Socio-Religious Conflicts in the East Adonara Community of East Nusa Tenggara

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Abstract: On Adonara Island, customary land conflicts began with a rival war, or war between citizens, which occurred due to differences in customary rights over land. There was a conflict between the residents of Narasosina Village and the residents of Lewobunga Village. In this case, the residents of Lewonara Village refused the inauguration of a settlement location for the residents of Lewobunga Village on customary land that was considered to belong to Narasaosina Village. So, the war between the residents of Narasaosina Village and the residents of Lewobunga Village because the request letter to empty the flower casserole was not heeded. In the last twenty years, there have been ten villages that have been warned over customary land rights and there has been no serious settlement. The ten villages that were moaning and had not been resolved were: (1). Redontena Village vs Adobala Village, (2). Sandosi Village vs Sandosi Village (a war fought within the village, between tribes that fight over land), (3). Lamahala vs Huruhura(4). Teulu Old Village vs Kewo Keleng Village, (5). Narasosina Village vs Lewo Bunga Village. To resolve the conflict that occurred in Adonara, East Flores Regency, East Nusa Tenggara, efforts would be made to resolve the conflict. Conflict resolution could be done with conflict management, and conflict resolution was a peaceful method that allows both parties to end or significantly reduce the conflict. It might not be too difficult to handle or help handle conflicts that arise from conflicts of interest.

Keywords: Anthropology of religion; conflict resolution; customary land; indigenous cultures; rival war.

1. Introduction

The relationship between religion and customary land is deeply rooted in indigenous cultures. Land is not just a resource but a sacred place that holds spiritual significance. The involvement of religious leaders in resolving disputes and the need for state and religious laws to accommodate customary law are critical aspects of this relationship. Customary land is a significant factor in many local and tribal wars, particularly in regions where land ownership and use are deeply tied to cultural and social norms. In Papua New Guinea, tribal wars often break out over land disputes and non-customary dealings in customary land, including clan land (Trebilcock, 1983). These conflicts can be intense and result in significant loss of life and personal injury. For instance, a Regional Land Court Magistrate in the Highlands faced resistance from warriors when attempting to demarcate disputed land boundaries, highlighting the deep-seated nature of these conflicts (Trebilcock, 1983). In Africa, tribal conflicts are often driven by competition for resources, including land and water. The lack of ability to manage diversity and distribute scarce resources equitably contributes to these conflicts. For example, in Africa, conflicts between farmers and herders over arable land and water resources are common (Aremu, 2010). The political systems in Africa have struggled to manage social pluralism, leading to unresolved disputes over land and other resources. In pre-Columbian North America, indigenous societies also engaged in warfare over land and resources. The Iroquoian nations, for instance, practiced "mourning wars" where they would raid to capture prisoners to

replace family members who had died prematurely. These conflicts were often driven by internal social reasons and the desire to acquire prestige or status through martial skill and courage (Cobb & Steadman, 2011).

The recognition of customary land rights based on local values ensures that indigenous traditions are respected and protected. Customary land often contains sacred places such as traditional ritual sites, ancestral cemeteries, and schools. The construction of projects like the Lambo Reservoir in Indonesia, which threatens these sacred places, is seen as a human rights violation of religious freedom. Indigenous people view their land as essential to their religious practices and cultural heritage, making any expropriation of this land a significant issue. In regions like Mangggarai, Flores, Indonesia, customary law is often marginalized by state law and religious law. However, customary law still provides significant contributions to the process, legality, and integrity of marriage and land ownership. There is a need for state and religious laws to accommodate customary law, ensuring that indigenous traditions are respected and recognized (Lon & Widyawati, 2021).

Adonara is one of the regencies in East Nusa Tenggara where the area has many different kinds of customs. But the culture of the local community is relatively the same because it is still on the same island, and the eyes are also the same. Some became fishermen, traded, and some farmed. It depends on the condition of the residence. Residents living in hilly areas are relatively farming or trading. Meanwhile, those who live on the coast are relatively fishermen (Danver, 2015). Adonara is a community that believes in Rera Wulan Tanah Ekan, or a god who they believe is the giver of salvation in the world and later after they die. Adonara also has faith in the previous ancestors who were intermediaries for Rera Wulan Tana Ekan. The people of Adonara believe that everything that has been inherited by their ancestors must be guarded and cared for. When there are people who want or claim the territory they consider to belong, they will be defended even if their lives are at stake. This is a belief that is held to this day. Adonara has differences in social, tribal and customary status, which results in several conflicts in the Adonara area commonly called Lamaholot. Conflicts that often occur are in the form of conflicts between individuals, as well as community groups. However, the conflict can be handled by the security forces. A fairly big problem is a problem related to local customs.

The conflict that has the most problems and is the most difficult to resolve until now is the conflict that discusses the issue of customary land rights. Where one tribe thinks that the land managed by the other tribe is their land, so that there is a conflict between customs that extends to a war between the two sides, because the two tribes or villages think or claim each other that the land belongs to each indigenous tribe. This is what must be proven on the battlefield, which tribe wins the war, then the tribe is the one who really owns the land.

In the last twenty years, there have been ten villages that have waged war over customary land rights and there has been no serious settlement. The ten villages that are groaning and have not been resolved are: (1). Redon tena Village vs Adobala Village, (2). Sandosi Village vs Sandosi Village (a war carried out in the village, between tribes that fight for land), (3). Lamahala vs Huruhura(4). Teulu Old Village vs Kewo Keleng Village, (5). Narasosina Village vs Lewo Bunga Village.

On Adonara Island, customary land conflicts began with a rival war, or war between citizens, which occurred due to differences in customary rights over land. As the author wants to research, there is a conflict between the residents of Narasosina Village and the residents of Lewobunga Village. In this case, the residents of Lewonara Village refused the inauguration of a settlement location for the residents of Lewobunga Village on customary land that is considered to belong to Narasaosina Village. There was a war between the residents of Narasaosina Village and the residents of Lewobunga Village because the request letter to empty the flower grove was not heeded.

In a sparring war, there is a traditional understanding that believes that duels, or wars, are a means to prove the truth. This suggests that cultural values are related to stories about ritual duels, or ritual duels. A sense of self-awareness and justice is a cultural value that is practiced as the basis of humanity and beliefs held by ancestors.

War also has a unique thing. Where the war does not take place in a public place. However, the place and time of the war are decided. The war in Adonara, NTT only seized land and maintained the dignity

of women. They will set a time and place for war. Before going to the battlefield, people perform rituals that are considered to inherit war traditions. In the Adonara language, the ritual is called "bau lolon". This is a ritual that combines the power of Rera Wulan and Tanah Ekan (God) as the source of human power. All rituals that begin with the smell of lolon will be considered sacred. When one of the parties dies in significant numbers, the truth of this lolon smell ritual will be revealed (Muchembled, 2020).

To resolve the conflict that occurred in Adonara, East Flores Regency, efforts will be made to resolve the conflict. Conflict resolution can be done with conflict management and conflict resolution as a peaceful method that allows both parties to end or significantly reduce the conflict. It may not be too difficult to handle or help handle conflicts that arise from conflicts of interest. Overcoming disputes stemming from the basic human values of an unsatisfied group is much more difficult. This is why disputes can continue and become strong.

2.   Research Methods

The research conducted is qualitative. A qualitative approach is defined as a research method used to research objective conditions that are scientific, develop as they are, are not manipulated and the presence of this research is not influenced by the dynamics of the object (Mubaraq & Rossidy, 2021). The research approach is used because there is a compatibility between the problems discussed and the goals to be achieved. That is the background of the occurrence of conflict and harmony in the East Adonara community, East Nusa Tenggara. Conflict Resolution carried out by the government, religious communities, and customs. The research method used in this study is the ethnographic method. With this method, the researcher tries to enter the world of understanding of the subjects being studied, so that they can understand and understand how social conflicts and harmony in the indigenous people of Adonara. With this method, factual findings can be described in more detail, more clearly, and more accurately. Data is collected in the form of people's words, behaviors, and habits (Sugiyono, 2013).

3.   Results and Discussion

a.   Background of Conflict and Harmony in the East Adonara Community

From the results of research in the field, it was found that data related to the tradition of fighting wars to seize customary land rights in Adonara. The main causes of conflicts or rivalries that occur in Adonara are the problem of land, women, and also juvenile delinquency. But the main factor that often occurs to date and often occurs in the NTT region, especially Adonara, is land ownership rights or customary land rights. The conflict has reached the realm of destruction such as burning houses, even to murder. According to Lewis A. Coser (Walters, 2022), sSocial conflict is a dispute over values or demands regarding status, power, and resources of wealth for which there is a limited supply. The parties in dispute not only intend to obtain the desired resources, but also corner, harm or destroy their opponents.

According to Ahmad Betan, a community leader, a duel war is a war that has become the history and tradition of the island of Adonara where the war is to seek a truth. This opinion is corroborated by the traditional figure Lewo Bunga Alex who argues that the meaning of a duel is the same as the court of God. That God directs who is right and who is wrong through the victim who dies.

Adonara has different histories. In seeing a problem in life, it is not spared from the behavior carried out by previous ancestors. So that every tribe or community group of a village sees a problem through a story in a hereditary manner which is commonly called (koda knalan or koda klaken). This kind of thing results in conflicts due to historical differences that are inherited through hereditary stories so that we do not know which story is the most correct (Waluyo et al., 2022). This kind of event makes Adonara the most frequent island to fight to prove the truth. This war eventually became a deep-rooted tradition that occurs until now, where every conflict resolution is proven by the way of war.

There are several causes of conflicts that occurred between Narasaosina and Lewo Bunga, namely:
   a.   Mutual claims regarding customary land rights

b. There is no communication from the government to the two villages regarding the inauguration of the area that will be carried out in Riang Bunga.

c. Differences of interest

d. The emergence of third parties that cause conflicts that can be resolved legally is instead resolved using a fighting war that results in many casualties.

Adonara has a family-based cooperation system, namely cooperation based on love, helping, helping each other. This form of cooperation is often called cooperation.

Several things affect good group cooperation, including:

a. Mutual trust

Adonara has a very strong bond between every community. The system that was built in Adonara was that the community was led by tribal leaders in their respective villages. Trust in traditional leaders is very strong, so whatever is ordered by traditional leaders must be done with cooperation to fight the enemy on the battlefield.

b. Openness

The Adonara community has an openness to every community. When there is a problem, the community can inform the traditional leader about the problem they are experiencing. They believe that traditional leaders must have a solution for them to be able to overcome the problems they experience.

c. Self-realization

The Adoara community has been divided according to their respective niches such as the Ata Kebelen Group (the group of leaders), and the Ata Thousand Group (the group of ordinary people). These groups have received their respective tasks, and have been recognized for their existence in the village. This role already exists in them being born. When they are born from the elite class and ordinary people, they have to learn about what tasks they will do later.

d. Interdependence

The Adonara community is a society that depends on each other. For example, when having work or events that are carried out such as harvesting, death, and marriage parties, people need each other.

b. Conflict Resolution Carried out by the Government, Religious Communities, Customs and Resolutions

The conflict that occurred in East Adonara between Narasosina Village and Lewo Bunga Village has not yet found a way out. Although the conflict that occurred in 2012 occurred approximately 4 times and until now there has been no point of resolution of the problem. The war stopped not because of conflict management carried out by the local government, but because the community between the two villages was saturated because it only focused on the war being carried out.

The efforts to resolve the conflict that occurred are:

a. The Role of the Government in Resolving Conflicts

The role of the government when there has been arson and attack on Riang Bunga Hamlet is to use mediation carried out in waiwerang, especially in the sub-district office. The mediation carried out did not find a way out but instead made the conflict that occurred even bigger because the third party who was considered the provocateur in the mediation did not choose to stand up but preferred to fight

b. The Role of Religion

Heavenly religion has a very important role in preventing conflicts from occurring. One example is the village of Lamahala and the Village. which is also in Adonara. The Lamahala community is 100% Muslim, When there is a murder committed by the Lewotala village against the Lamahala community, they do not take revenge, or wage war to avenge the act and prefer to continue the problem to the legal realm. This is done because the Lamahala people believe that fellow human beings must help each other and forgive each other. They think that revenge will cause new problems and more victims later

c. The Role of Law

Law has a very important role in resolving conflicts that occur. However the obstacle that occurred in Adonara was the lack of legal socialization provided to the community. The absence of socialization resulted in the law being very foreign to the ears of the Adonara community, plus the thinking of the community who considered that solving problems through legal channels would burden one of the parties.

d. The Role of Customs

The roles performed by the Customary Head in resolving land disputes are:

1) Leading and conducting deliberations with family members and the village community

Deliberations usually aim to find out the main problem, things that will cause conflict, and steps to be taken if it becomes a prolonged conflict. This deliberation is usually held at the Traditional Hall (Orin bale). At this stage, the Traditional Head appealed to the community to restrain themselves so as not to carry out conflicts or invaders first which caused bloodshed.

2) Performing a traditional oath

Traditional oaths are oaths that are recited with traditional rituals that are considered sacral, and if not carried out will cause disasters or fall victims. The disaster that is caused usually depends on the agreement when to say the oath. Such as disease outbreaks that attack villages and crop yields that are decreasing every year. Apart from that, those who take the customary oath if they make a mistake in their words or in their oath, bad luck will befall them such as the death of seven descendants.

3) Re-establishing family relationships and kinship through marriage between people from Narasosina Village and Lewo Bunga

With mixed marriage, communication and family relationships and kinship began to be re-established. This is reinforced if there is a death ceremony and coronation of religious leaders, then the residents of the two villages will work together to hold a death ceremony and coronation of religious leaders.

c. Conflict Resolution Towards Positive Peace

To achieve cultural and structural peace, a reconstruction of the problems faced is needed through efforts to resolve and reconcile the two warring parties. Positive peace encompasses both types of peace, which means that there is no longer discrimination or restrictions on social, political, and educational access to the victim. This effort is called construction (Galtung, 1996). Among other peace actions, peacebuilding efforts are in the final stages. According to Galtung, development peace is a long-standing peace process that emphasizes on finding and resolving the source of conflict and strengthening the part that has the ability to combine the warring parties in a new formation to achieve a positive peace (Mariga, 2021). This is due to the fact that this process focuses on the creation of cultural peace in the long term. At this point, the violent element is no longer used, and is mostly done through educational programs and the provision of aid (Khalil et al., 2022). There are several factors that affect whether a peace approach is carried out to be said to be successful or not. Most of these approaches emphasize on the area of negotiation study or in the conflict management phase. The following is an explanation of the factors that need to be considered in implementing conflict management as quoted in Greig (Owsiak et al., 2023).

d. Time Calculation

The "maturity" factor of the conflict affects this. This means that the third party should consider the "when" opportunities he or she should engage based on the "readiness" of the conflict conditions. The maturity factor can be identified by four conditions, among which are:

a) Mutually Hurting Stalemate (MHS)

In a situation where both sides have no chance of winning and their actions will only worsen the situation. The disputing parties usually look for ways to stop the violence and replace it with a more nonviolent way. This mechanism relies on the calculation of the profits and losses that can be offered,

especially in cases where the strategy used does not immediately result in material losses. to resolve conflicts and start negotiations, MHS is the best place. The war that occurred between Narasosina Village and Lewo Bunga Village both sides had no chance of winning and their actions would only add casualties between the two sides. This happens because the interests of each village claim each other and there is no mutual concession between one of the parties. The two villages said that when waging a war, the most victims who died were the wrong villages. But unfortunately, when there are already victims who fall, they think that it is not the fault of each village, but it is the fault of individual people who make mistakes that violate ethics or taboos in waging wars so that they become victims of the war. In this negotiation, the government must also involve their authority in making decisions, where in negotiations when they do not find a way out, the government can take the land and it can be used as a market so that the two villages can cooperate with each other in carrying out buying and selling. This opinion was also said by the village head of Narasosina that when the problem is not resolved, the government with its authority can take the land and use it for the common benefit of both the two villages or all villages in Adonara, especially East Adonara

b) Imminent Mutual Catastrophe (IMC)

By using the Imminent Mutual Catstrophe (IMC), the government can assume that the consequences of the ongoing conflict will lead to even greater disasters such as starvation due to the absence of a buying and selling process and gardening. The East Flores government can apply a situation such as conducting negotiations so that people can open their minds so that there will no longer be prolonged conflicts between conflicting villages in Adonara. However, what happened was the opposite, the local government instead opened a public kitchen to provide staples (basic necessities) in the form of rice to the people who were waging war. This kind of thing makes people not end the war but increase their enthusiasm to defend the land they consider their own. People think that by fighting they no longer have to garden, they have obtained staples for their daily needs. By opening the public tent, the government thinks that the conflict can be resolved, assuming that the public will think that the government is serious in handling conflicts by providing assistance to people in conflict. But this is the opposite, people think that the government is not serious in handling conflicts because they support the conflict by providing assistance to people in conflict. This difference in perception has resulted in conflicts that last longer and people's distrust of the government, so that it is more likely to resolve conflicts on their own than through the government or through applicable laws.

c) The Entrap Modal (ENT)

The warring parties will logically consider how much they will have to pay if the conflict continues. In this situation, the warring parties are in the starting position towards the middle of the conflict. As a result, third parties must immediately address the conflict before the warring parties fully consider the benefits and oppose peace. If both sides decide to continue the dispute, their next goal is to gain the greatest relative advantage (by preventing their opponent from scoring) and reduce the loss. The Adonara community When conflicts that occur are caused by land customary rights issues, they already know the benefits or losses they experience in the event of war. Therefore, the suhoor government immediately takes action when it has listened to the issue that there will be a war. The government can mediate and negotiate in resolving problems before the war between the two villages. The mistake that occurred in East Adonara between Narasaosina and Lewo Bunga Village was that the government did not mediate or negotiate in terms of determining land boundaries and also the construction of schools carried out by the government. The inauguration of the carefree flower into a hamlet was also not carried out by the media by the government against Dea Narasosina which is directly adjacent geographically, this makes the war between the two villages inevitable because Narasosina village thinks that when the land is used by other villages it will disappoint its ancestors and will get a disaster. Therefore, the task of the East Flores government, when it has heard that there will be a conflict between the villages, through the police, to be a third party in an effort to carry out media and negotiations as quickly as possible so that it does not become a war that results in casualties.

d)   The Enticing Opportunity Model (EOM)

In addition to considering costs, this model emphasizes the available conflict resolution options. The focus of the mechanism is the advantages that can be offered by third parties. They usually have an understanding of the desired agreement, so the conflict management approach seeks to see possible benefits that can encourage both parties to reach an agreement. Furthermore, conflict management may seek to manipulate the gains and losses associated with violent and nonviolent acts, which are then conveyed to the warring parties so that they can reach an agreement. This bidding mechanism can be used at the beginning, middle, and end of a conflict. The mistake that occurred in East Adonara between Narasaosina and Lewo Bunga Village was that the government did not mediate or negotiate in terms of determining land boundaries and also the construction of schools carried out by the government. The inauguration of the carefree flower into a hamlet was also not carried out by the media by the government against Dea Narasosina which is directly adjacent geographically, this makes the war between the two villages inevitable because Narasosina village thinks that when the land is used by other villages it will disappoint its ancestors and will get a disaster. Therefore, the task of the East Flores government, when it has heard that there will be a conflict between the villages, through the police, to be a third party in an effort to carry out media and negotiations as quickly as possible so that it does not become a war that results in casualties. This statement about the cultivation of land by the government was also said by the village head from Narasaosina. The village chief said that instead of fighting a war and only getting material and human losses, the government should with its authority take over the disputed land and use it as a market so that it can be used for income from the two villages, as well as the surrounding villages.

e.   Trusted Commitment

The issue of credible commitment is particularly concerned with the viability of possible agreement outcomes, especially about how warring parties see their opponents as willing to work together to resolve conflicts to reach an agreement. This logic of trusted commitment is associated with three ideas: (i) conflict management is successful if two or more warring parties work together, (ii) the warring parties do not trust their opponents, and (iii) third parties have the ability to overcome the mistrust.

One of the causes of the ceasefire between Narasusina Village and Lewo Bunga Village is the existence of family relationships and mutual cooperation between the villages. The two villages often get married so that many kinships are formed between the villages. Cooperation to help each other in terms of gardening is also often carried out because there is still a family relationship between the villages. This is the factor of the truce until now. The war between the two villages has not yet had a comprehensive settlement process, but because of the family relationship and frequent cooperation between the villages, the conflicts that occurred stopped by themselves. Even though it can happen again at any time, but with the increasingly close relationship, this conflict will really not happen again later.

f.   Spoiler

Spoilers is a term given to leaders and other parties who believe that peace achieved through the process of conflict management can threaten their power, their worldview of them, and the interests they want to achieve. So they decided to use violence to weaken and thwart the peace effort. Some things to note about attempts to "disrupt" the conflict management process are as follows: (i) spoilers can come from both inside and outside the peace process; (ii) this behavior not only occurs during the negotiation process, but also outside the negotiation process, and (iii) furthermore, violence is not the only spoiling mechanism that can occur in the conflict management process.

The people of Adonara suspect that the local government is deliberately not serious in handling the conflict that occurred in Adonara, especially between Narasosuna Village and Lewo Bunga Village. This statement was said by the village head from Narasausina and also the tribal chief from Lewo Bunga Village. It is not necessary to deal with the conflict not because the war that occurred has become flesh and blood and to prove who is right and wrong, but there is no negotiation or solution carried out by the local government in an effort to resolve the conflict. The local government does not try to mediate with approaches to important figures from the two villages, but the government only uses the police in

a persuasive approach. This makes people think that the government is not serious in handling the conflicts that occur so that the conflicts that have occurred to date have not been resolved.

g.   Key Negotiations in the Revolution of Conflict

So far, we have seen many violent events and wars. However, it is possible that such problematic situations could escalate into further violence in the near future if not properly managed. This situation can develop due to mutual grudges between the warring parties if the conflict that occurs involves casualties or loss of material such as property. Therefore, it is imperative that precautions be taken at an early stage of the conflict, before the escalation of violence. However, when a conflict enters an active phase of violence, management and resolution efforts are necessary. The concept of management and resolution functions during the phase of the conflict itself, which is divided into pre-, intra-, and post-conflict phases.

Conflict management and resolution processes differ in terms of the desired "peace" objectives. Greig, using the Galtung concept of peace, show that the conflict management process concentrates more on the term "negative peace", which means reducing or eliminating violence first (non-violence), especially in the case of war (Chami, 2021). Meanwhile, conflict resolution concentrates more on the term "positive peace". Positive peace does not only end violence; It also includes realizing social justice and eliminating sources of violence. It is possible that the positive is the initial foundation for the negative (Millar, 2021).

Maoz, quoted by Greig, mentions three main goals of conflict management: *first*, controlling or limiting the use of violence that occurs rather than ending it; *second*, preventing conflicts from spreading to a wider area; and *third*, preventing the emergence of more parties who can complicate the situation (Owsiak et al., 2023). Instead, Burton, quoted in Greig, states that the ideal conflict resolution aims to eliminate all the underlying problems of the conflict in the first place so that neither side will find a reason to start a fight again in the future (Millar, 2021).

The people of eastern Flores, especially Adonara, will defend the rights that are considered to be theirs. They are willing to sacrifice them when what they consider very important is taken by others. This is natural because it has become their norm to defend what they consider to be the inheritance of their ancestors. So when there is friction regarding sensitive matters such as land, then conflicting communities that carry out wars have become a habit. This is done because there is no mediator between the two villages or communities, so the only way is by fighting war. Currently, the government, as the leader of these regions, can actually resolve the conflict by using negotiations.

Negotiation is a better way to resolve conflicts than violence for several reasons. *First*, negotiation is an effective method of resolving conflicts. Negotiation reduces deaths and damage caused by violence, builds commitment, and delivers benefits. *Second*, negotiations increase long-term gains and reduce their negative impact by building trust in the relationship between the parties to the conflict. Finally, negotiation helps foster new relationships in the future (Millar, 2021).

The government can use negotiations with the disputing parties, namely Narasosina Village and Lewo Bunga Village, as part of a better bargaining process to end the conflict. In this process, the disputing parties exchange proposals in an attempt to reach an issue that is being debated between them. The government can take a middle ground by offering the best solutions for the two villages that are experiencing disputes. This is better than doing a customary oath or bringing it to the legal track. Because the people of Adonara think that the court of God is the most righteous so when negotiating the two villages. The Adonara community has realized that negotiating and finding a solution that benefits both is better than the use of violence.

After the conflicting communities can accept the proposal to end the conflict, then an agreement is made between the two parties. Once an agreement is made, the two conflicting villages must ensure that their interests will be achieved and that the opposing parties will commit to implementing all agreements made during the negotiation process. In the negotiation process, there is a concept of a "two-level game" where representatives of each party in conflict are at the first level, and constituents and leaders of each side are still at the second level.

Each party, namely the government, the police and traditional leaders from the two conflicting villages, must ratify the agreement reached through negotiations. To achieve success in negotiations,

the government must ensure that the offer of cooperation to the two conflicting villages will be accepted by both parties. This is because the agreement to be interpreted is a long-lasting agreement and binding on both parties.

Parties to a conflict often remain afraid that the other party will violate the agreement that has been reached. For this reason, a transparent policy will allow the parties to the dispute to communicate with each other. As has happened before, the cooperation carried out by the Adonara community is a marriage between the two villages so that it forms a family between the two villages. The kinship that is formed resulting in conflicts that occur will soon be overcome due to kinship relationships. In addition, there is a third party as a force, namely the government who guarantees that the agreement takes place so that trust between the two villages and also the government is the key to the success of an agreement.

Timing, credible commitment, and spoilers affect conflict management and resolution efforts. Therefore, the government and third parties in the form of state apparatus to play the role of peace must be accompanied by tiered strategic considerations. While not completely changing, conflict resolution approaches have so far focused on solutions that focus on nonviolent action. This means that many people are already aware that peace does not have to wait for conflict to break out, which makes the opportunity for nonviolent action more plausible and feasible.

Customary land is a critical factor in many local and tribal wars due to its deep cultural and social significance. Conflicts over land ownership, use, and distribution are often exacerbated by factors like climate change, resource competition, and the inability of political systems to manage diversity and distribute resources equitably. These dynamics are evident in various regions, including Papua New Guinea, Africa, and pre-Columbian North America (Schake, 2013; Simons, 2013). In resolving customary land disputes, religious leaders play a crucial role. They act as facilitators, mediators, and advisors, helping to resolve conflicts in a harmonious and peaceful manner. For example, in Nagari Gadut, Tilatang Kamang District, religious figures were instrumental in resolving disputes over customary (*ulayat*) land by facilitating discussions and providing guidance based on religious principles (Zonti, 2023). The recognition of customary land rights is essential and often involves philosophical values such as 'krik slamat,' which emphasizes abundance and safety. This value is integral to forming customary law and ensures that land rights are recognized based on local values and norms. The recognition process involves objectifying societal values and norms, making them part of the legal framework (Dianto et al., 2023).

The findings show that the relationship between religion and customary land is deeply rooted in indigenous cultures. Land is not just a resource but a sacred place that holds spiritual significance. The involvement of religious leaders in resolving disputes and the need for state and religious laws to accommodate customary law are critical aspects of this relationship. The recognition of customary land rights based on local values ensures that indigenous traditions are respected and protected. In indigenous societies, land is not just a resource but a deeply religious and cultural entity. The indigenous religion paradigm emphasizes an intersubjective cosmology where humans and nature are seen as relational subjects. This means that land is not merely a physical space but a sacred place that holds spiritual significance and is integral to the community's identity and well-being (Astuti & McGregor, 2017).

4.   Conclusion

There were reasons related to the background that caused the conflict between Narasousina village and Lewobunga Adonara village of East Nusa Tenggara, namely: (1) mutual claims regarding land ownership rights, (2) the absence of communication by the government to the two villages regarding the inauguration of the area to be carried out in riang bunga, (3) the difference in interests of the two villages, (4) the emergence of a third party that causes conflicts that can actually be resolved through mediation and law, it turned into a rival war that resulted in many casualties. Conflict resolution carried out by the government in utilizing conflicts, the government can do with conflict management, namely the family approach and negotiations carried out by the government against

villages where conflicts occur. The government can offer cooperation that benefits the two villages, such as forming farmer groups from the two conflicting villages.

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