Review

Teong Negeri: folklore centrality of community local name of Muslim–Christian socio-cultural networks in Maluku, Indonesia

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This article aims to analysis about *Teong Negeri* has folklore centrality of community local name of muslim-christian sosio-cultural networks in Maluku. This study is a qualitative research. Data were collected through interviews, documentary studies and observation. Methods analysis employed was descriptive qualitative. In the folklore of the State Wassu of *Erihatu Samasuru* (Christian)*, it has *pela* of the State of Haya *Nakajarimau* (Muslim) which means leader (older brother) for his three brothers, the State of Hatu *Kolalesy* (Christian) and the State of Tehua *Lounusa Amalatu* (Muslim). Communal narratives bind and become a link to give spirit to identity because the society listen to local stories about *Teong Negeri* that have strong meanings, believing in each other. The four States in central Maluku, which are Wassu, Haya, Hatu and Tehua, use the *Teong Negeri* symbol as an identity to maintain relations of kinship bond. The network that was built was challenged when religious communal conflict happened, but the spirit towards the culture was always unheld.

Key words: Teong Negeri, Folklore, Community Local Name, Socio-Cultural Networks

INTRODUCTION

In the culture of Maluku, every State has a local name called *Teong Negeri*. *Teong Negeri* is a custom name/title given to a civilized State in Maluku. The name *Teong Negeri* is usually given based on the case incident when the State was first formed. This *Teong Negeri* uses regional languages/native language of the region, which are physically *taboo* stones and *baileo*, which become historic symbols and bind every community in their area to live and even connect people outside the region. However, the meaning of *Teong Negeri* along with the growth of modern age has been forgotten and many people do not know about the traditional name of their State.

For the four States, trust was built in the past so that the four States were bound in a strong network relation *(Pela Gandong)*. They have a unique way to protect it, which is by using their knowledge of the local name or *Teong Negeri* of Network *(Pela)* which looks sturdy and unshakeable when the communal (Muslim-Christian) conflict happened in Maluku. It cannot be separated from the knowledge of the community, especially the four States of *Pela Gandong (Wassu, Haya, Hatu* and *Tehua):* they use their knowledge on how important the meaning of *Teong Negeri* as a way to maintain brotherly relations *(Pela Gandong)* in the period before, during, and after the conflict.

Based on previous research at the Global level, there have been many studies on social networks, for example: Fukuyama explained that social networks are built based on the radius of trust of the people of China and Latin America. Robert Putnam emphasized that social networking strengthens democracy in democratic countries such as the United States. In the Chinese context, Richard Madsen explained that cultural-based social networking becomes a strength of Chinese society, even when it was controlled by a Communist Party that rejected democracy (Fukuyama, 2014; Putnam, 2000; Madsen, 2007). In Indonesia, research on social networking had been carried out by Najib Azca. According to Azca, the social network of Yogyakarta becomes a social force to build social relations of the community. Social networks had also become the strength of post-conflict of the Maluku community as examined by Izak Lattu in his writing, *"Culture and Christian-Muslim Dialogue in Moluccas-Indonesia".* (Mas'oed and Azca, 2001; Lattu, 2012: 45-52).

Based on previous research, it discusses socio-cultural networks, but have not seen how the community's knowledge (folklore) about *Teong Negeri* became the power of the community to maintain brotherly relations (socio-cultural systems) during conflicts and to build post-conflict communal reconciliation. The gap will be explored by the authors in this thesis research. Therefore, this paper aims to see *Teong Negeri* as a folklore centrality of the local name of the community in the Muslim-Christian cultural networks in Maluku.

METHODS

In this study, the type of research conducted was descriptive using qualitative research methods. Types and methods of qualitative analysis were used to obtain in-depth data based on the informants' understanding. The data collected would be described in words according to the statement of the informant and then would be analyzed scientifically with the words that underlie the behavior of the informants related to ways of thinking, feeling and acting (Creswell 2010). This research would be carried out in the Land of Wassu (Haruku Island), with their *Pela gandong,* the State of Haya, the State of Hatu and the State of Tehua (Seram Island). In this study, there were several data collection techniques that would be used, first, interviews which were data collection techniques that were conducted face to face with informants so that they could share information freely. The questions asked must be open and unstructured questions that could open the mind of the informants to give an opinion (Creswell, 2010: 267). Face to face interviews was conducted with the aim of obtaining data directly from the first hand (Usman and Akbar, 2008). The informants who would be interviewed

were *saniri* from the four States (leaders in the structure of the government of the State). Second, documentary studies which included photographs and those related to research results (Creswell, 2010: 270). Third, literature study. In this study, the authors would conduct a literature study to obtain a theoretical foundation through books, literature or notes related to the research conducted. The authors would analyze the data obtained from interviews and field notes systematically so that it would be easy for readers to understand. Thus, this article concluded that the symbol of *Teong Negeri* was so crucial for the Maluku society to maintain socio-cultural networks (Muslim-Christian relations) during and after the conflict.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Folklore in the expert's view

Some works of literature on Folklore include: William Thoms, Folklore is folk knowledge. Specifically, folklore is transmitted orally for example through language, hunting techniques, and marital rules as an attempt to provide insight for future generations. Several forms of folklore are manifested and communicated almost exclusively in written form as opposed to oral forms, such as poetry of verses book, marginalia books, epitaphs, and traditional letters (for example, chain letters). For folklorists, folklore is often transmitted directly from an individual to another through words or actions, but sometimes also indirectly transmitted. (Dundes, 1965).

According to William Bascom, folklore is a bridge between literate and non-literate communities. He sees folklore functioning as sanctions and validating religious, social, political and economic institutions, so that it can provide educational vehicles in transmitting knowledge from generation to generation. For Bascom, myths, legends, fairy tales, proverbs, riddles, ballad texts, other songs, folk art, folk dance, folk music, folk costumes, folk medicine, customs, beliefs are the most essensial parts of culture (Dundes 1965: 25).

Based on Sims and Stephens' point of view, folklore reaches groups of people who share personal relationships, values, traditions, beliefs and other forms of knowledge some of which define them as groups. Folklore is studied informally, not formal, about understanding of the world, ourselves, our community, our beliefs, our culture and our traditions, which is expressed creatively through words, music, customs, actions, behaviors, and materials. It is also an interactive, dynamic process for creating, communicating, and sharing that knowledge with others. Folklore is a body of traditional beliefs, customs, and expressions, which is passed on orally (Sims and Stephens, 2005).

According to James Danandjaja, as a folklore writer from Indonesia, he sees the word folklore has two roots, folk and lore. Folk means a compound word or collective, lore means folk tradition, which is a part of culture that has been passed down through generations orally. According to him, Indonesian folklore cannot be limited in a narrow space, the physical characteristics of Indonesian people are white skin, but in a variety, browns and blacks are also part of the Indonesian people (Danandjaja, 1994).

Social Network in the expert's view

Social networks are networks of social ties that surround a person. Analysis of social networks was developed in the field of Anthropology and Sociology in response to the observation that relationships maintained by people are not always explained by patterns of kinship or membership in certain groups or social classes. Barnes in the early 1950s found the concept of networking which is useful in describing the pattern of relationships in a small Norwegian fishing village that was not easily explained based on traditional kinship patterns or social classes. In fact, as societies become more advanced and modern and less closed and bound, the benefits of a network approach become clearer. This occurs because network analysis opens the field of examination for all types of potential ties rather than limiting by our more traditional expectations of the types of people who might shape one's social world. Social network analysis is a method in which the ties of people must be with each other and the characteristics of these ties are examined and then used as a means to explain the behavior of the people involved in it. This approach does not focus on the attributes of people in the network, but rather on social relationships of one person to another (Scott, 2002).

Some characteristics mentioned by most social network analysts are important things to measure. Wellman argues that the network is more than a "collection of two people in exchange" and that the structural form of the network influences the flow of resources through certain bond. Thus, it is important to measure the structural dimensions of the networks as follow: 1. Density and complexity: the extent to which individual network members know and interact with each other; 2. Size: the number of people in a network; 3. Symmetry or reciprocity: the extent to which support and obligations are the same among members; 4. Proximity or geographical distribution: the extent to which network members live near the people in focus; 5. Homogeneity of network members: the extent to which network members are similar, in terms of age, social class, religion; 6. Accessibility: the ease in which local people can contact other members' networks (Wellman, 2012).

According to Agusyanto, social networks are formed in society because basically people cannot relate to all people; relationships are always limited to certain people. Each person learns from his experience to choose and develop social relationships that are limited in number compared to the number of series of social relationships available, adapted to the needs that exist in the individual concerned, so that in an effort to improve living standards, they do not use all social relationships they have. The social network also exhibits similar behavior among the actors (Agusyanto, 2011: 1).

DISCUSSION

Folklore of *Teong Negeri* maintains an Islamic-Christian socio-cultural network in Maluku

The Maluku conflict is a violent conflict against a background of religious differences between Muslim and Christian groups. The conflict lost a huge number of victims, around 8-9 thousand people were killed. In addition, more than 29 thousand houses were burned, and 45 mosques, 47 churches, 719 shops, 38 government buildings, and 4 banks were destroyed (Santosa, 2017: 201). However, it had not been able to disrupt the stability of the social cohesion of the Maluku society, which was *Pela*. The same thing was experienced by one of the State in Haruku Island, Wassu, which had *Pela Gandong* originating from Seram Island, which were: State of Haya, State of Hatu and State of Tehua which had established a network since the days of their ancestors. According to history, the *pela gandong* relationship between the four States began with a captain from the State of Wassu *(Erihatu Samasuru).* Initially, the captain named Supele came from Seram Island, which had links to the three captains from the State of Haya, Hatu, and Tehua. Captain Supele at that time traveled to one of the mountains called Sembilan Mountain.

The mountain, according to the oral story, is a place where the kingdom has mystical power, and not everyone can go to the mountain. Captain Supele's journey to the mountain was to see a fire, according to the story of primitive Maluku society, they did not know what fire was (something red). As the youngest brother, Captain Supele offered himself to go to the mountain, when he got there he saw the fire (something red), but his arrival was known and he was caught. He ran while carrying the fire and threw himself into the water. While still swimming, he arrived at one of the places of the land of Wassu *(Erihatu Samasuru)* and as the king's command, he was made a captain (the title was commander) with the Timisela clan. In the *pela gandong* relationship, there were agreements between the four States of Wassu, Haya, Hatu and Tehua:

1.   The people of Wassu and the people of Haya,

Hatu and Tehua should not marry *(baku kawin)*.
2. The people of Wassu and the people of Haya, Hatu and Tehua should not fight *(baku musuh)*.
3. The people of Wassu and the people of Haya, Hatu and Tehua should help each other's *(bakujaga)*.

Here, it can be seen that the four States had a collective awareness of their culture, the three *pela gandong* from the State of Wassu itself has the meaning of their respective *Teong Negeri,* including: Sate of Haya *Nakajarimau* means leader (brother) for his three siblings, State of Hatu *Kolalesy* and State of Tehua *Lounusa Amalatu*. The *pela gandong* bond that happened in the past were always respected, guarded by the four States. Every region in Maluku that was bound in the network when the conflict took place did not experience conflict.

During the conflict in 2001-2002 on Seram Island, one of the Christian State, which was Hatu, was not attacked, because this State had both *pela* from Islamic State which were also in the same area, which was in Tehoru Sub-district. *Teong Negeri* became the central symbol of the four States to continue to maintain harmony even though the inter-religious communal conflicts took place in Maluku. All of this was because the Maluku society, especially the four Sates were still preserving folklore to the next generation. Thus, there was knowledge for young people to respect the culture that became their identity.

According to Castells, identity is a collection of social actors in which it forms a community as a form of resistance, so that there is a collective awareness to maintain identity (Castells, 2010). For the four States, *Teong Negeri* had the function to keep the promises of the ancestors so as to realize the harmony of religious diversity in Maluku. Especially for the people of the State of Wassu with the name *Teong Negeri* of *Erihatu Samasuru*, it is a symbol of liaison for the people who do diaspora, and who live in the village or State as well as to maintain relations with *pela gandong* of Haya, Hatu and Tehua. In traditional ceremonies, the names used are usually each name of the State with the *Teong Negeri* or which are called the local name that become the greatness of the State.

After the communal conflict in 1999-2002, in 2009 the four States—Wassu (Christian), Haya (Islam), Hatu (Christian) and Tehua (Islam)—tried to revitalize their identities by reviving primordial bonds in an effort to maintain a binding network which had tied them in the relationship of *Pela Gandong,* they shared it for the younger generation through oral stories. The local name *(Teong Negeri)* in Maluku was the identity of every State in Maluku. The name used native language or local language. This local name was often used in formal spaces when traditional rituals take place, for example the inauguration of the king, harvest of cloves in the

State of Haya, 100 years of gospel entry into the State of Hatu, construction of mosque buildings in the State of Haya, and construction of church buildings in the State of Wassu.

The local name of the State *(Teong)* was also then used in informal spaces, such as greetings in daily encounters. The authors see that Ellen (2007) considers the greetings used by the four States that had *Pela Gandong* relations, which were: Wassu, Haya, Hatu and Tehua were used by them as symbols to show their original identity. According to Eller, symbols are objects, images, sounds, actions, gestures, speech, and almost all other media that "mean" something, which "has meaning" (Eller, 2007). Especially in Maluku, after the religious conflict, the rise of greetings among Muslims and Christians gave a value of disintegration, for example: *salam* which means Muslims and *sarani* which means Christians.

For the four *Pela Gandong*, when meeting each other, greetings to the *Teong Negeri* became a symbol of each State. For example, if in daily rituals, one person of the Haya State meets another of Wassu State, and gives a *Nakajarimau* greetings, Wassu must answer with *Erihatu Samasuru.* It can be seen that *Teong Negeri* is a sacred symbol. Based on the explanation above, it can be seen that this local name is a symbol that can maintain the relations of several States that have a collective brotherhood rooted in the consciousness of each individual based on the narration transmitted from the ancestors to the youg generation.

This will arouse a sense of affection for the identity of Maluku society, so that there is an awareness of individuals who are aware of the shared responsibility of each person to look after each other. Everyone believes that every human being cannot stand alone, human beings are bound to one another, so that they are responsible for each other. This belief is often triggered by awareness of the suffering of others. This humanity value is followed by a commitment to take concrete action as a manifestation of love for others. The appreciation for the *Teong Negeri* symbol is not only for the people who live in the State, but also for the sense of creating a relationship to the identity of *Pela Gandong,* which is also owned by every *Erihatu Samasuru* society living outside the area. With their stories from the parents, even though they live far from the area, the spirit of respect for *Primordial* teachings is always respected.

The authors tried to see that the stories or folklore which were transmitted led the society to had imagined knowledge, so that it created a sense of love for *Pela* or brotherly bond based on symbols of *Teong Negeri* or local names in using the regional languages of each State of Wassu, Haya, Hatu and Tehua. In this framework, it can be seen that *Teong Negeri* not only maintained all communities that had kinship bond, but could be a symbol that was able to bind every

heterogeneous society (migrants) who lived in the local area.

In the State of Haya itself, there were migrants from Sulawesi, the Buton people who had settled in a group of 40 people. Even though they were migrants, they participated in family life together with the Haya society. In addition, they also appreciated the States that had *Pela Gandong* relations with the Haya State where they lived. The Haya people themselves viewed them as part of the State, therefore they needed to respect the culture in the State where they lived. This was seen when there was a fundraising activity carried out by the State of Wassu *(Erihatu Samasuru).* The Buton people also participated together as part of the State of Haya *(Nakajarimau)* community.

CONCLUSION

Teong Negeri is a symbol of identity for States in Maluku that use local languages. Each State is always known by their local names, so that they can maintain a network that is able to connect them with other regions in *pela* bond. In the folklore of the State Wassu of *Erihatu Samasuru,* it has *pela* of the State of Haya *Nakajarimau* which means leader (older brother) for his three brothers, the State of Hatu *Kolalesy* and the State of Tehua *Lounusa Amalatu.* Based on the understanding of each State, it shows that the four States are bound in *Pela* relations. Communal narratives bind and become a link to give spirit to identity because society listens to local stories about *Teong Negeri* that have strong meanings, believing in each other. The four States in central Maluku, which are Wassu, Haya, Hatu and Tehua, use the *Teong Negeri* symbol as an identity to maintain relations of kinship bond. The network that was built was challenged when

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