino

The depiction of the conflict in Poso serves as a lesson on how power struggles are closely associated with the competition for dominance, characterized by an element of coercion36. As articulated by C. Wright Mills, domination implies the ability to impose coercion, enforcing one's will even in the face of opposition. When power involves coercion against others, communication patterns employed extend beyond persuasion to encompass coercion. This engenders a climate of contention in the political communication, intensifying the conflict. [37]

The aforementioned viewpoint is reinforced by Harold D. Lasswell, who views power as the predominant use of coercion that culminates in conflict, thus forming a formula within the circulation of power. In other words, if power entails coercion and domination, it implies that political messages within the political transaction process will constantly be shrouded in conflicts. This is because the essence of domination will have an effect on the communication patterns of conflict. [38]

Hence, the role of communication is crucial in resolving conflicts within society. Whether a conflict concludes peacefully or escalates further is significantly determined by the effectiveness of communication, leading to the realization of consensus among conflicting groups. Political communication cannot be detached from the processes of transaction and interpretation. Not all communicators attribute the same meaning to a politically nuanced message. This is particularly evident in the power struggles among political actors or elites. Therefore, the meaning of political messages is always interpreted in accordance with the interests of the group or ideology they adhere to.

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[36] J. L. Pasulle, "Konflik dan Resolusi Konflik; Studi Kasus Sengketa Tanah Di Kelurahan Labakkang Kabupaten Pangkep", *Disertasi* (Makassar: Universitas Hasanuddin, 2019).

[37] Hasrullah DK, *Konflik Poso dari Perspektif Komunikasi Politik,* h. 3

[38] Harold D Lasswell dan A Kaplan, *Power And Society: A Framework for Politicai inquiry* (Routledge 2017), h. 98.

CONCLUSION

The research findings of the process of Muhammad Jusuf Kalla's Political Communication Strategy in designing peace for the Poso Conflict are delineated through six strategic stages: Information Gathering and Conflict Mapping, In-depth Problem Analysis, Confrontation-Collaboration, Negotiation and Declaration, and Post-Peace Outcome. The characteristics of Jusuf Kalla's communication style encompass being firm, swift, measurable, comprehensive, consistent, visionary, solution-oriented, inclined towards win-win solutions, risk-taking, and innovative thinking. The Peace Communication Strategy Model formed is the JK-COVERSITE model, which consists of the following elements: Communication Pathway, Coordination, Observation, Visionary Approach, Egalitarian Principles, Responsibility, Sense of Humanity, Identification, Trustworthiness, and Embrace.

The implications of this research are anticipated to serve as a potential model for political communication strategies in conflict resolution, particularly in handling social conflicts based on ethnicity and religion, both at the national and global levels. It underscores the need for governments and societies to prioritize the maintenance of security justice and the formulation of strategies and policies that contribute to enhancing well-being and promoting religious understanding rooted in multicultural and multiethnic values.

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