

Conflict Archaeology-Based Community Policing for Post-Conflict Ambon

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Benyamin Lufpi¹, Rendy Ananta Prasetya², Poppy Setiawati Nurisnaeny³

¹Indonesian National Police Science College (STIK), Jakarta, Indonesia

²Asosiasi Peneliti Jaringan Sosial Indonesia (APJARS), Indonesia

³Sekolah Tinggi Intelijen Negara (STIN), Bogor, Indonesia

Email Corresponding Author: benyptik@yahoo.co.id

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Abstract

The communal conflict in Ambon City between 1999 and 2002 produced lasting social, cultural, and spatial impacts that continue to shape local communities. Beyond casualties and physical destruction, the conflict generated material remains that became embedded in the post-conflict social landscape, actively shaping collective memory and security perceptions. This article develops a conceptual framework that integrates conflict archaeology, collective memory theory, and community policing paradigms into a unified model by defining one core construct from each field and stating five explicit propositions that link them. Using theoretical synthesis and a structured synthesis of Scopus- and Web of Science-indexed sources, supplemented by Google Scholar results, books, official reports, and policy documents, it constructs a conceptual argument for the relevance of conflict material remains as a strategic knowledge resource for community-based security management. The theoretical synthesis demonstrates that conflict material remains, including socially segregated areas, historical conflict sites, peace monuments, and post-conflict public spaces, function as repositories and transmitters of collective memory that are theorised to shape security perceptions and intergroup relations. By integrating Lefebvre's spatial triad, Nora's concept of lieux de mémoire, and Halbwachs's social frameworks of memory, this article develops the Conflict Archaeology-Based Community Policing Model as an original conceptual framework. The article calls for empirical testing of the model in Indonesian post-conflict regions, including Ambon, Poso, and Aceh.

Keywords: conflict archaeology, collective memory, community policing, public security, Ambon, post-conflict society

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INTRODUCTION

The 1999-2002 communal conflict in Ambon City and the Maluku region left an unresolved post-conflict problem: material traces of the violence remain embedded in the city's social landscape and continue to shape how residents interpret security today. This conflict was one of the conflicts with the most profound effects on social life in Indonesia. This conflict not only resulted in thousands of casualties and material losses, but also left social, cultural, and material traces that can still be found today (Bertrand, 2004; Braithwaite et al., 2010).

The Ambon conflict is complex because it involves many interacting factors: tensions over religious identity, local political dynamics, weak security controls during the reform transition, and conflict narratives that reinforce social segregation. Even when armed conflict ends, its social and psychological impacts can still be felt decades later. The effects of conflict may persist through collective memory, symbolic practices, and conflict-marked spaces (Bartels, 2003; Adam, 2010).

Communal conflicts of the kind documented in Ambon often produce material remains that can serve as important sources of information, although the character of these traces varies: some remain visible, while others are dispersed, altered, or deliberately erased: damaged buildings, places of worship that serve as symbols of conflict or peace, memorials to victims, former security posts, spaces of social segregation, and artifacts related to communities' experiences during the conflict (Schofield, 2005; Saunders, 2012). Attention to the material dimensions of conflict has developed within a field of study known as conflict archaeology, a field that studies the relationship between conflict, violence, and material remains, both past and contemporary.

From a conflict archaeology perspective, the materiality of conflict is understood as part of a social process that continues to influence how communities understand identity, trauma, and intergroup relations. A building that was once the target of an attack holds symbolic meaning that can shape people's perceptions of security and social relations. Analysing the material remains of conflict can identify contested spaces, patterns of segregation, and competing memories that matter for policing (Moshenska, 2008; Gonzalez-Ruibal, 2018).

Officers deployed in areas such as Ambon may work in spaces where historical meaning affects trust, communication, and escalation risk. The modern policing paradigm is shifting from an approach oriented solely toward law enforcement to a more participatory one. Community policing positions the community as a strategic partner for the police in identifying security issues and building a safe and sustainable environment (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1990; Skogan, 2006). In post-conflict areas, understanding the history of conflict and the community's collective memory is crucial, certain symbols and spaces often retain high social sensitivity and, if ignored, have the potential to undermine the effectiveness of security management.

This article examines how documented conflict sites and collective memories could inform community policing in Ambon. By integrating the perspectives of conflict archaeology, collective memory, and community policing, this article proposes a conceptual model, explains its components, and sets out propositions for later empirical testing for utilising conflict legacies in efforts to prevent social conflict and strengthen community security. This research contributes theoretically by integrating conflict archaeology, collective memory theory, and community policing into one framework. It also has practical potential in helping police agencies and local governments design security strategies that are more sensitive to the historical context and local social dynamics. As a long-term hypothesis rather than an expected outcome, the proposed approach may contribute to more inclusive and sustainable peacebuilding, in the sense described by Lederach (1997), if intermediate conditions hold, including sustained community-police contact, consistent application of the model's ethical safeguards, and the absence of new triggering incidents in Ambon City and other post-conflict areas in Indonesia.

Based on this background, this study seeks to answer several questions: (1) What types of conflict-related material remains are documented in the existing literature on the Ambon conflict, and how are these remains theorised to relate to collective memory and community policing? (2) What is the relationship between material remnants of conflict and the formation and maintenance of collective community memory, according to the reviewed literature? (3) What is the potential for utilising a conflict archaeology approach to support the implementation of community policing in post-conflict areas? (4) How can a conceptual model of community policing based on conflict archaeology be formulated to support social conflict prevention, with sustainable peacebuilding treated as a long-term hypothesis, in Ambon City?

This study aims to: (1) synthesise the categories of material remnants of conflict documented in the existing literature on Ambon City; (2) analyze the relationship between material remnants of conflict and the formation of collective community memory; (3) analyze the relevance and potential of utilizing a conflict archaeology approach to support the implementation of community policing; (4) formulate a Community Policing Model Based on Conflict Archaeology; and (5) provide academic and practical recommendations for the development of community-based security policies in post-conflict areas.

This research has dual significance. Academically, it broadens the scope of studies on the archaeology of conflict in Indonesia and opens an interdisciplinary dialogue between archaeology, social sciences, and police science, which have previously developed separately. It also strengthens the study of collective memory in the context of contemporary social conflict in Indonesia, adding an analytical dimension that has received little attention in the literature on post-conflict in Southeast Asia. Practically, this research provides input for the development of community policing strategies that are more contextual and sensitive to local history, particularly for the Indonesian National Police (Polri) in managing security in areas experiencing communal conflict. Thus, this research is expected to make a tangible contribution to sustainable peacebuilding efforts in Indonesia.

Conflict archaeology is a branch of archaeological study that has developed rapidly since the late 20th century in response to increasing academic attention to war, violence, social trauma, and the long-term impact of conflict on society. Unlike traditional archaeology, which generally focuses on past societies, conflict archaeology focuses on various forms of human conflict and the material traces they leave behind, both in ancient and historical periods, as well as contemporary conflicts.

John Schofield, in his work "Combat Archaeology" (2005), asserts that modern conflict produces various forms of materiality that have historical, social, and political value. Methodologically, this approach follows the broader archaeological process described by Hodder (1999), applied here to sites of communal violence rather than to earlier historical periods. Nicholas J. Saunders introduced the concept of "Modern Conflict Archaeology," which argues that 20th- and 21st-century conflicts are characterised by their involvement of modern technology, national identity, political ideology, and mass violence that has a broad impact on civil society. McAtackney's (2014) study of Long Kesh/Maze Prison illustrates how contested sites can themselves become objects of ongoing political dispute long after a conflict formally ends. One of the key characteristics of conflict archaeology is its attention to the concept of materiality: objects produced by conflict are understood as social agents capable of storing, reproducing, and transmitting social meaning. A building damaged by conflict not only reflects the violent event but can also become a symbol of trauma, group identity, or reconciliation.

Conflict archaeology also pays attention to the concept of landscape, various elements such as battle zones, evacuation routes, social segregation areas, security posts, and memorial monuments that shape specific spatial configurations. In the Indonesian context, the application of conflict archaeology remains relatively limited compared to similar studies in Europe and North America, despite Indonesia's numerous sites bearing traces of social, political, and military conflict. This gap points to a specific unresolved question: how documented conflict-related material remains and collective memory processes can be systematically incorporated into community-policing practice in post-conflict Ambon.

The concept of collective memory refers to the shared memories held, maintained, and passed down by a social group. In the context of social conflict, collective memory becomes a crucial element because experiences of violence, suffering, and reconciliation often persist in the group's consciousness even after the conflict has formally ended.

Maurice Halbwachs, in his work "On Collective Memory," argues that human memory is never entirely individual because the process of remembering always occurs within a specific social framework (social frameworks of memory). From Halbwachs' perspective, space plays a crucial role in the formation and maintenance of collective memory: buildings, roads, monuments, places of worship, and residential areas serve as markers that help communities maintain connections with their past.

Pierre Nora developed the concept of *lieux de mémoire*, or "memory sites", places that serve as repositories of a community's collective memory. Memory sites provide a way to analyse how physical places become carriers of contested or reconciliatory narratives, since violent events often leave behind spaces with strong symbolic meaning for communities. Jan Assmann introduced the concept of cultural memory, knowledge of

the past preserved through material symbols, rituals, monuments, documents, and various other forms of cultural representation.

Henri Lefebvre, in his work, "The Production of Space," argued that space is a social product formed through the interaction of social practices, symbolic representations, and everyday experiences. Space always contains political and ideological dimensions because it reflects the power relations that develop within society. In post-conflict contexts, certain spaces can become symbols of domination, segregation, trauma, or reconciliation, depending on how society interprets them. In Ambon City, the 1999-2002 communal conflict left various material traces that can still be found in the cityscape, from peace monuments and social segregation areas to spaces with specific historical significance for the community (Adam, 2010; Al Qurtuby, 2016).

Community Policing

Partnership-based local problem-solving is the feature of community policing most relevant here. It is a modern policing paradigm, emerging as a response to the limitations of the traditional policing model, which overemphasised repressive law enforcement. This paradigm developed in the 1970s and 1980s, when various studies showed that increasing the number of police personnel did not always translate directly to decreased crime rates or increased public sense of security (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1990; Skolnick & Bayley, 1988).

Community policing can be defined as a policing strategy that emphasises partnerships between the police and the community in identifying, analysing, and resolving various security issues. The police are no longer viewed solely as law enforcement officers, but rather as facilitators, mediators, and community partners in creating sustainable security. According to Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (1990), there are three main elements in community policing: partnership, problem-solving, and organisational transformation, building on the earlier strategic shift documented by Kelling and Moore (1988) away from purely reactive, incident-driven policing.

Herman Goldstein, through his concept of Problem-Oriented Policing (POP), argues that the police need to understand the root causes of social problems that lead to security disturbances. Policing effectiveness depends heavily on the ability of officers to thoroughly identify problems, analyse their causes, and design solutions tailored to the local characteristics of the community. In the context of communities experiencing social conflict, community policing may be particularly useful, since conflict often leaves trauma, distrust, social segregation, and various forms of vulnerability that complicate conventional enforcement and that also hinder the reconciliation process. Therefore, a security approach that relies solely on law enforcement tends to be less effective in building long-term stability. Community policing offers a more inclusive approach through dialogue, mediation, trust-building, and active community involvement (Bayley, 2006; Denney & Jenkins, 2013). In practice, however, community-policing programmes can reproduce existing local power imbalances or exclude less visible groups; genuine inclusivity requires deliberate safeguards such as targeted outreach to marginalised groups and rotating community representation.

In Indonesia, the concept of community policing has gained traction since the post-1998 security sector reforms. The Indonesian National Police (Polri) developed the concept of Community Policing (Polmas) as a local adaptation of this paradigm (Polri, 2008). Polmas is implemented through Bhabinkamtibmas officers, who serve as the front line of police-community engagement at the village and sub-district levels, part of the broader shift toward civilian-oriented policing discussed by Rahardjo (2007) in the Indonesian reform context.

Literature Map and Research Gaps

Studies on the archaeology of conflict, collective memory, and community policing have grown significantly in the past two decades, but each field has generally developed separately. A search of the literature indexed in Scopus and Web of Science between 2019 and 2024, as a recent-literature scan nested within the broader

2000-2024 synthesis window described in Section 3.2, which also draws on earlier foundational theoretical texts (Lefebvre, Halbwachs, Nora), identified several relevant but unintegrated groups of studies.

First, studies on the archaeology of contemporary conflict. Gonzalez-Ruibal and Vila (2019) demonstrate how the materiality of conflict functions as an active social agent that continues to shape post-violence community relations. In Southeast Asia, Tjoa-Bonatz (2021) explores the material traces of ethnic conflict in Myanmar, demonstrating the potential of archaeological studies in understanding post-conflict spatial segregation. However, these studies do not link archaeological findings to security or policing policies.

Second, studies on collective memory and post-conflict security. Vinitzky-Seroussi and Teeger (2020) demonstrated that collective memory of conflict is associated with community perceptions of security, particularly through the mechanism of "mnemonic battles" that occur in public spaces. Aronson and Subotic (2022) analysed the relationship between memory politics and security stability in post-conflict societies. These studies indicate that conflict-marked spaces and transmitted memories may continue to shape security perceptions, but have not yet operationalised it within a community-based policing framework.

Third, studies of community policing in post-conflict Southeast Asia. Denney and Domingo (2021) concluded that the effectiveness of community policing programs depends heavily on the extent to which police officers understand the historical context and trauma of the communities they serve. In Indonesia, Setiawan and Darmawan (2023) identified a gap between formal policies and field practices of community policing, particularly related to personnel's limited understanding of local history.

Based on the literature review above, significant conceptual and methodological gaps exist. The literature reviewed here shows limited integration of a conflict archaeology approach as an instrument for developing community policing strategies in areas affected by interreligious communal conflict, referring here to communal violence with a religious-identity dimension of the kind documented for Ambon and Maluku between 1999 and 2002, particularly in the Indonesian context. Existing studies are generally partial: conflict archaeology is studied separately from security policy, collective memory is discussed independently of policing strategies, and community policing is developed without an adequate methodological basis for systematically understanding the material landscape of the conflict. This research addresses this gap by proposing an integrative framework that bridges these three areas using Ambon City as an illustrative context.

Framework

This research starts from the assumption that social conflict does not end when physical violence ceases. In Ambon City, the 1999-2002 communal conflict shaped a social landscape that still harbours various symbols, spaces, and artefacts associated with the experience of conflict. These material remains become part of community life and play a role in shaping how people understand history, group identity, and their perceptions of security and peace.

The relationship between the material remains of the conflict and collective memory is not automatic: it depends on who interprets the sites (residents, religious and customary leaders, and Bhabinkamtibmas officers), the channels through which interpretations are transmitted (oral narrative, commemorative ritual, and everyday spatial avoidance or use), and the conditions under which these interpretations become security-relevant (proximity to unresolved grievance, recurrence of triggering events, and limited intergroup contact). Under these conditions, the relationship may influence community perceptions of security. Perceptions of security are shaped not only by objective conditions such as crime rates but also by historical experiences and social memory. In post-conflict areas, certain spaces often hold strong symbolic meaning, influencing how communities perceive other groups and respond to potential threats.

Framework Model: Ambon Communal Conflict 1999-2002 → Material Remnants of the Conflict (damaged buildings, peace monuments, memorial sites, former security posts, social segregation spaces) ↔ Collective Community Memory (conflict memories, social trauma, group identity, peace narratives) ↔ Perceptions of Security and Social Relations (level of social trust, threat perceptions, inter-community interactions) ↔ Community Policing Approach (police-community partnerships, sensitive space mapping, early conflict detection, social mediation) → Strengthening Sustainable Peace and Security (long-term hypothesis). The double-headed arrows indicate feedback: community-policing practice can itself reshape collective memory and the meaning of material remains, not only the reverse. Each link is moderated by contextual factors, including time elapsed since the conflict, generational composition, quality of intergroup contact, and the police's own conduct history.

To integrate these three literatures rather than merely place them side by side, this article defines one core construct from each field and states the mechanism linking it to the next. From conflict archaeology, the core construct is material remains as evidence: physical traces of the conflict that store and transmit information not always captured in official records. From collective memory theory, the core construct is the social transmission of meaning, following Halbwachs's social frameworks of memory: memory is sustained through ongoing social interaction rather than individual recall alone. From community policing, the core construct is partnership-based local problem-solving: security is produced jointly by police and community rather than by police acting alone. The mechanism linking the first two constructs is interpretation: material remains acquire security-relevant meaning only when residents, religious and customary leaders, or police interpret them through social frameworks of memory. The mechanism linking the second two constructs is translation: socially framed memory becomes actionable for policing only when it is deliberately incorporated into partnership-based practice, rather than left to individual officers' informal knowledge.

On this basis, the synthesis yields five explicit propositions, stated in testable form for future empirical validation rather than as findings already established: P1 - Conflict-related material remains are theorised to function as repositories of collective memory (supported by Adam, 2010; Al Qurtuby, 2016; qualified by the absence of Ambon-specific measurement studies). P2 - The security-relevant meaning of material remains depends on active interpretation by residents, leaders, and police, not on the presence of the remains alone (supported by Halbwachs, 1992; Vinitzky-Seroussi & Teeger, 2020). P3 - Collective memory of conflict may shape community perceptions of security, moderated by generational distance, community affiliation, and recent intergroup contact (supported by Assmann, 2011; Olick, 2021; challenged by the absence of comparative incident data). P4 - Formalising conflict-archaeology knowledge into community-policing practice can strengthen officers' contextual understanding, but only where accompanied by adequate training and ethical safeguards (supported by Setiawan & Darmawan, 2023; Denney & Domingo, 2021). P5 - Public spaces that undergo inclusive reconstruction may create opportunities for cross-community contact, without this being read as proof of achieved reconciliation (supported by Schulze, 2021; qualified by the absence of Ambon-specific outcome evidence). These five propositions are the basis for the model developed in Section 5.3 and the research agenda set out in Section 6.3.

Conceptual Approach and Study Design

This article uses a conceptual research approach, which aims to develop a new theoretical framework through the synthesis and integration of concepts from different disciplines. This approach was chosen because the research does not aim to generate empirical findings from primary data, but rather to build a coherent conceptual argument that can be tested through further empirical research (Jaakkola, 2020; MacInnis, 2011). Consistent with this design, every research question, objective, results statement, and conclusion in this article is framed as synthesis and proposition-building; empirical validation of the propositions is treated throughout as future work rather than as already accomplished. A conceptual design fits this question because the relevant literatures have not previously been integrated; the resulting framework is evaluated by its internal coherence, its fit with the reviewed evidence, and the testability of its propositions. More broadly, conceptual research of this kind is a recognised tradition in the social sciences when it identifies gaps in the literature, integrates previously uncombined perspectives, and proposes new models that open a future research agenda.

Methodologically, this article employs a theoretical synthesis design that integrates three major theoretical frameworks, conflict archaeology, collective memory theory, and the community policing paradigm, into a single, unified conceptual model. Ambon City was used as an illustrative context, selected because it is documented in peer-reviewed and official sources directly relevant to the three core constructs defined in Section 2.5, including sources that report complicating or contrary evidence rather than only supportive examples based on the rich academic literature available on the 1999-2002 communal conflict, rather than as an empirical case study site.

The choice to use Ambon as an illustrative context, rather than as an empirical study site, rests on two points. First, Ambon is analytically useful: the synthesis draws on approximately twenty Ambon-specific sources spanning political science, anthropology, conflict studies, and policing studies, a corpus judged adequate for conceptual model-building though not for empirical generalisation, in contrast with other Indonesian post-conflict regions where academic documentation remains more limited. Second, this choice places a clear limit on transferability: the proposed model is not unique to Ambon, but elements of it, particularly the religious-identity segregation pattern described in Section 4.1, are likely specific to Ambon rather than automatically generalisable to other post-conflict settings such as Poso or Aceh.

Data Sources and Literature Synthesis Procedure

The analysis used Scopus- and Web of Science-indexed journal articles, supplemented by Google Scholar, books, international reports, and policy documents across conflict archaeology, collective memory, social space and security perceptions, and community policing in post-conflict settings. A documented search conducted in June 2025 used the string ("conflict archaeology" OR "collective memory" OR "lieux de mémoire") AND ("community polic*" OR "polmas" OR "post-conflict") AND (Ambon OR Maluku OR Indonesia), limited to 2000-2024. It identified 214 records; after 38 duplicates were removed, 176 titles and abstracts were screened, 55 full texts were reviewed, and 47 sources were ultimately cited. Retained sources were coded by construct, proposed mechanism, empirical or theoretical basis, and context. Contradictory evidence was retained rather than discarded, and each proposition was checked against at least two independent sources from different disciplines, while evidence gaps were carried forward as limitations.

Conceptual Analysis Framework

The conceptual analysis framework in this article follows three analytical steps, each producing a distinct output. First, cross-disciplinary conceptual analysis: identifying intersections between conflict archaeology (materiality, conflict landscapes), collective memory theory (social frameworks, memory sites, cultural memory), and community policing (partnerships, problem-solving, social trust), which produced the three core constructs and their linking mechanisms set out in Section 2.5. Second, conceptual proposition elaboration: developing the five numbered propositions (P1-P5) that explain the mechanisms of the relationship between material remains of conflict, collective memory formation, security perceptions, and community policing effectiveness. Third, model construction: developing a proposed implementation sequence, presented in five stages, followed by identifying propositions to be verified in subsequent fieldwork (MacInnis, 2011; Jaakkola, 2020).

DISCUSSION

Typology of Conflict Material Remains: Literature-Based Analysis

The synthesis identifies four recurring types of conflict-related material remains in Ambon: areas of social segregation, historical conflict sites, peace monuments or memorials, and post-conflict public spaces. These categories should not be treated as direct measures of present-day hostility or reconciliation. Rather, they are material contexts through which social meanings and memories may be reproduced, contested, or transformed. Conflict archaeology shows that material traces can remain active in social landscapes after violence ends (Schofield, 2005; Gonzalez-Ruibal, 2018), while spatial theory explains how the use and representation of space contribute to the production of social relations (Lefebvre, 1991). In Ambon, scholarship documents the

persistence of post-conflict segregation alongside peace-building practices and shared institutions (Adam, 2010; Al Qurtuby, 2016; Schulze, 2021). Read together, these sources support the argument that material remains are useful as contextual knowledge for community policing because they can help officers identify locations where historical meaning may influence trust, communication, and escalation risk. They do not, by themselves, prove how every resident interprets a site.

Dynamics of Collective Memory and Perceptions of Security Post-Conflict

Collective memory in Ambon is complex and dynamic rather than a uniform inheritance. Direct survivors may connect particular sites with trauma or displacement, while younger generations may encounter the conflict through family narratives, schools, media, commemorations, and everyday spatial practices. Memory studies therefore caution against assuming that material traces produce the same meaning for all groups (Assmann, 2011; Vinitzky-Seroussi & Teeger, 2020). Ambon research also shows that local peace values and institutions, including Pela Gandong, Baku Bae, and the broader language of Orang Basudara, can mediate how conflict memories are interpreted and used in intergroup relations (Braithwaite et al., 2010; Al Qurtuby, 2016; Schulze, 2021). For policing, the relevant implication is conditional: historical memory may shape security perceptions, willingness to engage with officers, or sensitivity to particular locations, but those effects cannot be inferred mechanically from the presence of a memorial, segregated neighbourhood, or former conflict site. Community-policing strategies should therefore combine knowledge of conflict landscapes with current community consultation and locally validated risk assessment.

Transformation of Conflict Spaces into Peaceful Spaces

Changes in the meaning of post-conflict space create opportunities for community policing. Markets located near community boundaries can become recurring sites of cross-group economic interaction, while shared cultural activities, public events, and peace-oriented commemorations can modify the symbolic meaning of locations formerly associated with conflict. Such changes do not demonstrate that reconciliation is complete, but they show that social space is continually produced through present practices as well as historical memory (Lefebvre, 1991; Nora, 1989). Studies of Ambon describe the gradual rebuilding of intercommunity interaction and local peace infrastructures after the conflict (Al Qurtuby, 2016; Schulze, 2021). Police can use this contextual knowledge to select meeting places, design joint patrol or dialogue activities, anticipate symbolic sensitivities, and identify community actors able to support de-escalation. The proposed model therefore treats post-conflict sites as potential entry points for engagement, not as deterministic indicators of either danger or harmony. Any operational use should be validated through contemporary community input and reviewed as local conditions change.

Intersection of Conflict Archaeology and Community Policing: A Conceptual Synthesis

A synthesis of the literature on community policing in post-conflict Southeast Asia suggests that conflict archaeology has the potential to strengthen community-based policing practices. Setiawan and Darmawan (2023) documented that Bhabinkamtibmas officers in post-conflict Indonesia intuitively developed a sensitivity to local history, but without a systematic methodological framework. Denney and Domingo (2021) demonstrated a similar pattern in Timor-Leste and the Southern Philippines, where the effectiveness of community policing depended heavily on officers' understanding of the historical context and trauma of the communities they served.

Conceptually, police officers working in post-conflict areas require a systematic mechanism to identify areas of high historical sensitivity. Prior experiences with violence and security institutions may shape how police-community communication unfolds in post-conflict contexts: every interaction occurs within a mnemonic landscape shaped by past experiences of violence and ongoing reconciliation processes (Halbwachs, 1992; Vinitzky-Seroussi & Teeger, 2020).

A conceptual gap identified in the literature is the absence of systematic mechanisms that allow knowledge of the conflict landscape to be integrated into the planning and implementation of formal security strategies. This absence creates conditions in which policing effectiveness relies too heavily on the personal knowledge of officers and is vulnerable to fragmentation during personnel rotations (Setiawan & Darmawan, 2023; Denney & Domingo, 2021). This is the practical gap that motivates the model developed in Section 5.3, which specifies how such knowledge could be stored, transferred, and used.

In this context, conflict archaeology provides a crucial source of knowledge for the police to identify sensitive spaces, understand local social dynamics, and strengthen community-based conflict prevention strategies. This knowledge transfer mechanism into the community policing system should be formalised by Polri's training command (Lemdiklat Polri) as a documented knowledge base, entered into pre-deployment briefings and local risk-assessment planning for officers posted to post-conflict areas.

One important implication of this conceptual synthesis is the need to reformulate the training of police officers serving in post-conflict areas. In the existing police education and training system, attention to the historical and material dimensions of conflict remains very limited. In the specific post-conflict cases documented by Setiawan and Darmawan (2023), Bhabinkamtibmas training emphasised technical policing skills and regulatory mastery, while knowledge of local conflict history, collective memory, and the dynamics of post-conflict social spaces was reported as not systematically developed in the cases studied (Setiawan & Darmawan, 2023). This suggests a possible gap between what is required by the post-conflict regional context and the capacities of officers serving in the field, though confirming this at a national level would require broader documentation such as curriculum records or official training standards.

Historical memories of police conduct during the conflict may affect present institutional trust. In areas that have experienced communal conflict, police institutions are often burdened by negative public perceptions related to their role and position during the conflict. Some communities may have memories of security forces' failures or lack of impartiality during the conflict, which in turn has shaped historical distrust of the police institution. By understanding these historical dimensions in depth, including the specific events that have left their mark on the community's collective memory, police can develop a more proactive approach to rebuilding public trust. This process requires institutional political will together with specific capacities: source evaluation, trauma-sensitive interviewing, participatory mapping, and local-language knowledge to understand and respond to the complex landscape of community memory.

Conflict Remnants as a Source of Security Knowledge

The conceptual synthesis indicates that the material remnants of the conflict in Ambon City cannot be understood solely as historical relics that record past events. Various forms of conflict materiality, social segregation zones, peace monuments, victim memorial sites, and places of worship that were once targets of violence, are part of the social landscape that continues to interact with communities today. This finding aligns with the archaeological perspective of conflict, which positions the materiality of conflict as part of ongoing social processes.

Material remains can preserve evidence and meanings that are often not fully documented in official archives. This concept of "material archives" resonates with Nora's notion of memory sites as compensation for the loss of living memory: when communities can no longer rely on direct interpersonal transmission of memories, physical materiality takes over the function of storing and recalling those memories (Erll, 2020). This resembles the broader pattern of "dark heritage" informing transitional justice described by Badcock (2022) in Northern Ireland and South Africa. Therefore, conflict remains can be viewed as a security knowledge resource that provides information about sensitive spaces, patterns of social segregation, collective community memory, and potential conflict vulnerabilities.

When police officers understand that an area has a history of conflict and that the memory of that history remains alive in the community's consciousness, they can develop more sensitive and effective approaches. In situations where social tensions appear to be triggered by seemingly minor issues, understanding the historical background of the area can help officers understand why these tensions may escalate quickly; the specific intervention practices best suited to each situation remain to be developed and evaluated rather than already established.

From a practical policing perspective, understanding the material remains of conflict also has important implications for planning personnel deployment and determining policing priorities. Areas with a history of conflict and a strong collective memory tend to require a different policing approach than areas relatively free from the burden of historical violence. Personnel assigned to these areas need to have a sufficient understanding of local social dynamics, including knowledge of key figures trusted by each community, how patterns of intercommunity relations develop after conflict, and which spaces hold special symbolic meaning for the community. Some competencies, such as legal procedure and communication protocols, are well suited to formal training at educational centres, while contextual interpretation of local narratives requires direct field engagement; the two are proposed to be combined through mentored postings and later assessed jointly through supervisor review and community feedback.

Conflict Archaeology as an Instrument for Community Policing

Community policing is fundamentally built on the assumption that community security cannot be achieved solely through repressive measures. Security requires community engagement, trust-building, and a deep understanding of local social and cultural characteristics. As a conceptual inference drawn from adjacent fields, Schofield (2005) and Gonzalez-Ruibal (2018) on conflict materiality, Setiawan and Darmawan (2023) and Denney and Domingo (2021) on community policing in post-conflict settings, a conflict archaeology approach appears to have strong relevance to community policing principles through its ability to generate information about locations with high social sensitivity, symbols with special meaning for specific groups, and historical narratives that continue to influence inter-community relations.

The use of conflict archaeology as a community policing instrument can also strengthen institutional legitimacy and public trust in the police institution. From Halbwachs' perspective, social trust between residents and institutions is a product of the alignment of the "social frameworks" held by both parties. When police officers demonstrate an understanding of the community's memory framework, including who they trust, what they fear, and which spaces they consider historically significant, they move toward sharing the same social framework as residents, although trust also depends on impartiality, officer conduct, the representativeness of the police force, and the community's own historical experience with police, enabling more authentic communication and partnerships (Denney & Domingo, 2021).

A conflict archaeology approach can also strengthen early warning mechanisms for conflict, a crucial component of community policing. By understanding historically sensitive spaces and the collective memory still alive within a community, police officers can be more sensitive to early signs of emerging social tensions. As proposition P3 states, an incident occurring in a location with a history of conflict is hypothesised to carry a much greater potential for escalation than a similar incident in a location without such historical baggage, though no comparative incident studies were identified in the reviewed literature to confirm this. Sensitivity to these dimensions can help officers take appropriate preventive measures before a situation escalates into open conflict.

Based on the conceptual synthesis, conflict archaeology can function as a community policing instrument through three main mechanisms, each specified below by its input information, responsible actor, activity, output, and a proposed indicator for future evaluation. (1) Sensitive-space identification: input is documented conflict sites and segregation patterns from literature and local records; the responsible actor is the Bhabinkamtibmas officer together with local government; the activity is compiling and periodically updating a sensitive-space list; the output is a documented, access-restricted list; the proposed indicator is the proportion

of high-sensitivity locations with a documented risk note. (2) Collective-memory mapping: input is community narratives gathered through interviews and documentation; the responsible actor is trained community-policing personnel working with community representatives; the activity is structured narrative collection with informed consent; the output is a narrative summary linked to specific locations; the proposed indicator is the number of distinct community perspectives represented per site. (3) Early conflict detection: input is the combination of (1) and (2) together with recent incident reports; the responsible actor is the police intelligence and community-relations function; the activity is periodic review of sensitive-space and memory data against current events; the output is a risk flag with a recommended response; the proposed indicator is the time between a triggering event and the corresponding risk flag being issued. These three mechanisms are proposed for operationalisation as concrete programs within a community policing framework, such as training officers on local conflict history and developing specific protocols for handling situations in conflict-sensitive spaces.

Community Policing Model Based on Conflict Archaeology

Based on the conceptual synthesis and the propositions in Section 2.5, this study proposes a Conflict Archaeology-Based Community Policing Model. This model draws on three theoretical frameworks that play distinct, not automatically complementary, analytical roles: Lefebvre's (1991) model contributes the idea that space is a social product formed through the dialectical interaction between spatial practices, spatial representations, and lived space; Halbwachs' (1992) model contributes the claim that memory is social and spatial, so effective security management must understand the social and spatial framework of community memory; and Nora's (1989) model contributes the idea that material sites of conflict function as media for storing and transmitting collective memory that may shape perceptions of security and contemporary social relations. These roles carry some tension: Nora's original framework treats memory sites as relatively static repositories set apart from everyday life, whereas Lefebvre treats space as continuously produced through ongoing practice; this article follows Section 4.1 in reading Ambon's sites through Lefebvre's dynamic triad while retaining Nora's vocabulary of material, functional, and symbolic dimensions.

Separately from the theoretical model of constructs and relationships set out in Section 2.5, this section presents a proposed implementation sequence in five stages, intended as a protocol for future piloting and empirical testing rather than as a description of work already carried out:

Stage 1: Identification and Mapping of Material Remains of Conflict. As a proposed protocol, an inventory of various spaces and objects related to the history of the conflict would be conducted using a field archaeological approach. At this stage, a survey would be conducted to document various forms of conflict remains, including buildings that were targets of violence, peace monuments, segregation areas, and spaces of historical value to the community.

Stage 2: Mapping Community Collective Memory. This stage would involve collecting and analysing community memory narratives through interviews, historical documentation, and social narrative analysis, with informed community consent, to understand how communities interpret the remnants of the conflict. This stage is intended to provide an understanding of how the memory of the conflict persists within the community and how this memory influences perceptions of space, other groups, and security institutions.

Stage 3: Identification of Sensitive Spaces and Social Vulnerabilities. This stage would integrate material data and collective memory to identify spaces with high social sensitivity and the potential to become conflict triggers. The result would be a social vulnerability map usable as a basis for decision-making in regional security management. Because mapping sensitive spaces is not ethically neutral, it can stigmatise neighbourhoods, expose vulnerable groups, or generate information later used for surveillance, this stage would be governed by explicit rules: informed community consent before any site is mapped; community co-ownership and control over access to the resulting data; a defined process for updating or correcting entries; a restriction limiting use of the map to community-policing purposes only; and a harm-review step before any sensitive-space information is shared beyond the immediate team.

Stage 4: Implementation of Community Policing Based on Conflict Archaeology Knowledge. This stage would develop a community policing strategy that utilises the results of the identification of conflict remains and collective memory through dialogue, mediation, community partnerships, and early conflict detection, with knowledge gained from conflict archaeology studies integrated into daily community policing practices.

Stage 5: Continuous Evaluation. This stage would involve regular monitoring and evaluation of social dynamics and community security to assess the relevance and effectiveness of implemented strategies. Given that the community memory landscape is dynamic and can change over time, continuous evaluation is necessary to ensure that the security approach remains relevant to community conditions.

The institutional implications of this model also require attention. Effective implementation of the model would require three specific organisational changes: at the operational level, day-to-day policing practice; at the organisational level, personnel training; and at the institutional policy level, formal standard operating procedures. At the organisational level, personnel capacity development is needed through training that integrates knowledge of local conflict history, collective memory analysis, and social mediation skills into the core competencies of police officers serving in post-conflict areas. At the policy level, standard operating procedures (SOPs) are needed to regulate how knowledge of the conflict landscape and collective memory is integrated into security operations planning, from risk assessment to incident response. At the managerial level, documentation and knowledge-sharing systems are needed to ensure that local knowledge acquired by certain personnel is maintained and passed on to replacement personnel during rotations. These three institutional changes are interdependent rather than simultaneous: legal and institutional approval would need to precede personnel capacity development, which in turn would need to precede piloting the SOPs, with a phased rollout following a successful pilot for the model to be implemented effectively and sustainably.

This model treats conflict remains as potential sources of security-relevant knowledge as well as heritage objects that can support the development of community security. The model's specific analytical connection is to link documented material remains, socially framed memory, and partnership-based policing within one framework, a connection that existing community-policing frameworks in Indonesia do not currently make explicit. While conflict archaeology has traditionally been used to understand the past, this model treats the findings of archaeological studies as a potential resource for addressing the security needs of contemporary society.

CONCLUSION

This article has developed a conceptual framework that integrates conflict archaeology, collective memory theory, and the community policing paradigm through a structured theoretical synthesis, using Ambon City as an illustrative context. Building on the five propositions (P1-P5) stated in Section 2.5, the conceptual synthesis supports the following points, each retained here only where it adds to what was already stated in Section 2.5:

First, the 1999-2002 Ambon communal conflict left material traces that continue to form part of the community's social landscape, including residential segregation areas, spaces that were once the arenas of conflict, peace monuments, memorial sites, and various public spaces that underwent functional transformations after the conflict ended.

Second, the material remains of the conflict serve as a medium for storing, reproducing, and transmitting the community's collective memory of the conflict experience. Through community interactions with spaces and objects related to the conflict, various experiences of violence, trauma, reconciliation, and peace continue to live in the community's social consciousness. This lends theoretical support to the relevance of Nora's *lieux de mémoire* concept and Halbwachs' theory of collective memory in the context of contemporary social conflict in Indonesia.

Third, the memory of the conflict in Ambon City is dynamic and not simply a burden of trauma. Various local values, such as *Pela Gandong*, *Baku Bae*, and *Orang Basudara*, are reported by Schulze (2021) and Al Qurtuby (2016) to help rebuild social relations between communities under conditions of active community leadership and sustained intergroup contact, though these sources note that participation is not always evenly distributed across groups and the meaning of these practices can itself be contested. Various spaces that were previously arenas of conflict have been transformed into spaces for social interaction and reconciliation, a process shaped by planned reconstruction, economic necessity, and deliberate reconciliation initiatives rather than a single organic dynamic.

Fourth, the material remains of the conflict and the community's collective memory are theorised, per propositions P1 and P2, to function jointly as a knowledge resource whose security relevance depends on active interpretation rather than on their mere presence. A conflict archaeology approach has significant potential to support the implementation of community policing through the identification of material remains, mapping collective memory, and analysing social spaces.

Fifth, this article proposes a Community Policing Model Based on Conflict Archaeology, which explains how material remnants of conflict shape a community's collective memory, which in turn influences perceptions of security and social relations. Understanding this relationship can be utilised in the implementation of community policing oriented towards conflict prevention, building social trust, and strengthening sustainable peace. This model provides an original contribution by connecting two fields of study that have previously developed separately, conflict archaeology and police science.

The theoretical contributions of this study lie in three areas. First, it broadens the scope of conflict archaeology from merely the study of historical materiality to an analytical instrument for contemporary security management, opening a dialogue between archaeology as a humanities discipline and police science as an applied discipline. Second, it develops the application of collective memory theory concepts in the context of community security in Indonesian post-conflict settings comparable to Ambon, characterised by communal conflict with a religious-identity dimension, documented material remains, an active community-policing structure, and accessible local memory narratives, enriching theoretical discussions that have so far focused primarily on European and North American contexts. Third, it contributes a new operational model that bridges the gap between academic knowledge on post-conflict and security policy practice in the field. This research also contributes to the Indonesian police science literature by demonstrating the importance of a local historical context-based approach in developing community policing strategies, particularly in areas experiencing communal conflict.

SUGGESTION

For the Indonesian National Police: Police institutions could revise pre-deployment training and local risk-assessment procedures to incorporate the historical, social, and cultural dimensions of the areas where officers serve, while existing legal safeguards and standard operating procedures for the use of force and evidence handling remain unchanged and central. Concretely, this can be achieved through the development of a special training module for *Bhabinkamtibmas* (Community Police Officers) on the history of local conflict and how to interpret the dynamics of community collective memory. A more systematic local knowledge documentation system also needs to be developed to ensure that knowledge about the conflict landscape is not lost during personnel rotations. Because this documentation would constitute a sensitive archive, it should specify community co-ownership, a defined scope of what is recorded, tiered access rules, a documented consent process for contributors, and a requirement to preserve narrative context so that accounts are not later taken out of context or misused.

For the Regional Government: The regional government could consider a more systematic inventory and documentation of the various material remnants of the conflict still present in Ambon City. This inventory should ideally be conducted collaboratively, involving the community, academics, and cultural institutions,

and would need community consent before any site is recorded, a process for recording competing narratives about the same site, defined data ownership, access restrictions, and a formal process by which community members can contest or correct entries in the record. The regional government should also encourage the use of spaces with a history of conflict as a medium for peace education and inter-community dialogue.

For Educational Institutions: Educational institutions in Ambon could strengthen local history education, feeding into the knowledge-transfer mechanism described in Section 5.2 that emphasises the importance of tolerance, reconciliation, and diversity. Experiences of past conflict can be used as a learning tool for the younger generation to understand the social consequences of violence and the importance of maintaining harmonious relations between community groups.

For Further Research: Further research is needed in other regions with experiences of social conflict, such as Poso, Sampit, and Aceh, to test the validity and relevance of the resulting model. Digital mapping technology and Geographic Information Systems (GIS) could support empirical testing of proposition P1 (documenting material remains), while social network analysis could support testing of proposition P3 (memory and security perception). Any such digital mapping of sensitive communities and relationships would need to follow the same consent, access-restriction, and harm-review safeguards specified for Stage 3 of the model in Section 5.3.

Conceptual Recommendation: The Conflict Archaeology-Based Community Policing Model is presented as a candidate framework to be co-designed, piloted, and independently evaluated for managing security in post-conflict areas in Indonesia. This model offers a new perspective that positions the material legacy of conflict as a strategic source of knowledge for understanding society and preventing social conflict. The gradual implementation of this model, starting with a pilot project in Ambon City co-designed with affected communities, religious and customary (adat) leaders, local government, Polri personnel, and an independent ethics reviewer, and accompanied by independent evaluation and a mechanism for monitoring and responding to unintended harm, will provide useful evidence for refining the model before its wider application.

Future Research Agenda

This section identifies the propositions that need testing, appropriate designs for testing them, and the evidence that would support or lead to revision of the model. The proposed Conflict Archaeology-Based Community Policing Model contains several propositions that must be tested through field research before it can be adopted as policy by police agencies or local governments. Key propositions requiring empirical testing include: the relationship between the proximity of material remains of conflict and the intensity of community collective memory, alongside narrative exposure, community affiliation, generational cohort, displacement history, ritual practice, and change in site meaning over time, ideally tested through a mixed-method design combining spatial mapping with interviews or surveys rather than a simple distance correlation; the correlation between the strength of collective memory and perceptions of security in a given space; and the influence of Bhabinkamtibmas personnel's understanding of conflict history on the effectiveness of community policing tasks.

First, the model should be tested in Ambon City, which is the most relevant location given the availability of academic literature and the richness of documented material remains of conflict. Key questions include: Does the proposed typology of material remains reflect actual conditions on the ground? How do community perceptions of security correlate with the proximity of their residences to sites of conflict memory? To what extent have or have not Bhabinkamtibmas utilised knowledge of the conflict landscape in carrying out their daily duties?

Second, comparative testing in Poso and Aceh. Poso offers a variety of communal conflicts with distinct reconciliation dynamics, while Aceh offers a distinct armed conflict context with a formal peace agreement (the 2005 Helsinki MoU) and a documented Disarmament, Demobilisation, and Reintegration (DDR) process.

Comparative research across the three locations, selected as most-different cases across conflict types (communal religious conflict, communal ethnic conflict, and armed separatist conflict), could identify recurring and context-dependent patterns rather than establish universal elements of the model.

Third, the development of standardised measurement instruments for mapping material remnants of conflict using Geographic Information Systems (GIS), measuring the intensity and character of collective memory related to specific spaces, and evaluating the level of historical sensitivity of Bhabinkamtibmas officers as an indicator of readiness for model implementation.

Fourth, a study of generational changes in conflict memory, longitudinal research on how intergenerational memory transmission occurs, could help clarify when and how community policing strategies might need to be adapted over time, by measuring change over time in the strength of collective memory narratives, community trust in police, and reported security perceptions in relation to the model's proposed mechanisms.

Three concrete priorities follow from this agenda: first, the model should be piloted in Ambon before any comparative testing in Poso or Aceh; second, the ethical safeguards specified in Section 5.3 (community consent, data ownership, access restriction, and harm review) are a precondition for any pilot, not an optional addition; and third, convergent qualitative and quantitative evidence on the mechanisms in propositions P1-P5 would count as support for the model, while disconfirming evidence should prompt its revision. This research agenda is open to cross-institutional collaboration involving universities, police research institutions (Lemdiklat Polri, STIK), and international institutions working in the field of peacebuilding.

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