



# Alignment: Conflict Resolution through Sulang-Silima among Pakpaknese, Indonesia

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## 2 Alignment: Conflict Resolution through *Sulang-Silima* among Pakpaknese, Indonesia



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### ABSTRACT

2 The article aims to explore and discuss specific patterns of dysfunctional and destructive conflict resolution. The 2 problem is focused on seven conflicts, which consist of four kinship and three socio-political cases throughout 2016–2019. The study was carried out qualitatively, using the Dahrendorf structural-functionalism paradigm. Field data consists of narrative text on a series of events based on personal experience. The data is in the form of verbatim transcripts, to reduce bias through comparisons between the subjects, and analyzed based on the Ricoeur hermeneutic circle approach. The study found alignment, determinants, and basic patterns of reconciliation, fundamental points, and resolution prerequisites. Alignment, the conclusion of the study is a mechanism for self-discovery in conflict through differentiated recovery. Through alignment, the differentiation of authority is restored and the structure is more functional.

### 1. Introduction

This research proposed to develop the *Sulang-silima* framework and determine the effectiveness in conflicts resolution in the Pakpak ethnic group, North Sumatra, Indonesia. Generally, this is a patrilineal concept that reflects in a marriage-based relationship, which consists of five structures with complementary authorities and functions. The structures and functions are not permanent or based religion, but are dynamic and depend on ethnicity which is the basis of unifying consciousness. Authority is not intrinsic but rather the ability to carry out functions. Functionality signifies authority, while dysfunction denotes power waning. The *Sulang-silima* mechanism is a unique conflict resolution concept, designed for both kinship and socio-political cases. Therefore, this study aims to explore the mechanism as a resolution concept for seven conflict cases, collected from 2016–2019 databases.

The study items include four kinship and three socio-political conflicts cases. The first case shows the struggle for the position of chiefs, between the Berutu and Matanari clans of Traju Village in 2015. Although, Berutu received the greatest support, their nominee was not appointed as chief, and was accused of cheating, lobbying, as well as paying village officials to win. The masses of both supporters demonstrated their intentions at the sub-district and district heads' offices. This continued for about seven 7 months, which resulted in the polarization of supporters and delays in the inauguration. Peace was achieved after the intervention of *sulang-silima* and the Berutu clan was appointed as

chief. The second case of land tenure in Perduhappen Village in 2016. It started when the Bacin clan laid a claim to a plot of land which was previously owned by the Nahampuns. Both claim to possess valid land certificates, and since it involved extended families, therefore, the case resulted into quarrels, insults, threats of arson, and even murder. The two 2 months' dispute subsided and both families reconciled after being facilitated by *sulang-silima*.

The next case is that of land boundary in Prongil Village in 2016, which started as a result of landmark shifting, 3 meters to the north, on the land belonging to the Barasa clan and controlled by the Bako. Although, Barasa just returned from the city after retiring, which means the land had not been used for a long time. The dispute attracted public attention and continued for six 6 months, until the *sulang-silima* mechanism was utilized for their reconciliation in October 2016. The case four shows the issue of pregnancy before marriage in Perlambuken Village in 2017. This began with a young man from the Solin clan, impregnating a girl from the Padang clan, after dating for about six 6 months. The Solin was a civil servant at the sub-district office, while the girl was a high school student. According to the girl, the biological father of her unborn baby is a man from the Solin clan. However, Solin refused and argued on the basis that the girl was no longer a virgin, when they had sexual intercourse for the first time. The girl's parents, both elementary school teachers, reported the case to the sub-district head and the police. However, peace was facilitated by a *sulang-silima* and they got married in November 2017.

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Furthermore, case five is based on the control of irrigation and drinking water in 2014–2016. The Pakpak Bharat Regency Government initiated irrigation and drinking water projects; however, the construction of the dam caused a drought. Because of this, some of the paddy fields became dry and harvest was low, and the community protested by destroying the irrigation canals. Mediation was carried out through *sulang-silima*. The intense debate led to the issuance of Regional Regulation Number 3 of 2016 concerning the Sulang-silima Inauguration as the Supreme Pakpak Customary Institution. The projects were finally managed by the community. Furthermore, case six shows the executive contestation in the decentralization era in 2016, which raised new problems, such as, division of villages, separation of springs, irrigation canals, and disputes between community members. Ironically, clan and religious associations, and other informal unions became splitted along candidate lines. Besides its role in the local ethnic politics, *sulang-silima* has a role in reducing the negative effects of controversies at the grassroots.

The last case is that of the Pakpaknese resistance against corporations, Dairi Prima Mineral (DPM) which covered eleven 11 villages and fifty-seven 57 hamlets in Silima Punga-Pungga. The zinc and lead mining projects were managed by DPM and controlled by the Bumi Resources Minerals (BRMs) and the Non-Ferrous China (NFC). The conflict emerged in 2012 and it went on for relatively a long time, since it involved international corporations, national and local governments. The dispute subsided in 2019 when *Sulang-silima* intervened in the conflict, this case is described extensively in the results and discussion.

The *sulang-silima* mechanism has proven to be effective in resolving different scope of conflicts. Over time, it transformed from just being a kinship system into a socio-political movement. Although, the forum has not been standardized yet, it has exceeded through the basic character of all activities carried out. Every conflict is mediated through reconciliation, which aligns with the instinct which lies in every human beings.

In this study, the mechanism was used for two basic things: (1) to determine the effectiveness of resolution in a small and horizontal scope, and (2) the effectiveness of resolution in a large and vertical method. It was directed to explore conflict resolution in a dynamic social world, how efficient and effective is the *sulang-silima* conflict resolution in modern society? The main assumption of this mechanism is that differentiation that causes conflict is mediated through the authority's restoration of the structure, for it to function properly. It leads to restoration of structure and function in primordial situations, even before they were created. Self-discovery actualizes consensus, one of the human sides in supporting social integration. Furthermore, it is the basis for reconciliation, and a prerequisite for resolution.

Pakpak's social history is also not separated from conflict: (1) colonialism resistance that separated the *suak* Boang to South Aceh and Kelasen to North Tapanuli, (2) land disputes in Tigalingga in 1942–1947 where the Pakpak fought Toba immigrants, (3) the establishment of Dairi Regency which was separated from North Tapanuli in 1958–1964, (4) the exclusion of the Pakpak identity from the Toba ethnic domination in 1960–1976, (5) the independence of the Pakpak Dairi Protestant Christian Church (GKPPD) from the Protestant Batak Christian Church (HKBP) in 1969–1992, (6) the establishment of the Dairi capital in Tarutung and the regent appointment in 1964, and (7) the establishment of Pakpak Bharat Regency in 2002–2003. Aside these conflicts above, there were more with relatively high frequency; however, the tendency was not exposed.

The study's urgency and significance targeted three fundamental issues: (1) finding the locality of *sulang-silima* to anticipate dysfunctional and destructive conflicts, (2) finding models of vertical and horizontal conflict resolution, and (3) exploring local capacities in dealing with social dynamics. Therefore, for the analysis of conflict Dahrendorf's structural-functionalist paradigm was used, while the resolution was analyzed through Ricoeur's hermeneutic circle approach.

### 1.1. Theoretical Framework

Conflicts are not always resolved through a positive legal paradigm, especially in many communities in Indonesia, where the kinship system majorly intervene. Usually, positive legal decisions are considered fair, final, and binding. However, the kinship mechanism is the most expected determinant of resolution. This is achieved using two methods: firstly, lead the disputing parties to deep feelings of guilt, desire to make peace, and avoid continuing grudges. Secondly, activate the consensus instinct which is the basis for reconciliation as well as a prerequisite for resolution. It is considered to reconcile the two disputing parties, which re-establish the brotherhood, as the basis of social cohesion. Moreover, this form of conflict resolution is a determinant of peace that touches human instincts. It reflects the wisdom and nobility of a special pattern according to the conflicting character that binds the perpetrators and victims with a clean heart and without grudges.

Conflict reflects a dissociative process and a constitute part of life (Chandra, 1992). In general, it is usually caused by five basic things: (1) structural domination (Simmel, 1964), (2) group dysfunction (Coser, 1957), (3) class struggle (Marx, 1859), (4) solidarity manipulation (Collins, 1975), and (5) authority differentiation (Dahrendorf, 1959). It creates disintegration, dysfunction, and destruction (Turner, 2009); however, it also reveals heterogeneity of interests, values, norms, and beliefs that produces results.

Ethnic pluralism, race, religion, clan, belief, culture, economy, social, and politics are factors which triggers conflict. Its relevance are reflected in functions evaluation, changes in structure, the balance of order, as well as recognition which reflects its relevance on social changes (Dahrendorf, 1959). In the Soviet Union, ethnic conflicts resulted in the birth of new states (Hale, 2008), and in Ireland, religion wars resulted in cleavages (Harris & Reilly, 2000). In Myanmar (Raharjo, 2013) and Cambodia (Kanavou & Path, 2020) as well as several countries in the Middle East and Africa, religious conflicts resulted in deaths, property damage, and exodus to other places. Second World War led to the Cold War, blockades of the West and East, and the separation of Germany (Bourke, 2001). In Europe, the frequency and duration of wars from 1495 to 1918 led to change of kinship networks (Benzell & Cooke, 2021).

In Indonesia, radicalism–terrorism which occurred in 2000–2018, caused death, property damage, discrimination, and intolerance (Damanik, 2020a; Damanik & Ndona, 2020). Discriminatory behavior against Papuan students in Surabaya in August 2019 resulted in riots in West Papua in September. Class conflicts in North Sumatra resulted in the killing of nobles in March 1946. Also, In HKBP, conflicts of status and power almost led to the religious the institution's cleavage (Simanjuntak, 2009).

The awareness of the negative impacts of conflict, motivates finding a specific resolution. It comes in the form of reconciliation, division, replacement, or the creation of a new structure. Large-scale vertical and horizontal conflicts usually involve state, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and peacemakers (Alamsjah & Hadiz, 2016; Aspinall, 2009; Formichi, 2012; Harvey, 1974; Horikoshi, 1975; Jackson, 1980; Maulida, 2018; Temby, 2010; van Dijk, 1981). In Indonesia, conflict resolution in Papua, Aceh, and East Timor involves international institutions. Radicalism–terrorism ended with the arrest of people involved (Buchanan, 2011; Graham et al., 2005; Kuntjara, 2018; Lindawaty, 2016).

Compared to Indonesia, locality-based conflict resolution are mostly utilized in Africa, which integrates traditional and modern approaches (Mutisi & Sansculotte-Greenidge, 2012). Peace is managed by linking tradition with the social organization (Davidheiser, 2019), which is focused on forgiveness (Coe et al., 2013), and usually legitimized through ceremony (Babo, 2018). The identity-based intergroup dialogue is chosen to reduce the risk of communal conflict (Smidt, 2020). The Ambon and Poso conflicts, for example, were resolved through the Pelagandong, cultural reconciliation as a brotherhood (Bekti, 2015). Further-



more, pentagonal relations in Simalungun have proven to be effective in resolving conflicts (Damanik, 2021).

Moreover, the dissociative assimilation process has the potential to cause conflict. Examples are, the Mandailing and Angkola dispute in Medan in 1922–1925 had an impact on polarization (Hidayat & Damanik, 2018). Religious assumptions have an impact on the division of the Karonese in the mountains (*gugung*) and lowlands (*jehe*) (Damanik, 2019b). The intolerant attitude in Medan City comes from the religion mainstream (Damanik, 2020a). Interreligious relations are the major source of conflict that triggers discrimination, suicide bombings, and the burning of worship houses (Kuntjara, 2018). Subsequently, decentralization exacerbates latent conflicts through identity awakening (Nordholt & van Klinken, 2007). Pluralism is articulated through the blockade of ethnicity, history, clan, and religion (Ramstedt, 2019). The regent's election in the north of Tapanuli and Dairi had an impact on the division of clans, descendants, villages, and irrigation (Damanik, 2019a). Furthermore, the same phenomenon is found in other areas.

This study uses Dahrendorf's structural-functionalism, as a paradigm to explore and understand the problems of human life, history, culture, and relationship with the environment (Tittenbrun, 2013). Humans are studied as functional elements in various subconscious structures, using small wheels in autonomous mechanisms. Function lies in structure and humans are not seen as subjects, instead as products of structure (Ritzer, 2011). Structure and function do not run separately, they usually go hand in hand. The structuring role marks the functioning, on the other hand, the dysfunction marks the structure death.

The community consists of individual associations which are coordinated imperatively and controlled by the structural hierarchy (Dahrendorf, 1958). The structure's diversity has implications on individuals that are superordinates in a unit and subordinates in others. Subsequently, conflict is the authority differentiation, it does not lie in humans, instead it is integrated into the structure (Dahrendorf, 1959). It is the key to the analysis of knowing superordination and subordination. The difference in quality authority is dependent on the reliability of running the function according to the position. Analyzing conflicts is to identify various structural roles. Therefore, conflict sources are found in the order that has the potential to dominate or be subdued.

Conflict not only maintains the status quo (Coser, 1968) it also has an impact on change and structural development (Meadows, 1961). Big erupting conflicts have an impact on radical changes, while those that involved violence have an impact on sudden structural changes. Based on the resolution approach, it is an intrinsic aspect of social change (Woodhouse, 2010), the basic stage of reconciliation in the peace process (Ramsbotham et al., 2016). Furthermore, reconciliation views peace as an open process consisting of several stages based on conflict cycle dynamics.

The structural approach which is the Dahrendorf functionalism, views humans as a double paradigm (Dahrendorf, 1959). At one end has a conflict, while the other has a consensus. Both have reciprocal relationships. Consensus is obtained from the integration of value in society. The social system is a unified voluntary cooperation and/or consensus together. In a community, conflicts occur between the pseudo and the interest groups that were manifest and latent. The community does not exist without consensus and conflict becoming each other's requirements (Dahrendorf, 1959). This means no conflict occurs without previous consensus, and vice versa.

Pakpak is one of eight ethnic groups in North Sumatra, its first reference was discovered in Marsden's (2008) record in 1772, which wrote: "Pappak Deira" [Pakpak Dairi]. The people live on the mountains and west coast valley of North Sumatra known as the producer of Champer and Benzoin (Guillot, 2002). Colonialism and German Christian Mission (*Rheinische Missiongesellschaft* [RMG]) have changed the spiritual, education, health, and gender of this place (Van Bemmel, 2017). During colonialism, Pakpak was a region at Karasdenan

Tapanuli (Castles, 2001; Ypes, 1907), as discussed in Agustono (2010), Coleman (1983), and Damanik (2016).

The main area base is Dairi District and Pakpak Bharat, while the closest diaspora are the Central Tapanuli, South Aceh, Sumbulusalam, and Humbanghasundutan. It is divided into five subareas (*suak*); Boang, Kelasen, Simsim, Kepas, and Pegagan. Boang is joined to South Aceh and Central Tapanuli, Kepas and Pegagan to Dairi, while Kelasen is attached to Humbanghasundutan. Simsim became the core area of Pakpak Bharat in 2003 (Berutu, 2013; Damanik, 2020b). *Suak* serves as the unity base implicated for the law of marriage and land tenure (Coleman, 1993).

*Sulang-silima* consists of five complementary structures and functions: (1) *perisanganisang*, the oldest sibling, (2) *pertulantengah*, the middle, (3) *perekurekur*, the youngest sibling, (4) *puang*, the wife giver, and (5) *beru*, the wife recipient (Manik, 2010; Coleman, 1983). It does not only contribute to kinship it also adopts a global system to maintain its structure and function in communal society (Lansing et al., 2017, p. 65). The *sulang-silima* transformed into a social organization without leaving basic characters to control the Pakpak interest, using the civil society format (Al Qurtuby, 2018). As a social organization, it plays ethnic political vernacularization (Bal & Siraj, 2017) which is made possible by fragmentation and influence weakening of formal unions and social environmental considerations (Campbell, 2020).

The study also focus on dysfunctional and destructive resolution when dealing with social dynamics. This form of conflict resolution has a communal pattern that reflects the basic elements of the family. The community has a consensus, the integrated values as an effort to mediate those that are contradictory (Tittenbrun, 2013). Compared to a repressive power approach (Scott, 2008), reconciliation of family patterns is considered the most important resolution to support social cohesion. Furthermore, the conflict process is the key to better understand structure and social phenomena (Dahrendorf, 1959).

The structural assumptions of Dahrendorf functionalism explains the benefits of *sulang-silima*: (1) it brings balance to the community, (2) it emphasizes regularity in society, (3) each element plays a role in maintaining stability, (4) that the community is informally bound by norms, values, and morals, and (5) cohesion is created by joint value. Efficacy and effectiveness of resolutions is related to three comprehensive efforts to find peace: (1) both parties recognize the situation and the reality of conflict, (2) there are organizations of interest to understand the other parties' demands, and (3) both agreed on the others involvement rules to bridge the interaction.

The Dahrendorf perspective that recognises conflict as an authority differentiation is reconciled through the restoration of structures and functions. Authority recovery is a deep touch of the subconscious about the position and its function. It is analyzed through the hermeneutic circle of Ricoeur, the interpretation mechanism in which the elements explain the whole and vice versa, consisting of historical, culture, religiosity, values, and norms. The structuring role is not always absolute, however it is equipped with a function. Also, the function does not play an absolute role it is legitimized by the structure.

## 2. Methods

One of the considerations while choosing the research location was the significance of kinship system in resolving conflict. It was analyzed qualitatively using the Dahrendorf structural-functionalism paradigm and the Ricoeur hermeneutic circle approach. Qualitative studies were utilized in exploring the phenomenon based on the detailed explanation of informants in natural situations (Creswell, 2007; Schutt, 2016). The paradigm was used to read conflict, while the hermeneutic circle was utilized in analysing resolution (Tan et al., 2009).

The study used mixed methods based on two considerations: (1) discovering the best information regarding the mechanisms and resolution patterns according to *sulang-silima*, and (2) obtaining other information when one source was inadequate (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2011; Greene & Hall, 2010; Patton, 2014). Resolution and conflict reflects

the causal-functional system (Ritzer, 2011). Conflict is a structure dysfunction, while the function efficacy authenticates the structure running. It is a consensus violation that negates communal life (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Completing the conflict means discovering internal dynamics that regulate the working structure from within. Furthermore, the *sulang-silima* mechanism is a layered model, in which both conceptual and praxis underlies the idea and behavior.

Data collection was carried out using three techniques: (1) participatory observation of three cases; (2) in-depth interviews of four old cases. Where eleven key informants were interviewed, which consisted of seven parties that had disputes and the rest were traditional, ethnic, and religious leaders; and (3) *focus group discussion* (FGD) in October 2019 invited 20 participants consisting of government, corporations, association leaders, and the younger generation. The three techniques were focused on finding the substance, mechanism, and pattern in resolving conflict.

All data were transcribed verbatim, conceptualized, categorized, and encoded manually. Bias was reduced through comparisons between subjects, then it was analysed/analyzed based on hermeneutic circles to uncover the objective and contextual meaning (Tan et al., 2009). During the study, it was noticed that the structured role is not always absolute, it is equipped with a function and vice versa. Therefore, the effectiveness of the resolution marks the structure–function.

Authenticity and kinship mechanisms were read according to the structure–functionalism paradigm, while the meaning behind the resolution and kinship was explored through hermeneutics. Objective meanings interpretation was obtained through authenticity, while that of the contextual was through the general context of modern society (Hardiman, 2015). There were four-step interpretations which include: (1) *sulang-silima* framework identification, (2) recognizing the original goals, (3) objective meanings exploration, and (4) contextualization process. Structural combination–functionalism and hermeneutic circles produced narrative text (Creswell, 2014) based on social experiences when undergoing processes and reconciliation.

### 3. Result and discussion

Compared to the six other internal cases, the DPM conflict seized broader public attention. Besides a long duration, it involved eleven 11 villages and fifty-seven 57 hamlets facing the government, national, and international entrepreneurs. DPM employment contract was obtained on February 18, 1998, on an area of 27,420 hectares in the Silima Pungga-pungga district. The first exploration was conducted in 1997 which produced zinc and black tin. Resource viability produced 6.3 million tonnes with a level of 16% Zinc Sulfide and 9.9% Galena. The results were continued with the definitive feasibility study (DFS) in September 2003. The mining operation was based on the Environmental Feasibility Certificate (EFC) number 731, of November 2005. Moreover, the project was located at 1,319 meters above sea level, and in the valley flows the Renun river and Simbelin.

Exploration activity utilized explosives which raised sound, landslides, and potential earthquakes. The most striking activity was the protected forests opening, the explosive warehouses' construction and tailings storage facility (TSF), population relocation, transfer of agricultural land to mining, as well as waste that poison the environment. The conflict began in 2012 where the embankment of toxic waste control collapsed and polluted the Renun river and Simbelin which was vital to the community. This started the protest of the Sopokomil community, which was the most affected village, and gradually widened to ten others. Throughout 2012–2014, the communities held two to three demonstrations per year to the village office, sub-district, regent, and the legislature. Several mass actions led to the property destruction of the corporation and the active members' arrest.

The affected communities formed two organizations in 2015: The Society Alliance Refuses Mine (AMIT) and the Secretariat Joint Advocacy Reject Mine (SBATT). Apart from these two alliances, rejection

emerged from several institutions; (1) Legal Aid and Advocacy of North Sumatra People (Bakumsu), (2) Foundation Diakonia Pelangi Kasih (FDPK), (3) Indonesian National Student Movement (GMNI), (4) Head of the Batak Protestant Christian Church (HKBP), (5) Islamic Students Association (HMI), and (6) Indonesian Muslim Student Action Unity (KAMMI). Besides anti-corporation, several pro-corporate organizations are the Sadakata Forum, Pakpak community association (Himpak), Communication Forums Between Customary Institutions (Forkala), and Pakpak Cultural Institutions (LKP).

These Anti-corporate demonstration waves voiced four goals: (1) revoking the Environmental Feasibility Certificate, (2) rejecting the Addendum Analysis of Environmental Impact and the Environmental Management Plan, (3) stopping corporate activities, and (4) Revoking mining operation licenses. It was carried out in the project area and in the village office, sub-district, regent, legislative, including the Department of Environment with the threat of burning projects, buildings, trucks, electricity destruction, and road blockade. Although, they had an audience to the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (MEF) in Jakarta. Public complaints were received by both the Directorate General of Pollution Control and Environmental Damage as well as that of Waste Management and Dangerous Toxic Materials of MEF.

Pro-corporate and anti-corporation communities submitted consideration based on positive–negative assumptions. The sharpening fragmentation led to disintegrative, anarchical, and destructions. MEF in Jakarta and the Regent did not have many options for Foreign Investment Project. These investments were needed to open employment opportunities and increase regional income; however, the consideration of risk caused people's refusal.

The conflict was intervened by *sulang-silima* after the issuance of Regional Regulation Number 3 of 2016 concerning the *Sulang-silima* Inauguration as the Supreme Pakpak Customary Institution. This indicated the kinship transformation into a social institution that voiced Pakpak interests. Considering the fact that the corporate activities in Dairi Regency was on Pakpaknese's homeland; therefore, it had the authority to end the conflict. Throughout 2017–2019, the conflict resolution was conducted through: (1) data collection on the project, to corporations, local governments, and Jakarta; (2) identifying problems faced by the affected society; (3) gathering village representatives from affected areas at the *sulang-silima* office; (4) facilitating anti-corporate and pro-corporate meetings; (5) facilitating the FGD which was attended by affected village representatives, corporations, legislators, executives, and related agencies; (6) facilitating local government and corporations; and (7) reconciliation between corporations and communities legitimated by local governments.

All the above activities also faced some problems sometimes meetings were canceled because one of the invited parties was not present. Subsequently, the meeting became a deadlock and did not produce any result. Other times the meetings were carried out with fighting, hitting the table, kicking chairs, and using swear words. However, as a peaceful interpreter, negotiator, and mediator, *sulang-silima* egaliters found an agreement, in June 2019. Where it succeeded in formulating four points which were approved: (1) disaster-affected village children were accepted as employees; (2) payment of annual social funds for worship houses, irrigation improvements, procurement of fertilizers and superior seeds, as well as youth organization; (3) road repairs and free treatment for the eleven 11 villages and fifty-seven 57 hamlets that were affected; and (4) deforestation obligations and waste mitigation of the environment. After deliberation, although there were still dissatisfied parties, social conflicts subsided for a while.

During this study, it was discovered that the settlement mechanism used for kinship disputes was different from social conflicts. The four kinship disputes which are, the race for the chief position, land tenure and borders, and getting pregnant before marriage reflected *sulang-silima* in a small scope, within family or villages. This prestige became a success indicator for the resolution method. However, the three social cases, irrigation and drinking water, executive selection, and cor-



porations reflected the *sulang-silima* in a large scope. Which means that, asides villages, conflict involves external, local, and corporate governments where interests were very visible. It transformed into a social movement called Pakpak ethnic brotherhood.

In the case of the executive election in 2012 and 2016, the *sulang-silima* only played a role in bridging the fragmentation in the society. Although not openly, it played an ethnic political vernacularization in supporting the Regent's candidate from Pakpak. Moreover, the new person which was chosen succeeded in the contestation in 2019 where Eddy Keleng Ate Berutu was elected to be the Regent. Furthermore, *sulang-silima* contributed to extinguishing the negative effects at the grassroots which include include village division, the separation of drinking water and irrigation, and the split of ethnic and clans. Although it had no authority over the dispute, which was in the jurisdiction of the Constitutional Court. However, it was able to make all candidates to accept the results while avoiding destructive demonstrations between supporters.

The settlement outlined social conflicts using eight steps; : (1) collect all alliances coordinating with the highest indigenous institution, (2) consolidating grassroots to oppose violations of communal rights, (3) facilitating internal routine meetings, (4) delegating *berru* and *denggansibeltek* found the problem root, (5) provide advice and recommendations to *puang* to consider a resolution, (6) repeated hearings with government and corporations, (7) intimacy and intimidation in threat format, and (8) re-negotiations to find agreement. The *sulang-silima* role in social conflict led to reconciliation through; : (1) muffling the negative impact of contestation at grassroots, (2) participating in management of government and corporate projects, and (3) corporate responsibility for affected communities. Though it prioritizes reconciliation a large mass has the potential to become a threat when peace is in deadlock.

Based on observation and interviews conducted, kinship and social conflict resolution showed eight similarities; : (1) the kinship base for resolving the conflict; ; (2) *berru* (the wife recipient) was the initiator or mediator; ; (3) *perisangisang* (the oldest sibling), *pertulantengah* (the middle sibling), and *perekurekur* (the youngest sibling) or *denggansibeltek* (sibling) was a facilitator; ; (4) *puang* (the wife giver) was the judge; ; (5) *denggansibeltek* collected and unraveled all the problem roots; ; (6) *berru* negotiated with the parties disputing; ; (7) *puang* gave constructive advice to the dispute; ; and (8) reconciliation through deliberation and ceremony.

In resolving conflicts, mechanisms, and patterns were similar to the court in the following ways; : (1) *berru* was the lawyer (advocate), (2) *denggansibeltek* was the prosecutor, and (3) *puang* was the judge. The three structures of *denggansibeltek* were prosecutors with different functions; *perekurekur* initiated the perpetrators, *pertulantengah*, victims, while the *perisangisang* questioned the perpetrators and victims.

In general, the *denggansibeltek* functions consists of three fundamental points; : (1) formulate a fair, final, and binding resolution in dispute, (2) advised *berru* on what information to receive from the victim, and (3) gave a recommendation to *puang* to decide on the case. Furthermore, *berru* has four main functions; : (1) collecting information and materials about the case, (2) initiating and mediating peace between the perpetrators and victims, (3) bridging the meeting between *denggansibeltek* and *puang*, and (4) negotiating between the perpetrators and victims. Furthermore, *puang* had two main functions; : (1) considering the advice of *berru* and recommendations with *denggansibeltek* to decide on the case, and (2) deciding on the case wisely.

In some cases, the *denggansibeltek* and *berru* work repeatedly until the agreement is achieved. Usually, when *berru* fails to mediate, *denggansibeltek* intervenes in the case. Both seek meetings and peace between the perpetrators and victims. Conflict are sometimes resolved with no *puang* intervention. For *berru*, *denggansibeltek* is considered a *puang* representation with all suggestions and recommendations that should be carried out. Although when conflicts are resolved or not, both should report work to *puang*.

The *puang's* advice and alternatives are seen as a clue that should be carried out and submitted to the dispute. Before deciding on the case,

the *puang* hears the *berru's* description and considered the *denggansibeltek's* recommendations. Where failed mediation indicates the hassle of cases demanding the *puang's* wisdom. The last resolution, when the case found a dead end, mediates with other *puang* from the perpetrators or victims. Usually, both are present in one of the dispute's family houses. However, when this also fail, the conflict is extended, and it not only yield revenge, it also cause the kinship to be cracked. It is believed to bring the difficulty of living, such as crop failure, disease, loss, have no children, even death. Berutu, June 23, 2019 stated the following:

"Among Pakpak, *sulang-silima* touched all social life aspects, in joy and sorrow. It does not see religion or clan, however it is oriented to ethnicity as the basis of social unity. The kinship essence is relatives. Where *puang*, is recognized as a family that gives a person's life, *denggansibeltek* as a place to exchange thoughts, and *berru* as an energy source. Denial of *puang's* advice and recommendations harms life because, *puang* is God's manifestation on earth."

This mechanism is guided by functional relationships based on the social stand. Authority blends with the structure to function properly. *Puang* operate as a blessing giver and picking up suggestions, *denggansibeltek* as deliberation place, while *berru* is a place to negotiate and pick up energy. All of them are not supposed to work without one another. Sometime, the *puang* personally knows about the disputes, however, does not intervene directly. All should obey and respect their position and function in the kinship system. Although it is not written, all regulations, mechanisms, roles, and functions are well understood communicably and subject to each other.

*Sulang-silima* since 2016, has transformed into a formal organization to voice Pakpak interests. Formalization was carried out within a large scope of families, clans, and subclans through the new structure formation, with the same cultural basis. The organization is always led by the *perisangisang* as chairman, assisted by the *pertulantengah* as deputy chair and the *perekurekur* as secretary, *berru* as treasurer, and *puang* as an advisor. It plays a role in inclusion, support, and consultation, while the ceremony was the way to strengthen the structure and function based on the subsidiarity principle. Furthermore, Pakpak's tradition places *sulang-silima* at a high level. Although it does not have a clear hierarchical structure, it has full authority over customs and society. Every issue is under its full authority, where decisions bind all parties and every aspects is covered. It is based on togetherness (*Kininduma*) as in Regional Regulation Number 3 of 2016.

The formalization is a transformation into a social movement, that voices Pakpak's interests. It is intended to fight mass action and to negotiate better with the government and corporations to overcome social imbalance. Berutu, June 23, 2019, stated the following:

"The most dominant kinship problem includes customary disputes, genealogies, inheritance, customary procedures, land boundaries and transition. However, *sulang-silima* played a part in resolving political-social conflict. This role emerged due to its impact as a social organization that voiced Pakpak interests. It was advocated when dealing with economic, hegemony, and subordination. Although criminal cases such as theft, murder, robbery, and sexual harassment were transferred to the police, they played a role in bridging reconciliation by suggesting peace. Furthermore, it does not intervene in personal, religious, divorce and preference cases."

*Sulang-silima* includes four life elements; : (1) *jabu* (house) as nuclear family, (2) *sibeltekbapa* as father's sibling, (3) *sibelteknmpung* as grandfather's brother, and (4) *lebbuh* as clan and sub-clan community. Normally, every individual is bound to the *sulang-silima* from birth, structural attachment is strengthened through the inheritance of social values in life. The structures and functions are longlife (*sangkep nggeluh*), open, and have a dynamic cycle. Moreover, conflict resolution pattern has six basic characteristics; : (1) the *berru* initiates reconciliation to the perpetrators, (2) invite related parties, (3) give reasons to forgive, (3) perpetrator and victim attend a meeting, (4) the *denggansibeltek* proposed peace to resolve conflict, (5) *debata kase-kase* gives *ules* (custom cloth) as a sym-

bol of peace, and (6) the *puang* declare congratulations and blessed by God (*njuah-juah*).

The characteristics above, contains three major points; : (1) affirmation of the *sulang-silima*'s structure and function, (2) function reconstruction is always according to the individual's position in the kinship's structure, and (3) affirmation of history, i.e., origin of the mechanism, the beginning of agreements with clans, and past life experiences. This resolution forum is based solely on three fundamental points, : (1) it is reconciliation-oriented, where justice is not ignored, however it is manifested in form of educating the perpetrators to be humble and forgive, (2) the principle of brotherly love and divine authority, and (3) the use of symbols as a means of apologizing, in the form of food, fish, and clothes. Therefore, the victim accepting these gifts means, the perpetrator has been forgiven.

The use of symbols is a method for the perpetrator to show humility and guilt, then the victim is exalted and his existence is restored. The principle of brotherly love and divine authority is illustrated through the involvement of the entire structure in resolving conflicts. Where *Berru* serves on the lower end, and the *puang* is a divine representation, *debata kase-kase*, is a source of blessings that flows to *denggan-sibeltek* and *berru*. During resolution, the movements and sounds of *berru* or *denggan-sibeltek* while begging with sobs are purposed to move the heart. Manik, December 22, 2019, stated the following:

"*sulang-silima* resolution is based on the values of togetherness and oriented towards harmony. It is different from law enforcement in general the solution is more focused on realizing the position of the parties in kinship and society. Justice is not objective, it is according to one's position. Resolution is more recovery-oriented."

During reconciliation rituals, traditional symbols, food, *ules*, and fish were served to victims and perpetrators. All structures were present to evaluate conflicts, give advice, and restore a person's self-existence. It is paramount to restore the position of each kinship structure and shared values. Doing this, bring the people to a place of introspection and recovery. During the ritual, every problem, obstacle, and opportunity was discussed. Furthermore, position understanding brings about a more harmonious life.

*Sulang-silima* has a similarity with the *lima-saodoran* structure, five hands in hand in Simalungun (Damanik, 2020c). This structure deals with a larger family involvement in sustaining social life. It characterizes wet cultivation, using the river as an analogy of life; the upstream is the starting point, the downstream is the endpoint, the middle is the center and the spread is to the left and right (Sumardjo, 2010). This tradition starts from the ancestors' habit to build settlements around rivers, and make it a source of livelihood.

Upstream and downstream orientation is the settlement determination base (Manik, 2010). It illustrates the cosmos as a fixed structure and is located in the middle, the main settlement, starts upstream and ends downstream, extending to the left and right, in an east-west analogy. The history was recorded in collective memory which includes mountains (*delleng*) and the river (*lae*), two words that form the Pakpak identity as a refining movement. Furthermore, wet cultivation relies on the river as a source of life, enjoying the abundance of water flowing from upstream means a divine resides there which determines survival (Buijs, 2009).

The river is a source of life and social order, where river-oriented rituals are related to fertility, self-cleaning, and sources of life. However, it is often a terrible source of phenomenon, floods that destroys everything. Therefore, humans are required to maintain good relations with the river. In wet cultivation, upstream is the highest place of magical power, that determines the fate of life. During floods and long droughts, people do rituals upstream to extinguish God's anger. Furthermore, they categorized the world into five integrated parts; : (1) upstream world as a base, (2) downstream as an estuary, (3) central as the center, (4) new settlements in the east, and (5) diaspora in the West. Furthermore, the river cosmology looks more horizontal than vertical. Although, the magical power of the sky is considered, the river is represented

as a place where gods and the divine comes down through the mountains (Buijs, 2009).

River cosmology represents resolution structures. Conflict resolution always starts from *sibeltekbapa*, elders, parents, grandparents, or brothers. *Sibeltekatas* is the first figure in facing conflict, involving *berru*. However, when they are unable solve it, *puang* becomes involved. This shows the thinking framework of Pakpak, starting from the center (*sibeltek*), to the end (*berru*) and the bottom (*puang*). Although it's in the lowest position, *berru* plays an important role in reconciliation, the role of a peaceful carrier emerged from the awareness that conflict causes chaos at the center and hindered the flow of blessing downstream.

As a peace carrier, *berru* has a different role from *puang*, God's trust holder, which acts decisively over *Sibeltek*. *Berru* does not have the God-head authority, however it is a loved one, the position gives the power to influence in making peace. Conflict ends with *puang* Intervention, whose decision is final and functions as a resolution. Since the *puang* represents the divine authority and demands obedience to make peace. Pakpaks believe that it guarantees the upstream blessing flow.

Hermeneutics circles analysis of *sulang-silima* in conflict reflects the resolution pattern that is oriented towards authority recovery. Resolution always starts from consciousness, every element, society, and cosmos. This principle stressed that the center of life take place due to the blessings flowing from upstream. The center is the estuary of God, flowing sideways to *pertulantengah* and *perekurekur*, and ending downstream (*berru*). This understanding aims to harmonize each element and restore function. However, conflict not only raises tensions, it also causes cracking kinship, chaos in society, and cosmic imbalances.

Reconciliation is not only a peaceful state, it is situation recovery. It returns all elements to their original state, not only before the conflict, to the primordial state when the structure was established and the cosmos created. It attracts each kinship structure out of sustainable or real-time to primordial or pure-time where the divine power fills reconstruct kinship, community, and cosmos. It return kinship with all forms of relationships and values that are lived as created. Furthermore, the resolution aims to make each structure-aware of its position and function properly. Harmonization pattern brings up four basic principles of resolution; : (1) deliberation, (2) history, (3) wisdom, and (4) family value. It refers to the ancestor's discretion. Kinship value, *kinibeak sembah merpuang*, worship to God in traditional beliefs. Pakpak reflects respect, humility, and compliance, as basic assets neutralize tension.

Based on conflict readings according to Dahrendorf and the hermeneutics circle analysis, it discovered that alignment, determinants and fundamental patterns of reconciliation, basic points as well as resolution prerequisites. Alignment is a mechanism of restoring differentiated authorities, using five crucial points; : (1) stability appreciation of the order and kinship relational value, starting from finding positions, conformity, and affirmation of functions, (2) objective truths are led to the primordial situation to guarantee harmony, (3) self-awareness as a basic human need that implies an introspective reconciliation movement, (4) communal goodness and peace, and (5) obedience to the structure and objective rational truth, wisdom, and a healthy conscience with universal principles.

Lastly, the mechanism of self-discovery is achieved in conflict situations through authority recovery, where the structure is more functional. Compared to Dahrendorf, the novelty was emphasized at three fundamental points; : (1) authority recovery of the structure and function in the primordial position, (2) self-discovery to find consensus instincts as a reconciliation base, and (3) reconciliation conformity as a residential prerequisite in a more functional structure. These three points are a prerequisite and the provisions of the kinship mechanism in resolving conflict. In different situations and order, they needed further exploration. This specification marks the recovery of differentiated authorities through alignment that touches forgiveness, the important value as a resolution prerequisite.



#### 4. Conclusion

The study discovered alignment, determinants and fundamental patterns of reconciliation as resolution prerequisites. The main resolution framework was about bringing to consciousness, the individual's function through consensus discoveries, bases, and values underlying reconciliation. The differentiated authority presents structural inequality and specific function for each member of the system. Therefore, conflict resolution is the evaluation and recovery of authority through alignment, to make the structure more functional. The *sulang-silima* also utilizes the mechanism of self-discovery in conflict through the recovery of differentiated authority. This implies that self-realisation self-realization yields reconciliation for the mutual good, which is a social cohesion base. The study recommends follow-up by involving other elements that was not discussed in the kinship system formalization to resolve conflicts in modern society.

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