

SOCIAL CONFLICT SETTLEMENT THROUGH REGULATION OF *SURAT TUMBAGA HOLING* IN BATAK ANGKOLA SOCIETY^Ω

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Abstract

The main purpose of this research is to find the law setting model in preventing the social conflict through the regulation of Surat Tumbaga Holing in Batak Angkola society. While the problem in this research is how the preventing model and settlement procedure of social conflict through regulation of Surat Tumbaga Holing. This research is using the empirical juridical research method. The research shows that the model of preventing social conflict based on regulation of Surat Tumbaga Holing are settled by using: Sipaingot, Pastak-Pastak ni Paradaton, Uhum dohot Patik, Hapantunon, Tutar dohot Poda, Marga, Dalihan na Tolu, Martahi, Mangupa. This model used by Batak society in order to solve the social conflict, so the potential of conflict that exist can be muted.

Keywords: prevention, settlement, social conflict, surat Tumbaga Holing, Batak Custom of Angkola

Abstrak

Tujuan utama dari penelitian ini adalah menemukan model pengaturan hukum dalam pencegahan konflik sosial melalui pranata *Surat Tumbaga Holing* pada masyarakat Batak Angkola. Sedangkan permasalahan dalam penelitian ini adalah bagaimana model pencegahan dan prosedur penyelesaian konflik sosial melalui pranata *Surat Tumbaga Holing*. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian yuridis empiris. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Model pencegahan konflik sosial menurut pranata *Surat Tumbaga Holing* dilakukan dengan menggunakan: *Sipaingot, Pastak-pastak ni Paradaton, Uhum dohot Patik, Hapantunon, Tutar dohot Poda, Marga, Dalihan na Tolu, Martahi, Mangupa*. Model ini dipergunakan oleh masyarakat Batak dalam menyelesaikan konflik sosial, sehingga potensi konflik yang ada dapat diredam.

Kata kunci: pencegahan, penyelesaian, konflik sosial, pranata surat Tumbaga Holing, masyarakat Batak Angkola

Introduction

It cannot be denied that in Indonesia there have been many social conflicts involving the society group and other society groups such as: the conflict between society, the civil war in Ambon (1998), Poso (starting in 1998), North Maluku (2000) and others. The majority of the problems arise, because the stems on less firm, fair and beneficial material legal regulation on the prevention and handling of social conflict are felt by the society during this time. It can not be denied that the society lives in North Su-

matra often face the trials and challenges, such as the explosion of bombs in places of worship. Not only that, the dispute between youth of different religions and tribes also occur in various places.

Most of these events, can be overcome and prevent by society through the institution of *Surat Tumbaga Holing*, so it does not lead to a prolonged conflict, nor to lead to new conflicts in society. Because in the concept of intuition *Surat Tumbaga Holing*, all member of society, there must be a familial relationship between one of the three elements of family embodied in intuition of *Surat Tumbaga Holing* namely: *Mora* (all the families who came from the in-laws), *Kahanggi* (all the descendants of

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the family or relatives of the paternal relationship), and *Anak boru* (all the family of the law). According to the institution of *Surat Tumbaga Holing* that *Mora* will dote on, take heart and encouraging *Anak Boru*. Otherwise, *Anak Boru* will respect, obey and uphold the dignity of their *Mora*. While the *Kahanggi* kept their heart so do not be offended. Therefore, if there are mistakes from *Kahanggi* or *Anak Boru* to their *Mora*, usually *Mora* will quickly forgive them, because they play as a guardian and protector of their *Anak Boru* and *Kahanggi*.¹

The third elements of the family above synergize in maintaining peaceful conditions in their environment, absorbing the various actions which have the potential to trigger social conflict. In addition, they also have consultation system and procedures to prevent social conflict.

Indonesian nation is a great nation which has a cultural diversity. Every culture has its own wisdoms in addressing the problems faced life, including wisdom in solving the conflict.² Traditions and local wisdom that still exist and prevail in society, potentially to be able to encourage the desire to live in harmony and peace. It is because local tradition wisdom essentially teaches peace with each other, the environment, and the God.³

Problems

Based on the introduction above, this article will discuss about: *first*, How social conflict prevention models through of the institution of *Surat Tumbaga Holing* in Batak Custom of Angkola in North Sumatra? and *second*, How the Social Conflict Resolution Procedures that Multi Dimensional through institution of *Surat*

Tumbaga Holing in Batak Custom of Angkola in North Sumatra?

Research Method

The research method is empirical legal research, which is implemented or executed by members of the society.⁴ The problem examined concerns the real practices performed by Batak indigenous people through institution of *Surat Tumbaga Holing* in preventing social conflict.

The approach is using an anthropological approach (a science that studies the patterns of conflict and potential solutions in a simple society, and the people who are going through the process of growth and development) and socio-legal approach or juridical empirical approach, the approach to the reality of law society by studying the social phenomenon in society that the legal aspect is appear, considering the main problems are researched and studied in this research are: identification of customary law relating to the prevention of social conflicts carried out by Batak Custom of Angkola through the institution of *Surat Tumbaga Holing*, and the effectiveness of institution *Surat Tumbaga Holing* relating to the prevention of social conflicts carried out by Batak Custom of Angkola.

Discussion

Social Conflict Settlement According to the Institution of *Surat Tumbaga Holing* in Batak Angkola Society

Batak Angkola Society's way in preventing social conflict that does not happen in the middle of society is already regulated through institution of *Surat Tumbaga Holing* contained in the rules below: *first*, *Sipaingot*, meaning the advices of parents or *harajaon* and *hatobangan* parties that the emphasis is on giving warnings about: actions that can and can not do; words can and can not be spoken; and attitude that should and should not be allowed.

¹ Anwar Sadat Harahap, "Pengaturan Hukum Penyelesaian Sengketa Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Berbasis Dalihan na Tolu", *Kalam Keadilan*, Vol. 1 No.3 May 2013, Medan: Faculty of Law INIVA, page 96-99.

² Ilyas, "Kajian Penyelesaian Konflik antar Desa Berbasis Kearifan Lokal di Kabupaten Sigi, Sulawesi Tengah", *Jurnal Academica*, Vol. 06 No. 01 February 2014, Palu Sulawesi Tengah: Faculty of Sosial and Political Science Universitas Tadulako (Untad), page 1221.

³ Agus Sriyanto, "Penyelesaian Konflik Berbasis Budaya Lokal", *Ibda'-Jurnal Studi Islam dan Budaya*, Vol. 5, No. 2, July-December 2007, Purwokerto: P3M STAIN Purwokerto, page. 286-301.

⁴ Asri Wijayanti and Lilik Sofyan Achmad, 2011, *Strategi Penulisan Hukum*, Bandung: CV. Lubuk Agung, page. 97.

Tabel 1. *Sipaingot* usage in daily life of batak Angkola society

No.	<i>Sipaingot</i> usage in batak Angkola society	Total	%
1	Very often used	159	78.8
2	Often used	43	21.2
3	Rarely used	0	0
4	No longer used	0	0
Total		202	100

Source : Data primer of 2014

Second, *Pastak-pastak ni Paradaton*, meaning that the constrains are rules that should and should not be done in the middle of the community in a variety of areas of life. All rules that are restricting the behaviour of someone in the community is entered in the category *pastak-pastak ni paradaton*. such as: (1) "*Olat ni dapur do anak boru, angkon di tonga do mo-ra, tu jae tu julu do kahanggi*" means: the position and place for *Anak Boru* (daughter in law of the family) in the activities of *Siriaon* (an activity that is joy) as well as customary events that are *Siluluton* (customary activities that are grief) is at the kitchen, while the position of *Mora* (family of the law) in each of the activities of customs that are *siriaon* or shows that are *siluluton* is located in the living room or the main room, because they are *pangidoan poda* parties (the parties be consulted). *Kahanggai* (by blood) freely occupy the front, rear, outside the home; (2) "*Mora do si suan bulu*", it means: The *mora* parties who always planted bamboo trees in a village; and Three, "*Manyur-duon burangir do mula ni pokat dohot pasam-peon tona*", meaning: every start the implementation of deliberation and also conveyed an invitation in the implementation of the party, must be preceded by thrusting *burangir* (betel leaf) in advance before the *harajaon* parties (the royal family).

Third, *Uhum dohot Patik*. *Uhum* means legal and *Patik* means benchmarks or conditions. *Uhum* is a rule accompanied by sanctions, while *Patik* is a provision which is sometimes not accompanied by sanctions. In *Uhum* and *Patik* has been set on trending joints that guide the life of indigenous peoples in the act, saying, attitude, including in maintaining the security

and public order. Fourth, *Hapantunon*, means that the various rhyme or proverb of Batak society that led to the ban to hurt others, the ban on defama-tion, and the ban on hostile. Instead advocated to implement harmony and togetherness, cooperation, mutual help and other good deeds. *Hapantunon* lead to the ban to hurt others, the ban on defamation, the ban on hostile.

Fifth, *Tutur dohot Poda*. *Tutur*, means that the call to another person familiarity according to blood ties, suckler bond or the bond of marriage. While *Poda* means advice or advice that aims to steer to the right path and avoid a false path. Each *Tutur* contains the moral, ethical, and moral values were very high spritual, so by practicing the meaning of each *Tutur*, certainly can maintain harmony and closeness in society. So that the various seeds of conflict will be resolved, without causing new conflicts or protracted conflicts. All moral values, ethics and morals contained in *Tutur* is became the core values that have a function to strengthen the relationship of brotherhood and avoid dissension and hostility.

Sixth, *Marga*, means Batak Angkola society grouping which aims to regulate marriage, so that the generation can be improved. To avoid collateral marriages happen, they make society groups in *Marga*. The main purpose establishing *Marga* by our ancestors other than to knowing a person's lineage, also intended to avoid a marriage with a person in one *Marga*.

Seventh, *Dalihan na Tolu*. "*Dalihan*" means hearth for cooking, and "*Tolu*" means three. So there are three major groups within the Batak Custom of Angkola who working together, help each other, it's called: *mora* (all the families who came from parent in-laws), *Kahanggi* (all family or descendants that has blood relationship with father) and *Anak Boru* (all the family of the child in law). *Dalihan na Tolu* can be functioned to resolve social conflicts in Batak Angkola society. Because through this *Dalihan na Tolu* each person has a kinship with others who must fulfill their obligations and respect the rights of others.

Tabel 2. The type of *Tutur* in Batak society and the ethics contain.

Types of Family Relationship	Types of <i>Tutur</i>	Ethical, moral and character vertically from bottom to top	Ethical, moral and character vertically from top to bottom	Ethical, moral and character horizontally
Lineage Upwards	1. <i>Ompung</i> (Grandfather/Grandmother) 2. <i>Aya</i> (Father) 3. <i>Uma</i> (Mother) 4. <i>Amang Boru</i> (Wife's Father in law) 5. <i>Ambou</i> (Father's sister/Wife's mother in law) 6. <i>Tulang</i> (Mother's Brother/Husband's Father in law) 7. <i>Nantulang</i> (Husband's Mother in law/Mother's sister)	1. Respect; 2. Maintain the honor; 3. Loving; 4. Comply with the order; 5. happy; 6. Caring; 7. Helping; 8. Lifting the degrees	1. Loving; 2. Provide motivation, enthusiasm and support; 3. Encourage and support; 4. Respect for achievement and creativity; 5. Supervising; 6. Provide evaluation and constructive criticism; 7. Facilitating.	Honor and respect each other
Lineage Downwards	1. <i>Amang</i> (Son) 2. <i>Boru</i> (Daughter) 3. <i>Parumaen</i> (Daughter in law) 4. <i>Babere</i> (Son in law) 5. <i>Pahoppu</i> (Grandchildren)	1. Respect; 2. Maintain the honor; 3. Loving; 4. Comply with the order; 5. happy; 6. Caring; 7. Helping; 8. Lifting the degrees.	1. Loving; 2. Provide motivation, enthusiasm and support; 3. Encourage and support; 4. Respect for achievement and creativity; 5. Supervising; 6. Provide evaluation and constructive criticism; 7. Facilitating.	Honor and respect each other
Lineage Sideways	1. <i>Uak</i> (Father's older brother) 2. <i>Uda</i> (Father's younger brother) 3. <i>Nanguda</i> (Wife of Father's younger brother) 4. <i>Abang</i> (Older brother) 5. <i>Angkang</i> (Older brother)			1. Honor & respect; 2. Loving; 3. Help; 4. Support
Lineage by Marriage	1. Husband 2. Wife			1. Honor & respect; 2. Loving; 3. Help; 4. Support

Eighth, Martahi (discussions). *Martahi* (discussions) is a means is used in resolving the conflicts in society, including the implementation of customs, both *siriaon* or *siluluton*. There are four levels of *martahi*, namely: *Tahi Geleng-geleng* or *Tahi Ulu ni Tot* is a discussion between husband and wife in the household; *Tahi Sabagas* or *Tahi Keluarga* is discussion between the descendant or close relative following

his *Anak Boru* and *mora* as advisors led by which one the elders; *Tahi Sahuta* or compatriot is discussion among the descendants, *Anak Boru*, *Pisang Raut* (*Anak Boru* from *Anak Boru*), *mora* and *raja pamusuk* (the king who comes from a village); *Tahi Godang* was a discussion without the attendance of the three elements mentioned above plus the *torbing balok* kings (king

from other villages) or kings of the villages around, that led by a king.

Indeed, the type of social conflict among the people generally the same among the region

Table 3. Comparison data using the institution of *Surat Tumbaga Holing* with the State Court for resolving social conflicts in society for *Batak Angkola society* in Kabupaten Tapanuli Selatan in 2012-2014.

No	Types of Social Conflict	Resolving Dispute Place					
		2012		2013		2014	
		Institution of <i>Surat Tumbaga Holing</i>	SC /RC	Institution of <i>Surat Tumbaga Holing</i>	SC /RC	Institution of <i>Surat Tumbaga Holing</i>	SC /RC
1	Conflict about Marriage						
	a. Divorce	4	3	2	1	5	2
	b. Kawin Sumbang	-	-	2	-	4	-
	c. Kawin Sopar	3	-	1	-	5	-
	d. Kawin Mangalakakai	7	-	4	-	2	-
	e. Kawin na Ditinggalkon	3	-	2	-	-	-
	f. Kawin yang ditarik Paksa	1	-	3	-	2	-
	g. Kawin Marlojong	6	-	3	-	9	-
	h. Kawin Mangirit	-	-	1	-	-	-
	i. Kawin Maninian	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	Communal Land (<i>Tanah Ulayat</i>) Conflict						
	a. Lawlessness Communal Land (<i>Tanah Ulayat</i>)	4	-	2	-	-	-
	b. Selling Comunal Land (<i>Tanah Ulayat</i>)	3	-	1	-	-	-
	c. Communal Land (<i>Tanah Ulayat</i>) Tenure In Unilateral	1	2	2	3	1	-
3	Insult						
	a. Insult To The <i>Marga</i> /descent status	4	1	3	2	4	1
	b. Insult To The Religion	5	2	3	4	7	5
	c. Insult To The tribes/ethnic groups	3	3	5	-	-	1
4	Killing						
	a. Killing of members village/ group/ tribe	-	3	1	5	4	2
	b. Killing the head of village/ group/ tribe	1	1	-	-	-	-
5	Persecution						
	a. Killing of village/ group/ tribe members	1	2	-	1	-	-
	b. Killing the head of village/ group/ tribe	-	-	1	-	-	-
6	Theft	3	6	4	11	2	3
7	Rape/ sexual abuse	2	3	-	-	-	-
8	Scuffle	-	2	2	1	-	-
9	Gambling	2	1	4	-	1	2
10	Tope	4	-	2	1	2	-

Source: Customary Institutions and Some of the District Court in North Sumatra 2012 -2014

While the strategy that used by batak Angkola society to prevent social conflicts are as exposure to the following table 5.

Yurika Dibba Destari Deiredja argues the customary communities are prefer to resolving disputes through discussion in order to achieve

to other regions, only the name and the completion is using different models.

peace in the society. The use of discussion does not mean to deny the dispute resolution process through the traditional justice.⁵

⁵ Yurika Dibba Destari Deiredja, Rizky Gelar Pangestu, Hassanain Haykal Haykal, "Pengembangan Metode Alternatif Penyelesaian Sengketa Bisnis Berdasarkan

Table 5. The strategy of traditional leaders to prevent the social conflicts of batak Angkola society in South Tapanuli district

No	Respondents answer	Amount	(%)
1	Assigned tasks to the entire community in maintaining security and order	58	28.7
2	Involve all groups of society in every implementation of <i>siriaon</i> and <i>siluluton</i>	70	34.6
	Practice the philosophy <i>somba mar mora, elek mar anak boru, manat-manat mar kahanggi</i>	65	32.1
	Involving youth in each of customary activities that are <i>siriaon</i> and <i>siluluton</i>	3	1.4
	Taught the children to look at and pay attention to all customary activities in the community	4	1.9
3	Always provide advice on maintaining the unity and integrity in every custom implementation	2	0.9
Amount		202	100

Source: Primary Data 2015

According to Wasisto Raharjo Jati, there are five vital role of local wisdom as a medium of religious conflict resolution, namely: **First**, local wisdom as a marker of identity of a community; **Second**, local wisdom itself provides the cohesive aspects such as adhesive element on interfaith, cross-citizens, and trust; **Third**, local wisdom as part of alternative conflict resolution was more towards invites all parties to negotiate with utilizing emotional closeness and cultural; **Fourth**, Local wisdom has a function to promote awakening of togetherness; **Fifth**, local wisdom will change mindsets and mutual relations of individuals and groups, with the laying on of culture which is owned.⁶

Social Conflict Resolution Procedures which multidimensional in Batak Indigenous Peoples

Multicultural is potentially causing conflicts that could threaten the national integration, because it creates conflict among ethnic, inter-religious, inter-racial and inter-group that is highly sensitive and vulnerable to a state which lead to disintegration of the nation. This phenomenon may occur, if the conflict is not controlled and resolved wisely.⁷

In the event of conflict in Batak society then the way to resolve it is done by using the following procedure:⁸

First, Reception reporting, either: There is a report from the public of the existence of social conflicts; There is a report from the parties; or There is a report from family representatives of both parties. **Second**, the *Hatobangon*, *harajaon* and community representatives of *Dalihan na Tolu* called the parents of both parties in conflict. **Third**, the calling of the parties who are experiencing social conflicts separately to ask information about: The source causing the conflict; Provide advice in order to resolve the conflict; Provide an alternative to be taken; and/ or provide a spiritual advice. **Fourth**, the calling of the parties at the same time with a view: Listening to the statements of the parties; Listening to the statements of the parents of both parties; Listening to testimony from the parties who has followed the conflict; Mediate between the parties; and provide a grace period to think. **Fifth**, Do discussion in the House of Batak Angkola after a grace period of 2 weeks from the calling of dispute parties. **Sixth**, Giving the final verdict. There are five alternatives verdict issued, namely: peace, fines/ restitution, *sappal dila* (invite the whole villagers to slaughter a goat or a cow / calf with the intention to apologize to the whole of invitation), expelled from village, or *dibondarkon*

Kearifan Lokal Melalui Jalur Mediasi", *Zenit*, Vol. 2, No. 2, August 2013, Bandung: Universitas Islam Bandung, page 142.

⁶ Wasisto Raharjo Jati, "Kearifan Lokal Sebagai Resolusi Konflik Keagamaan", *Jurnal Walisongo*, Vol. 21, No. 2, November 2013, Semarang: LP2M Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Walisongo, page 397.

⁷ Ohni Najwan, "Konflik antar Budaya, Konflik antar Etnis, Alternatif Penyelesaiannya", *Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, Vol. 16, Special Edition, October 2014, Jambi, Faculty of Law Universitas Jambi, page. 195.

⁸ Anwar Sadat Harahap, 2003, *Model Penyelesaian Sengketa Umat Beragama Berbasis Adat Dalihan na Tolu*, Laporan Penelitian Strategis Nasional, DIKTI DP2M, page 148.

(not involved in every cultural activities, both *siriaon* or *siluluton*).

There are some cases of social conflicts resolved in the middle of Batak society as a description in the following table.

Table 6. Types of Conflicts in Batak Angkola Society and Types of Sanctions in 2013

No	Type of Dispute	Sanction Form						
		Apolo- gize	Fine	<i>Sappal Dila</i>	<i>Dibon- darkon</i>	Withdrawn land <i>Salipi Natartar</i>	Expelled from village	Expelled from <i>Marga</i>
1	Conflict About Marriage							
2	Conflict About Communal Land(<i>Tanah Ulayat</i>)	-	x	-	-	-	-	-
	Communal Land(<i>Tanah Ulayat</i>) Tenure In Unilateral	x	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	Insult							
	Insult to The Religion	-	-	x	-	-	-	-
4	Killing		-	-	-	-	-	-
	Killing the head of village /group/tribe	-	-	x	-	-	-	-

All the dispute settlement procedure that has been described above is a procedure that is considered to bring fairness, certainty and benefits to indigenous peoples. More details can be seen in the following table.

Table 7. Respondents answer about society perception to social conflict resolution from the result of discussion organized by the Batak Custom of Angkola.

No.	Respondents answer	Amount	(%)
1	Very acceptable	179	88.7
2	Ordinary	23	11.3
3	Less acceptable	0	0
4	No acceptable	0	0
Amount		202	100

Source: Primary Data 2015

The provisions of Article 41 Paragraph (1) Law No. 7 Year 2012 concerning The Handling of Social Conflicts mentions that the settlement conflict by the Government and Local Government with giving priority to the Traditional Institution and/or the Social Institution existing and recognized. In paragraph (2) stated that the Government and the Local Government recognize the results of settlement conflict through the mechanism of Traditional Institution and / or the Social Institution. Then Paragraph (3) states that the agreement through the mechanism settlement conflict Traditional Institution and/ or the Social Institution as referred to in Paragraph (1) has binding force for community

groups involved in the conflict. Article 1 Paragraph (15) of Law No. 7 of 2012 states that traditional institution is an institution that was born from respected traditional values, recognized and adhered by the people, then the provisions of Article 2 point "J" explained that the handling of the conflict reflect the principle of local wisdom (conflict management should pay attention to the values of life and well respected in the community). Then in Article 9 point "g" is mentioned that the government and local government is obliged to reduce the potential conflicts in society by preserving the values of Pancasila and local wisdom.

Johni Najwan mention that an alternative way to resolve the conflict between cultural and inter-ethnic conflict in Indonesia is needed a deeper understanding of the function and role of law in society which multi-cultural and multi-ethnic. Dedi Kurniawan and Abdul Syani mention that the settlement of the conflict can be done in a way realigning the disputes that occur. Good communication is the most important way to be done to make the existing conflicts can be solved and worked out well.⁹

⁹ Dedi Kurniawan and Abdul Syani, "Faktor Penyebab, Dampak dan Strategi Penyelesaian Konflik Antar Warga di Kecamatan Way Panji Kabupaten Lampung Selatan", *Jurnal Sosiologi*, Vol. 15 No. 1, March 2013, Lampung: Faculty of Social and Political Science Universitas Lampung, page 7.

Abraham Nurcahyo mention that the model approach to culture is more about social activities which cultural oriented involving both sides of the conflict. Implementation of conflict transformation models using socio-cultural approach can be done through important events like celebration of Independence Day, 'sumpah pemuda' or 'hari pahlawan'.¹⁰ In addition, according to Agus Riyanto there are some terms in the settlement of the conflict, namely conflict prevention, settlement conflict, conflict management, conflict resolution, conflict transformation.¹¹

Conclusion

Mutli Dimensional Social Conflict Resolution according the institution of *Surat Tumbaga Holing* can be reached by: *Sipaingot*, *Pastak-ni pastak Paradaton*, *Uhum dohot Patik*, *Hapan-tunon*, *Tutur dohot Poda*, *Marga*, *Dalihan na Tolu*, *Martahi*, and *Mangupa*. All these models are used by Batak society in resolving social conflicts which multi-dimensional, so the potential for conflict is muted and if there had been conflicts can be resolved properly and wisely;

The settlement way is using the following procedure: Acceptance of reporting, the *Hatobangon*, *harajaon* and *Dalihan na Tolu* community representatives call the parents of both parties, calling the parties separately for ask some information, calling the parties together, conducted discussion at House of Batak Society after a grace period of two weeks, giving the final decision.

Suggestion

Government, law enforcement officers and the public must work together and coope-

rate in the prevention of social conflicts by utilizing customary/ traditional law, because the material is observed, practiced and respected. In addition, preferably the settlement of the social conflict must still make use traditional institution, customary/ traditional law or local wisdom, by not ignoring the legislation that applies, so that the conflict can be solved well, wise and prudent.

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¹⁰ Abraham Nurcahyo, Soebijantoro, Yudi Hartono, "Model Rekonsiliasi Kultural untuk Mengatasi Konflik Sosial antar Perguruan Silat di Madiun", *Jurnal Studi Sosial*, Vol 6, No. 2 November 2014, Lampung: Faculty of Teacher Education Universitas Lampung, page 71.

¹¹ Agus Sriyanto, "Penyelesaian Konflik Berbasis Budaya", *Jurnal Studi Islam dan Budaya Ilda*, Vol. 5 No. 2, July-December 2007, Purwokerto: P3M STAIN Purwokerto, page 291.

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