

INTERETHNIC COLLABORATION: A CASE STUDY OF NIAS AND MINANGKABAU ETHNIC GROUPS IN WEST SUMATERA, INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

Most conflicts in Indonesia have been caused by opposing principles between ethnic groups and religions. These conflicts are difficult to resolve because of the absence of mediating institutions and structures. This study shows the ability of two ethnic groups, Minangkabau and Nias, in Indonesia's West Sumatera province to fulfil their interests despite their different principles. The analysis of the influencing factors and their implications for both groups are also discussed. A qualitative method and a case study were used to obtain in-depth, comprehensive and integrated data regarding the collaborative ability of the two ethnic groups. The results show that the collaboration between the two groups can be achieved in several forms: (1) provision of two types of foods at parties; (2) determination of Nias' ethnic leaders; (3) permission to change religions; (4) conditions for the Nias community, including the number of pig livestock and the number of churches; (5) cultural assimilation of the Nias community; and (6) permission to use the use of Nias language and art performances. These collaborations are influenced by four factors: (1) reference to customary law and religion; (2) arrival history of the Nias ethnic group; (3) economic use of land; and (4) conformity of social norms. This study has three implications, namely, a sense of belonging, mutual understanding, and culture of openness. The findings suggest the need to expand research to identify various other patterns of collaboration between ethnic groups in Indonesia to create a safe and peaceful multicultural society.

Keywords: Collaboration, social capital, cultural competence, ethnic immigrants and traditions, ethnic groups

INTRODUCTION

The interaction between migrant populations and local communities can assume different dynamics, primarily characterised by conflict and collaboration. Conflicting relations often arise as a result of migrants' tendency towards excessive exclusivity and ethnocentrism, leading to prejudice and tension in the local community (Eko and Putranto 2021). This has been evident in various European countries, where the influx of ethnic immigrants has been met with concerns regarding competition for jobs and increased poverty and crime rates. Consequently, fostering social cohesion becomes challenging; however, it is a prerequisite for nurturing community solidarity and overall well-being (Holtug 2010). In the Indonesian context, certain ethnic and religious sentiments emerge as consequences of political and bureaucratic choices. Ethnic-based politics restrict intercommunity interactions, thus,

giving rise to discriminatory practices (Lan 2011). Therefore, interethnic relations can often manifest as conflicts due to factors such as exclusivity, economic disparities, and political discrimination.

The second form of interethnic relations involves openness and willingness to embrace newcomers and allow them to settle in a given territory. This practice can be observed among the Minangkabau people, who have a longstanding tradition known as *malakok*. *Malakok* is a mechanism for accepting immigrants from different ethnic backgrounds and integrating them into the local community; *malakok* represents a natural interethnic relationship that intertwines the interests of both groups, thereby facilitating mutual understanding and cooperation (Moeis et al. 2022). These values and mechanisms have been passed down through generations, actively practiced and preserved as integral components of social interactions within multicultural communities in West Sumatera province.

The Minangkabau people exhibit their cultural identities in a multicultural society through various means. First, they actively maintain their identity by selecting partners from the same ethnic background, emphasising the preservation of the matrilineal and Islamic kinship system (Elfira 2011). Second, the Minangkabau display their identity through their social media profile photos, which often feature distinct artefacts such as traditional attire; posing with *rumah gadang* traditional houses (Franzia 2017); and backgrounds in the traditional colours of red, yellow, and black (representing the Minangkabau culture). Third, when residing outside their native land, the Minangkabau people gather in organisations such as *Minang Saiyo*, where they engage in activities aimed at preserving their cultural values (Maher 1994). Every ethnic group possesses a fundamental inclination to express and uphold its identity, both within its own territorial boundaries and beyond.

Another example of interethnic relations in West Sumatera is the mutual understanding between the Minangkabau and Chinese ethnic groups. The Minangkabau's matrilineal culture allows for relatively stable interethnic relations through the values of motherhood (*bundo kanduang*), which is characterised by patience and persuasiveness (Alfirdaus et al. 2016). Interethnic relations between the Chinese and Minangnese communities in Padang city show mutualistic and relatively harmonious relations (Makmur et al. 2019) because their cultural similarities encourage collaboration over conflict. Both groups have a history of economic migration, flexibility and adaptation to new environments; a collective principle of social organisation; sensitivity to the environment; and a common language.

Collaboration between the Nias and Minangkabau ethnic groups is an uncommon case in Indonesia's West Sumatera province. To maintain harmony and prevent conflict, these ethnic groups agreed to collaborate within the political, social, and economic structures of nagari (local village). The group leaders stated that collaboration is a philosophy of living in harmony based on the egalitarian principle of duduak samo randah tagak samo tinggi (sitting as low, standing as tall). This principle has been implemented since the arrival of the Nias ethnic group—originally from Nias island in North Sumatera province—in Nagari Sungai Buluah, West Sumatera province in 1910. The collaboration between the Muslim Minangkabau community and the Christian Nias community is carried out in three forms: first, appointing a Nias customary leader as part of the Nagari Customary Assembly [Kerapatan Adat Nagari (KAN)], a customary representative body; second, allowing Nias community to raise a certain number of pigs and then kill them to eat at traditional ceremonies; and third, allowing for the establishment of two churches. The collaboration has been maintained continuously since it has been proven to overcome resistance or friction between communities in a nagari. According to Prasojo and Pabbajah (2020), egalitarian social relations are important for resolving conflicts in diverse societies, ethnic cultures, and religious groups.

Other previous studies have also explored the relationship between the Nias and Minangkabau ethnic groups in Indonesia. The strained relationship between these two ethnic groups is attributed to the differences in their social systems, given that the Nias society is patrilineal and predominantly Christian, whereas Minangkabau people are somewhat patronising and racist in attitude towards the Nias (Elfira 2011). Based on these findings and similar interviews, an "ethnic hierarchy" can be said to exist in the Minangkabau society in Padang. However, the visible display of certain ethnicities may also result in a person experiencing social exclusion within Padang society despite the Minangkabau professing egalitarianism.

Ethnicity studies tend to focus on failures to collaborate with the interests of various ethnic groups. The domination of local ethnic groups often results in discrimination against ethnic immigrants such that conflicts are more common than interethnic and religious harmonies. For example, the conflict between the Samawa and Balinese ethnic groups (Ardiansyah 2010) persists because of the inability of native Samawan people to accept the superiority of Bali immigrants in various fields, such as economics, society, politics, and culture. The Malay and Chinese Muslims have a similar dispute: conflict emerges because of the inability of the native ethnic group to compete with ethnic immigrants in the economic and social sectors (Susanto 2018).

These studies show a pattern of conflict, namely, the lack of space provided by native ethnic groups to immigrants with different religious and cultural backgrounds, triggered by economic competition.

Learning from the clash between religious adherents in Maluku, this conflict could be resolved because customary institutions were able to reconcile interreligious differences (Ode 2015). Similarly, in the collision between the Dayak and Madurese tribes in Banjarmasin, the conflicts were resolved by settling compensation payments (Androfo 2021). Disputes between religious adherents in Aceh were avoided due to ethnic immigrants' respect for the local culture (Ahmad 2016; Kasim and Nurdin 2016). The abovementioned facts demonstrate that only communities with social capital, such as the negotiation of cultural institutions and openness in communication, hold the key to conflict resolution.

Social capital, a concept introduced and described by Coleman et al. (2014), is primarily based on social relationships and influenced by various factors. The major components of social capital are social networks (Bhandari and Yasunobu 2009). Social capital is an informal norm that promotes cooperation among individuals and helps reduce transaction costs in the economic sphere while promoting associational life in the political sphere, which is necessary for the success of limited government and modern democracy. The development of social capital is often a by-product of religious and cultural norms, shared historical experiences and iterated prisoner's dilemma games. Fukuyama (2002) pointed out that despite being critical for understanding development, social capital is difficult to generate through public policy. The strength of mutual obligations within a society is crucial in maintaining social capital, achieved by trust, information, norms, and penalties that discourage transgression; relational authority; social organisation; and social networks. However, while these factors encourage advantageous behaviours in the community, they can also discourage innovation and change in society (Poder 2011).

This study aims to fill the research gap on mutually beneficial relationships between local and immigrant ethnic groups. Therefore, research exploring the formation of interethnic collaborations to negotiate common interests between immigrants and local ethnic groups is necessary. This study argues that interethnic collaboration is the social capital of a multicultural society that prevents potential conflicts and resolves ongoing issues. Recognition of diversity is the pinnacle of integration in a multicultural society. Such recognition and respect for differences are the result of continuous negotiations implemented by both communities through mutually beneficial exchanges.

Specifically, this study aims to determine the following: (1) forms of collaboration between the Minangkabau and Nias ethnic groups in West Sumatera; (2) factors behind interethnic collaboration; and (3) implications of interethnic collaboration for both communities. The importance of this study lies in its example of collaboration in ethnically and religiously diverse communities (Coleman et al. 2014), denoting that the ability to collaborate between two elements of the community is the foundation for harmonisation.

This study argues that collaboration can be implemented only if both ethnic groups have common interests that can be achieved through cooperation. Each party needs contributions from the other. Even though the Minangkabau community is the majority ethnic group and Nias is the minority, this study seeks to reveal the factors that motivate collaboration. Both groups have succeeded in collaborating in three aspects: first, equality in the social structure through the assignment of Nias customary leaders as one of the structural positions in KAN; second, respect for different traditions by allowing Nias community to raise a certain number of pigs for traditional ceremonies; and third, respect for different religions by allowing the Nias community to build two churches. Thus, it is argued that collaboration between both ethnic groups is achieved if ethnic immigrants are willing to fulfil all the terms and conditions that are based on local values and applied by the local community. This collaboration is unusual and is the only one of its kind in West Sumatera, but it displays multicultural intelligence among Indonesian ethnic groups.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The definition of social capital has significant differences based on the social structure of the society in which it arises and is found (Coleman et al. 2014). However, this concept is centred on the social relations of all networks owned by a society or group (Bhandari and Yasunobu 2009). The most common example of social capital is informal norms, which are used as a basis for cooperation among individuals, groups, and countries. In the economic field, for example, social capital is the result of cooperation with the aim of reducing transaction costs, while in politics, social capital refers to cooperation to create associational relations and build a democratic government. Social capital also originates from religious norms, traditions, shared historical experiences, and common interests. Therefore, awareness of social capital is important for encouraging cooperation, but it may be insufficient to form the basis of public policy (Fukuyama 2002).

Coleman et al. (2014) note that social capital can take the form of obligations, responsibilities or expectations such as awards received by the community. Ignoring obligations or rewards can cause erosion of social capital. Coleman et al. (2014) declared, "when prosperity does not occur, there is a lack of government assistance, or there is a lack of concern among the people, then that is a sign that they have less social capital" (15). Other forms of social capital are trust, useful information, norms and punishments for people who break rules. Norms accompanied by clear punishment can inhibit the adverse intentions of lawbreakers. Society also feared consequences arising from violating norms. In other words, norms encourage people to place their personal interests in lesser priority to attain the common good that benefits society.

According to the literature on multicultural societies, the dichotomy between immigrants and local/native ethnic groups is understood as the division between the people who first occupy an area and those who come later. Immigrants are usually the minorities in the community, and their recognition usually depends on the willingness of native ethnic groups as hosts to accept them with conditions or reject them due to nonconformity. The determination of who the immigrants and natives are is based on three aspects: physical territorial boundaries; attachment to marital relations; and self-claim as members of tribes or heirs of traditional lineage (Abdullah 2001). This means of determination influences the perception of "who is the outsider" and "who is the host", each with their own rights and obligations. However, many studies have argued that such perceptions and dichotomy are not real sources of conflict.

Interethnic conflicts occur in three situations: first, when one party mentions the stereotyped attributes of the immigrants' past for the sake of certain vested interests, which Abdullah (2001) calls cultural abuse; second, when certain religious adherents claim a single truth while discrediting other religions' teachings, referred to as religious fanaticism (Ulya 2016); and third, when unequal economic and political positions of immigrants and local ethnic groups create unfair resource control. Conflicts are prone to occur when ethnic immigrants are more successful in managing resources, which is how an inequality of political access allowing immigrants to enjoy privileges from political elites. When this happens, the perspective that the host is being colonised by outsiders emerges. The local ethnic groups then began to consider the boundaries of their communities and drove out ethnic immigrants (Abdullah 2001). This study posits that the combination of three situations, i.e., stereotypes, truth claims, and social envy, are the real roots of conflict.

Collaboration is one of the five interaction styles and is characterised by a high level of concern for others and for the self, thereby leading to the prioritisation of the interests of both parties. Collaboration aims to solve a problem in a manner that is acceptable to all parties. This pattern of conflict resolution uses empathetic communication to satisfy the interests and concerns of all parties (Kumolohadi and Andrianto 2002). This strategy is deliberately used for highly complex and sensitive issues (Spangle and Isenhart 2003) and is effective because it encourages creativity (Miall et al. 2000). Moreover, this style is beneficial to the relationship between both parties due to the strong balance of interests and a sufficient period for interaction and negotiation. Specifically, this style is effective for people who are capable of rational thinking and do not prioritise emotional reaction. However, this style is ineffective if both groups exhibit low levels of commitment (Hendricks 2006). Instead, collaboration is widely used to unite communities around common goals such as peace and success. However, interethnic collaboration faces challenges such as cultural differences, which lead to reciprocal interactions that are conducted to justify ideology and knowledge sources, enforce structures and emphasise psychological factors (Salazar and Salas 2013).

One of the interethnic collaboration philosophies upheld by ethnic immigrants when inhabiting a new area is the Indonesian idiom, dimana bumi dipijak, di situ langit dijunjung, which literally means "where the earth is stepped on, there the sky is upheld", which is similar to the proverb, "when in Rome, do as the Romans do". This philosophy implies that immigrants should respect, appreciate, and tolerate different local cultures and mingle with the native community (Fadoli 2020). Immigrants' intention to collaborate with the community provides them with the opportunity to marry local people. Through marriage bonds, interethnic couples have become agents of resolution among different ethnic groups. Wedding ceremonies create opportunities for cultural acculturation and assimilation (Abdullah 2001). For example, Bagahan is a tradition in Aceh to prepare two food menus for guests of different ethnicities and religions (Ahmad 2016). As a minority group, the best option for ethnic immigrants is to adapt to local cultural values and collaborate with the local community. In other words, collaboration is an important strategy for ethnic immigrants to be welcomed by, and simultaneously develop themselves and their original culture in harmony with, the local ethnic group.

Various studies have also identified the influence of the cultural competencies of Indonesian indigenous peoples on conflict resolution. Cultural competence refers to a set of policies, attitudes, and behaviours

applied nearly evenly across regions and communities. These attitudes and policies are integrated into systems and institutions and are practiced by various levels of society, including professional and cross-cultural agents (Curtis et al. 2019). Several Indonesian researchers have demonstrated the role of cultural competence in self-control. For example, the Sasak people in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara province, oblige individuals to keep promises, be responsible, maintain customs and religion, prohibit loan interests and sincerely do good (Suprapto 2013). The Bima community in West Nusa Tenggara province respects and appreciates fellow human beings, promotes deliberation and consensus and avoids altercation (Arihan et al. 2018). In Maluku province, four terms consistently appear when a conflict occurs, namely, *pela*, *pela karas*, *pela gandong*, and *pela tampa siri*, which urge the Ambonese people (the native people of Maluku) to make just agreements, keep promises, maintain kinship although members live in distant places, and reconcile immediately in the case of conflict (Ode 2015).

The same argument is made by Sidik et al. (2018), who identify two major values in Javanese custom for resolving conflicts: first, life must benefit the people around them, and second, every individual must strive for safety, happiness, and prosperity. Ilyas (2014) also argues that an important philosophy for decreasing conflicts between residents in Sigi Regency, Central Sulawesi, posits the awareness that people residing in one village or land are siblings. In East Java society, people consider togetherness as a source of strength and believe that everyone must strive for safety, welfare, and happiness (Widiyowati et al. 2018).

Acehnese people also rely on the philosophy to avoid disputes against others because disputes and war only destroy the country and the nation. That war, revenge and conflict must be stopped immediately, not prolonged, as religion commands us to maintain peace and friendship (Nurdin 2013). Kasim and Nurdin (2016) also write about the philosophy of the obligation to amend with others by forgetting past and resolved conflicts. The people of West Sumatera also have a philosophy to make peace and avoid conflict, namely, *adat basandi syara* and *syara* basandi Kitabullah, which means a guideline in attitude and behaviour that must refer to customs based on religious teachings. The term *sitawar sidingin* means that every person must spread goodness and calmness to everyone (Yuhelna 2014).

Various studies also focus on the politics of the recognition movement or the so-called culture of openness, which denotes recognition, respect, and protection of differences in the values and beliefs of various ethnic groups or religious adherents (Subhi et al. 2013). In the context of indigenous peoples,

two elements determine the implementation of the openness culture: the first pertains to influential traditional leaders who support approval or disapproval towards ethnic immigrants (Hauk and Mueller 2015), while the second depicts the preexisting cultural openness that cultivates competence in addressing challenges. Traditional leaders use feelings and religious values as the basis for accepting the arrival of ethnic immigrants (Menkel-Meadow 2013). In Africa, for example, traditional leaders are feared and their decisions are never questioned. The wisdom practiced by such elders comes from a repetition of the past (historical events) that can be learned (Oyeniyi 2017). Suprapto (2013) emphasises that without leaders' initiation, openness towards ethnic immigrants cannot be implemented optimally.

Another element that determines acceptance of immigrant ethnic groups is the open cultural competencies that welcome ethnic immigrants. In Indonesia, various studies have revealed cultural competencies that guide people to live in harmony with humans and nature. This competence provides room for socialisation among immigrants from various religious and cultural backgrounds, thereby cultivating social capital to solve community problems (Prasojo and Pabbajah 2020). Examples include the value and norms that regulate the way of life in Lampung (piil pesenggiri); brotherhood in neighbourly relations (muakhi) (Ruslan 2018); and the cultural institution that reflects fraternal relations (pela gandong) in Ambon, Maluku (Bakri 2015). These traditions require people from the same ethnic and religious groups to live harmoniously and peacefully. According to Suprapto, this competence has been formed long ago and is always used in cases of disputes (Suprapto 2013). According to Bakry (2020), people with dominant cultures are willing to move aside and make room for differences, which characterises liberal multiculturalism.

These studies have not been compiled into a single scheme of cultural competency as the basis for interethnic collaboration. Addressing this gap, this study combines the three concepts, i.e., collaboration, cultural competence of self-control in conflict, and cultural competence of openness in cultural diversity, which make up the conceptual framework, as shown in Figure 1.

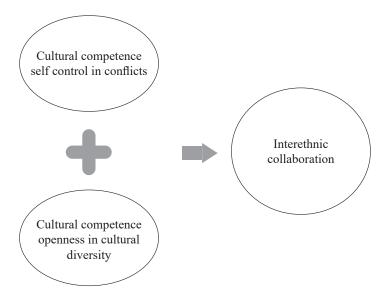


Figure 1: Cultural competence as the basis for interethnic collaboration.

This study assumes that the combination of the cultural competence of self-control in conflicts and openness in cultural diversity enables interethnic collaboration, which can serve as a recipe for living in harmony and resolving conflicts that are prone to occur in multicultural societies. This assumption is in accordance with the results of previous studies regarding Minangkabau and ethnicity (Zubir and Zayzda 2010; Elfira 2011; Abdullah 2018). The Minangkabau people uphold their ethnic pride with their ability to harmoniously synthesise contradictions (Hadler 2008).

METHODS

The theme of interethnic collaboration has been chosen as the subject of discussion based on three considerations. First, collaboration between ethnic groups with different traditions and religions has not been extensively discussed in previous studies, particularly with regards to the relationship between immigrants and local ethnic groups. Second, collaboration helps maintain the relationship between two ethnic groups in fulfilling their respective interests, and is influenced by each group's customs and religion. Third, interethnic collaboration can perpetuate harmonious relations and prevent conflict. This relationship requires maintenance to serve as a model for other multicultural societies. These three reasons are expected to provide a comprehensive understanding and insight into solving interethnic social problems.

This study used a qualitative method and case study as an approach. Referring to Assyakurrohim et al. (2023), primary data were obtained from a field study to observe the practice of interethnic collaboration between the two communities in Nagari Sungai Buluah, Padang Pariaman regency, West Sumatera province, Indonesia. The data consisted of different forms of collaboration between the two ethnic groups as well as various underlying factors and implications for people's lives. Interethnic collaboration takes place in social, cultural, and religious activities that have been implemented as a result of negotiating the interests of both parties. The underlying factors are historical, sociological, economic, and political. The implications include cultural harmony, acculturation, amalgamation and assimilation and control of interethnic conflicts.

Data were collected through in-depth interviews of six informants, as follows: a Nias traditional leader (R1); a Minangkabau traditional leader (R2); a Nias individual who has lived in the village for a long time (R3); a Minangkabau member who interacts intensely with the Nias community (R4); and two informants with expertise in the topic of Nias and Minangkabau ethnic groups, Dr Anatona from Andalas University (R5) and Dr Yulizal Yunus from Imam Bonjol Islamic State University (R6)—both universities are in West Sumatera. The interviews with the six informants reveal how interethnic collaboration is implemented and the implications of the interactions between the two ethnic groups.

The field study lasted for one year (June 2021 to August 2022) and included field observations, interviews, and focus-group discussions (FGDs). Data were obtained by visiting the informants in their homes after a personal approach, which lasted for two weeks to cultivate rapport or mutual trust. Subsequently, in-depth interviews were conducted at four meetings. The researchers positioned themselves as a neutral party to objectively observe the perspective of both the Nias and Minangkabau ethnic groups. Moreover, as the researchers come from the Minangkabau ethnic group, they have an understanding of this context. Interviews were conducted at each informant's location after obtaining prior approval.

Before the field research, various secondary materials, such as journal articles, were collected to map the forms and sources of interethnic collaboration values in other areas. Direct observations were taken from several locations and social activities. Six informants were interviewed and invited to an FGD to confirm the initial findings and compare their perspectives. The FGDs were conducted at two meetings. In the first meeting, the informants expressed their perspectives on interethnic relations. The informants stated the positive effect of the collaboration being practiced thus far in the second meeting.

The data analysis was performed in two steps. First, data were processed according to the stages formulated by Huberman (Miles et al. 2013). The stages began with the filtering of observations and interviews, organisation of data in a summary and synopsis based on the themes of the field findings to verify the conclusions. Second, the analysis was carried out following an interpretation technique that started from data restatement from both observations and interviews, followed by a description to find patterns or trends and ended with interpretation to reveal its meaning (Rofiah and Bungin 2021).

RESULTS

Interethnic Collaboration Between Nias and Minangkabau Ethnic Groups in Nagari Sungai Buluah, West Sumatera

The Nagari Sungai Buluah community is an example of a multicultural society in which ethnic groups live side-by-side in various aspects of life. Children of both ethnic groups attend the same schools at elementary, junior, and high school levels. No difference in access to facilities and infrastructure is enforced based on ethnicity, and all people have the same rights in education. This case is also true for economic access, such as markets, banks, pawnshops, and other services, where people have equal access to and opportunities for economic activity. The majority of the Nias ethnic community work as farmers in the service sector, while the Minangkabau ethnic group is dominant in the government sector. In terms of residency, the ethnic Nias community is concentrated in one of the *jorong* (small villages), namely, Tanjung Basung, mainly because they still use the Nias language. As a place of worship, the church of the Nias ethnic group is located near Tanjung Basung *jorong* to allow the community easier access (see Figure 2).





Figure 2: Church at Tanjung Basung *jorong*.

Source: Authors.

Collaboration is characterised by a relationship with considerable concern for each other. The Minangkabau and Nias ethnic groups put others' interests at the same level as their own. Both parties agree to overcome religious and cultural differences through collaborations that are acceptable to all parties. Table 1 presents excerpts from the interviews with the Nias and Minangkabau ethnic leaders in the study area while Figures 3(a)–(f)¹ show images relevant to each form of collaboration.

Table 1: Forms of interethnic collaboration

Informant statement

So, if there is a party, the Christians are in the place for the Christians, the Muslims are in the place for the Muslims. (R1)

If there is a problem that cannot be resolved by the Nias customary leader, it will be conveyed to us as the chairman of KAN, and other KAN members are ready to help. Datuk Ramilis (R4), the Nias traditional leader gave speech in 2022.

If they want to marry Minangkabau people, they must convert to Islam. Muslim and Christian cannot marry... (R4)

Form of collaboration

1. Two food menus for party guests



Figure 3(a): Foods in Muslim menu.

2. The acknowledgement and duties of Nias traditional leaders in Minangkabau customary structure



Figure 3(b): A Nias leader giving speech to the community.

3. The process of religious conversion



Figure 3(c): A Minangkabau wedding ceremony of a Nias woman and Minangkabau man.

Pigs are raised freely, we must respect the Islamic community, we must not fight... (R2)

4. Three conditions for the Nias community (number of pigs herded, number of churches, and the religious faith of the Nias customary leader)



Figure 3(d): A pig cage in Nias community.

(continued on next page)

Table 1: (continued)

Informant statement

We use the Minangkabau tradition of *malakok* when accepting immigrants who will become part of the community... but our version... also uses *carano* (chalice) and veil for traditional ceremonies. (R1)

They may pass on and maintain their original values and culture... there are stone jumping traditions, balance and *tulo-tulo* dances as well as traditional songs. They can also use Nias language for their customary needs... (R3)

Form of collaboration

5. Cultural assimilation of the Nias community



Figure 3(e): The man from outside Nias community doing *malakok*.

6. The process of assimilation using art performances



Figure 3(f): Art Performances of Nias Community in Independence Day of Indonesia.

The results in Table 1 show six forms of collaboration agreed upon by the two ethnic groups. The first is the provision of food to wedding guests. The Nias community is willing to provide two types of food for wedding guests in consideration of the different religions of Islam and Christianity. Second, the recognition and duties of the Nias traditional leaders, who are representative of KAN in welcoming and vouching for children in his extended family, including other ethnic groups who are not Muslims. Third, there is religious conversion. The Nias community allows its members to convert to Islam if they want to marry a Minangkabau woman.

The fourth form of collaboration includes the three conditions to be obeyed by the Nias community. First, Christian worship has been conducted in two churches built in 1967. Second, pigs, limited to three, are allowed only for customary purposes. Third, the Nias ethnic leader is a Muslim. Fifth, the Nias ethnic group is allowed to carry out cultural assimilation and practice two traditions of Minangkabau origin, namely, the *malakok* tradition and the use of the title *Datuk*. *Malakok* is a procession of accepting new residents by fulfilling certain requirements. The title *Datuk* is important because it is customary for ethnic leaders. Sixth, the Nias language and arts are preserved. The *nagari* administration facilitated the development of Nias traditional arts, such as stone jumping, dance and singing traditions. Such dances and art are

regularly performed during the celebration of Indonesia's Independence Day. In addition, the Nias people are welcome to use their language for customary purposes. These six forms of collaboration show that local customs and religion, namely Minangkabau and Islam, are the basis for determining giveand-take attitudes and behaviours towards each other.

Factors Behind the Nias-Minangkabau Collaboration

Collaboration between ethnic groups occurs when each party has the appropriate values, attitudes, and behaviours to achieve collective goals. Based on the results of the interviews with traditional leaders and Minangkabau history experts, Table 2 shows the various factors that pushed both ethnic groups to negotiate to live in harmony and peace.

Table 2: Factors behind Nias and Minangkabau ethnic groups collaboration

Informants' statements	Factors behind the collaboration
After the growth of the Nias community, they asked the Minangkabau traditional leaders to let them build a church as a place of worship. Without the church, they must go to the city of Padang, which is far away and the road is still underdeveloped. Therefore, the village traditional leaders allowed them to build a church in 1967 (R5)	Customary law
The arrival of a Nias ethnic group at Sungai Buluah village is written in the Sumatera Bode 1914 article. The group consisted of 15 men, 17 women, and 9 children. In addition, they were led by a child who became an important person, from the Katufa clan (R6)	History
Looking at the tenacity of the Nias people, Kasupian from Pariaman brought a group of them to open up agricultural land in Tanjung Basung in early 1900, Datuk (R5)	Economy
Nias people can organise their leadership. They are actively adapting and thus harmony emerges among the community (R5)	Sociology

From Table 2, according to the Minangkabau ethnic history experts, four factors encourage the collaboration between the Nias ethnic group and Nagari Sungai Buluah leaders. First, customary law is the decision of traditional Minangkabau leaders for the Nias ethnic group. Six rules were enforced by the traditional Minangkabau leaders, namely, permission to build a church, permission to convert to Islam, permission to use the title Datuk, obligation to respect Minangkabau customs, obligation to serve the village community, and obligation to fulfil customs. The second factor is history, which shows

that the arrival of the Nias group in the area was initiated by traditional village leaders to help explore the forest. Third, the economic factor is the main driving force for the Nias ethnic group to collaborate with the village community. They were asked to explore the forest and clear plantations in exchange for being given the right to establish settlements. The fourth factor is sociological, namely, the Nias people can adapt to the local community and follow the provisions set by *nagari* traditional leaders.

Implications of the Collaboration

Collaboration between the Nias ethnic group and traditional *nagari* leaders had positive implications for both parties. Table 3 describes such implications based on the results of the interviews and FGDs with the two communities.

Table 3: Implications of interethnic collaboration

Informants' statement	Implications of interethnic collaboration
We feel comfortable, unobtrusive and undisturbed so far we feel protected by the village and KAN. That is because we follow the rules of Minangkabau ethnic group (R2)	Sense of belonging
There was never any friction, we get along peacefully in our life (R3)	Mutual understanding
As long as the Nias community does not interfere (with our custom), we let them develop themselves. But if they disturb or demean Minangkabau custom, we will expel them. So, the parameter is <i>raso jo pareso</i> (consideration of will and feeling). (R4)	Realisation of an open attitude

Table 3 shows three implications of interethnic collaboration between the two ethnic groups. First, a sense of belonging indicates affection for the village from both the Nias and Minangkabau communities. This implication stems from the Nias group's feelings of respect, protection and comfort from Nagari Sungai Buluah traditional leaders and the community. The *nagari* administration also feels that the presence of the Nias community with their traditions makes Nagari Sungai Buluah an intercultural tourism destination. Second, the awareness of mutual understanding in maintaining a harmonious and peaceful life became the identity and pride of the *nagari* administration. Third, the realisation of an open attitude, namely, the Nias community, is given opportunities to develop themselves, adopt the local culture, and convert to Islam to marry Minangkabau women. The results are illustrated in Figure 4.

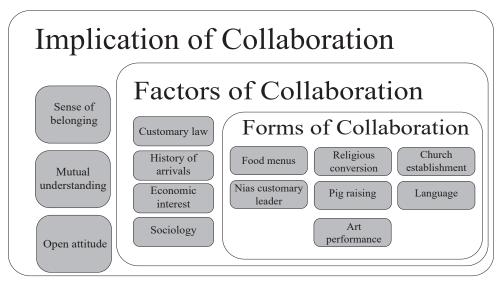


Figure 4: Forms, factors and implications of interethnic collaboration.

DISCUSSION

This study reveals that the source of interethnic conflict is the failure to assert a fair division of rights and obligations between immigrants and local ethnic groups. Failure is caused by different understandings of justice. As a minority immigrant group, the position of the Nias people is unequal to that of the Minangkabau as the majority local group. Therefore, both groups must compromise to coexist and respect each other. This study succeeds in showing how both ethnic groups can collaborate in six forms: (1) two food menus for both groups at celebrations; (2) determination of Nias traditional leader; (3) permission to convert religion; (4) limitation on the number of pigs raised for traditional events; (5) limitation on the number of churches; and (6) the use of Nias' traditional language and art performances.

Four factors influence collaboration, as follows: (1) customary law and religion as a reference; (2) the history of Nias ethnic group arrival; (3) land use as economic resources; and (4) conformity to social norms. The implications of collaboration are a sense of belonging, mutual understanding and openness in both groups. One of the cultural competencies for successful collaboration between the Nias and Minangkabau ethnic groups is the philosophy of "where the earth is stepped on, there the sky is upheld", or the more popular version of "when in Rome, do as the Romans do". The Nias people are willing to comply with the provisions of the Minangkabau ethnic group in order to be accepted as part of the community. In turn, this compliance is accepted

by the Minangkabau people who have the same philosophy when they are immigrants outside their hometown. The application of this philosophy is illustrated in Figure 5.

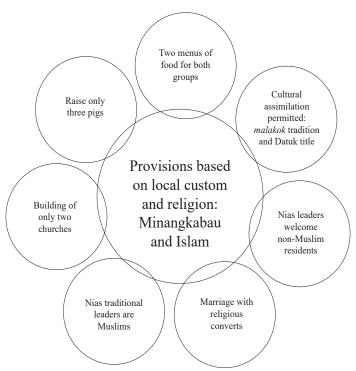


Figure 5: Nias community implements the philosophy of "where the earth is stepped on, there the sky is upheld".

This study shows three important meanings as prerequisites for the collaboration between immigrants and local ethnic groups. First, where economic factor is concerned, immigrants need certainty from local ethnic groups regarding where and how they can perform economic activities. Permission from the *nagari* community leaders to cultivate and occupy the land has opened the door for collaboration between the two groups. Second, ethnic immigrants must recognise their leaders' positions as representatives of the local community. This recognition has become a social and political guarantee for fair interactions. Third, the local community needs commitment from ethnic immigrants to respect local customary and religious values and adhere to agreements that limit the implementation of their worships and traditions in the area. They are also expected to participate in village development and activities. These factors are in accordance with the purpose of collaboration, which is to satisfy all parties' interests and concerns (Kumolohadi and Andrianto 2002). Figure 6 shows the fairness and collaboration between the immigrant and local ethnic groups.

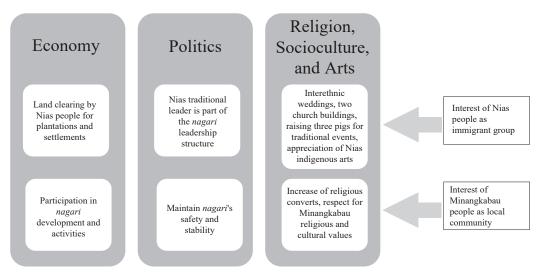


Figure 6: Fairness and collaboration between immigrant and local ethnic groups.

The interethnic collaboration between the Nias ethnic group as immigrants and the Minangkabau ethnic group as the local community is conducted for three reasons. First, historical conditions peacefully bind both communities to continue living side-by-side. The agreements between *nagari* community leaders and ethnic immigrants regarding land use, leadership structure, worship activities, traditions and arts, have become the foundation for the collaboration. Second, traditional leaders demonstrate competence and persistence in implementing values for the common good and existing agreements. Both parties show mutual respect and the ability to compromise on fulfilling their respective interests. Third, intensive—formal and informal—communication occur between traditional leaders and communities. This communication is supported by the *nagari*'s geographical location on the main route of West Sumatera's trans-regency road, which demonstrates open-mindedness among the people. Both ethnic communities often hold meetings to share information and are actively involved in *nagari* activities.

Previous studies on ethnic interactions reveal optimistic and pessimistic points of view on collaboration. Yulianto (2023) argues that ethnicities can be intertwined through daily interactions and cultural practices. Furthermore, conflicts can be reduced if no significant differences exist between ethnic groups living together (Tucker et al. 2021). In their places of settlement, diasporic communities cover up their ethnic identities and escape conflicts in their home countries, thus contributing to the harmonious living conditions in their host countries (Atem et al. 2022). Conversely, studies reveal the negative reality of interethnic relations. In Indonesia, culture and religion reinforce inequalities in the economic sector (Meyer and Waskitho 2021), although in certain cases,

conflicts occur due to the emergence of Islam and stereotypes against certain ethnicities (Schulze 2017). Other studies illustrate that peace mechanisms in certain regions have only produced pseudo/negative peace compared with the success of reconciliation, which is a product of local wisdom (Duncan 2016). People without strong ties to cultural diversity are disturbed by the increasing community diversity in their environment (Laurence 2014).

In this study, the philosophy "where the earth is stepped on, there the sky is upheld" enables reciprocal relations and the sharing of interests between two ethnic groups. This value congruence is an important factor that encourages effective collaboration in certain cultural contexts (Severance et al. 2013). This study facilitates the prediction of situations that allow collaboration between communities with different cultural backgrounds, acceptance of differences, and approaches for implementation and evaluation of harmonious living. This study also explains that cultural incompatibility may arise during collaboration if sufficient time and effort are not allocated in the achievement of each party's interests. Conflicts occur in interethnic collaboration because of people's inability to face challenges, particularly during reciprocal interactions (Dibble and Gibson 2013). This study also reveals that the Nias and Minangkabau ethnic groups in Nagari Sungai Buluah, West Sumatera, have overcome this problem.

This study succeeds in proving that interethnic collaboration can be carried out based on two principles. First, the two societies must have an egalitarian relationship, which is one of the social capitals apart from norms, rules, beliefs, respect, obligations, and awards, as stated by Coleman et al. (2014). Second, a specific philosophy must be aimed at ethnic immigrants, that is, "where the earth is stepped on, there the sky is upheld". Both principles prove that both groups have self-control in conflict and openness in accepting the differences. These principles are also highly relevant at the global level, where societies are segmented by ethnicity, religion, race, and political perspectives.

CONCLUSION

This study presents important findings regarding the success in collaboration and coexistence among different ethnic groups in Indonesia. Their agreement on the values and structure of customary institutions, rights, and obligations as members of indigenous communities is an interesting area of discussion. Furthermore, these two ethnic groups, namely, Minangkabau and Nias, differ

greatly in terms of ethnicity, origin, and religion. The significance of the two communities lies in their succeeding in maintaining the social system through the structure of customary institutions, accompanied by voluntary rights and obligations. This harmony is in accordance with local values, especially of Minangkabau ethnicity, as follows: dimana bumi dipijak, di situ langit dijunjung (where the earth is stepped on, there the sky is upheld). Therefore, their predecessors' negotiations and consensus for affirming the exchange of rights and obligations in the name of harmony cannot be ignored. Although conflicts have occurred, these ethnic groups have managed to maintain maturity and openness in accommodating various social practices.

Based on the national ideology of Pancasila in Indonesia, the concept of *gotong royong* (the spirit of mutual cooperation and collaboration) is highly valued. This concept emphasises the importance of working together and helping one another to benefit the whole community. The success of the collaboration and coexistence of Minangkabau and Nias ethnic groups thus supports Pancasila ideology's emphasis on the importance of *gotong royong* as a means to achieve social harmony and solidarity among different ethnic and religious groups. Based on such principles, interethnic collaboration and cooperation can serve as powerful tools for conflict resolution and community development and help build a more inclusive and harmonious society. This study raises the concept of interethnic collaboration as the best option to solve community problems by using knowledge and values as community guidelines. Interethnic collaboration is also a stepping stone in the response to various external disruptions and influences.

A limitation of this study is that the data were derived from in-depth interviews and observations of traditional leaders and communities of two ethnic groups in only one *nagari*. Thus, this analysis may not be suitable as a reference to explain the opportunities and challenges for collaboration on a wider scale. Moreover, the informants' views, which are used as the basis for inferring the meaning of collaboration and cultural competence, do not provide a comprehensive picture of collaboration among other ethnic groups. Based on these limitations, further research is needed to consider regional comparisons as well as collect varied data to show how different cultures negotiate harmony and peace in common public spaces.

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COMPLIANCE WITH ETHICAL STANDARDS

Ensuring compliance with ethical standards, the research team carefully designed the subject participation forms for the Minangkabau and Nias indigenous communities, incorporating procedures for informed consent that respect cultural sensitivities and local traditions.

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