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HARMONY IN DIVERSITY: CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN THE OUTER ISLAND OF ENGGANO, BENGKULU

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Enggano community is a plural society, besides ethnic variety, it is also multi-religion. They have five indigenous tribes (Kauno, Katora, Kaarubi, Kaharuba, and Kahaoa) and one migrant tribe (Kaamay). Kaamay is a new tribe created by the indigenous Enggano community to accommodate migrants to become part of the social structure of the Enggano community. The impact of the large number of migrants entering Enggano is the shift of the majority of believers from Christianity to Islam. Although very multiethnic and multireligion, Enggano is able to maintain harmony within and ensure the peace of its people. Very rare conflicts occur within the Enggano community. This is because adat has local wisdom in regulating community values and norms so that potential conflicts can be prevented. All Enggano people (including Kaamay) must obey the traditional rules because they are conditioned as part of the Enggano tribe and must give up their previous cultural identity. This paper shows that the domination of adat which is managed and adhered to together can prevent the occurrence of frictions within the community. Adat successfully guarantees the rights, obligations and social status of the members of community so that there is no social jealousy between migrants and indigenous people.

Keywords: Conflict Management, Enggano, Adat, Local Wisdom

INTRODUCTION

Enggano Island is one of Indonesia's outer islands which has local intelligence in maintaining harmony in ethnic and religious differences in its community. In religious life, for example, adat regulates the freedom of the people to embrace a religion that is believed by someone so that the Enggano people are able to live side by side with followers of other religions. Mutual help in the construction of a new mosque / church can involve anyone regardless of ethnicity or religion. The harmony of the religious community is evident, for example, from the presence of the priests in the event of breaking the fast together every month of Ramadhan at the invitation of muslims scholars (*ulama*); and vice versa the ulama are involved in various Christian celebration events. In socio-cultural life, adat provides a large space for immigrants who want to become citizens of

Enggano. Adat allocates two hectares of land for each migrant family so that they can survive in Enggano.

Enggano, whose harmony and tolerance in society does not just happen. Enggano learns quite a lot from past historical experiences that always deal with conflict and tribal warfare. In addition, long interactions with other nations have also given birth to a new awareness to collaborate and make immigrants partners in solving tribal problems. The population of Enggano agreed to make immigrants part of them and immigrants subject to the customary rules of Enggano. Migrants must relinquish their cultural identity and become part of the Kaamay tribe, which is a tribe formed specifically for migrants. As a consequence of the appointment of tribal members, adat must provide the same entitlements as indigenous people to avoid social jealousy.

This paper aims to examine carefully how the local wisdom of the Enggano community works in managing conflict in its territory. Three aspects will be presented in detail in line with the adat-based conflict management, namely how the social status of members is conceptualized in the Enggano community, what rights are regulated by adat for each member of the community, and how custom defines the obligations of each member in a harmony framework enforced.

Enggano: The Forgotten Outer Island

Enggano is one of the outermost islands in Indonesia located in Bengkulu Province. The island is approximately 90 nautical miles or 156 kilometers from the city of Bengkulu. To reach Enggano, people are accustomed to using sea transportation by using ferries and pioneer ships that are taken within 12 hours. Ferries managed by PT. ASDP Indonesia Ferry (ASDP) operates twice a week (Tuesday and Thursday for departures from Bengkulu and Wednesday and Friday for departures from Enggano). However, they prefer to use government vessels which are managed by the Ministry of Transportation because the price is much cheaper and the port is close to the residential center. In addition, the Enggano community can also choose air transportation with Avianstar aircraft which operates every Monday with a maximum capacity of 15 people. However, transportation to Enggano is very much determined by the weather which often causes the ship to be delayed.

Enggano District has six villages, namely Kahyapu Village, Kaana Village, Malakoni Village, Apoho Village, Meok Village, and Banjarsari Village (Hutapea; Simangunsong, 1994; Sari, 2018). Kahyapu Village is the first village of Kahyapu Harbor. The distance from the port to the second village, namely Kaana Village is 7 km. Kaana village to Malakoni village is 10 km away. Malakoni Village to Apoho Village is 1 km away. Apoho Village is situated at the center of Enggano sub-district, there are many government facilities in this village. Apoho village to Meok for 3 km. From Meok Village to Banjarsari as far as 17 km.

Enggano community consists of five indigenous ethnic groups, namely Kaitora, Kauno, Kaahoao, Kaarubi, and Kaharuba (Ekorusyono, 2015; Sari, 2017). At first, the indigenous Enggano tribes were only 3 ethnic groups namely Kaahoao, Kaitora, and Kaarubi. For reasons of population development, the three tribes were divided into five indigenous tribes. The Kaahoao tribe is divided into Kaahoao and Kauno and the Kaarubi tribe is divided into Kaarubi and Kaharuba. Besides having five indigenous tribes, the Enggano community also recognizes an additional tribe called Kaamay (Kaarubi, 2007). Kaamay means sticking which signifies that the original Enggano tribe did not make a new tribe but only added it to classify immigrant tribes. Migrant tribes are

recognized legally by the Enggano community, have the same rights and obligations and even have tribal heads whose voices are also heard when compromising (Sari, 2017).

The Enggano community is a very open tribal community, different from other tribal peoples who are usually very closed to migrants. They opened up and were friendly with the migrants because they realized that they could not prevent the arrival of migrants from their territory. Therefore, making migrants as part of them is a form of political policy that they practice. Immigrants entering the Enggano region come from various ethnic groups in Indonesia. For example, Minang, Batak, Minahasa, Malay, Javanese, Bugis, and Rejang. People intentionally come to Enggano to improve their economy because Enggano still has a lot of land that can be cultivated.

The Enggano community apparently has local wisdom in managing conflict. This local intelligence is derived from their long history of experience in the face of war and also the experience of interacting with other nations from all over the world that makes Enggano a multicultural and multireligion region to date.

FINDINGS

Enggano has succeeded in becoming a center of trade for other nations such as Portugal, China, the Netherlands, Japan, and so on. (Keurs, 1995) wrote in his note, *Digital Publications of the National Museum of Ethnology*, that Enggano people have interacted with other nations throughout the world. Enggano community interaction with other communities began early in the 16th century when the Portuguese discovered this island. The name Enggano is believed to be given by the Portuguese, "Engano", which means disappointed because it did not succeed in finding gold. This name was unknown to the Malay people, they were more familiar with Enggano Island as Pulo Telangiang (island of naked people) (Modigliani, 1894).

Dutch ships arrived in 1602, 1614, 1622 and 1629 respectively to Enggano to trade but were not always successful. In 1771, British Charles Miller came to Enggano. His experience was published in 1778 and rewritten in Dutch in 1779 (Modigliani, 1894). From the record of Modigliani, we also know that during the reign of the Netherlands, Enggano would make plantation land (coconut and pepper) and livestock (pigs, buffaloes and cattle). Even Enggano has become the second Batavia for the Netherlands because Pulau Dua, which is located across the island of Enggano, managed to become the center of trade in the Netherlands.

Interaction with various nations that have been built since the beginning of the 16th century gives awareness to Enggano people that their lives will never be separated from immigrants. Therefore, they make customary rules that make migrants as friends not opponents and adat gives equal rights and obligations between indigenous people and migrants. Thus custom also regulates the economic, social, and political order which forms the framework of the relationship between Enggano's occupation and migrants.

First, in the economic order, the Enggano customary government provides two hectares of land for each family head for those who want to become citizens of Enggano (Sari, 2017). Before this land can be given, prospective residents are required to move their Identity Card (KTP) into the Enggano area. After that they are required to stay and work in Enggano for six months. Usually migrants live in advance or work with Enggano residents who already have land to manage it with a profit sharing agreement. In this way they were able to survive for six months. These migrants

are usually people who do not own land in their place of origin and complain of their fate to Enggano for farming or gardening. Migrants come from various ethnic groups in Indonesia.

After the migrants went through their six-month service period, the customary leader, hamlet head, and village head discussed to determine whether the migrants were entitled to land or not, if it was determined then the customary leader and head of government would find them vacant land (no the owner) so that they can immediately build a place to live and manage their land. This land is usually used to grow coffee, chocolate, or bananas. This makes the attraction for migrants to become permanent residents in Enggano. The average person who comes is people who are very limited economically, do not have assets so expect a piece of land to be cultivated.

Second, in the social order, Enggano adat regulates the existence of five indigenous tribes and recognizes 1 tribe of immigrants. In Enggano all migrants are not permitted to show their cultural identity because when they enter Enggano, they are required to give up their cultural identity in order to become part of the Enggano tradition. This rule is decided by customary institutions and applies to all parties in Enggano. For example, when carrying out weddings all Enggano people, both immigrants and natives, must follow the procedures for marriage according to the customary rules of Enggano. Marriage is not permitted, for example, using Javanese, Sundanese or Batak customs. This is different from other regions where migrant tribal identities remain strong even though they are outside their cultural area.

Third, the political order, immigrants have the same social status as the indigenous people of Enggano. They are recognized as part of the Kaamay tribe so they have the same right to manage Enggano Island. They also had their own tribal chiefs and tribal chiefs, so the Kaamay tribe had representatives to determine Pabuki (chief coordinator). In the election of chiefs, deliberations are usually held first among fellow tribesmen to determine who most understands Enggano customs and the most meritorious in their tribes. In addition, sometimes the chieftain has had a replacement candidate when he dies so that they can just confirm it according to the message delivered by the previous tribal chief.

In relations with other tribes, tribes in Enggano always involve other tribes by deliberation. When someone wants to get married from the Kamaay tribe, for example, the Kamaay tribe chief invites five other tribal chiefs to consult on traditional ceremonies and what needs to be prepared. When a citizen of Enggano wants to get married then all residents of Enggano contribute to enliven the wedding regardless of ethnicity or religion. The involvement of each person can be seen from the division of tasks which includes groups in charge of fishing, groceries collection, helping to cook, and so on, in line with the preparation for the wedding ceremony.

CONCLUSION

Enggano's local wisdom in dealing with conflict is based on several factors. First, historical factors, namely past experiences of Enggano people who have always been tribal wars until finally Dutch intervention has succeeded in reconciling them. Second, political factors, namely the awareness of the Enggano community about the importance of collaborating with immigrants by giving them legality in forming new tribes. The three socio-cultural factors, namely the Enggano people, do not allow for any other customary rules other than the Enggano customary rules. The four factors of religious freedom, namely religion, are considered as individual rights of every community that is not regulated in adat. The five socio-economic factors that enable them to gain access to land

like the native population. The five factors are the wisdom obtained by the Enggano community from life experiences in a long historical trajectory.

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CHANGING TIMES AND CHANGING PATTERNS OF COLLECTIVE VIOLENCE IN SUMBA, NTT

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In this paper, two cases of collective violence in Nusa Tenggara Timur, occurring 15 years apart in 1998 and in 2013, will be compared. Both were cases of horizontal conflict in the Kabupaten (District) Sumba Barat dan Sumba Barat Daya, where regional loyalties were mobilized by candidates for Bupati (Head of the District) and Wakil Bupati (Deputy Head) in the Pilkada elections. In both cases, the candidates were of the same religion (Protestantism in the case of Sumba Barat and Catholicism in the case of Sumba Barat Daya), but from different ethnic groups. In the case of Sumba Barat, the cause of the violence was perceived corruption in the office of the Bupati and the Bupati's insensitivity to the demands for clean government; in Sumba Barat Daya it was corruption in the KPU (General Elections Commission). In Sumba Barat the violence was resolved by the Governor of NTT initiating a peace ceremony and compensation to families who lost members (numbers range from 26 to about 62 people died); in Sumba Barat Daya the conflict ended with the incumbent Bupati stepping down to avoid further bloodshed (3 people died). The incumbent Bupati and his opponent then held a reconciliation meeting.

Keywords: Kamis Berdarah, Bupati Rudolf Malo, Kisruh di Sumba Barat Daya, Pilkada di SBD, Kornelis Kodi Mete

BACKGROUND

In the past, there had been many cases of wars between different (sub-)ethnic groups, usually about land. However, with the advent of almost universal education, intermarriages, world