Muakhi (Brotherhood) and its practices related to preventing communal conflict in multicultural societies

By Hartoyo Hartoyo

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Muakhi (Persaudaraan) dan praktiknya untuk mencegah konflik komunal dalam masyarakat multikultural

Hartoyo
Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Lampung
Address: Jalan Prof. Dr. Ir. Sumantri, Bandar Lampung, Lampung 35141
E-mail: htyiluh@yahoo.co.id

Abstract

In preventing communal conflict, the role of local wisdom is often considered to be a mechanism to maintain the peacefulness and closeness of inter-ethnic relations. It is also argued by many researchers that conflict prevention should be practiced during both pre- and post-conflict. This study, therefore, aims to explain the role of *Muakhi* as the local wisdom in Lampung Province for recovering inter-ethnic relations in post-communal (inter-ethnic) conflict based on two empirical cases, namely the Balinuraga conflict in South Lampung and the Pematang Tahalo conflict in East Lampung, Lampung Province. The data was collected through in-depth interviews and documents. A total of 74 informants, consisting of local residents and community leaders from Lampung, Java and Bali ethnics totaling as many as 60 people (each village 15 people). There were also 14 informants who were village, district and regency government officials, including the police department and military personnel. The data was analyzed through a qualitative approach based on the constructivist paradigm. The study found that *Muakhi* refers to the concept of brotherhood accepted by the immigrants who are both ethnic Balinese and Javanese. Thus, this study suggests that the practice of *Muakhi* in the post-communal conflict through the strengthening of the moral values and the sociocultural relationship is an effective way of restoring communal conflict. However, this study argues that there is resistance to using *Angkon Muakhi* in a more detailed ceremony.

Keywords: local wisdom; *muakhi*; preventive action; communal conflict; ethnic relationship

Abstrak

Keeratan hubungan antaretnik perlu terus dikontrol dengan mengedepankan peran kearifan lokal untuk mencegah terjadinya konflik komunal. Pencegahan konflik dilakukan pada masa prakonflik dan pasca konflik. Studi ini bertujuan menjelaskan peran muakhi sebagai kearifan lokal masyarakat adat Lampung dalam pemulihan hubungan antaretnik pasca konflik komunal berdasarkan dua kasus empiris, yakni konflik Balinuraga di kabupaten Lampung Selatan dan konflik Pematang Tahalo di kabupaten Lampung Timur, Provinsi Lampung. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam dan dokumen. Total informan 74 orang, terdiri dari warga setempat dan para tokoh masyarakat dari etnik Lampung, Jawa, dan Bali sebanyak 60 orang, kemudian aparat pemerintah desa, kecamatan dan kabupaten, TNI, dan Polri sebanyak 14 orang. Data dianalisis melalui pendekatan kualitatif berdasarkan paradigma konstruktivis. Studi ini menemukan bahwa penggunaan istilah muakhi dalam maknanya yang umum (persaudaraan) dapat diterima oleh etnik pendatang, baik orang Bali maupun orang Jawa, tetapi mereka keberatan jika harus disertai dengan pelaksanaan upacara adat Lampung angkon muakhi. Implementasi muakhi selama masa pasca konflik komunal melalui penguatan nilai-nilai moral dan ikatan sosiokultural cukup efektif dalam memulihkan hubungan antaretnik.

Kata kunci: kearifan lokal; muakhi; pencegahan; konflik komunal; hubungan antar etnik

Introduction

Society in Lampung is diverse in ethnic and religion; people living separately with their specific and distinctive customs and cultures. As a result, society in Lampung is vulnerable to communal conflicts (O'Donnell 1991, Hartoyo 2014). In the last twenty years, there is the fact that inter-communal conflict in Lampung province is still high (Hartoyo 2016). In a multi-ethnic society, the problem is not the only vulnerability of society to conflicts but also how to formulate an appropriate model

of handling the conflict (Horton 1980). Many studies on the communal conflict in Indonesia still focus on the effort to stop conflict (Sriyanto 2007, Jati 2013, Suprapto 2013, Ilyas 2014, Ode 2015, Bakri 2015, Ruslan 2016). It considered that preventing communal conflicts is the least risk of loss. However, there is still a lack of studies in conflict prevention before and after the conflict occurred.

Prevention of communal conflict in the perspective of functional, structural theory always pays attention to two main aspects, namely diversity and inter-ethnic integration (Abbas 2007, Edewor et al. 2014). A multi-ethnic society is a reality and always accompanied by ethnocentrism. Each ethnic group needs the existence of a group identity, maintaining a feeling of "in-the group", and ethnic prejudice (Aloysius 1994). On the other hand, harmonious inter-ethnic life together also requires a foundation of values to reach consensus, by optimizing the approach to local wisdom, especially in preventing conflicts (Wong & Shik 2011).

At the policy level, the Indonesian Government enacted Law Number 7 the Year 2012 on Social Conflict Handling, regulating three main aspects, namely prevention, cessation and recovery. In 2013, Presidential Instruction Number 2 on the Handling of Domestic Security Disorders has been issued, followed by the Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 2 the Year 2015 on the Implementation of Law Number 7 the Year 2012. All those law and regulations supported by various efforts to build peace, especially in reconstructing and revitalizing various aspects of community life which were damaged by the conflict. Conflict prevention based on Article 6-11 of Law Number 7/2012 covers the various efforts to build peace and various actors who are involved and conducted the auction. Article 6 (1) explains that efforts are needed and maintained to achieve a peaceful situation in the community. The article also explains the development of a system for peaceful dispute resolution in order to reduce potential conflict. Also, it is related to building an early warning system. Conflict prevention, as referred to article 6 (1), shall be conducted by the central and regional governments, as well as the community. The conflict prevention referred to Law Number 7 the Year 2012 is concerned about the values of local wisdom. According to Effendi (1992), there is a need to focus on prevention through the functioning of local values, including the cultural approach in handling communal conflict. In addition, it is necessary to consider the network strength of actors involved in conflict prevention. Thus, it is essential to pay attention to the structural approach.

The values of local wisdom play an important role both to prevent and stop the communal conflict. For instance, local wisdom of *"Pela Gandong"* in Maluku employed in conflict resolution. The spirit of reconciliation after communal conflict and violence can be fostered through *Pela Gandong*, where values of solidarity and social integration exist (Haba 2007). Moreover, cultural values can be an instrument of control over the possibility of communal conflict (Putra & Bagus 2013, Hidayat 2013). In the context of Lampung, local wisdom of *Muakhi* is considered to play a role in preventing communal conflicts. Thus, the purpose of this study is to explore *Muakhi* and *Angkon Muakhi* as local wisdom of Lampung and to explain their practice in a multi-ethnic society. The term *"Muakhi"* comes from the word *"Puakhi"* which means siblings and cousins. Thus, *Muakhi* is often considered as brotherhood concept in neighbouring relationships.

Muakhi also means brotherhood in neighbouring relationships, including inter-ethnic relations. Whereas *"Angkon Muakhi"* means more accurately, namely the ceremony to appoint you according to the customs of Lampung. Another purpose is to explain more details the role of *Muakhi* as a value system in recovering inter-communal conflict. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the role of *Muakhi* in maintaining peace, developing conflict resolution systems, reducing potential conflicts, and building early warning systems.

Research Method

There are two main focuses of this research. First is to understand the practice of *Muakhi* and *Angkon Muakhi* as local wisdom of indigenous people in Lampung. Second is the implementation of *Muakhi* after inter-communal violence. The second focus of this research is to consider the conflict prevention effort referred to Law No. 7/2012 Article 6 (1) which consists of 4 aspects, namely:

maintaining a peaceful situation, developing a peaceful conflict resolution system, reducing the potential for conflict, and building an early warning system. This research was conducted using descriptive qualitative method and based on constructivism paradigm. Location of the study determined in two districts in South and East Lampung where there have been communal (inter-ethnic) conflict and claimed to have been resolved through practising *Muakhi*. The communal conflict occurred in South Lampung between two different ethnicities: Balinese and Lampungnese people, what happened in Balinuraga village was called the Balinuraga conflict and in East Lampung between Lampungnese and Javanese people in Pematang Tahalo Village was called the Pematang Tahalo conflict (see Table 1).

Two major villages in each regency (South and East Lampung Regencies) had been chosen for several reasons. All the villages (Balinuraga and Agom Villages in South Lampung, and Pematang Tahalo and Umbul Tebu Villages in East Lampung) have experience on communal conflict, the locations are homogeneous in population, and the villages consist of inter-ethnic groups. Two villages in South Lampung have experienced communal conflict in 2012. The most people in Balinuraga Village are from Bali, while Lampung ethnics dominate the Agom Village. For East Lampung, two villages which have experience communal conflict in 2012 were chosen. They are Pematang Tahalo village which is dominated by Javanese ethnic and Umbul Tebu Village, which has the majority of Lampung ethnic group. Both located in Jabung Sub-district. Informants were determined based on the following criteria: they are local community members, community leaders, and village government apparatus, district apparatus, military army, and police — the anatomy of communal conflicts in both research areas presented in Table 1 and 2.

Table 1.
The Anatomy of Balinuraga Conflict

Conflict Issues	Inter-ethnic conflict
Time	27 – 29 October 2012
Location	In Balinuraga Village, Way Panji District
Main actor	Ethnic Lampung from Agom Village, and Balinese ethnic from Balinuraga Village.
Effect	Twelve people died, 342 houses burned, 26 unit damaged houses, 11 motorcycles damaged, one school burned, one school damaged and three cars damaged.
Strongest trigger	Allegedly there was "sexual harassment" of Balinese young people to Lampungnese young woman in the motorcycle accident, and the case was unresolved. On October 27, 2012, at 1:00 p.m., there were two girls of Lampung ethnic returning from the Patok village in Sidoarjo, Way Panji District to the Agom village, Kalianda District, by riding a motorcycle. When passing through a lonely road, they approached by two ethnic Balinese youths riding a motorcycle, residents of Balinuraga Village, Way Panji District. The two young men carefully approached the two girls and held the girls' breasts, so they fell in the ditch. Nearby Lampung ethnic residents helped to take them home and later to the South Lampung General Hospital. At 2:00 p.m., the elders of Agom village sought responsibility from Balinuraga village and received an inadequate response. They returned very disappointedly. This situation developed into tensions between ethnics Lampung and Bali. On October 18, 2012, at 10.00 WIB, there were attacks by ethnic Lampung residents aided by other ethnic groups to Balinuraga village. The second attack with a large mass took place on October 29, 2012, resulting in more casualties and properties, especially from Balinese ethnic group.
Solution	Peace initiative involving multi-stakeholders at local and national levels claimed the use of Muakhi as local wisdom. With the support of many parties including the Governor of the Province of Bali and the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia, on November 4, 2012, the Governor of Lampung Province with all parties involved carried out a peace agreement, and on November 21, 2012, successfully confirmed the peace.

Note: The name of Balinuraga conflict was chosen from the village name

Data were collected through in-depth interviews and documentation in two different times: during the fieldwork process and after the data collection. It means that data analysis after fieldwork was continued remotely using electronic communication tools (telephone, SMS, WhatsApp, and E-mail). A total of 74 informants, consisting of residents and community leaders from Lampung, Java and Bali ethnics as many as 60 people (each village 15 people), and 14 people of village, district and regency government officials, and police department and military personnel. Also, stages of the data analysis consist of the process of data reduction, data presentation, verification and conclusion.

Table 2.
The Anatomy of Pematang Pahalo Conflict

Conflict Issues	Communal conflict based on ethnicity
Time	29 September 2012
Locaion	In Pematang Tahalo Village, Jabung District
Actor involved	Lampung ethnic in the hamlet of Umbul Tebu, Jabung Village with Javanese ethnic from Pematang Tahalo Village.
Effects	Ten people injured from stubbing; two people shot; two people died; five houses burned; 15 houses minor and significant damaged.
Strongest trigger	The social offence as a result of villagers captured from stealing and killed by mass. The clash occurred on Friday, September 29, 2012, triggered by the revenge of the youths from Jabung Village who learned that two of their colleagues who were caught stealing motorbikes, were killed by residents of Pematang Tahalo Village. This act of vigilante was the main trigger for the attack of the villagers of Jabung to the people of Pematang Tahalo village.
Solution	Peacefulness involving multi-stakeholders at the provincial level and giving customary Lampung ethnic titles to a Javanese ethnic figure.

**) The name of Pematang Pahalo conflict was chosen from the village name.

Results and Discussion

Muakhi and *Angkon Muakhi*: Local wisdom of Lampung Society

Muakhi as a value system

The term *"Muakhi"* comes from the word *"Puakhi"* which means siblings and cousins. Thus, *Muakhi* is often considered as brotherhood concept in neighbouring relationships, while the word *'Kemuakhian'* means the fraternal system of clans. *"Muakhi"* contains a standardized value system and it is a guide in establishing fraternal ties. The term *"Muakhi"* in its general sense contains values shared by other ethnic groups. Thus, the value of *Muakhi* can be actualized in various forms of social behaviour. In order to connect and tie indigenous people of Lampung in the sense of brotherhood is usually preceded by traditional ceremonies. Besides, *Muakhi* can also serve as a place of interaction and adaptation in a pluralistic social environment. *Muakhi* contains value and norm of peace and psychosocial endurance in multi-cultural local communities. Each ethnic group has a fraternal value system as the basis of socio-cultural existence in ensuring its survival. On the other hand, fraternal values in inter-communal life can be the basis of references.

There are two types of *Muakhi* in the indigenous people of Lampung, both who live in coastal areas (*Peminggir*) or the hinterland (*Pepadun*). *Muakhi* aims to strengthen fraternal bonds and to prevent conflict. This type of *Muakhi* is done in a peaceful situation, not preceded by conflict. *Muakhi* can resolve the conflict that occurred before. This type of *Muakhi* can be a preventive effort to build post-conflict peace. Both types of *Muakhi* can be practised within ethnic Lampung (intra-ethnic) and between ethnic Lampung and other ethnics (inter-ethnic). Regardless of the underlying factors, *Muakhi* as local wisdom in Lampung has an essential meaning in strengthening the values of peace. In the historical and political context of identity, Lampung ethnic has recognized and has legitimated as predecessor population who live in the province of Lampung, while other ethnics are recognized

as immigrant residents. The structure of inter-ethnic relations based on historical background and political identity has implications on several aspects. The first aspect is ethnic immigrants, which are in a position to adapt to Lampung ethnic. The second aspect is local values which are the main foundation of life in building inter-ethnic relations in Lampung. The third is the *"Muakhi"* as local wisdom of indigenous people in Lampung needs to be developed and to maintain peace in inter-ethnic relations. Based on these three arguments, it is reasonable to assume that the various ethnic immigrants with their position in the structure of the inter-ethnic relations based on historical, political and socio-cultural factors seeking to prevent the possibility of inter-communal violent conflict by developing *Muakhi* (brotherhood) values, especially with the ethnic Lampung settled in Lampung province.

Angkon Muakhi

In general, the values of *Muakhi* can practise in various forms of various positive social relationships. Notably, in the tradition of indigenous people in Lampung, the practice of *Muakhi* should be preceded by a traditional ceremony called *"Angkon Muakhi"* (appointing brothers). In the past, *the Angkon Muakhi* functioned in strengthening the tightness of brotherhood among close, distant and extended relatives in the customary or village groups. Further, *Angkon Muakhi* has been practised not only within Lampungnese ethnic groups but also with people from various origins, religions, tribes and groups outside Lampung. The goal of this is to create a continuous piece in the sense of having a relationship like siblings.

Angkon Muakhi, as a customary instrument, is practised through several stages, starting from planning, implementation, and closing ceremony. At the planning stage, deliberations are made to reach a consensus from the family to a larger clan. First, *Hippun Wakhi Pelambanan*, i.e. deliberation among members of the family, extended family and relatives. Second, the Hippun Tribe means the deliberation between the heads of tribes representing the families who perform *Muwakhi*. Third, *Hippun Tiyuh or Pekon* represents the deliberation between *Tiyuh*, balancing of each nomination of *Angkon Muakhi*. The leader of the *Hippun Tiyuh*, i.e. the *Tiyuh or Perwatin Tiyuh* leaders, represent or continue the agreement in the previous meeting at the tribal *Hippun* level. Fourth, the *Hippun Marga* is performed, i.e. the deliberation between the head or *Perwatin* clan. This *Hippun* clan carries the mandate of agreement on the results of the previous deliberations between the *Perwatin Tiyuh. Hippun* at the level of the *Perwatin Clan* is a high-level consultation on customary governance. The consensus agreement on the level clan is also the decision of the *Perwatin Clan*. Thus, on the normative level, the decision has a reliable bonding power and protection of customary law.

In a decisive step of Angkon *Muwakhi*, a series of ceremonies has been summarized, consisting of 13 stages (Figure 1). 1) *Hippun Lamban Balak* is the preparation of the titles of the *Muwakhi* nominee, the invitation of *Tuha Khaja* clan and the instruments of indigenous government, the compilation of *Tuha Khaja* directives on the rights and obligations of *Wakhi* weighing, and the preparation of oaths or promises (*Katam*); 2) The customary dress of the perpetrators according to their position in the traditional structure and the equipment prepared; 3) There is the need to prepare the ceremony place at the *Lamban Balak* (big house); 4) Decoration and ceremonial equipment in *Lamban Balak* are set up; 5) Guests are listed and invited for the reception; 6) There is the need to prepare of the carnival (procession) followed by taking a shower called *Duway* ceremony and afterwards back to *Lamban Balak; 7)* the *Tuha*'s practitioner or the leader read out the complete composition of the *Muakhi Angkon* procession to the official stages of the coronation or inauguration; 8) It is the coronation and recitation of the *Angkon Muakhi* promise and followed by the coronation and the official reading of the pledge or covenant; 9) It is the ceremony of *Angkon Muakhi* oath guided by the appointed religious leaders; 10) There are the determination and decision-making process of the manuscript announced by the applicant or the clan base; 11) It is the process of awarding customary titles and coronation as a new one with adopting sibling; 12) There is a process of delivering rules of the primary duties, functions and the prohibition for new balancer or party performing *Muakhi* by the clan; and 13) It closed with ceremony, prayers, continued eating together with local menus.
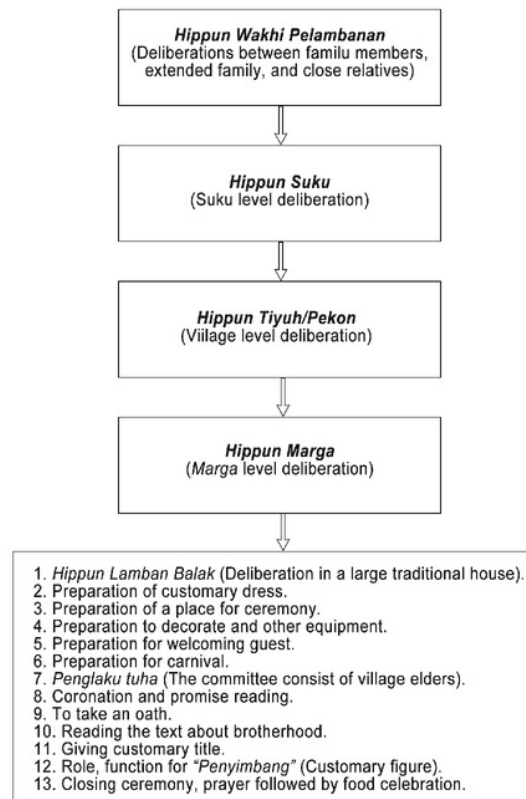
Figure 1.

The step of *Angkon Muakhi* customary ceremony

The practices of *Muakhi* in restoring post-communal conflict relations

In general, *Muakhi* reflects the value of brotherhood which manifested in various forms of relations between ethnic groups. However, the responses of each ethnic in the application of the value of *Muakhi* and *Angkon Muakhi* are different. People who are not initially from Lampung do not bother if the term *Muakhi* is used to build a fraternal bonding through inter-ethnic relationship. They argue that the values of *Muakhi* have been applied in daily life relationship. This view leads to one conclusion that the practice of *Muakhi* has consequences in more flexible in the sense of the degree of socio-cultural bonding, compared to carrying out a traditional ceremony of *Angkon Muakhi* before the process of *Muakhi*.

On the other hand, not all ethnic (non-ethnic Lampung) agree in changing the quality of inter-ethnic relations with the practice of *Angkon Muakhi*. The reason is that *Angkon Muakhi* must be practised through the custom of indigenous people in Lampung. However, each ethnic group has its unique customary code. Unless one of the ethnic groups is from Lampung, then the *Angkon Muakhi* can be practised using the customary procedures of Lampung.

> "There is no problem if the values of *Muakhi* in the sense of brotherhood are applied in life between us. The symbol of "*Siger*" as a symbol of the pride of Lampung people we receive is installed in the aisles, but do not put it on *Pure*, because it is sacred to us. We have also made good relations between our citizens and also among traditional leaders" (Balinese from Balinuraga Village).

"There is no problem if "muqah" applied in Lampung. We have been hanging out with them (ethnic Lampung) for a long time, also with other tribes (among migrants) here. Many of our ethnic groups are married to Lampung people. The one who created the conflict was an outsider, not a citizen here. They are manipulating the situation to burn people's anger" (Javanese from Pematang Tahalo Village).
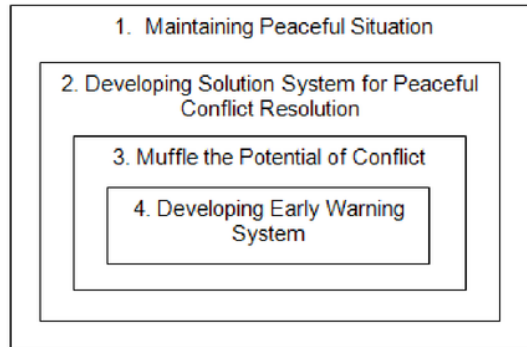
Figure 2.
Scope of conflict prevention based on *Muakhi*

Muakhi as a value system and *Angkon Muakhi* as a manifestation of commitment to the practice of *Muakhi* would have two different roles if they applied as a model of conflict prevention in multi-ethnic society in Lampung. The term *Muakhi* is not only for within one ethnic group but also between different ethnic groups. Not all ethnic immigrants in Lampung practising *Muakhi* preceded by *Angkon Muakhi*. As a preventive effort, *Angkon Muakhi* has never been practised among ethnic migrants. *Angkon Muakhi* is more likely to be practised if there is one party from ethnic Lampung which has strong support from outside. On the other hand, such practice is seen to be an unbalanced relationship, and it tends to have pressure, coercion, and even imagery to achieve political interests. Furthermore, if *Angkon Muakhi* would be a model of conflict prevention among ethnic groups which are not from Lampung ethnic, it is still challenging to practice and needs to modify the model.

The use of *Muakhi* also functions as a symbol of unity which can also strengthen the distinctive identity of the plural society in Lampung. However, people from outside Lampung ethnic in the practice of *Angkon Muakhi*, especially in preventing conflict, are considered problematic. They argue that the practice should follow the customary procedures of Lampungnese custom. Another reason is that the process of *Angkon Muakhi* is costly and should be well organized with strong support from political and economic elites. Another reason is that the process is still complicated to be practised by the ethnic group outside Lampung. *Muakhi* that contain fraternal values is also owned and actualized by all ethnics both in inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic relationships using different names. Since ethnic immigrants are aware of living in Lampung, they accept the mechanism to strengthen the brotherhood through *Muakhi*. The objection will occur if it should be accompanied by practising *Angkon Muakhi*.

"Angkon or Angkenan is 100% owned by Lampung people. There are customs procedures that must be followed. If we do it, it is difficult. It is their native custom (Lampung), do not force it on other tribes (migrants) in Lampung. We (migrants) have their procedures to strengthen brotherly relations. If the *Muakhi* was that it could ... that is good. If *Angkon Muakhi* conducted with Chinese people in Bandar Lampung in 2012, it was different. They have certain interests and rich people. Whereas we, the village people have no fees and cannot do the custom" (Balinese community leaders).

Efforts to restore inter-communal (inter-ethnic) relations after conflict include prevention of four main aspects: maintaining the peaceful situation, developing a peaceful conflict resolution system, reducing potential conflicts, and building early warning systems (Figure 2). The function of the

preventive system is not only to help in analyzing and predicting of pent-up conflict but also to respond immediately to the potential of conflict before going to happen. Conflict prevention requires control to several indicators of increasing tension and taking steps to facilitate prevention through the role of local wisdom. This effort, therefore, can accommodate the use of a socio-cultural approach (Effendi 1992, Jamuin 1999).

Maintaining a peaceful situation

Efforts to bring back the peaceful situation in inter-ethnic relations require the participation of all stakeholders. Internalization the value of *Muakhi* can be actualized through mindset, attitudes and behaviour in order to strengthen social capital by involving all stakeholders at the normative and practical level. According to Davies & Gurr (1998), efforts to maintain a peaceful situation needs to have the readiness of all stakeholders as effective early prevention; creating political will and institutional framework; as well as the necessary policies. In general, there has been a growing awareness of differences and inter-ethnic and inter-religious tolerance. The fact is that there is a strong relationship among people who have similar religion or *aqidah* rather than inter-ethnic relations. Therefore, the use of a particular symbol of ethnic identity against other ethnic groups should not be enforced or deliberated since it may hamper efforts to strengthen *Muakhi*.

> "In my opinion, maintaining a peaceful situation by instilling brotherhood values between various tribes in South Lampung is more difficult than in East Lampung. The problem is not only because of ethnic differences but also very significant religious differences, especially between Balinese Hindus and Islam" (South Lampung Kesbangpol and Linmas Agency).

> "In my opinion, it is generally difficult. We must always be alert 24 hours. Indeed, in particular, it is a bit more difficult to maintain between the Balinese and other tribes because of their religious differences ... However, keeping between the tribes of Lampung and other tribes is also difficult. Indeed, what needs to be more vigilant is the behaviour of young people ..." (Bhabinkamtibmas from southern Lampung district).

There is the agreement of communities in the South Lampung region which agree that *"Siger"* as a symbol of Lampung ethnical culture should be put on the top of village gate and above the gate of the village alleys. There are the objections, however, if installed in the "Pura" area which is a holy place of Balinese Hindu religion. In contrast, the visit of other ethnic Muslims to Hindu ethnic settlements which are Hindus also still feel reluctant because many who keep pigs and allowed to roam freely in the neighbourhood. The difference in economic access impedes the implementation of *Muakhi* and becomes one of the causes of communal conflict. Efforts to reduce have been made through physical development programs, socialization and empowerment. The results are not yet apparent compared to pre-conflict periods. This effort takes a long time because it deals with changes in mental attitude. The main concentration is to control the difference of economic (and political) access so as not to interfere with efforts to strengthen inter-ethnic relations. As an illustration, in South Lampung region, there are differences in economic access (vertical), ethnic and religious (horizontal), while in East Lampung it is composed of different economic and ethnic access, but is equally Muslim. The results of the Pelly (2005) study found that when there is crush or strengthening between vertical and horizontal access, the intensity of potential conflicts is higher.

In general, the attitude of openness in inter-religious relations is relatively similar to the inter-ethnic relations in all villages studied. This attitude is consistent with everyday behaviour in relationships between individuals, in neighbourhood relationships, and various social activities. Conversely, it also happens that the degree of openness in religious activity is relatively the same as the degree of openness in the usual activities of each ethnic group. Nevertheless, aspects of ethnicity and religion have a different relationship with different degrees and influence in the practice of *Muakhi*. Post-conflict resolution and peace have been developed at an inter-ethnic relationship, but the quality of resolution of inter-ethnic relations in the area of East Lampung is higher than South Lampung. It can be seen from feelings of resentment and ethnic prejudice. This study, therefore, is to strengthen the

study from Jati (2013) that local wisdom (*Muakhi*) functions in reducing the possibility of horizontal conflict. The community leaders in each ethnic group, together with the local government apparatus, continue to strengthen the network in controlling the hidden conflicts that are still frequently emerging. Multi-stakeholder efforts at the regional and national levels in the area of South Lampung appear to be more active through various peace programs than in the area of East Lampung.

Developing a peaceful conflict resolution system

Developing a peaceful conflict resolution system is part of the practice of *Muakhi* values. This effort can be practically measured, including in the category of conflict prevention and a prerequisite for early response. *Muakhi*-based conflict prevention efforts in post-conflict village areas are more intensive than in the pre-conflict period. The conflict resolution system in the pre-conflict period was ineffective. It is a lesson learned in preventing or for early response to the possibility of post-peace conflict and consistent with the results of the Haider's study in 2014 that the early response system for potential conflict is by providing a fast and effective preventive alternative in the sense of time and method. Police officers at the province conduct *"Rembug Pekon"* as a social institution at the village level which can function as an effective way in preventing conflict or in the restoration of inter-ethnic relations. It is similar to *"Rembug Desa"* (Village Deliberation) which is run to anticipate and resolve every social problem through deliberation in achieving consensus. The result was able to develop early warning and response systems, increased cohesion and social capital, especially among community leaders in conducting post-communal violence conflicts. Brotherhood (*Muakhi*) is tied and exists on the hidden conflicts in inter-ethnic relations.

> "In 2014 Rembuk Pekon house was built. This house was built in Sukaraja Village, which is in the middle between Balinuraga Village and Agom Village. The point is that citizens' problems can be resolved through deliberations in the building. Our obligation is not only to resolve clashes if it is reconciled ... it is assumed that our assignment has been completed. However, what is more, severe is fostering and maintaining so that there is no conflict. Yes ... however, negative feelings still exist in society. It is what needs to be done more intensively and continuously" (Bhabinkamtibmas from southern Lampung district).

Peace and conflict resolution in all villages this study has practised through prioritizing deliberative approach in order to reach consensus. This effort based on pre-conflict experience, which is not fully capable to effectively bind all stakeholders in the conflict and the government and local community leaders have not been presented in controlling the latent conflict. There is a change of views and awareness of stakeholders that conflict is not only confined to open conflict. Social prejudice, discrimination and inter-ethnic stigmatization are no longer regarded as ordinary phenomena. Instead, efforts for conflict prevention should be more intensive and integrated by multi-stakeholder such as police, military army, local government, NGOs and community leaders.

Muffle the potential of conflict

Central and local governments are obliged to reduce the potential conflict by involving the local community. Findings showed that informal counselling on the problem of the relationship among people is still low, compared to the formal way through a meeting consensus building or deliberation. Village officials, local police, and local military routinely monitor and share information on various social issues that leads to potential conflict. Communications systems and coordination among stakeholders were not well established due to the full range of control areas and the limited number of personnel. As a consequence, the tension of inter-ethnic relations is challenging to mute quickly. Social prejudice, discrimination, and stigmatization are less detectable and gain a place to grow. The diminishing sense of brotherhood fades the values of the Muakhi in the inter-ethnic association. It is recognizing some of the weaknesses that occurred during the pre-conflict period, the effort to reduce the potential for post communal conflict practised by strengthening cohesion and social capital. Meetings both formal and informal between villages' elites intensified, widened among villagers in various moments through *"Rembug Pekon"* activities (village meetings). In commemorating

Independence Day of the Republic of Indonesia, it displays various cultures and collective activities across tribes and religions. Inviting and visiting each other is conducted more intensively by promoting a positive relationship based on awareness of diversity. Following the results of Putra and Bagus's (2013) study, the participation of all stakeholders in various collective activities and adherence to community leaders is the basis for the strengthening of *Muakhi* values of inter-ethnic tolerance (and religion) so that it can be an effective instrument in reducing conflict.

In all villages studied, there have been several efforts to reduce potential conflict. First, in practical level is done by strengthening the intensity of inter-ethnic interactions and developing inter-ethnic relations and institutional structures. Second, developing information and communication systems enable various parties to provide reports and also get information about various problems of inter-ethnic relations. Third, there is a practice to conduct counselling and coaching, especially on youth about the importance of building and becoming a peace agent. Fourth, there is an increase in the benefits of natural resources and the quality of human resources in the work to be more productive. All these referred to the role of *Muakhi* in reducing inter-ethnic tension. The communication and coordination system among stakeholders and to have early response is made easier. As a consequence, five inter-ethnic tensions occurred later in the area of South Lampung in 2016/2017 quickly handled.

Developing an early warning system

Central and local governments have established an early warning system to prevent the conflict. An early warning system can be used to provide information concerning potential conflicts. Developing an early warning system can be practised through media, research and mapping of potential conflicts. It is also necessary essential to deliver data and information quickly and accurately. Practices like education and training in organization, improvement and utilization of social capital, and the strengthening and utilization of intelligence have the roles following the provisions of the legislation. This study found that during the pre-conflict period, the coordination system among stakeholders in establishing an early warning system was weak. The scope of work of local police and the military army is too broad, and they are the lack in the number of personnel. Most people already understand the development of potential conflicts in society, but potentials conflict detected are not received serious attention from the local government. There is an improvement in the practice of mapping out of potential conflicts undertaken by the government apparatus such as police, social and political department at the local government. They acted immediately after the communal conflict occurred, and after the enactment of Law.

Increase in the number of security and discipline the government personnel also supported by the development of a coordination system among stakeholders affected the performance and utilization of intelligence functions, as well as the speed and accuracy of data and information on potential conflicts. In line with these efforts, social cohesion and social capital return to work to restore inter-communal relationships damaged by the conflict. The degree of trust, internal network, values and norms of brotherhood can function well. The deviant behaviour in economic relations and social activities quickly eliminated. This behaviour as a potential conflict became the leading cause of communal conflict. Post-communal conflict and early warning system were successfully developed based on data, information, and analysis of mapping local situations accurately and comprehensively. According to Davies & Gurr (1998), the early warning system can be a tool which is intended to predict and to anticipate the possibility of conflict. Early warning contains a set of concrete actions needed to prevent conflict. Some of the supporting studies include Meier (2006) and Montanaro & Schünemann (2011).

Early response in reducing conflict needs the support of an adequate early warning system. Early warning systems should be based on conflict dynamics, and the systems serve as a sufficient basis for effective decision-making and early response. Securosis (2013) discusses how to build an early warning system by emphasizing the importance of security through intelligence functions. Establishing an early warning system is a practical effort in preventive mechanisms in strengthening social resilience. Developing the results of Sunil's study, et al. (2014), it can be stated that building

an effective, community-based early warning system is essential in maintaining sustainable social resilience. Thus, in general, this study finds that if the scope of conflict prevention extended, including post-communal conflict recovery, it is practical in the development of effective conflict management. The practice of *Muakhi* in a socio-cultural approach is the evidence of the development of the quality of post-recovery of inter-communal relationship. The practice of *Muakhi* for recovering conflict in all villages studied in South and East Lampung are presented in Table 3.

Table 3.
Quality of Recovery of Inter-Ethnic Relation based on *Muakhi* in the Post-Communal Conflict

Scope of *Muakhi*	South Lampung	East Lampung
Maintaining peaceful situation		
Developing interethnic and inter-religious tolerance	Moderate	Good
Respecting the difference of ethnic and religion	Good	Good
Humanization	Good	Good
Acknowledging equal right and obligation	Moderate	Good
Developing unity	Moderate	Moderate
Respecting opinion and freedom of ethnicity	Moderate	Good
Developing conflict resolution system peacefully		
Developing multi-stakeholders network	Good	Good
Strengthening government role	Good	Good
Developing consensus system (Rembug Pekon)	Moderate	Poor
Muffle the potential of conflict	Good	Good
Building an Early Warning System		
Developing media communication	Moderate	Moderate
Research and mapping of potential conflict	Good	Good
Delivering data and information quickly and accurately	Good	Good
Conducting education and training for peace	Frequently	Rarely
Improving and utilizing social capital	Moderate	Good
Strengthening and utilization of the role of intelligence	Good	Good

Conclusion

The inter-ethnic relationship in Lampung society is quite dynamic and fragile, resulting in potential communal conflicts. Efforts on conflict prevention in the context of recovering inter-communal relations in post communal conflict need to take into account a socio-cultural approach by implementing local *Muakhi* wisdom values. In principle, all ethnics accept *Muakhi* in the sense of brotherhood as an instrument to strengthen inter-ethnic relations. However, there is the resistance of ethnic groups to not use of the mechanism of *Angkon Muakhi*. The practice of *Muakhi* for restoring post-communal conflict and inter-communal (inter-ethnic) relationships is considered useful in creating peaceful situations, developing conflict resolution systems, reducing potential conflicts, and building an early warning system. Moral values and socio-culture are instruments in improving the quality of inter-communal relationships after the communal conflict. This study suggests that the values of *Muakhi* can be institutionalized and the network structure among stakeholders should be reinforced so that inter-ethnic resurfacing post communal conflicts can be muffled quickly.

Acknowledgement

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Muakhi (Brotherhood) and its practices related to preventing communal conflict in multicultural societies