

Analysis Efforts of The Forum Pembauran Kebangsaan (FPK) in Preventing Community Conflicts in West Kalimantan

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ABSTRACT

Background: West Kalimantan has a long history of ethnic and religious conflicts that continue to shape intergroup relations. The Forum Pembauran Kebangsaan (FPK) was established by the Ministry of Home Affairs to prevent social conflict and promote national integration in this highly plural society.

Objectives: This study aims to analyze the activities, impacts, and challenges of the FPK in preventing community conflicts in West Kalimantan.

Method: This research employs a qualitative approach combined with a literature-based method, drawing on interviews, books, journal articles, and other relevant scholarly sources. Data were analyzed through thematic analysis guided by Anthony Giddens' Structuration Theory.

Result: The FPK has organized national dialogue seminars, focus group discussions (FGDs), and social media campaigns including a TikTok competition themed *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. While these activities raise awareness of diversity and tolerance, they predominantly reach participants who are already aware of such issues and fail to penetrate more vulnerable or conflict-prone communities. Limited funding, minimal women's participation, and absence of structured follow-up mechanisms further constrain the forum's effectiveness.

Conclusion: FPK holds significant potential as a conflict prevention platform; however, it faces substantial internal and external challenges including financial dependency, limited grassroots reach, and inadequate monitoring. Sustainable peacebuilding requires strengthened community engagement, expanded inclusivity, and systematic translation of recommendations into concrete government policies.

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INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is one of the most ethnically, religiously, and culturally diverse nations in the world, with more than 1,300 distinct ethnic groups and over 740 regional languages (Setiadi & Kollp, 2011). This remarkable pluralism is both a national asset and a source of potential social tension. Throughout Indonesian history, inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflicts have erupted periodically, leaving deep scars in collective memory and posing persistent challenges to national cohesion. The regions of West Kalimantan, in particular, represent one of the most complex arenas of social conflict, where geography, ethnicity, religion, and economic competition intersect in ways that can rapidly escalate into open violence.

Past conflicts across several regions of Indonesia indicate the presence of persistent and recurring conflict potential. Even today, some of these conflicts remain unresolved. Therefore, comprehensive and sustainable conflict management efforts are required from various stakeholders. Learning from multiple cases, conflict resolution approaches should not only rely on security and political aspects but also integrate other potential approaches, such as persuasive cultural strategies and critical civic education. A purely repressive approach that prioritizes law enforcement without attending to the underlying social and historical causes of conflict has consistently proven insufficient for achieving lasting peace (Yadiman, 2013).

The government should not merely focus on establishing institutions but must also ensure their active and effective performance before, during, and after conflicts. The regions of West Kalimantan (Kalbar), with their historical record of conflicts such as those in Sambas, Sanggau Ledo, and Sintang Regencies, demonstrate the need for active institutional roles in building sustainable peace. According to Kristianus (2011), historical records indicate that ethnically motivated conflicts occurred 17 times between 1966 and 2008, most of which involved inter-ethnic disputes, including those between Dayak-Madura, Malay-Madura, and Malay-Chinese communities. The violence of 1997–2001 was particularly catastrophic, resulting in mass displacement, widespread property destruction, and deep psychological trauma for affected communities (Alqadrie, 1999).

The root causes of these conflicts are multifaceted. Arkanudin (2006) identifies economic competition over land and natural resources, historical grievances rooted in colonial-era social stratification, and the manipulation of ethnic identities by political elites as the primary drivers of inter-ethnic violence in West Kalimantan. Fahham (2016) further emphasizes the role of religious leaders in either exacerbating or mitigating tensions, depending on how they frame identity-based narratives within their communities. These findings suggest that effective

conflict prevention in West Kalimantan must address structural, cultural, and political dimensions simultaneously.

In recent years, inter-ethnic tensions have increasingly intersected with religious organizations and political processes. This shift can be understood in light of the politicization of ethnicity, religion, race, and intergroup (SARA) issues during the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial election, which had nationwide repercussions, including in West Kalimantan. During that election, the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) organized mass demonstrations across Indonesia under the banner of the '212 Movement.' The event demonstrated how local social tensions can be inflamed by nationally organized political movements, particularly in regions where ethno-religious identities are already highly salient (Suprpto & Kariadi, 2017).

In Pontianak City, West Kalimantan, the 212 Movement nearly led to confrontation with participants of the Dayak Gawai Festival, as both events occurred simultaneously. The tension stemmed from the societal assumption that Dayaks are inherently Catholic while Malays are Muslim — an oversimplified perception that transformed the situation into an issue of religious solidarity. Hence, it is crucial to optimize the functions of local institutions in preventing and mediating potential conflicts, especially ahead of elections, where SARA-based political manipulation is often employed to undermine opponents. Considering that conflicts in West Kalimantan stem not only from ethnic and political roots but also from religious and natural resource-related factors, local institutions must develop multidimensional conflict-resolution strategies involving diverse societal elements.

The concept of social integration, as discussed by Nasikun (2004) and Herlan (2015), provides a useful analytical lens for evaluating conflict prevention efforts. Social integration does not imply cultural homogenization but rather the development of shared civic values, mutual respect, and institutional mechanisms for managing differences peacefully. In this framework, forums and institutions that facilitate inter-group dialogue and cooperation play a critical role in sustaining social cohesion. The Forum Pembauran Kebangsaan (FPK) was designed to serve precisely this function, yet its actual performance and impact remain underexplored in the academic literature.

This study, therefore, aims to critically analyse the activities, structural constraints, and social impacts of the FPK in West Kalimantan. By examining both its positive contributions and its limitations through the lens of Anthony Giddens' Structuration Theory, this research seeks to contribute to broader discussions on institutional approaches to conflict prevention in plural societies. The findings are expected to provide practical recommendations for strengthening the FPK's role and

for informing government policy on national integration in ethnically diverse regions of Indonesia.

METHODS

This research employs two complementary methodological approaches: a qualitative approach and a literature-based (library research) method. The combination of these approaches allows for a nuanced understanding of the FPK's activities and their social impacts, drawing on both empirical interview data and a broad body of relevant theoretical and empirical literature.

The qualitative approach was adopted because it is best suited for investigating complex social phenomena that cannot be adequately captured through quantitative measurement alone (Moleong, 2021). Qualitative research aims to understand social behaviors, processes, and experiences from the perspectives of the participants involved, generating in-depth insights into meanings, contexts, and mechanisms that shape social action (Mamik, 2004). In this study, primary qualitative data were gathered through semi-structured interviews with FPK officials, community representatives, and local government administrators in West Kalimantan. The interviews explored participants' perceptions of the FPK's programs, their views on the forum's effectiveness, and their assessments of the challenges facing conflict prevention efforts in the region.

The literature-based method was employed to situate the empirical findings within a broader theoretical and contextual framework. According to Sugiyono (2013), literature studies encompass theoretical reviews, references, and other scientific literature relevant to cultural, normative, and social values in the studied context. For this research, a systematic review of books, peer-reviewed journal articles, government reports, and news media sources was conducted. Priority was given to sources that addressed ethnic conflict, social integration, institutional performance, and peacebuilding in Indonesia and West Kalimantan specifically. Sources were selected based on their relevance, credibility, and recency, with particular attention paid to primary legal documents such as Ministerial Regulation No. 34 of 2006.

Data analysis was conducted using thematic analysis, guided by the theoretical framework of Anthony Giddens' Structuration Theory (Giddens, 1986b). This framework was selected because it offers a dynamic account of the relationship between social institutions (structure) and human agency, which is particularly relevant to understanding how the FPK operates within — and seeks to transform — existing patterns of inter-ethnic relations in West Kalimantan. The analysis proceeded through multiple iterative rounds of reading, coding, and interpretation,

with codes organized into thematic categories related to institutional activities, impacts, and constraints.

Trustworthiness of the findings was enhanced through triangulation of multiple data sources — interview data, documentary evidence, and secondary literature — as well as through reflexive attention to the researchers' positionality and potential biases. Ethical considerations were observed throughout the research process, including informed consent from interview participants and confidentiality of sensitive personal information.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In promoting social harmony, the government should not only focus on institutional formation but also ensure that these institutions operate effectively. Moreover, it is essential to identify the root causes of conflict to develop targeted policies capable of addressing core issues. The conflicts that occurred between 1997 and 2001 in West Kalimantan were tragic events that deeply affected the involved ethnic groups. These conflicts remain psychologically unresolved for many survivors and displaced individuals, as those who directly experienced them still fear recurrence due to the absence of guarantees for lasting peace. Ethnic tensions at the grassroots level remain high, raising fundamental questions about government performance and preventive measures to ensure such conflicts do not recur (Yuniarni, 2014).

The Ministry of Home Affairs sought to address this issue through the establishment of the Forum Pembauran Kebangsaan (FPK, or National Integration Forum), as mandated by Article 12 of Minister of Home Affairs Regulation No. 34 of 2006. The policy instructs provincial and district governments to establish FPKs to promote national integration and prevent conflict recurrence. The FPK is designed as a multi-stakeholder platform bringing together representatives from various ethnic groups, religious organizations, youth associations, and civil society organizations to facilitate dialogue, foster mutual understanding, and develop collaborative strategies for maintaining social harmony.

Based on interviews conducted with FPK officials and program beneficiaries, the forum has organized several key activities across West Kalimantan, including national dialogue seminars, focus group discussions (FGDs), and social media campaigns. These activities aim to provide civic education, formulate harmonization strategies, and anticipate emerging social tensions before they escalate into open conflict. According to the FPK Chairperson, seminars and dialogues attended by religious leaders, community representatives, and youth organizations serve as effective platforms for fostering understanding and

cooperation among groups that might otherwise have limited channels of communication.

Additionally, FPK organized a series of FGDs to gather input from diverse ethnic groups in West Kalimantan regarding their perceptions of inter-group relations, sources of tension, and aspirations for peaceful coexistence. One key recommendation that emerged from these discussions and was subsequently delivered to the Governor was the need to provide public funding for cultural performances organized by ethnic communities, as these events create opportunities for cross-cultural appreciation and intergroup understanding. The FPK also initiated a TikTok competition themed around *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity), targeting junior and senior high school students. This digital platform was considered strategically appropriate given TikTok's high penetration rate among Indonesian youth, enabling the forum to engage a demographic that may be particularly susceptible to online radicalization and identity-based polarization. Furthermore, FPK representatives frequently serve as resource persons in events organized by the National and Political Unity Agency (Kesbangpol) and related government bodies, thereby strengthening institutional networks and amplifying the forum's reach.

Analysis of FPK Activities' Impact

Every program or institutional activity is expected to yield meaningful and measurable outcomes, particularly in contexts of post-conflict peacebuilding. In the case of the FPK, the primary intended outcome is to promote critical awareness of diversity and to foster the behavioral and attitudinal changes necessary for sustainable inter-ethnic coexistence in West Kalimantan. The forum's programs are premised on the assumption that increased knowledge of and exposure to diverse cultural perspectives will reduce prejudice, build trust, and strengthen shared civic identity. The following analysis examines the extent to which this premise is borne out in practice, drawing on both empirical evidence and theoretical considerations.

Positive Impacts

During its operational period, the FPK's programs — including seminars, public discussions, TikTok competitions, and FGDs — have made a measurable contribution to raising public awareness of diversity, tolerance, and peacebuilding principles. These initiatives have helped educate communities about national values, the spirit of unity encapsulated in *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, and the devastating consequences of social conflict for individuals, families, and communities. The involvement of government support, in the form of funding, institutional

recognition, and political endorsement, lends the FPK a degree of legitimacy and visibility that independent civil society organizations often lack.

The TikTok campaign deserves particular attention as an example of adaptive institutional innovation. By leveraging a digital platform that dominates youth media consumption in Indonesia, the FPK demonstrated a capacity for creative thinking about how to extend its reach beyond traditional dialogue formats. Several participating students reported increased awareness of inter-ethnic diversity and a renewed appreciation for cultural differences following their involvement in the competition. This suggests that well-designed social media initiatives can serve as effective entry points for diversity education, particularly when integrated with follow-up educational programming.

The FGD process also yielded valuable grassroots insights that informed policy recommendations submitted to the provincial government. This represents an important mechanism for translating community voices into institutional policy — a function that many conflict prevention bodies in Indonesia fail to perform effectively. Retnowati (2014) notes that sustainable conflict prevention requires not merely top-down institutional intervention but also the systematic incorporation of community-generated knowledge into policy design. To the extent that the FPK facilitates this process, it plays a genuinely valuable role in the governance of inter-ethnic relations in West Kalimantan.

Negative Impacts and Structural Constraints

Despite its positive contributions, the FPK faces a series of significant structural constraints that substantially limit its effectiveness as a conflict prevention institution. These constraints operate at multiple levels — financial, organizational, political, and social — and are deeply interconnected in ways that reinforce one another.

First and most fundamentally, the FPK's activities disproportionately engage participants who are already aware of and sympathetic to issues of diversity and inter-ethnic tolerance. Seminars and FGDs tend to attract urban professionals, academics, religious moderates, and civil society activists — groups that are already relatively well-disposed toward inter-group cooperation. The communities most at risk of inter-ethnic violence, including rural agricultural communities competing over land and natural resources, recent migrants, and young people exposed to online radicalization, are largely absent from FPK programs. This 'preaching to the choir' dynamic severely limits the forum's potential to shift attitudes in communities where such change is most urgently needed.

Women's participation in FPK activities remains critically low, despite extensive evidence that women play pivotal roles both as victims of conflict and as agents of peacebuilding at the household and community levels (Rahmawati & Rahayu, 2018). The marginalization of women from formal conflict prevention processes reflects broader patterns of gender inequality in Indonesian political life and represents a significant missed opportunity for the FPK. Incorporating women's perspectives and leadership into FPK programs would not only improve their representativeness but would likely enhance their effectiveness in reaching community segments that are currently underserved.

Limited funding represents another critical constraint. The FPK's operational budget is entirely dependent on annual allocations from regional government budgets (APBD), which vary considerably across districts and are subject to shifting political priorities (BPS Provinsi Kalimantan Barat, 2024; BPK RI, 2022). In districts where the local government assigns low priority to social harmony programs — whether due to fiscal constraints, competing developmental needs, or political indifference — FPK branches are effectively unable to carry out their mandated functions. This creates significant spatial inequalities in conflict prevention capacity across West Kalimantan, with the most resource-constrained and conflict-prone districts often receiving the least institutional support.

The absence of structured follow-up mechanisms after FPK activities represents a further systemic weakness. Without systematic monitoring and evaluation frameworks, it is virtually impossible to assess whether FPK programs are achieving their intended outcomes, to identify what is working and what is not, and to adjust programming accordingly. This lack of accountability infrastructure not only undermines program effectiveness but also erodes public trust in the FPK as a credible institution. If community members perceive that their participation in FGDs produces recommendations that are subsequently ignored by government, they are unlikely to engage meaningfully with future FPK activities (Raidar et al., 2017).

At a deeper level, the FPK's programs tend to address the symptoms of inter-ethnic tension rather than its structural causes. Activities themed around 'unity in diversity' and 'morning coffee discussions' produce positive atmospheres in the short term but leave untouched the land disputes, economic inequalities, and historical grievances that constitute the underlying drivers of conflict in West Kalimantan. As Giddens (1986b) argues through his Structuration Theory, social structures are reproduced through the recursive actions of agents operating within institutional frameworks. Meaningful structural change requires not just attitudinal

education but also the transformation of the material and institutional conditions that generate conflict in the first place.

Structuration Theory and Institutional Dynamics

Anthony Giddens' Structuration Theory provides a powerful framework for understanding both the possibilities and the limitations of the FPK as a conflict prevention institution. The theory proposes that social structures — including norms, rules, and institutional arrangements — are neither fixed external constraints nor mere products of individual choice, but rather are continuously produced and reproduced through the practices of human agents (Giddens, 1986b; Cohen, 1989). This concept of the duality of structure — the simultaneous constitution of structure by agency and of agency by structure — implies that social institutions like the FPK are both products of broader social forces and active sites of potential social transformation (Greener, 2008; Herry-Priyono, 2002).

Applied to the context of West Kalimantan, Structuration Theory illuminates several important dynamics. Ethnic and religious leaders — who serve as members of and participants in FPK activities — function simultaneously as agents who shape community norms and as actors who are themselves shaped by the ethnic and religious structures of their communities. Their participation in FPK dialogues creates opportunities for them to develop new perspectives on inter-ethnic relations, which they may subsequently transmit to their followers through their leadership roles. In this sense, the FPK can serve as a mechanism for the gradual transformation of community-level structures through the agency of key social actors (Khasri, 2021).

However, Structuration Theory also highlights the fragility of institutional change in contexts where existing structures are deeply entrenched. When ethnic and religious leaders engage in electoral politics — as is increasingly common in West Kalimantan — the incentive to mobilize identity-based divisions may outweigh the inclusive values promoted by FPK programming. The politicization of ethnicity and religion during elections can rapidly undo the relational progress achieved through months of dialogue and cooperation, as the logic of competitive electoral politics encourages the activation of in-group solidarity and out-group antagonism (Suprpto & Kariadi, 2017). This dynamic underscores the importance of designing FPK programs that explicitly address the political economy of conflict, rather than treating inter-ethnic tensions as purely cultural or attitudinal phenomena.

Furthermore, the structural dependency of the FPK on government funding and political goodwill means that the forum's institutional continuity is inherently vulnerable to political transitions and changing administrative priorities. When new

regional governments take office and reshuffle their policy priorities, FPK programs can be effectively suspended or defunded without any meaningful accountability to the communities they serve. Addressing this structural vulnerability requires the development of more autonomous funding mechanisms — such as community foundations, private sector partnerships, or national endowment funds — that would insulate FPK operations from short-term political fluctuations.

CONCLUSION

The Forum Pembauran Kebangsaan (FPK) plays a vital and constitutionally mandated role in preventing social conflict and promoting national integration in West Kalimantan. Its activities — including national dialogue seminars, FGDs, and digital campaigns — represent meaningful contributions to diversity education and inter-group communication in a region with a complex history of ethnic and religious violence. The forum's capacity to bring together diverse stakeholders and to transmit community recommendations to provincial authorities is a genuine institutional strength that should be built upon and expanded.

However, this study finds that the FPK's efforts toward national integration continue to face substantial internal and external challenges that significantly constrain its effectiveness. First, limited financial and institutional support from local governments restricts FPK's outreach, particularly in districts where budgetary allocations for social harmony programs are minimal or inconsistent. Second, the FPK tends to function primarily as an executor of Kesbangpol directives rather than as an independent actor capable of developing locally-responsive, context-specific approaches to conflict prevention. Third, many FPK branches remain inactive due to chronic underfunding, resulting in significant gaps in institutional coverage across the province. Fourth, inadequate monitoring and evaluation frameworks prevent the systematic assessment of FPK program effectiveness, making it difficult to learn from experience and improve future programming.

To strengthen its role as a genuine institution for sustainable peacebuilding, the FPK must pursue several strategic reforms. Community engagement strategies must be redesigned to actively reach conflict-prone and underserved populations rather than simply convening those already sympathetic to diversity values. The systematic inclusion of women as both participants and leaders in FPK programs is essential for improving both representativeness and effectiveness. Robust monitoring and evaluation mechanisms must be established to enable evidence-based program improvement and to enhance accountability to participating communities. Diversified funding sources should be developed to reduce

dependence on politically volatile government budget allocations. And collaborative partnerships with civil society organizations, universities, and the private sector should be strengthened to build the FPK's organizational capacity and expand its reach.

Ultimately, sustainable peacebuilding in West Kalimantan requires not only institutional presence but also continuous, adaptive efforts to address both the symptoms and the structural causes of inter-ethnic tension. The FPK has demonstrated that it can serve as a meaningful platform for social integration when adequately resourced and strategically led. With the reforms recommended in this study, it has the potential to become a genuinely transformative institution — one that not only prevents the recurrence of past tragedies but actively builds the social trust and civic solidarity necessary for West Kalimantan's long-term peace and prosperity.

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