

The study of *Seloko Adat* as safety-valve to prevent religious conflict in Jambi City, Indonesia

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Abstract:

Jambi City has the potential for social conflict, especially religious conflict related to the establishment of houses of worship. The history of religious conflict in Indonesia notes that houses of worship have always been a source of conflict which often leads to destruction and burning. Related to this, there needs to be an effort made so that this conflict is not prolonged, one option is by revitalizing the wisdom of local culture that grows in each region. This study was conducted using a qualitative research approach. This research was conducted in Telanaipura, Alam Barajo, and Kotabaru in Jambi City. The results of this study found that as a pluralistic area, Jambi City was also not spared from the conflict of the establishment of places of worship that occurred in three regions. However, the conflict that occurred was not prolonged because the people of Jambi City still adhered to the wisdom of the local culture in the form of *Seloko Adat* which is internalized through family, education and social environment. This internalization forms an obedient, rule-abiding and inclusive character inherent in Jambi City society. *Seloko Adat* is another form of contextualization of the Coser's concept of the Safety-Valve which proved to be able to prevent the community from anarchic conflict. Since it has a significant potential to help foster peace in communities, there needs to be an understanding of *Seloko Adat* through a variety of activities, such as socialization in various formats and holding social activities with the theme of increasing understanding of it.

Keywords:

religious conflict; local wisdom; internalization; safety-valve

Introduction

Study of religious conflict in Indonesia, especially related to the establishment of worship houses, is an interesting and important theme and topic. This is because as a pluralistic country in terms of religion, ethnicity and culture, Indonesia has the potential for social conflict. Indonesia has six officially recognized religions by the state, namely: Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism and hundreds of ethnic groups and thousands of cultures. Theoretically, the plurality inherent in a nation has the potential to cause divisions or conflicts

among the people in it (Oetojo, 2010). This condition does not only apply in countries that are categorized as not yet fully developed, such as Indonesia, but also in developed countries, such as Britain with Scottish tribal conflicts and Welsh and French tribes with the conflict of the Breton tribes (Oetojo, 2010, p.10). In Indonesia, conflict always adorns the nation's journey, starting from small-scale conflicts involving small groups in society (brawls between residents) to large-scale conflicts, such as in Ambon (Maluku), Palu (Central Sulawesi), Sampit (West Kalimantan), Banyuwangi (East Java) and so on.

Religion is one of the sources of conflict in Indonesia because of its diversity in this country, namely Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism and their different beliefs. Related to this, Kimball (2008) states that this is raised because the existence of religion in the community has both positive and negative effects. On the one hand, religion has a positive influence through a set of morals and good values for its adherents, but on the other hand, religion emerges with a negative influence because it becomes the source of a series of conflicts that occur because of its followers' misunderstandings and exclusive attitudes. The existence of both the positive and negative effects of religion raises many debates among experts and thinkers. Religion is recognized as a basic need for humans, because there has never been a period in human history when religion didn't exist (Agus, 2006, p.33).

According to Suaedy (2007, p.247), the history of religious conflict in Indonesia notes that places of worship have always been a source of conflict which often leads to destruction and burning. Cases of religious conflict in Indonesia show the role of religion in social interactions carried out by Indonesian people. Since people's journey in life does not always go well and is always overshadowed by failures, humans need religion as a place of escape. It is in this context that religion performs its function to help humans overcome the various obstacles faced in the course of their lives (Robertson, 1993, p.x). On this basis, the study found its urgency in the form of conversation around the presence of religions in the midst of our daily lives. Its presence, apart from being an integrative factor, is also often a factor in the emergence of disintegration, tension, and conflict between fellow believers of religion and / or religion, even more radical, religion is also sometimes a factor in a nation's war. This is what later underlies religious observers to conclude

that the existence of religion in the midst of society is represented by multiple factors, positive factors on the one hand and negative factors on the other (Kimball, 2008). Issues labeled religion which often have an impact on intolerant attitudes among fellow religious followers, indeed have happened too often up to now. The potential for the development of religious conflict is more prone to occur in a society or country whose population adheres to a religion that is diverse as is the case in Indonesia. This can occur because each party certainly has its own interests which are often different, even conflicting, with other groups. This difference in desires and interests will in turn lead to conflict, both on a small, medium scale and on a large scale.

Theoretically it is indeed Nasikun (2004) who said that plurality inherent in a nation or region has the potential to cause divisions or conflicts among the people. Based on a study conducted by Suaedy (2007, p.247), the history of religious conflict in Indonesia notes that places of worship have always been a source of conflict which often leads to destruction and burning. However, what is assumed above does not occur in Jambi City as a diverse area of various aspects, especially from the plurality of religions held by its citizens. Based on geographical and demographic aspects, Jambi City has an area of 205.38 km with eight sub-districts and a total population of 598,103 people, with 300,775 men and 297,537 women (BPS Jambi City, 2019). In terms of sociological aspects, the composition of the population of Jambi City based on ethnicity is quite diverse, ranging from Javanese, Sundanese, Palembang, Batak, Minangkabau, Bugis, Banjar, Arabic, Indian and Chinese, although ethnic Malays have become the majority group (Lindayanty, 2013, p.209), and embrace various religions, such as Islam (as the majority), Protestants, Catholics, Hindus, Buddhists and Khong Hu Chu (BPS Jambi City, 2019). Related to this, based on a study conducted by Idi (2012),

Suprapto (2013), Bakri (2015), Mufid (2010), and Rosdiawan et al. (2007) show that local wisdom that grows and takes root in the traditions of the people in various regions in the country can be used as an antidote to conflict.

In relation to what has been described above, the issue of local cultural wisdom as a damper of religious anarchist conflict in the case of the establishment of houses of worship in Jambi City, Indonesia deserves further study. This is because as a pluralist society, Jambi City has the potential to cause conflict, especially if it looks at the diversity of religions held by its inhabitants. The wisdom of local culture originating from customs and traditions of local people is believed to be able to counteract the emergence of conflicts, as happened in various parts of Indonesia, like in Jambi (HM, 2011), Bangka (Idi, 2012), Bima (Suprapto, 2013), Ambon (Bakri, 2015), West Kalimantan (Mufid, 2010), and East Kalimantan (Rosdiawan et al., 2007).

Literature Review

Local Culture Wisdom

Local wisdom was first introduced by Quaritch Wales (1948-1949) which was interpreted as the ability of the local culture to deal with the influence of foreign culture at the time the two cultures were related (Mariane, 2014, p.111). In general, local wisdom (indigenous knowledge or local knowledge) is understood by Rahadiansyah & Prayitno (2011, p.59) as ideas that are born and developed in the local domain that contain wise, and good values that are followed by all members of the community. Local wisdom is related to indigenous knowledge, such as knowledge or wealth of knowledge and culture in certain societies that are always developed from time to time and continue to experience development and change. Pahrudin HM (2011) emphasised that there are four indicators that serve as benchmarks for tracking local wisdom, namely: the treasure of knowledge based on local

knowledge, experiences changes from time to time, lives and knowledge is known in certain community environments and changes and is dynamic. The forms of local wisdom include the belief in maintaining the environment, health and daily life of the community members. Local wisdom recognizes four main characteristics, namely: generalist, where there is a tendency for supporters of local culture to know a little about many things. This typology contrasts with intellectuals who have specialized in their respective skills, with a great deal of knowledge about only a few things. Local wisdom also relates to the local social system to form a holistic society, namely completing a case based on the knowledge of those who are not cases of cases. If sorted out more carefully, there will be a correlation between local wisdom and local culture and religion. Religion is an integral part of a culture. In rural communities, local wisdom relating to various elements of culture has the potential to minimize risk rather than maximize profits.

Based on his review, Sartini (2009, p.12) concluded that local wisdom is a personality, a cultural identity of the community which consists of values, norms, ethics, beliefs, customs and special rules that are accepted by the community and tested so that they can survive continuously. Furthermore, Sartini (2009, p.12) states that there are several aspects that are characteristic of local wisdom, namely: good value, based on religious understanding and experiences related to nature, in the form of knowledge, ideas, norms, methods, behaviors and other forms of activities, which can be physical or non-physical, originating from certain local communities and growing in them, used continuously, can be rationalized, and contextual to the current living conditions.

Local wisdom is also interpreted by Ayatrohaedi (1986, p.18) as a personality identity of a nation that allows it to be able to absorb and cultivate foreign cultures according to their own character and abilities. Local

wisdom is also understood by Zakaria (1994, p.56) as cultural knowledge possessed by certain communities which includes cultural knowledge related to models of sustainable use and management of natural resources. The concept of local wisdom refers to the method of utilizing natural resources originating from the culture of the local community. As mentioned earlier, in human history there are people who are aware and concerned about the preservation of local wisdom originates from groups of people like this. Related to this, Mitchell et al. (2003, p. 299) revealed that concerned people create simple rules that were initially obtained through a trial and error process by continuing activities that are believed to be able to preserve nature and abandon practices that lead to damage.

The Conflict Concept

Terminologically, conflict is understood by many people in various senses. For Pickering (as cited in Fisher, 2000, p.4), for example, interpreting conflict is the existence of several competing or out of tune choices. Meanwhile, conflict is understood by Fisher (2000, p.4) as a relationship between two or more parties who have, or feel they have goals that are not in line. While Lulops & Chan (2000, p.3) define conflict as two or more conflicting reactions to an event, or differences between two individuals, the existence of mutual hostility between groups, or the existence of a problem that must be resolved. According to Wirawan (2012, p.5), conflict is a process that is expressed between two or more interdependent parties regarding conflict objects, using behavioral patterns and conflict interactions that produce conflict outcomes. Meanwhile, through a fairly complete exposure, Susan (2019, p.xii) said that conflict is the process of clashing actors on the basis of different interests of resources, both material and non-material, in the context of a social system where each actor mobilizes sources of power to achieve victory.

Historically, Haryanto (2012, p.39) revealed that conflict theory emerged as a reaction to functional structural theory carried out by Talcott Parsons in the mid 1950-1960 which was considered denial of the phenomenon of conflict that existed in society. Conflict, also known as disintegration and imbalance, for Parsons and several other sociologists, such as Durkheim and Merton, is a social problem that can disrupt harmony, balance, integration and stability which in turn will lead to dysfunction in aspects of wider life (Johnson, 1988, pp. 99-107). In contrast to structural functional adherents, those who consider conflict as something positive believe that conflict actually becomes the main element of social life (Jamaludin, 2015, p.36). For those who are then referred to as conflict theorists, conflict is something normal and inevitable in social life. The leaders of the conflict theory are Karl Marx, Max Weber, Ralf Dahrendorf, Lewis Coser, Gyorgy Lucacs, Randal Collins, C.W. Mills and Gerhard Lenski (Poloma, 2004).

One of the leaders of conflict theory who put forward many opinions about this theory is Lewis A. Coser. There are several reasons that are worth mentioning related to the choice of Coser conflict theory as an analytical tool in this study. First, the conflict theory produced by Coser offers something different from the others, namely describing social conflict as a result of conflicting group interests and its focus on the consequences of conflict (Haryanto, 2012, p. 51). Second, Coser offers a safety valve as a mechanism or a way to maintain groups and prevent the possibility of social conflicts (Poloma, 2004, p.108).

According to Coser (as cited in Poloma, 2004, p.107), conflict has positive implications for social life because it is the settler and guardian of the boundary between two or more groups and can strengthen the identity of the group and protect it so that it does not dissolve in the social world around it. Coser believes that violence and conflict can encourage social

change in society. Coser shows how conflict has a positive function, especially in increasing social integration when the issue of conflict is open and conflict regulation mechanisms are developed to deal with the impact. Inter-group conflict increases solidarity among the conflicting groups. This is often followed by the formation of an alliance between them.

On the basis of the need for resolution or handling of conflicts, Coser offers a mechanism that can prevent the occurrence of social conflict. Coser (as cited in Poloma, 2004, pp.108-109) calls this conflict prevention mechanism a safety valve, a special mechanism that can be used to defend groups from possible social conflicts. This mechanism serves as a solution that eases hostility, because without this the interactions between the opposing parties will be even more problematic. The 'Safety Valve' allows the outburst of hostility to be channeled without destroying the entire structure, conflict 'cleanses the atmosphere' in a chaotic group. This system functions as an 'easing out of hostility', without which the relations between opposing parties will become increasingly volatile (Coser, 1956, p.41). The safety valve implementation offered by the Coser theory can manifest in various forms. The safety valve can be a representative body that provides a means to express complaints and problems faced by its members. This mechanism can also be in the form of a lecturer welfare committee which is the mouthpiece of the lecturers voicing the problems they face. In essence, Coser (1956, p.109) noted that the safety valve functions as a regulator of the possibility of conflict and indirectly impedes the development of conflicting groups that can lead to change through conflict. Because of its function as a barrier to conflict, the safety valve does not have to be in the form of an institution, but can also be in the form of culture, customs or local wisdom that is believed by the community. This local wisdom is used as a safety valve that blocks or prevent community groups from the possibility of social conflict.

Methods

This study uses a qualitative research approach, that according to Denzin & Lincoln (2009) is an approach that gives an opportunity for researchers to be able to carry out detailed descriptions and interpretations in order to gain a holistic understanding. This type of research is a case study, which understood by Creswell (2007) is a type of research that can be interpreted as an approach to study, explain, or interpret a case in its natural context without outside intervention. More specifically, this research is an instrumental case study (instrumental study) which is used to examine a particular case so that a perspective can be presented on the issue or improvement of a theory (Denzin & Lincoln, 2009, p.301). The research was conducted in Jambi City, Indonesia, especially in the three regions, namely in Telanaipura District, Alam Barajo District, and Kotabaru District. These three regions are the most diverse areas in Jambi City and the most common places of worship besides Islam, namely the church and monastery.

Data Collecting

As required in qualitative research using the case study method, the data is collected from several sources, namely: through documents and archive records, interviews, direct observation, (participant observation) and other physical devices related to religious conflict in Jambi City (Yin, 2004, pp.103-118; Crabtree & Miller (ed.), 1992, pp.14-17). This research data is qualitative and consists of primary data and secondary data. Most of the primary data was collected through interviews, direct observation and participant observation, while a small portion of other data was obtained from documents and physical devices related to the local cultural wisdom of Jambi City.

Interviews were conducted to explore the experiences of eleven informants and their subjective meanings of the local cultural

wisdom of the City of Jambi, which was used as a neutralizing religious conflict regarding the establishment of places of worship. The determination of the eleven informants is based on their involvement with the phenomenon that is the topic of research, namely the wisdom of local culture in neutralizing religious anarchic conflicts related to the establishment of places of worship in the city of Jambi. The informants were chosen using the snowballing sampling method and divided into four sections, namely: (1) Islamic religious figure one person, (2) Christian/Catholic religious figure one person, (3) general public 3 (three) people, and (4) Jambi Malay customary figures as many as 6 (six) people. The interview is based on an interview guide. However, researchers always develop questions in various directions in accordance with the development of informant responses in order to obtain complete, in-depth, and accurate information. In this case each interview is directed to a topic that in the view of the researcher is the competency of the relevant informant in accordance with their respective status, without neglecting the extraction of general information. The researcher records all the dialogue that takes place during the interview, and makes additional notes as needed. The recording is then converted into an interview transcript which is done after the interview is conducted.

Data Analysis

Miles & Huberman (1992, pp.88-90) revealed that effort to analyze data can use qualitative data analysis techniques in three ways, namely: data reduction, data presentation (displaying data), and drawing conclusions. Data reduction is the process of selecting, focusing on simplifying, abstracting, and transforming "rough" data that arises from written records in the field. Furthermore, the presentation of data is a collection of information that has been organized to facilitate the possibility of drawing conclusions and

taking action. The final method used is drawing conclusions or verification, namely interpretation of the entire data collected so that adequate conclusions can be obtained.

Results and Discussion

Vulnerability conflict in Jambi City

As an urban area that is developing far more rapidly than other regions in Jambi Province, Jambi City has long been known as an open area to various migrants, both from within and outside the country. This is certainly closely related to its position as the capital of the Jambi Sultanate (formerly) and Jambi Province (after the independence of the Republic of Indonesia). In addition, Jambi City is also known for its existence as a trading area for various kinds of natural resources in the Jambi Province, such as rubber, pepper, cloves and wood. Around the 17th and 18th centuries, Jambi City was known as an export port for Minangkabau (West Sumatera) hinterland products, such as gold, pepper and Jambi forest products themselves. Along with the transfer of power to the Dutch Colonials which introduced rubber and petroleum, Jambi City turned into a port of export for products from Jambi itself, especially rubber. As a result, the economy of Jambi City experienced a significant increase compared to previous times (Lindayanty, 2013, p.208). This situation certainly does not only have an impact on the welfare of the people of Jambi City, but also has implications for the swift flow of incoming migrants.

Even though they are from various ethnic groups or known as pluralistic societies, throughout history there has never been a horizontal conflict in Jambi City (Lindayanty, 2013, p.6). Theoretically, it is indeed Nasikun (2004) that said that plurality inherent in a nation or region has the potential to cause divisions or conflicts among the people in it. As mentioned earlier, the composition of the population of Jambi City based on ethnicity is quite diverse, although ethnic Malays have

become the majority group. Not only in terms of ethnicity, the diversity of aspects of religion is also inherent in Jambi City. In general, it can be said that as a capital as well as a miniature of the province, the population of Jambi City adheres to various religions, namely Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism, although Muslims have become the majority. Even though it is composed of diverse ethnicities and religions or is known as a pluralistic society, throughout its history there has never been a horizontal conflict in Jambi City. What happened in many pluralistic regions did not happen in Jambi City so that the lives of the people remained harmonious and peaceful until now. This condition is certainly coveted by all components of the public, starting from the government and the community itself. Peace and harmony are the main conditions for the development of a nation and region which will ultimately lead to the welfare of society. Conversely, the conflict will actually distance the community from prosperity because development programs will certainly be disrupted and unfocused.

Even so, small conflicts must be recognized as still occurring, especially related to the establishment of religious worship houses categorized as minorities in Jambi City. Based on information from informants, especially Datuk Azro'i, historically the chronology began with the presence of a group of Batak Christian religious leaders who came to the Penyengat Rendah area in the Telanaipura District of Jambi City with a mode of providing food to the community in 1980, in the context of the flood disaster assistance at that time. People who received food, all of whom were Muslim, signed a sheet as food recipients. Furthermore, without the knowledge of the community, the basic food recipient's signature sheet was misused by the Batak Christian Religious Leaders Group for the requirements of establishing a Christian meeting hall in the

area, both as a requirement and as proof of local community support. The meeting hall was eventually transformed into a church located only about 300 meters from the local community mosque building. Eventual conflict ensued. Local people reject the presence of the Church that stands in the residential area of the Muslim community. However, the conflict did not give rise to anarchism or other forms of violence against the minority of Church users. Wisely, religious and traditional leaders remind the community that Jambi City has traditional advice which contains an invitation to always maintain unity and togetherness. Even if there is a problem, it should be reported to relevant parties, such as the Jambi city government, the police and Diverse Community Communication Forum (FKUB). To this day, the Church building is still standing strong and is functioning well, none of the local people try to damage it. Conflicts between the followers of local religions, the majority of which are Jambi and the minority of immigrant Christian religions, did not occur without rioting and anarchist conflicts.

Specifically, this happened with the sealing of the Protestant Batak Christian Church (HKBP) Syalom Aurduri in Low Stingers, Jambi, in 1980 (As disclosed by Informants). The conflict case of the establishment of a second church in Jambi City occurred in the 1990s at Simpang Tanyo, Simpang Rimbo area, Natural Blasphemy Barajo. The incident began with the construction of a church by several Batak ethnic Christians on a plot of land in an area inhabited by a majority of Javanese, Sundanese, Bugis and Jambi Muslims, but most of the land in that location was owned by the Jambi people (across the city). The third conflict regarding the establishment of Christian places of worship in Jambi City took place in the West Ring Road area which was included in the Kotabaru region which took place since 1990. The incident began with the purchase of land owned by Malays in the region carried out by

a number of Batak people at a price that was quite expensive.

The continuing absence of religious conflicts related to the establishment of houses of worship in the city of Jambi has become a major dispute that takes its toll on the victims and deserves appreciation from all components of the community. This is because sociologically, Jambi City is a pluralistic region whose population consists of various religions (Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism) and tribes (Malay, Batak, Palembang, Javanese, Buddhist, Madurese, Chinese, Arabic, India). The plurality of a region is of course a potential for conflict, as is the case in many countries and regions with pluralistic societies.

One answer to the lack of continuation of religious conflicts against the background of the establishment of houses of worship in the city of Jambi found the answers to aspects of the wisdom of local culture that grew and developed in the community. According to Rahadiansyah & Prayitno (2011, p.59), wisdom of local culture are ideas that are born and developed in the local realm which contain wise, and good values that are followed by all members of the community (Rahadiansyah & Prayitno, 2011, p.59). As stated earlier, although Jambi City consists of various ethnicities, Malay is the largest ethnic group in the composition of the population of this region. As part of the ethnic Malays, the people of Jambi City also have local cultural wisdom originating from customs or traditions that apply in society (Lembaga Adat Provinsi Jambi, 2003, pp.18-21).

The wisdom of the local culture of Jambi City is in the form of *pantun* or *seloko* which are arranged so beautifully in the Jambi language like *Gurindam* in the Malay tradition generally which is spoken by almost the majority of the community. *Seloko Adat* is Jambi traditional literature that contains advice for safety and good life for the community (Lembaga Adat Provinsi Jambi, 2003, p.9). *Seloko Adat* is one

type of Jambi traditional literature, in addition to *Petatah Petitih* and *Pantun Adat* that were developed in the traditions of the community. The existence of *Seloko Adat* is an integral part of the literary system that exists in the archipelago known as human artistic creativity. In practice, literature consists of essays, poems, saga, and drama that generally flourish in the cultural traditions of the Indonesian people. Despite being part of the archipelago literature, Jambi Malay literature does not yet exist which is part of various types of Indonesian literature (Lembaga Adat Provinsi Jambi, 2003, p.5). As a type of literary work that is very old, the source of *Seloko Adat* is very difficult to trace in books, except through an approach with the speakers directly who are traditional figures. Traditionally *Seloko Adat* was not written, it was memorized by traditional Jambi Malay leaders who of course were already old.

Seloko Adat which is used as a guide and Malay community guideline in the City of Jambi in carrying out its social life are as follows:

First part:

Earth is safe for rice to become
Gravel on the island are diamonds
Sand on the beach becomes gold
Green grass makes buffalo fat
The clear water of the fish is tame
Going to the fishing water gets fish
Pegi to land fruits become / durian collapses
Back to the food house out / chant childbirth
Go to the mosque, the mosque is full
Enter the pray room, the pray room is tight
Where to meet friendly people smile.

The second part:

Where the earth is standing there,
the heavens are upheld
Where the branches are broken there
water is lifted
Where the pan was broken there on
the date of the pottery
Where hoes are traced there plants

grow
Where we live there can get a lot of
money
We have to pay
Look far away, look close dipped
Keep banned by abstinence
In vain on earth God perished
In vain in the village people are
indebted

Seloko Jambi traditional Malay above is a guideline of the community in social life, as conveyed by the Jambi Malay Customary Figure (Datuk Hasip Kalamuddin, Jambi). This *Seloko Adat* guides people to understand the habits prevailing in the place where they live, so they can live their lives in harmony and preserve the relationship with nature. If this is done, the safety of social life will be achieved. Conversely, if this is not heeded, then there is a price that must be paid in the form of customary sanctions according to what he did.

In the first part, *Seloko Adat* reveals how people should behave, as conveyed by the Jambi Malay Customary Figure (Datuk Sulaiman Hasan, Jambi). Wherever they are, while their feet are still on the earth which means that as long as humans are still living in the world, then people must understand the rules or regulations that apply in the area where they live. If we are diligent in doing good, then we will get good from the good deeds that we do. Our actions always have consequences in the form of responsibilities that we must carry. So that our lives are always filled with goodness, we must carry out orders or recommendations and not take actions that are prohibited. If we do not heed the rules that apply, then of course we will reap the results of the negative actions that we do.

In the second part, *Seloko Adat* reveals the consequences or impacts arising from the good deeds that we do. Like, in the first stanza it means that if people's lives are not filled with destructive conflicts that are shown in safe conditions, then the necessities of life can easily

be met. Then, when the atmosphere is safe and peaceful without conflict, something that is impossible or very difficult to do will easily be obtained or done. In fact, a peaceful atmosphere will allow us to do a variety of good activities for the sake of our lives which are represented by gravel and sand which can mean a lot if we use them properly like precious stones (gold and diamonds).

This is *Seloko Adat* which is the reason did not develop and grow related to the establishment of three Christian houses of worship (church) in Jambi City as described above. The theoretical and practical reasons that have been proven for the community to be able to avoid the possibility of horizontal conflicts in plural areas such as Jambi City, as conveyed by the Jambi Malay Customary Figure (Datuk Hasip Kalamuddin and Datuk Sulaiman Hasan, Jambi).

Based on research conducted, it is known that the lives of people in Jambi City as a pluralistic region, especially religious and ethnic plurality, are going well. This is marked by the absence of conflict, the intensity is not as strong as in general in other pluralistic areas, which can disrupt the social life of the people. Next, although in the three regions (Aur Duri, Simpang Rimbo and Kotabaru) there had been turmoil related to the construction of houses of worship (churches), but this did not last long or cause prolonged conflict. This is because the community is aware that when their aspirations regarding the construction of the church have been appreciated by the authorities, there is no need to continue the turmoil, let alone to cause greater conflict. Finally, adat advice in the form of *Seloko Adatis* felt by people as one aspect that shields them from possible conflicts. In addition, the wisdom of the local culture of Jambi is also a guideline for the community in carrying out social life in a pluralistic area such as Jambi City. *Seloko Adat* contains advice on living life together, harmony, obedience to rules and responsibility. If the rules or

conditions are implemented, then we will get a variety of positive benefits. Conversely, if not, then we will get sanctions and get a variety of implications or other negative excesses. This is according to the interview excerpt from the Jambi Malay Customary Figure (Datuk Hasip Kalamuddin, Jambi) as follows:

As Malays, we have culture and tradition in the form of *Seloko Adat* which is a guide in living life, especially in the city of Jambi. *Seloko Adat* is intended so that we do not misstep and so that no offense will arise which will result in a dispute. Especially in the city of Jambi which consists of many people with diverse backgrounds which can very easily cause conflict. As *Seloko Adat* is infused by everyone, God willing, there will not be a big conflict in the community.

A similar statement was raised in the interview excerpts with other Jambi Malay Customary Figures (Datuk Hasip Kalamuddin and Datuk Sulaiman Hasan, Jambi) as follows:

The city of Jambi has always been inhabited by many people with various ethnicities and religions. If you look at other regions, conditions like the City of Jambi are likely to risk conflict because of course each wants to show their existence. However, religious conflict in the city of Jambi can be said to be non-existent. As a majority group, Malays here have a culture that governs how to act in society. That is what is called *Seloko Adat* which, although not written, is memorized and lived by the people here. This is one of the reasons why social relations in the Jambi City to date between followers of religions are relatively safe and without significant turmoil. Hopefully, in the future this condition will be maintained by way of living up to *Seloko Adat* which originates from our culture so that the condition of Jambi City will always be conducive and development can be enjoyed well by the community.

Internalizing mechanism of Jambi local culture as an prevention of conflict

As a pluralistic area, Jambi City faces the threat of social conflict as conceptualized by many experts (Oetojo, 2010). This condition is of course not wanted by all the people of Jambi City who are building community and promoting development. As a pluralistic area, there is no denying the existence of religious nuances that have occurred in Jambi City. Historically, there have been three incidents of religious conflicts related to the establishment of Christian places of worship in Jambi City, namely Telanaipura, Simpang Rimbo and Kota Baru.

However, these three conflicts did not lead to major conflicts, and did not claim lives. This phenomenon poses the question, why are the people of Jambi City not easily provoked to take anarchic actions? Even though Jambi City is a pluralistic region and very vulnerable to conflict, as is the case in many other areas which are also of similar size and diversity. Especially if attention to the results of the study of Suaedy (2007, p. 247) which states that the history of religious conflict in Indonesia records places of worship that have always been a source of conflict which often leads to destruction and burning.

Using the Coser's concept, *Safety-Valve*, examining what happens in Jambi as a pluralistic city will help us find the answer. *Safety-Valve* is a solution that can anticipate social conflict in a pluralistic society such as Jambi City. The Safety-Valve can be a representative body that provides a means to express complaints and problems faced by its members. This mechanism can also be in the form of a lecturer welfare committee which is the mouthpiece of the lecturers voicing the problems they face. In essence, the safety valve functions as a regulator of the possibility of conflict and indirectly impedes the development of conflicting groups that can lead to change through conflict (Coser, 1956, p.109).

In the context of Jambi City, the non-introduction of community anarchist actions is closely related to the functioning of safety-valve, in the form of Jambi Malay *Seloko Adat*. One of the wisdom of Jambi's local culture contains advice and guidance that can be used as a guide for the community in living social life (Lembaga Adat Provinsi Jambi, 2003, pp.18-21). If the provisions are obeyed, the social life of the community will be safe and harmonious, but if it is the opposite, there will be conflict.

The function of *Seloko Adat* in inhibiting the occurrence of anarchist conflict certainly does not just happen automatically. The effectiveness of one form of safety-valve is through a long process and is carried out in various ways. Therefore, public anarchism which is interpreted as destructive action by destroying the social and physical order does not occur in Jambi City which is predicated as a heterogeneous region. The functioning of one of Jambi's local wisdoms is closely related to its existence which has undergone a process of internalization in the community. Internalization is understood by Sofanudin (2015, p.154) as a process or a way to instill normative values that determine desirable behavior for an educating system. Meanwhile, internalization is also interpreted by Anggraini (2016, p.93) as an appreciation of a doctrine, or value so as to foster confidence and awareness of the truth manifested in attitudes and behavior.

As a local wisdom that is very valuable for people's lives, *Seloko Adat* needs internalization so that anarchism does not arise in Jambi City. In this context, the internalization of *Seloko Adat* was carried out in three ways, namely: family, education and the environment. These are the three mechanisms which are the reasons behind the success of *Seloko Adat* to be safety-valve for the possibility of conflict in a pluralistic society inherent in Jambi City.

Internalization through the family is done by introducing and teaching *Seloko Adat*

to children, both directly and by practicing it. Parents familiarize their children with Jambi Malay culture, one of which is the *Seloko Adat*. To the children, it was stated that as Jambi people, we have customary guidelines that govern our behavior in the form of *Seloko Adat*. This method is carried out so that children as the next generation can get to know *Seloko Adat* earlier than their parents.

The other way to internalize *Seloko Adat* is through education. As the party entrusted with the task of managing the region and the community, The Government of Jambi City deeply understands the existence and important functions of *Seloko Adat*. Therefore, The Government of Jambi City has issued the Jambi City Regional Regulation Number 4 of 2014 concerning Lembaga Adat Melayu Tanah Pilih Pusako Betuah Kota (*Malay Customary Institutions for Select Land and Sorcerer Heritage*). One of the functions of this institution based on the regional regulation is to encourage efforts so that cultural values in the land of indigenous peoples of Jambi City can be carried out in daily life and keep it as local content in elementary schools, junior high school, high school / vocational school and university.

Related to this, the Jambi City Education Office has compiled a curriculum of local content related to Jambi culture. Material for the Study of Local Content Culture of the City of Jambi is adapted to the level of development of students which includes the development of students' knowledge, ways of thinking, emotional, and social. The implementation of learning activities is arranged so as not to burden students and does not interfere with mastery of the national curriculum. Therefore, in implementing this regional culture, homework is avoided. In addition, given the time constraints and adjusting to the age and ability of students, the scope of the subjects Local Content Regional Culture for the level of Elementary School includes cultural aspects as follows:

- 1) Customs and Customary Laws of Jambi City
- 2) Customary Literature of Jambi City
- 3) Customary Ceremony Inauguration Ceremony Granting Title of Jambi City
- 4) Cultural Arts, Cultural Apparel, and People's Games of Jambi City
- 5) Typical Food of Jambi City
- 6) Arabic script Malay of Jambi City

The third way of trying to internalize of *Seloko Adat* into the community is through community meetings. As a region inhabited by a majority of Malay residents who are Muslim, community meetings are mostly held in religious contexts, such as commemorating Islamic holidays, weddings, donations, and weekly and biweekly visits. In these meetings, community leaders always get the opportunity to give a speech. The opportunity to deliver a speech is always used by community leaders to remind residents to keep maintaining harmony. As a Malay, in his speech, community leaders always include *Seloko Adat* related to the necessity of the community to maintain togetherness and harmony of social life (Lembaga Adat Provinsi Jambi, 2003, pp.18-21).

The same thing was done by public officials of Jambi City, such as the Mayor, Deputy Mayor, Legislator and sub-district leader. When in community meetings, such as government program socialization and national and religious holidays, Jambi City public officials always slip rhymes and *Seloko Adat* in their speeches and remarks. In essence, this Jambi City public official always asks the community to maintain harmonious social relations, as desired in the *Seloko Adat* which is the wisdom of this local culture.

These are the three mechanisms of internalization for *Seloko Adat* so that it functions as a safety-valve as Coser said as conflict prevention. Through these three ways of internalization of *Seloko Adat*, we can neutralize the possibility of a large conflict,

especially related to the establishment of places of worship. Along with the dynamics of social life and the increasing flow of globalization that is increasingly fast, the mechanism of internalization must continue to be maintained. In fact, internal innovations must be carried out further so that the potential conflict inherent in Jambi City as a pluralist area can be avoided. In this way, the development agendas can be carried out properly without major social conflicts that can hinder them.

The problem is how does *Seloko Adat* form the character of the community so that it functions as a 'safety-valve' for social conflict in Jambi City? *Seloko Adat* which was internalized formed the three main characteristics of the people of Jambi City, namely *nurut kato nan tuo dan tuo tengganai* (submissive attitude), *barajo ka rajo* (obedience to rules/law), and *pe-Ngalah* (inclusiveness). The three characteristics of the people of Jambi City are very important, especially if they are related to the potential for conflicts that will arise in this pluralistic or heterogeneous area (Lembaga Adat Provinsi Jambi, 2003, p.22).

The first characteristic (submissive attitude), regulates everyone to obey the words/ commands that come from his father and mother if they are not married. This is because both parents have raised and educated their children, so they should be obeyed. There are no parents who want their children wretched or unhappy in their lives, therefore obeying their commands becomes something that is inevitable. The next character trait (obeying the rules/law) means that every leader is a king and all the rules must be obeyed. Unlike the first characteristic which is closely related to the family environment, this second character trait correlates with the social world of a community member. This character trait can be said to be a continuation of the obedient character trait that has been explained previously. After people are accustomed to obeying the commands of their parents, then this condition will spread to the social character of human typology

related to the environment, namely barajo ka rajo (obeying rules/laws). Rules are made, of course, to help maintain social harmony, so that community members must obey them. The next character trait as an outcome of the internalization process of the *Seloko Adat* is the formation of the Jambi community who is *pe-Ngalah* (inclusiveness). This attitude means that the people of Jambi prefer to succumb in certain matters related to the concept; '*bumi aman padi menjadi*' (earth is safe for rice to become). For example, they believe in prioritizing security and peace over individual centric egos and groups. This attitude also often manifests in the form of a tolerant attitude which is marked by its open existence.

These are some of the underlying reasons why Jambi City has been able to avoid religious conflicts related to the construction of places of worship. *Seloko Adat* internalize and shape the positive character of the community into a key factor that makes it a safety-valve as mentioned by Coser.

Conclusion

Religious conflicts, especially related to houses of worship, are a scourge that continues to haunt pluralistic areas, with the exception of Jambi City. Therefore, finding factors of social conflict that can prevent it becomes something that must be done. *Seloko Adat* is an effective means of preventing religious conflicts in Jambi City. The functioning of *Seloko Adat* in tackling religious conflicts has been effective through a long process of internalization in society through family, education, and social environment and has formed obedient characters traits that means community members, obey the rules, and focus on being inclusive. *Seloko Adat* increasingly adds to the list of local cultural wisdom that has proven capable of reducing conflict in Indonesia. Other forms of Coser's Safety-Valve concept must continue to be revitalized so that religious conflicts can be properly addressed.

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