

The Challenges of Myth Based Coexistence between Christian and Muslim in Kendahe, Sangihe Islands, North Sulawesi Province

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Abstrak

Paper ini mengeksplorasi sumber bagi kerukunan antarpemeluk agama di Kendahe, Kepulauan Sangihe, Sulawesi Utara. Teori dari Jayne Seminare Docherty digunakan untuk menganalisa bagaimana penduduk Kendahe menjaga tradisi damai di antara pemeluk Kristen dan Islam, melalui dimensi simbolik dan material simbolik. Dimensi simbolik muncul melalui eksistensi Mawu, sebutan lokal untuk Tuhan masyarakat Sangihe, yang berperan penting dalam mitos lokal yang disebut Mitos Maselihe. Pesan utama dari mitos ini adalah agar menghindari pelanggaran perkawinan sedarah (incest) atau akan dihukum oleh Mawu. Hal ini membuat penduduk Kendahe membangun sistem perkawinan tertentu yang akhirnya mendorong seluruh klan/marga terhubung melalui garis perkawinan. Sedangkan dimensi material yang muncul melalui alat produksi dalam bidang pertanian dan penangkapan ikan di laut juga memainkan peran penting untuk mendorong penduduk dari agama berbeda untuk bertemu dan saling membantu. Akhirnya, pada perkembangan terakhir, modernitas tak terhindarkan telah membawa beberapa perubahan baik dalam bentuk positif maupun negatif, khususnya pada generasi muda. Beberapa perubahan ini secara langsung memberikan tantangan bagi eksistensi kedua dimensi di atas di Kendahe.

Kata Kunci: *Koeksistensi, Mitos Maselihe, Dimensi Perdamaian, Modernitas*

Abstract

This paper explores the source of religious harmony in Kendahe antarpemeluk, Sangihe Island, North Sulawesi. Theory of Jayne Seminare Docherty used to analyze how the population Kendahe tradition of keeping peace between Christians and Muslims, through the symbolic material and symbolic dimensions. Symbolic dimension appears through the existence of Mawu, local designation for God's people Sangihe, which plays an important role in local myths called Myth Maselihe. The main message of this myth is to avoid infringement of inbreeding

(incest) or be punished by Mawu. This makes the population Kendahe establish specific mating system, and encouraged the whole clan / clan linked through marriage line. While the dimensions of the material that appears through the means of production in agriculture and fishing in the sea also plays an important role to encourage people from different religions to meet and help each other. Finally, the recent developments, the modernity inevitability has brought some changes both in positive and negative forms, especially in the younger generation. Some of these changes are a direct challenge to the existence of two dimensions above in Kendahe.

Keywords: Coexistence, Myth of Maselihe, Dimensions of Peace, Modernity

Sangihe, The Islands in Between

Kendahe is the name of villages and a sub district in Sangihe Islands, North Sulawesi Province. These villages, Kendahe I and Kendahe II located on the northern part of the mainland of the islands, Sangir Besar, near an active volcano namely Awu. The regency, Sangihe Islands located on eastern part of Sulawesi Sea or between Sulawesi Island and Mindanao, Philippines. Lopian (2009) poses that Sulawesi Sea's and its people living in Sangir-Talaud, Mindanao and East Borneo people are culturally and economically connected. Velasco (2010) poses "Nusa Utara" as "the islands in between" including Sangihe, Talaud and Sitaro Islands¹, has very strong connection in kinship, culture also trading.

Pigafetta, a Portuguese voyager wrote on his note on 28 October, 1521 he sailed from Mindanao to the southeast direction and found the island of Sangir Besar. He noted there were four kings rule the people of Sangir which are King Matandatu, Laga, Bapti and Parabu". Hundred years before Pigafetta, an old Majapahit's scripture, Negarakertagama written by Prapanca noted Sangihe-Talaud was claimed as the north border area of the Majapahit empire namely Uda Makatraya (Ulaen, 2003). Spain, Ternate and Dutch also arrived to the islands hundreds years after. From those evidences, in the past the area was the busy path for spice trading and the arena of contestation among foreign power over local people, far before Tsing (2005) offers the term of "frontier" for similar situation to South Borneo Meratus.

Statistically, the inhabitant of Sangihe Islands are 205.326 people which about 67% of them are Christian, 35% are Moslems and the rest are members of other religion groups, including local religion

¹ Nusa Utara is the popular name for the area including Sangihe Islands, Talaud Islands and Sitaro Islands regency which previously known as Sangir-Talaud. This term introduced by one of local scholar which also a lecture at Sam Ratulangi University, Manado : Alex Ulaen.

namely Masade². They live in around 26 inhabitants' islands, which Sangir Besar is the biggest. There are 15 sub-districts in Sangihe Islands, including Kendahe. Kendahe's sub district, which located about 17 kilometers north side of Tahuna, is divided to 8 villages led by a head of village called Kapitalaung. Kendahe I and Kendahe II are two of eight villages, located only about 5 kilometers from Awu Vulcano which has been erupted sixteen times since 16 century and killed about 7377 people, mostly Kendahe's resident (Balai Vulkanology, 1985).

Before 1970, there was only one Kendahe Village until the government decided to divide into: Kendahe I for Christian and Kendahe II for Moslems. Located near a rich sea and fertile land, mostly people making their life as farmer and fishermen, but fishermen will go to the farmland on the hill when the season of nutmeg (*Myristica fragrans*) and coconut (*cocos nucifera*) come. Data from the local government shows about 2034 people live in Kendahe I and Kendahe II. In Kendahe I, from 818 people or 243 household only 16 household or 36 people who are Moslems. Meanwhile from 1216 people or 373 household in Kendahe II, only 10 household or about 37 people are Christian. There are three churches in Kendahe I and three mosques in Kendahe II. People give an illustration to describe the

geographical character of Kendahe which is like "five fingers" or sub villages³. Factually, there are four river separating five villages in Kendahe, and uniquely, two Christian Sub Villages are located between Moslems Sub Villages: Soa Moslems in the East and Sahabe in the West side of Kendahe area, near the sacred Maselihe's bay. Kendahe II as the Christian's majority houses looks like located on the 'enclave" area surrounded by Moslem houses, Sulawesi Sea and Awu Vulcano.

Similar to other Sangirese, Kendahe people use patriarchy system marked by family name coming from father's line. Almost all clans have family connection encouraged by a local rule forbidding intra-clan marriage. Even more, if between two different clans already have family connection; they are allowed to marry each other's after four lineages below. This rules comes from the story of Maselihe Myth telling int the past one of the Kendahe's king namely Samensiarang forced to marry his own daughter, Doroweli. Few hours after wedding party conducted at his palace at Maselihe, about 4 kilometers west side from present Kendahe, several natural disasters; tsunami, volcano eruption and earthquake struck at the same time

² Sangihe dalam Angka 2012, Biro Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Kepulauan Sangihe

³ Kendahe II is divided into 3 sub villages (Soa Muslim, Sahabe and Pondole) , meanwhile Kendahe I is divided in to 2 sub villages (Soa Kristen and Potto)

as the punishment from Mawu⁴ for the breaking of taboo incest done by the king. Thousands people died and mostly the palace area sank to the bottom of the sea. The feeling of fear for the punishment from Mawu leads people developing certain rules as social mechanism to avoid the breaking of taboo incest. It is shown by forbidding intra-clan marriage and applying selective inter-clan marriage.

The Root of Coexistence in Kendahe

There are many scholars paying attention to role of myth toward society. Van Baal (Daeng, 2000) poses that myth as a set of stories assumed and believed as the truth by certain communities which, referring to De Saussure can be existed through language signification. In the same vein Eliade (Bernard, 2011) defines myth from the different point of view. He believes a myth narrates as a sacred history, tells through the deeds of supernatural beings, a reality came into existence and be a part or whole fragment of reality coming from the idea of two differentiate worlds; sacred and profane (Palls, 2001). Meanwhile, Julian Steward (Laksono, 2001) poses that myth helping traditional communities to explain their environment through a process namely cultural ecology. Within the

idea of cultural ecology, environment is divided in two types; natural and modified environment. There are two different roles of myth, which can explain its function toward society. *Firstly*, as the way traditional communities interact and adapt to their natural environment because they do not have yet any kind of scientific explanation. *it. Secondly*, give the presents generation certain knowledge from the past. Kendahe people can recognize some of natural disasters in the past and its certain characters. As long as Maselihe Myth is still reproduced across generations, Kendahe people will have knowledge about certain natural disaster that can hit them anytime.

Regarding to the existence of peace tradition between Christian and Moslem's in Kendahe, we can explain by using Jayne Seminare Docherty's point of view related to the dimension of conflict and peace (Docherty, 2001). Docherty argues every conflict (and peace) will take places in three dimension (or worlds) which are *material, social or relational*, and *symbolic* dimension. Symbolic dimension will be related to the cosmological world including worldview, ideas, values, or people mindset. The social or relational dimension has strong connection to the existence of social structure and social relation between or within community, meanwhile material world close to the economic or material aspect. In this paper, to explain the peace tradition in

⁴ Before Kendahe people become Christian and Moslem they have their own and local God named Mawu

Kendahe, two dimensions, which are symbolic dimension, and material dimension would be used.

Symbolic Dimension ; Maselihe Myth and The Existence of Mawu

As previously mentioned, one of the strongest sources of the root of coexistence among Kendahe people comes from traumatic feeling of tragedy in the past sounded by the story of Maselihe Myth⁵. The myth itself believed by local people as the real fact in the past and potentially could happen again if people break taboo incest. The myth placed as the most important shared value for present people. There are few community members dare to reject the truth of the myth. Not only uneducated and elder people, but also young and well-educated people believe the truth of Maselihe Myth. If someone tries to ask the evidence of the myth, people will take them to Maselihe Bay by using *pambut*⁶ and show them *batu tamo*, a small piece of land about 2 meter high from sea level allocated 50 meters from the beach. People believe *batu tamo* is the only land as part of Samensiarang palace which did not sank to the bottom of the sea. They believe that Mawu making

batu tamo exist until the present day as the evidence to people the truth of tragedy in the past. The main point of the myth is natural disasters coming as a punishment for a sin done by the king. People, both of Christian and Moslem, believing that the punishment comes from Mawu, the way local people call their traditional God.

Applying several rules to control social system through marriage system bring consequences. One of the positive impacts from this strict rule is almost all people from different religion, villages and clans⁷ are connected by marriage. It leads a long history of peace tradition between Christian and Moslems. Until the year of 2013 there is no any serious conflict related to religion issue, on the contrary, they usually help each other. When Awu Volcano erupted in 1966 and 2004, some of Christian family went to the Al Fath mosque in Soa Moslem to get protection from the strong building and they were safe there (Widiyanto,2012). In early 2012 when Al Ikhlas mosque in Sahabe sub villages had a renovation, the priest from GMIS⁸ led his members to do *mapaluse* and help their Moslem brother in renovating the mosque⁹. In the same vein, when Christian people conduct the

⁵ Although the locus of the Maselihe Myth story is located in Kendahe, but this myth also known and believed by people all around Sangihe Islands.

⁶ *Pambut* is the name of traditional boat for Sangirese people. They use it for fishing activity or use it as a mean of transportation

⁷ Marga

⁸ Gereja Masehi Injili Sangihe (and Talaud)

⁹ *Mapaluse* is local term for working together (gotong royong) both for public or individual needs. This term also used by Minahasan on the mainland Sulawesi for the same purpose

“potong Tamo” traditional ceremony in the church, some of Moslem’s women help preparing ceremony. Religion issue does not become a sensitive issue in Kendahe. It is usual if in a family there is son or daughter having different religion from the parents. It develops a real coexistence among Kendahe people although they have different religion. It can be reflected from the words of Mananda Macpal living in Sahabe, Kendahe II:

“..My mother has Manabung as her family name, she was a Moslem until she died 6 years ago, meanwhile my father is a Christian’ Macpal. My older brother, Martin Luther and my older sister Beatric Macpal are Christian but my younger brother and I are Moslem. My wife, Sunani, has Dahula as her family name, and she is a Moslem, but her younger sister who previously a Moslem is converted to Christian following her husband, which is a local Pantekosta leader. There is no any problem with that in this big family (Widiyanto: 2012:38)”.

Before almost all Sangirese are converted to Islam and Christian which their own Gods¹⁰, they believe in some sacred and invisible ruler

¹⁰ Islam is believed firstly arrived in Sangihe in 15’s century and brought by Mindanao and Ternate people, meanwhile Christian brought by the Dutch about 16-17 centuries. Before converted to Christian, some of Sangirese were Chatolic regarding to the relation fo local rules (king) both to Spain and Portugese colonial (Ulaen, 2003)

(Bawele, 2009). People call the name of this previous belief is Mawu religion. It comes from the figure of local god, namely Mawu which is believed has two sacred spirits helping Him to rule Sangirese: Adi Tinggi staying at the peak of Awu Volcano and Mawendo which rule the sea surrounding Sangir land (2009: 9). Referring to the previous punishment to Samensiarang, Adi Tinggi made the volcano eruption and a big earthquake, meanwhile Mawendo created *medaluhung*, a local term for tsunami which devastated the palace. The main point here is the strong connection between the myth and the existence of Mawu. It means that if people is still believing Maselihe Myth as their traditional values, Mawu will be still believed beside they have their “new” God referring to the Christianity and Islam’s faith. Here the existence of Mawu cannot be separated from the way Kendahe people reproduce Maselihe Myth from generation to generations. For the time being, beside Christian Kendahe and Moslem Kendahe pray for their own “new” God, people still believe traditional and local God coming from the ancestors. More than that, some of religious leader both of from Christian and Moslems start delivering a kind of campaign to recognize the existence of Mawu by placing Mawu the same as Allah (Widiyanto, 2012). This approach namely contextualization strategy, used by both Islam and Christian leaders to make those new religions

to be more accepted and more integrated to local belief.

As previously discussed, the role and function of the existence of Maselihe Myth and Mawu as a symbolic dimension is to memories a tragedy as the important lesson learnt for the present generation. Avoiding the same mistake as done before by Samensiarang, later Kendahe people develop strict marriage system both of inter and intra clans leading to the development of all Kendahe people as “one big family” connected by marriage line. The existence of Mawu is relatively similar to the situation in Maluku in the past as described well by Bartels (2000) posing Nunusaku religion as an important shared value among Moluccans. If in Maluku *pela gandong* plays an important role as a vehicle for the co existence, in Kendahe, Maselihe Myth and the marriage system, which is inspired from the myth, play role as the vehicle of peace tradition. The myth brings the condition of peace and harmony because of the feeling of unity though they are divided into hundreds of different clan (*marga*) and religions. The harmony between religion groups can be seen when they are conducting any kind of public meeting involving of both Christian and Moslem. They usually open the meeting by praying using the host religion (Christian, for example) and will close the meeting by praying using the way guest’s religion (Moslem, for example). After

the last prayer, all of participants will stand together and give the pray for Mawu by singing the local song of O Mawu Rendinganeng¹¹ (Widiyanto, 2012:39).

Material Dimension: Means of Production in Kendahe

Docherty poses material world as one of the peace dimension. It is related to the way community access and manages economic resources. If the community manages the resources well, on the one hand, it can encourage peace condition within communities, but on the contrary it also can bring conflict. Kendahe people might be able to be put as one of the best examples where material dimension can be a good vehicle for developing and maintaining coexistence between two religion groups. As mentioned, the majority of Kendahe people make life by planting nutmeg and coconut, meanwhile other by catching fish from the sea. Beside of seasonal commodities, farmers in Kendahe also plant short-term plantation like chili, cassava and vegetables to fulfill their daily life. There is no rice field in Kendahe and

¹¹ The O Mawu song uses Sasahara language, an ancient and sacred Sangirese’s language; *O Mawu rendinganeng, I kami mangaelang, O Mawu kaselaheng, Bae darodo matelang, Tembonang kawanua, Ahako surarengu, Suike Kapulunu* (Oh God, please stays with us, we are Your believer, now and in the future, Oh God, you are the greatest one, Teach us please only the goodness, Please allow us to stay in your heart”)

farmers use their saving from previous nutmeg or coconut¹² harvest for buying rice as the staple food¹³.

Each family usually has job distribution in managing their farmland. Several of “hard” activities such as land preparation, cutting trees, carrying log or processing coconut into copra usually done by male, meanwhile some lighter activities such as bringing food and water to the farmland, planting vegetables, taking care vegetables and cleaning the area near the plantation will be done by female. Meanwhile, on the sea usually only man going to the Sulawesi Sea by using 3-5 meters long traditional boat namely *pambut*¹⁴. They usually catch fishes such as tuna, skipjack, crabs, sting ray, octopus, kind of coral fishes or even shark. Sangirese only go fishing to the area near from the beach or about 4-7 miles because they only use basic equipment and have limited fuel. They are worry to go too far from the

island because they are afraid of meeting armed Philippines fishermen using bigger boat namely *puso*. There were some cases in the past when local fishermen robbed by a group of armed Philippines fishermen and all of fishes were taken¹⁵. Only less than 5 people in Kendahe having *pajeko*, a kind of big fishing boat that can carry more than 10 people and can be used to go fishing for days until Halmahera Sea. Local fishermen go fishing for several hours in the early morning and after landing, wife’s will sell fishes to the neighbors or bring it to the traditional market in Kendahe I village.

Some of rich people have “*bagang*”, a kind of “fish nest and trap” and put it in the sea, about 8-10 miles from the beach¹⁶. Until 2014 there are three *bagang* owned by Kendahe people, one owned by Sasiang’s clan, a Christian family from Kendahe I and two *bagang* are owned by Manabung’s clan, Moslem family living in Sahabe sub village, Kendahe II. The function of “*bagang*” itself is to trap some small fishes in the sea, especially tuna and skipjack (*cakalang*) regarding to the size of the fish. If the baby tuna, baby shark or baby skipjack entering the nest, they could not escape from

¹²Coconut usually will be sold in the form of Copra after several processes ; harvesting, drying and baking..

¹³ Before the year of 1970’s cassava and palm tree (*sagu*) are the staple food of Sangirese, but after central government massively delivered campaigning rice, they shifted and it makes dependency of outside product as their staple food until present days.

¹⁴ *Pambut* is a small traditional boat having two “bamboo wings” called “*sema-sema*” at both of right and left side and only can carry maximum 5 people inside. It is made from big tree and using fuel. Sangirese also has more than 17 traditional boat such as ; *londe*, *pelang*, *kora*, *pajeko*, *pamo* etc (Lapian, 2009)

¹⁵ In the year of 2010, there was news about the robbery of Sangirese fishermen hunting sharks near the border area between Indonesia-Philippines by Mindanao’s hijacker. Not only robbed some of shark fins, they also kill two from 5 Sangirese on the boat.

¹⁶ In some other places, *bagang* also known as *rumpon*, *jermal* or *bagan*.

the nest and they will live inside the nest safely. After the size of fishes already economically valuable, the owner will decide to harvest and take the fish first and after that, he will allow his neighbors catching the rest. If the moment happens, dozen or might be hundreds of *pambut* from Kendahe will go together to the *bagang*, no matter they are Moslem or Christian, and then will try harvesting fishes. This can be said as a kind of economic and social safety net owned by Kendahe people, also another evidence of the peace tradition between different religion groups.

There are some reasons to explain farming and fishing activities as important material dimension of coexistence in Kendahe. *Firstly*, the area of farming activity especially, both of nutmeg or coconut plantation are not segregated by village or religion affiliation. It means that farmland are scattered randomly, meaning many of plantation owned by Moslem are located beside those owned by Christian. Mostly the farmers in Kendahe have a huge area with hundreds of coconut or nutmeg trees and they are not able to protect and manage their plantation by themselves. Farmers need to build partnership with closest neighbors who are maybe from different religion. Usually farmers will help each other in protecting their plantation, especially nutmeg as the most valuable commodity, carrying from the farmland to the village after

harvesting time, processing coconut into copra and selling commodities to the city or buyer. Here, partnership among farmers from different religion group becomes inevitably. Naturally, it leads to the peace tradition between people from different religions into people's daily life.

Secondly, Sangirese has a strong sea tradition. In the past, before the asphalted road connecting Kendahe to Tahuna, the capital, was built people used traditional boat as a main means of transportation. At present days, some people still use boat to go to the capital for several purposes. People especially in the neighborhood have a tradition to lend *pambut* each other though from different religion. Pajeko, the big boat owners also never consider religion in selecting local fishermen who will join the boat for long and far fishing. *Bagang* owner from Sahabe, Kendahe II not only allow fishermen from the same religion or clan to go catching fishes in his *bagang*. The main point here, boat and *bagang* as the means of production never become the source of conflict between religion group or different clan, but on the contrary, become vehicles of peace tradition by giving people from different faith the opportunity to use the same means of production. Here, both of symbolic and material dimension have worked together from decades ago in creating and maintaining peace tradition in Kendahe.

Modernity and the Challenges of the Harmony

The concept of modernity is developed from the English word; modern which linguistically taken from the Latin; *modo* meaning “of today” as opposed to earlier periods. Modernity marked by rationality, the growth of technologies and modes of production, in turn facilitating an unprecedented rise of material living standard. Consequently, religious dogma and traditional value become increasingly dominated by rational thinking leading to the notion of individualism, secular culture, mass consumption, and global humanism (Boot, 2008). Unfortunately, as what’s brought by globalization, it also brings vulnerability (and violence) for certain groups as traditional community and peasant (Lewellen, 2002 and Kirby, 2006). The emergence of modernity and globalization as the battlefield of investment, information, trade, and discourses has therefore served to expose an increasingly public concern to what Held and McGrew have called “some of the most fundamental issue of our time” (2006: 2). Modernity has two faces both in negative and positive sides. For religion or myth modernity with its rationality might emerges as a difficult challenge.

The same as what happen to other places, the arrival of modernity is inevitable in Kendahe. It is marked by the asphalted road connecting to

the city, electricity, machine based boat, machine based nutmeg and copra processing also the latest one, internet. These developments bring both of positive and negative impact at the same time. The arrival of asphalted road, followed by electricity in 2007 makes people much easier to go the city for several purposes such as trading, education and health services. On the contrary, it starts changing life’s orientation of the local people, especially the young. Motorcycle, for instance making some young people could not continue their elder ability in traditional boating, fishing skill, and harvesting or processing coconut into copra. Young people in Kendahe tend to leave fishing and farming as their elder, replacing to go to the city such as Manado, Bitung or Makasar for working as a laborer.

Another worrying trend was said by Sahrudin Samalam, one of Moslem leader from Pondole Sub village in Kendahe II ;

“....only very few of young people both of Christian and Moslem in Kendahe who want to learn and maintain the ability of speaking our old, traditional, and sacred language namely “*sahasara*”. Instead of speaking Sangirese language, they prefer to use Indonesia-Manado as their daily language and only speak their own language with their parents. I am so worried in few coming years there are no people in Kendahe who understanding and speaking Sasahara (Widiyanto, 2012).

Regarding to the myth and Mawu as the source of peace tradition, disappearing of the ability of speaking *sasahara*¹⁷ can give a serious problem to the existence of these myths in few coming years. There are two ways usually used by people to introduce the myth to next generation; *firstly* by daily conversation among people, and *secondly*, by using some of traditional ceremonies such as *potong tamo*, *tulude* and *mesambo*. During these ceremonies, the traditional/adat's leader will tell the history of Kendahe from the beginning, including tragedy Samensiarang in the past by using *sasahara* language. For the time being, there are only few elder who able to do that on that ceremony. Here, the role of *sasahara* language is important as the vehicle to reproduce the myth as the one of the roots of the co existence between religion groups in Kendahe. If the language disappears, they will lose one of the important vehicles to maintain their harmonic social system. This is one of the important challenges of Kendahe people in the present days in protecting their key social capital as a heritage from ancestors.

¹⁷ As a comparison to Javanese language, *Sasahara* can be said as "kromo inggil" which is relatively different from daily common language used by common people in Kendahe or Sangir. Usually it is would be used in traditional/adat ceremony such as *potong tamo*, *tulude* (Sangirese calendar new year celebration) or by fisherman who want be safe on the sea.

To protect and continue reproducing process of the myth as a source of coexistence, people can use two different ways; by doing some actions to protect the existence of *sasahara* or by replacing it to other accepted vehicle. The problem is people do not have anymore any kind of respected *adat* institution. As found by Bartels (2000) in Maluku, the process of centralization of administration system posed by central government leading to the destruction of *adat* system. The representation of *adat* is the Majelis Tua Kampung (MTK), an institution that is put under the head of village authority. The role and authority of this institution is very limited while at the same time there are a lot challenges, including the influence of the flowing of information from outside through internet. As in other places, mostly people, especially the young have and use mobile phone including to access internet. Through internet, they easily can access a lot of information, including those, which are actually fake and provocative, related to the religion, social or political issues. Without any establish psychological and social preparation, it potentially disturbs the coexistence between religious groups. Religious base conflict in other places, islands or countries can lead them to change the way they see their neighbor from different religion. This is the reason why Kendahe people need to strengthen the role of *adat* institution.

Modernity brings many opportunities for the young people to see wider and broader world easily. They can go to the big city for studying, travelling, or working and then accepting modern way of life. Finally, some of them find that village is not the best place to reach their modern dreams and decide do not want to go back. At the same time, directly after the arrival of motorcycle and car following the asphalted road, slowly young people leave their parent's tradition as fishermen and farmers. It can be seen as a worrying trend for a community, which endowed by peace tradition coming from the collaboration of the using of means production both in farmland, or on the sea. If parents usually work together with their neighbors from different religion, young people living outside Kendahe only have limited opportunities to get the same. It will decrease the chances to interact each other and to maintain a good relation with people from different religions which playing important role in decreasing prejudice. The only way to anticipate this worrying trend is by making young people sure and confidence living in the village can also provide good future. Nutmeg, copra, and tuna are kind of valuable commodities until present days, which can guarantee good life in the village. In line with that, people need some protection especially from government to support managing commodity and produce significant economic benefit. Here, means of production in Kendahe not

only have financial function, but also social function by giving opportunity for people from different religion groups to meet regularly in a mutual symbiosis relationship which producing respect and sense of belonging each others.

Reflection

The people of Kendahe are divided into two different religious group, which endowed by religious coexistence within the people. Uniquely, one of the important source of coexistence between Christian and Moslem comes from a local myth namely Maselihe myth telling about the tragedy. The myth encourages later Kendahe people to develop some adat rules controlling strictly marriage system both intra clan or inter clan. The consequences of the rules are encouraging each clan to extend their family line to other through marriage. It brings almost all of clans and people in Kendahe are bond in family line, as a big family. One of the reasons why people obey the adat rule is because of the existence of Mawu, which is still believed though people already converted to Islam and Christian and have their "new" God.

Maselihe myth and the existence of Mawu are the form symbolic dimension of peace referring to what posed by Jayne Seminare Docherty. The symbolic dimension itself is Mawu and the vehicle in playing role to support the peace tradition is marriage system derived from the

idea of the Maselihe myth. This symbolic dimension is completed by material dimension of peace existing in Kendahe in the form of means of production. Without considering religious affiliation, people work together in farmland or go fishing to the sea at certain activities. It gives a lot of opportunity for regularly meeting and develops strong sense of belonging each other's. It is also reflected on the way people help each other for several religion ceremony, daily, and family life. The combinations between two dimensions are effectively protecting and maintaining coexistence within community.

At the same time, modernity inevitably comes and gives pressure to the harmonic situation through several ways; infrastructure, technology and information. Recent development shows that young people tend to leave village and go to the big city for studying and working. Living in the big city and accepting modern (and rational) way of thinking lead them to start questioning many things, including the truth and the existence of Maselihe Myth as the root of social capital in their home village. At the same time, technology as motorcycle and machine boat have brought young people loss their ability in using traditional boat or climbing coconut trees. Socially, young people tend to see fishing and farming activity as their less favorite choice, the same as Sangirese sacred language, *sasahara*. Young

people tend to think that a big city will provide all of their dreams. It makes only few young people willing to do farming and fishing. Here, modernity has effectively given a hard challenge to both dimension of peace and making people stand on the cross road in front of their own tradition, leave it slowly or go back and protect it.

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