

Local Wisdom of Sasaknese

by Muhammad Harfin Zuhdi

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Muhammad Harfin Zuhdi¹

¹Department of Falak and Astronomy, Faculty of Shariah, Universitas Islam Negeri
Mataram, 83125, West Nusa Tenggara Indonesia
Email: Muhammad.harfinzuhdi@uinmataram.ac.id

Abstract

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The aim of this study is to examine local wisdom as a model for managing conflicts by elaborating extensively on some of the values, policies and wisdom of the Sasak tribe as reflected in the concept of krama, sesenggak, perteke and lelaqaq. The method used in this study is qualitative method. The data are obtained from the review books, papers and in- depth interview with traditional and religious leaders. The results of this study indicate that the various attempts to manage the conflicts that have been done by the government just seemed to solve the conflict, have not led to sustain¹⁰ the conflict transformation efforts. Consequently, even though the conflict seemed to have disappeared, but the same potential conflicts could arise in the futu¹⁰. The conflict can be managed holistically and even could become a positive energy to the community through the willingness of the various local actors and utilization of the local wisdom.

Keywords: local wisdom, conflict, conflict management, sasak tribe, holistic

1. Introduction

Lombok island inhabited by a number of tribes with different cultures, religions, races, and groups (Telle, 2016). These differences can have positive impacts for the development of local communities, but it can also be negative, as they may contribute to triggering conflict as described by Abidin (2014) in his writing. During this time, Lombok is known as a safe and comfortable island to be occupied, thus becoming the prima donna of national and international tourist destinations (Nashuddin, 2016). However, in the last two decades, the reality of Indonesia's harmony is often torn³ apart by a series of violent conflicts that rampant in various regions like the conflicts in Purwakarta (early November 1995), Pekalongan (end of November 1995); Tasikmalaya (September 1996); Situbondo (October 1996); Rengasdengklok (January 1997); Temanggung and Jepara (April 1997); Pontianak (April 1997); Banjarmasin (May 1997); Ende in Flores and Subang (Agustus 1997)³⁸. The same thing happens in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara province (Natsir, 2017; Zada, 2008)³⁹. In addition to causing many casualties, the conflict also resulted in a tremendous social impact. These communal conflicts not only could greatly disrupt national stability but also could threaten national integration.

In the case of West Nusa Tenggara, the phenomenon of violent conflict has shown its intensity, either in the form of horizontal conflicts between citizens, conflicts of a religious denominations with the surrounding community, and that is still fresh in people's minds is what happened in the pesantren Umar bin Khattab (UBK) in Bima (Nisa', 2011). In addition, the phenomena of the seeds of radical religious understanding the potential for communal conflict are still entrenched in a number of places on Lombok, such as the conflict of Monjok versus Karang Taliwang, Ketare versus Tanaq Awu Central Lombok, and Karang Genteng versus Petemon in Mataram (Philona 2017; Resmini & Sakban 2017).

The Social conflicts have caused social depression, traumatic, desire for revenge, and strengthened the phenomenon of social tension, cultural disintegration and low social trust phenomenon to the government and society groups (Marzali, 2003).

It is certainly not expected to reoccur, therefore it takes a form of preventive efforts to avoid repetition, as well as handling the problems that arise proportionally, especially with local wisdom approach. This paper

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³⁸ Jajat Burhanuddin dan Arif Subhan, eds., *Sistem Siaga Dini terhadap Kerusuhan Sosial*, (Jakarta: Balitbang Agama Depag RI dan PPIM, 2000), h. 3.

³⁹ In addition to the January 2000 riots known for the "case of 171," violent riots in Lombok often adomed the mass media. Inter-village wars, such as those occurring in Central Lombok Ketare and Karang Genteng Mataram are some examples of mass riots which are still frequently occurring.

discusses the importance, the reason and the practical ways of integrating the local wisdom in the life of the Sasaknese people as a model for managing the various conflicts.

2. Material and Methods

This study employed a qualitative method with an analytic induction reasoning based on the data with continuous analysis the data were obtained from book review, papers and in- depth interview with traditional and religious leaders.

3. Result and Discussion

3.1 The Local Wisdom of the Sasaknese Tribe

The Sasaknese ethnic have known about the framework that became the life guidelines of the citizens. The framework was known as Krama (etiquette). Conceptually, *krama* is a custom institution that oversees the local wisdom consisting of two kinds, namely *krama* as an institution and *krama* as a custom, the rules of social interaction (Ismail et.al, 2009). *Ajikrama* consists of the word *aji* which means value and *krama* which means holy and sometimes also interpreted as *the region or the unity of the population in a region within a custom area*. Thus, *ajikrama* as a symbol of custom means the sacred value of a social stratum of Sasaknese custom based on its customary territory. The following is the types of *krama*:

- (1). *Krama* as institution consists of several sections, namely (Rejeki & Amin 2017):
 - a. *Krama banjar urip pati*, a group of indigenous peoples whose members consist of residents in a village/hamlet or derived from several hamlets that every member of the group has a common vision and goals. The type of this *krama* includes *karma banjar subak*, *karma banjar merariq*, *krama banjar mate*, and *karma banjar haji*.
 - b. *Krama gubuk*, the form of *krama* that consists of the whole community in a *Gubuk* (hamlets and villages) without exception.
 - c. *Krama desa*, a village-level customary assembly, consists of *Pemusungan* (Customary Head), *Interpreter* (Village Assistant), *Lang-Lang Village* (Village Security Chief), *District Attorney*, *Luput* (Village Welfare Society), and *Kiai*.
- (2). *Krama* as the rules of social interaction consists of several parts, namely:
 - a. *Titi krama* is a custom arranged by *awig-awig* (customary law) as a result of the agreement of all indigenous peoples. Violation of this *krama* will lead to social/moral sanctions. The violation forms such as *Berjiran* (be neighbors), and *Nyangkok* (stay at home girlfriend) (Wildan et al., 2016).
 - b. *Basa krama* (ethics in the language/speaking), is a manner, courtesy and custom order which is set in the *awig-awig* to be done with polite and orderly spoken and body languages, carried out in an orderly-tapsila manner. In *Bahasa krama*, there are several rules and grammar contained in the local wisdom of Sasaknese people, such as grammar, *indit* language, *rangin* language, proverb (Arzaki, 2011).
 - c. *Aji krama*, is the value of the customary community or the value of a person's social status or the dignity of a person related to customary rights in the community, both within the family and within the community of indigenous peoples in general (Kumbara 2008).

Arzaki (2011) describes, there are three categories of local wisdom form Sasaknese tribe, namely: *Firstly*, the political and social sectors, local wisdom is reflected in the eleven kinds of "mutual" as the fraternal bond (*silaturrahmi*) of the Sasaknese people namely: (1) *saling jot/perasak* (give and deliver food each other); (2) *saling pesilaq* (invite each other to a family celebration); (3) *saling belangarin* (mutual martyrdom if there is a relative/friend who died); mourn each other if there is a relative/friend of the deceased); console each other when there is relative/friend of the deceased); (4) *saling ayoin* (visit each other); (5) *saling ajinan* (mutual respect for differences, appreciate the advantages and disadvantages possessed by a particular person or group); (6) *saling jangoq* (visit each other if any of the friends are getting or experiencing a disaster); (7) *saling bait* (take each other in marriage customs-uptake); (8) *saling wales/bales* (mutually reciprocate the good that ever happened because of the friendship, semubudi); (9) *saling tembung/sapak*(mutual greeting when meeting or meeting face to face and not distinguish tribe or religion); (10) *saling saduq* (trust each other in association and friendship) especially in building *peranakan sasak sejati* (true brotherhood) among *sanak* (Sasaknese people) nor

batur luh (not Sasaknese people); as well as (11) *saling ilingan/peringet* (mutually reminding one another sincerely for the good in ensuring brotherhood)⁴⁰.

Secondly, in the field of trade and economy, there are three kinds of *saling* (mutual) as the practice of local wisdom, namely: *saling peliwat* (helping person who is going bankrupt or ruin in their business), *mutually liliq/gentik* (helping friends by paying their debts of dependents, and not incriminating them in the form of interest payable or other binding rules) and *saling sangkull/sangkoll/sangkon* (mutual help by providing material assistance to relatives who are receiving disaster in the trade).

Thirdly, in the field of cultural customs, local wisdom reflected in *saling tulung* (a form of help in plowing and harrowing the fields of farmers); *saling sero* (help each other to prepare fields for planting); *saling saur alap* (help each other in cultivating the fields, for example *ngekiskis/ngoma/ngome*), that is helping each other in weeding the grass using cutting tools and *besesiru/besiru* which mean work together to cultivate the fields, from planting seeds to harvest.

There are also the values of local wisdom in the community Sasaknese that have value significance and suitable to be applied in today's life as well as in the future, that is the values contained in the proverbs that are upheld firmly in daily life a glue in the social interaction. These proverbs in the Sasaknese community is termed *Sesenggak*.

Sesenggak contains the teachings and values of traditional wisdom, such as the doctrine of the Godhead, education, morals, law and so on. Some examples include:

- a. *Adeq te tao jauq aiq* (in order we can bring water), meaning that in a heated dispute or quarrel, we should be able to become a cooler or a mediator.
- b. *Besual/besiaq cara anak kemidi*, (arguing like the way of a showman), meaning we may argue, but we cannot hold a grudge.
- c. *Aiq meneng, tunjung tilah, empaq bau* (the water remains clear, the lotus remains intact, the fish can be caught), meaning is when overcoming and resolve a dispute, we must strive to keep the atmosphere calm, people do not panic, society environment is not disturbed, and problems or disputes resolved peacefully.
- d. *Banteng belage jerami rebaq*, (The bull that clashed in the middle of rice fields causing the hay to fall and break), meaning is a conflict that occurs between two leaders will lead to misery and suffering for the people. This is compared with the events when the bull, cow, or buffalo are clashing in the middle of a newly harvested field, then the state of the straw which originally stood irregularly be collapsed, falling aimlessly due to the battle bull.

Based on the description of the krama and *sesenggak*, there are ten elements or components of the values reflected in the local wisdom of Sasaknese, namely: (i) Faith in God; (ii) Tolerance; (iii) Cooperation with others; (iv) Respect the others opinions; (v) Understand and accept culture in society; (vi) Thinking critically and systematically; (vii) Non-violent conflict resolution; (viii) Willingness to change lifestyles and consumptive habits; (ix) Sensitive to the difficulties of others; and (x) Willpower and ability to participate in social life⁴¹.

Consequently, the implementation of the local wisdom of the Sasaknese tribe which, since the past, contained noble values in the social life system, still has relevance and significance to be used as the spirit of new values in the present context.

3.2 Local Wisdom-Based Conflict Management Model

According to Moendardjito, elements of the local culture has potential as a local genius because it has been tested that can survive until now. The characteristics are able to withstand the influence of foreign cultures and have the ability to accommodate the elements of foreign cultures (Ayatrohaedi, 1986). When there are many conflicts, there will be various theories of conflict resolution. However, the implementation is not easy because of various factors and variables.

Local custom is expected to realize the resolution of the conflict can be accepted peacefully by all groups in a long time. Tradition and local wisdom that still exists and applies in the community has the potential to encourage the desire to live in harmony and peace. This is due to local tradition wisdom essentially teaches peace with each other, the environment, and God (Sriyanto, 2012). The approach of

⁴⁰ Interview with Sasak indigenous leaders, Jalaluddin Arzaki, October 19, 2014.

⁴¹ Interview with Sasak indigenous leaders, Jalaluddin Arzaki, 19 October 2014.

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local wisdom is very appropriate in solving the conflict because it has been entrenched in society, also still has a sacred value and not only a mere profane oriented.

In the context of the Sasaknese community in Lombok, Islam is the ultimate reference and ideological lens in understanding and evaluating change. Islam has a very important role in dealing with changes and external forces perceived as a threat to their social life. Islam is a very dominant religion on the island of Lombok, which plays an important role as the guardian of the values of local wisdom that developed in the community (Nashuddin, 2016; Telle, 2016).

The attitude adopted by the Sasaknese community at least also reflects the advice of the parents, which

11 be summarized in the following phrases:

Solah mum gaweq, solah eam daet, bayoq mum gaweq bayoq eam 11 (if doing the right things right then will get good whereas if doing bad things will get disrepute), *piliq buku ngawan, semet bulu mauq banteng, empak bau, aik meneng, tunjung tilah* (Society understands that the whole universe was created for use by humans in continuing its evolution, to achieve the purpose of creation. The life between God's creatures to each other is intertwined. In the event of extraordinary disruption to one of them, then the creatures that are in the environment would be disrupted as well). Based on the customary rules of this culture, created a traditional culture Sasaknese community that cannot be separated from the basic trinitarian pattern, namely:

Firstly, epe-aik as the owner who has power over all-natural events and human origin. *Secondly, gumi-paer* as the place where the land is stepped and the sky is upheld because, in the *gumi-paer*, Sasaknese people are born, are given life and passed away. *Thirdly, budi-kaye* which is personal wealth. The awareness of *budi-kaye* gives birth to a mind to every human being to gain the glory of life to be brought to death.

These three things will color the views, speeches, and deeds of the Sasaknese community into a culture that is not only measured in material form but more important are the values obtained during life reflected in the implementation of their customs (Sarjana, 2004).

Although religion is still debated as a cultural element or not in the social construction of society, historical facts show that the process of integration and harmony between different beliefs that once lived in Indonesia can take place precisely because of the contribution of local wisdom in maintaining and managing those differences (Kadri et al, 2009). However, various local wisdom that may have been developed in this country still need the appreciation and strengthening of the elite in order for this local wisdom to work well. Traditional leaders are the drivers that determine social harmony in a community. *Lelakaq* in the local wisdom of Sasaknese that has a noble meaning in building peace harmony to dampen conflict and remind about the ultimate goal of life to get the happiness and salvation of the world-hereafter. This is illustrated by the following Sasaknese *proverb* (Arzaki, 2014);

Niniq Bai, Bije Sanaq Naken Bagus – bagus ntan jauq diriq endak langgar adat karma terip tapsila endak piwal leq dengan towaq, pengelingsir leq pesware dengan si kwase silaq beriuq tunas ring arepan dekaji Allah Ta' ale Neneq si Kuase ampoq tejari dengan besanakan si tao jauq diriq Saleh-solah-soloh, Patut-patuh-pacu genem geger gerasak Lombok Mirah Saksaq Adi, sekadi siq tesurat leq dalam kitab negare kerta game maliq perlu te pade iling, Sai-sai jauq si te ican jari perkanggo endaq jari dengan si besifat bahil loba tamaq beterus betabeat angkuh iri dengki dait sombong iling-iling-iling beriuq pade iling.

Based on the *lelakaq* a number of familiar idioms in Sasaknese society are very close to the orientation of peace. There are number of old advices that contains noble values that regulate social interaction on the island of Lombok there are also many traditions that if traced can be part of the effort of peace (peacebuilding). Almost all of these traditions lead to efforts to maintain social harmony, such as *rowah* or *begawe* culture, which means party. In many occasions, 12 *wah* is done at birth celebrations, weddings to the ceremonies of death as well as the activities of religious festivals such as *Maulid Nabi* (the Prophet's Birthday) and *Isra'-mi'raj* (the Prophet's Ascension). This tradition is carried out in kinship. A family usually cooks food and invites neighbors, friends, relatives to eat together. People sit cross- legged in a circle and eat the food served together, this activity is usually called *begibung* (Suprpto, 2013).

In the *begibung* tradition, everyone sits in parallel regardless of his or her social status. They blend into one and in a family atmosphere. Although some people like master and kiai usually get a dish earlier than others their overall position in the *begibung* process is the same. Eating food without using a spoon, everyone feels the same cuisine menu while chatting. The spirit to establish a relationship (*silaturrehmi*) is felt very strong in this activity. The *rowah* or *begawe* is a *slametan* institution (celebration) that reflects the harmony in religious life.

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All of those nuanced peace activities forms the pattern of conflict management that prioritize deliberation. For example, more land conflict in West Nusa Tenggara were resolved through non-litigation way (Asmara, 2010). The same thing also happened in trade dispute cases. People was prioritized deliberation rather than litigation (Abdullah, 2010). The conflicts were resolved through deliberation or mediation by public figure such as religious leader (Tuan Guru) or customary leader. Disputing party and his family were assembled in a certain place to discussing the solution.

There are also a number of rules that are shared by members of the community and become an unspoken law. This mutually agreed rule is called *awig-awig* (Resmini and Sakban, 2017). The *awig-awig* or rules are written and some are unwritten. In practice, this *awig-awig* can be more effective than the formal law constructed by the state. The *awig-awig* formulated by the community in a participatory manner, able to encourage the community to voluntarily obey and guard it. In other words, the obedience comes from awareness, not compulsion. *Awig-awig* can be used to prevent conflict or organize the people lives as done by Batulayar (a village in West Lombok) government.

The government plays a role in the field of education, especially in optimize the education budget. Nowadays the orientation is only in physical development and does not pay attention to the teacher quality or mentality of students. Youth groups and the community ease to ignited. Just a little offense can cause riots. M Hotibul explained conflict is something that cannot be avoided. The history of community development in NTB was born from a struggle. Example of conflict usually came from in a case of group solidarity, at the beginning it could be a fight between a few people or groups and this conflict become latent and unresolved.

The most important thing is how to resolve the conflict itself. conflict must be managed well. To solve the conflict can use court and outside the court. Sometimes, leaving the problem is also part of the solution. The research shows the lack of communication between the provincial government and local governments become the main factor of the resolution conflict. The government often solve the problem partially and it made new problem. For example, the conflict in Gili Trawangan and the Sekotong. what happened in Trawangan is a battle between the owner of the tourism industry and the people working on the land. The resolve by the government is doing the Gili Gatarin Operation that was involve the Police. Meanwhile, The Structural conflicts that was the main problem difficult to resolve because the government policy is only profitable for investors.

3.3 Procedure and Principles of Conflict Resolution

When resolve the conflicts the perpetrators are presented the problems and witnesses, then the member of institution *kerame* give the commandment to make them obey the law. After the examination process, the decision is made (peace or sentencing). The agreement has legal force. They are usually used as a legal based in the court.

The case examination by *Kerama Desa* was conducted openly, impartially and simply. The mediators are the village government, religious leaders (kyai, tuan guru) and adat leaders. People will obey because respect to adat and religious values. There is a phrase from the Sasak community which states that "Agame betatah beteken adat" means the religious values are acculturated with the values of cultural. The other reason is a high respect to the religious leader (Tuan Guru), customary leaders, and village headman. The community believe they will be able to resolve conflicts peacefully and honestly, the agreement should be made in written agreement and signed by perpetrators, witnesses and mediators.

Based on depth interview the core value that must be applied in Sasak tradition are patut (do something well), patuh (obedient), pacu (honest and diligent), solah (well behave), onyak (careful both in behaving and speaking), sholeh (faiths and piety), soloh (peace, sincerity, tolerance).

4. Conclusion

Thus, the elaboration of the local wisdom of the Sasak tribe that is loaded with good values and in accordance with the religious norms that have been firmly believed by the Sasak people. In view of these rules and norms have long been internalized in the society so that the respect and acceptance of a decision will last long. Due to the fact that what emerges from the outcome of the agreement is the common will of the society. The important thing needed is the willingness of the elite of both the religious elite (Tuan Guru, kyai), the government elite, and the elite customary to sit together to develop peace-building patterns based on local wisdom (Fahrurrozi, 2018). This is because even though an area has had a set of local values and conflict resolution mechanisms, it will all be difficult to walk without the active involvement of the elite. It is, therefore, necessary to strengthen at the elite level so that local wisdom values can be developed as part of conflict resolution efforts and peace initiatives in the future.

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