



Revitalization of *Kalosara* Value as a Model of Conflict Resolution Based on Local Wisdom in Tolaki Wolasi Community

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Abstract

The ideological conflict that occurred between the *Aoma* and *Ambesakoa* communities can be managed creatively and wisely through *Kalosara* (a symbol of Tolaki customs that emphasizes unity). This is based on efforts to respect each other and maintain harmony based on Tolaki awareness, a culture rooted in the *Kalosara* concept. Previous research has widely reviewed *Kalosara* as a symbol of Tolaki customs. However, an in-depth study of its role as a step to resolve conflicts based on local wisdom has not been updated, so this study aims to analyze the revitalization of *Kalosara* values as a model for conflict resolution. The setting of this research is in Wolasi, South Konawe Regency, involving various informants including the South Konawe Regency government, the South Konawe Regency Ministry of Religion, customary observers, and the local community. The Participatory Action Research method was used to examine data in a participatory manner by researchers. The results of this study found that *Kalosara* is a conflict resolution model based on the local wisdom of the Wolasi community, Tolaki Tribe, which paves the way for consensus in the form of socio-cultural integration in society in a segregated atmosphere, with the value of *medulu mepoko'aso* (unity and oneness), *ate pute penao moroha* (sanctity and justice), and *morini mbu'umbundi monapa mbu'u ndawaro* (prosperity and welfare). Through this study, implications for conflict resolution based on local wisdom were obtained, including the stages of presenting *Kalosara* (a sacred symbol of peace), an oath or joint statement about the promise of peace, an attitude of accepting customary decisions, and reconciliation or parties in conflict.

Keywords: *Kalosara*, Local Wisdom, Tolaki Community, Conflict Resolution

Abstrak

Konflik ideologis yang terjadi antara masyarakat Aoma dan Ambesakoa, dapat dikelola dengan kreatif dan bijak melalui Kalosara (simbol adat Tolaki yang menekankan persatuan dan kesatuan). Hal ini didasarkan pada upaya saling menghormati dan menjaga keharmonisan berbasis kesadaran ke-Tolaki-an yakni satu budaya yang berakar pada konsep Kalosara. Riset terdahulu banyak mengulas Kalosara sebagai simbol adat masyarakat Tolaki. Akan tetapi, telaah mendalam terkait perannya sebagai langkah penyelesaian konflik berbasis kearifan lokal belum dimutakhirkan, sehingga penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis revitalisasi nilai Kalosara sebagai model resolusi konflik. Latar penelitian ini bertempat di Wolasi, Kabupaten Konawe Selatan, dengan melibatkan berbagai informan meliputi pemerintah kabupaten konawe selatan, kementerian agama kabupaten konawe selatan, pemerhati adat, dan masyarakat setempat. Metode Participatory Action Research digunakan untuk menelaah data secara partisipatif oleh peneliti. Hasil penelitian ini menemukan bahwa Kalosara adalah model resolusi konflik berbasis kearifan lokal masyarakat Wolasi, Suku Tolaki, yang memuluskan jalan konsensus berupa integrasi sosial budaya pada masyarakat dalam suasana segregasi, dengan muatan nilai medulu mepoko'aso (persatuan dan kesatuan), ate pute penao moroha (kesucian dan keadilan), dan morini mbu'umbundi monapa mbu'u ndawaro (kemakmuran dan kesejahteraan). Melalui penelitian ini, diperoleh implikasi penyelesaian konflik berbasis kearifan lokal, meliputi tahapan menghadirkan Kalosara (simbol perdamaian yang sakral), sumpah atau pernyataan bersama tentang janji damai, sikap menerima putusan adat, serta rekonsiliasi atau pihak yang berselisih.

Kata Kunci: *Kalosara, Kearifan Lokal, Masyarakat Tolaki, Resolusi Konflik*

Introduction

The context and facts of interfaith relations in Tolaki society are interesting to analyze. As is known, in addition to adhering to Islam, there are also a number of Tolaki people who adhere to the Christian faith even though in very small numbers. Some areas that become Christian enclaves are Lambuya District in Konawe Regency and Wolasi District in South Konawe Regency. However, in these two communities, their response to the existence of Tolaki people of different religions is slightly different.¹ If in the Tolaki Lambuya community, differences in beliefs do

¹ Nurjannah, "Pararelisme Keimanan: Relasi Kesepahaman antar Iman pada Masyarakat Tolaki Lambuya," *Laporan Penelitian*, Diktis Kemenag RI, 2011, p. v. Awal, et.al., "Moderasi Beragama pada Masyarakat Konawe Selatan (Studi Atas Toleransi Beragama Berbasis Kearifan Lokal Kalosara Masyarakat Konawe Selatan)," *El-Fata: Journal of Sharia Economics and Islamic Education* 2, No. 2 (2023), p. 195-215. Akbar Setiawan, et.al., "Mepokoaso di Suku Tolaki Sebagai Media Dakwah dalam Mencegah Konflik Antar Umat Beragama di Konawe Selatan," *Jurnal Mercusuar* 4, No. 1 (2023), p. 140-159. Ipanang & Sigit Dwi Laksana, "Membangun Kesadaran Keberagamaan Inklusif di Masyarakat Segregatif di Sulawesi Tenggara," *Adimas: Jurnal Pengabdian kepada Masyarakat* 5, No. 1 (2021), p. 43-52.

not become a complicated problem and preoccupy them to build elegant communication in all dimensions of life, then it is slightly different from what happens to the Tolaki community in Aoma and Ambesakoa.² In this society, there are indications of “tension” even though it does not have to appear in the form of manifest conflict. Tension is evident in the segregation and concentration of the population based on faith groups (Islam-Christianity).

Theoretically, social and cultural segregation as in the case of Aoma and Ambesakoa has implications for the strengthening of identity culture based on ideological beliefs. The condition of the relationship between two communities of different religions separated by territorial boundaries based on the identification of ideological beliefs, according to the author at a certain culmination point will encourage the birth of excessive prejudice (stereotype negatives), which is prone to conflict. That so far the conflict in its manifest form has never happened to the two communities, is not a strong reason to say that this area is a safe zone.³ This impression can at least be captured from the statement of Rev. Fidelis Buke, who analogizes living comfortably and safely with being in the same environment and social space.⁴ This expression indicates the fear of intimidation by the majority against the minority.

On the other hand, the potential for conflict, which has never been manifested in the social field of the Aoma and Ambesakoa communities, is also an indication that both communities have the ability to build a dialogue with each other that leads to compromise in order to minimize opportunities for conflict. On the basis of these social realities, the author is interested in examining more deeply the phenomenon of interfaith relations in the Aoma and Ambesakoa communities that are in the magnetic pull of conflict, compromise and consensus.

Therefore, this research is a Participatory Action Research-based service design focused on strengthening institutional capacity within the framework of customary institutions. The cultural values approach is seen as an effective way to maintain social integration while eliminating the potential for conflict. This thinking is based on a view that in society there are potential cultural values to be used as a medium for the transformation of violence to peace but tend to be ignored so far. Centering the process of transforming the culture of peace in society needs to be done to reduce dependence on modern institutions that are filled with values of true peace (pseudo-peace). The research results of several experts in the field of conflict

² Muhammad Alifuddin, "Dakwah Inklusif dalam Masyarakat Segreteratif di Aoma dan Ambesakoa Sulawesi Tenggara," *Jurnal Dakwah* 16, No. 2 (2015), 171-201. Idaman & Rusland, "Islam dan Pergeseran Pandangan Hidup Orang Tolaki," *Al-Ulum* 12, No. 2 (2012), p. 267-302.

³ Anja Kusuma Atmaja & Alfiana Yuniar Rahmawati, "Urgensi Inklusifitas Pelaksanaan Dakwah di Tengah Problematika Sosial," *Jurnal Ilmiah Syi'ar* 20, No. 2 (2025), p. 203-215. Muliadi & A. Zamakhsyari Baharuddin, "Dakwah Inklusif dalam Kerangka Maqāsid Al-Shari'ah: Studi Kasus Pola Interaksi Lintas Agama pada Masyarakat Kalukku," *Jurnal Dakwah Risalah* 31, No. 2 (2021), p. 199-219. Ashadi L Diab, et.al., "Accommodation of Local Wisdom in Conflict Resolution of Indonesia's Urban Society," *Cogent Social Sciences* 8, No. 1 (2022).

⁴ Interview with Pastor Fidelis Buke, October 10, 2024.

resolution show a number of weaknesses of conflict resolution models based on national law. Therefore, it is necessary to open the widest possible space for community participation in resolving domestic conflicts using customary institutions that are alive and sourced in their culture or beliefs.⁵

Indeed, relevant research on the conflict between the Aoma and Ambesakoa communities in the context of Tolaki religion has been researched from various scientific perspectives. Among other things, it discusses aspects of community religious awareness,⁶ inclusive da'wah,⁷ as well as the conflict and consensus dynamics of the Tolaki religious community.⁸ The thematic description of the discourse on the topic of religion of the Tolaki community, there is still room for discussion of other studies, namely with regard to the revitalization of *kalosara* local wisdom values as a model of conflict resolution in the Tolaki tribe community in the Wolasi area of South Konawe Regency, Southeast Sulawesi.

The gap analysis of the above study will be reviewed in the theme: "Revitalization of *Kalosara* Value as a Model of Conflict Resolution Based on Local Wisdom in the Tolaki Wolasi Community of South Konawe Regency". Furthermore, the focal point of the study will be described in the following four questions, namely (1) whether the *kalosara* customary institution can function as a conflict resolution medium; (2) how the customary institution plays a role in resolving conflicts, both intra and inter-religious; (3) how the Aoma and Ambesakoa communities respond to the use of these customary institutions; and (4) strengthening the capacity of customary institutions in strengthening the culture of integration in the community.

Socio-Cultural Structure and Value System of the Tolaki People

1. *Kalosara* as a socio-cultural system of the Tolaki people

In principle, every ethnic group that inhabits the archipelago has customs and a system of life values that they make the basis and basis in addressing or responding to the atmosphere of life they face. Like other tribes in Indonesia, the Tolaki people as an integral part of the ethnic communities that inhabit the archipelago also have a foundation of cultural values that they inherited from their ancestors. The value system is sometimes not to say always/very instrumental in providing life orientation

⁵ Saidin Ernas, "Integrasi Sosial Masyarakat Papua: Studi tentang Dinamika Perdamaian pada Masyarakat Fak-Fak di Propinsi Papua Barat," *Disertasi*, Yogyakarta: Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2014.

⁶ Ipanang & Sigit Dwi Laksana, "Membangun Kesadaran Keberagamaan Inklusif di Masyarakat Segreteratif di Sulawesi Tenggara," *Adimas: Jurnal Pengabdian kepada Masyarakat* 5, No. 1 (2021), p. 43-52.

⁷ Iskandar, et.al., "Dakwah Inklusif di Kota Parepare," *Komunida*, p. 168-182. <http://oipas.sentraki.umpo.ac.id/index.php/adimas/article/view/3744>. Ahmad Hidayatullah & Khaerunnisa Tri Darmaningrum, "Inklusifitas Dakwah Akun@ Nugarislucu di Media Sosial," *Islamic Communication Journal* 4, No. 2 (2019), p. 183-196.

⁸ Muhammaf Alifuddin, et.al., "Conflict and Consensus in The Dynamics of Islamic and Christian Relations in Tolaki Tribe in Indonesia," *Kalam* 18, No. 2 (2024), p. 181-200.

for the Tolaki people. The cultural value that is very instrumental in the life of the Tolaki people is *kalo sara*.

Kalosara in the Tolaki value system plays an important role in their lives. Therefore, the existence of *kalo sara* for Tolaki people is not only obeyed and respected but also “sacred”. According to Muslim Su'ud (Tolaki culturalist), based on the traditional elders passed down from generation to generation: it is concluded that *kalo sara* first appeared and lived in the Tolaki environment during the time of a Princess King named *Wekoila*.⁹ In the genealogy of Tolaki kings, *Wekoila* is the foundation of the kingdom on Tolaki land and is also the first king of the kings who ruled the Tolaki community. For the local community, *Wekoila* is believed to be the daughter of heaven who came down to earth, therefore *Wekoila* is referred to as *sangia I Wekoila* or *Anawi Ngguluri* (daughter of heaven who came down to Earth) which in Tolaki language is called (*Tudu ari iwawo sangia wawo molinga Mbuendo Tolaki I wuta Konawe*). From various local sources it is stated that the existence of the Tolaki kingdom as a country led by a King began to stand since the beginning of the XI century or estimated th. 1150 M. Where at that time coincided with the establishment of several Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms in several places on the islands of Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan and Sulawesi.¹⁰

The history of speech that lives in the Tolaki community, states that the emergence of *Wekoilah*, is inseparable from the social and political conditions of the people in the land of Konawe at that time (in this case the Tolaki Tribe / whose territory now includes Konawe Regency, Kendari City, South Konawe Regency, and North Konawe Regency) which is in a precarious atmosphere. The situation at that time was full of chaos, uncertainty, conflicts occurred everywhere. This condition occurs because there is no official government, or there is no King as a leader, so there are no rules governing the community. Therefore, the law used was the law of the jungle, “whoever is strong then he is the one who rules, and vice versa those who are weak will continue to be under the oppression of the strong and powerful”. The absence of a mutually agreed law led to violations everywhere. According to Muslimin, there were only non-formal leaders, such as *Toono Motuo*, who was in charge of controlling the government at the village level, *Pu'utobu*, who was in charge of leading and controlling the government in a certain area, called *Tobu*. The logical consequence of the absence of cultural and social values in the form of law at that time was chaos and uncertain social conditions. The uncertain socio-political atmosphere of the Tolaki community at that time was a logical implication of the absence of unification among regional leaders. Tolaki communities or ethnics that lived at that time only guarded their respective territories and it was not uncommon for them to attack each other, with such conditions communication did not go well and was even completely cut off.¹¹

⁹ Interview with Muslimin Su'ud, October 20, 2024.

¹⁰ Muslimin Su'ud, *Kepemimpinan Adat Kalosara pada Masyarakat Tolaki di Kabupaten Kendari*, (Kendari: Balai Penelitian FISIP Universitas Haluoleo, 1998).

¹¹ Interview with Muslimin Su'ud, October 20, 2024.

The less conducive social atmosphere at that time (VII century) was also influenced by the triangular war between the kingdom of Mokole Padangguni, the kingdom of Besulutu and the kingdom of Wawolesea. The civil war lasted for a long time, resulting in many casualties. The drama of the civil war was later won by the Padangguni kingdom, while the defeated Besulutu and Wawolesea kingdoms collapsed until the emergence of a unifying kingdom, the Konawe kingdom. The surviving Padangguni kingdom was led by a king (Mokole) named Ndotongano Wonua (Rundulangi), which means the King who rules in the center of the country, namely Abuki.

In the history of storytelling that lives in the Tolaki community, it is stated that, in an uncertain condition at that time, a beautiful princess who was believed to have come from heaven appeared. The princess then faced the king of Ndotongano and introduced herself named Wekoila as someone sent by the king of Sangia Iwawo Sangia which means the Lord of the Upper World. The princess claimed to be a messenger to overcome the chaos that occurred in Konawe at that time. In addition, he (Wekoila) also claimed to be assigned to build a new kingdom that could unite all Tolaki people who inhabit in Konawe, as well as become the first king of the Konawe kingdom.

Of course, Wekoila's confession was not simply believed by the king at that time, so to give confidence to the ruling king at that time that she was really a messenger of the king of gods from the kingdom of heaven (kayangan), the princess showed a magical object to the king of Ndotongano Wonua, according to her the object was a deposit from the king of gods ruling the upper world (kayangan), the object in question was "kalo". To convince King Ndotongano Wonua that the object is a magic object, Wekoila explained that kalo is a magic object that holds extraordinary power, if used to rule, it can restore the atmosphere and condition of the chaos at that time on the earth of Konawe. In addition, the kalo object is able to restore the situation in the land of Konawe back to safety, peace, order and unity again as before the chaos.

It seems that Wekoila's explanation of the existence of her presence with kalo could convince the King, and hence he received a good reception and accepted Wekoila as a messenger of the king of kayangan to stay and carry out the mandate imposed on him. As a condition of Wekoila's acceptance by the King at that time, Wekoila had to be willing to accept King Ndotongano Wonua's son Ramandalangi as her husband. Wekoila agreed to the king's request, and they were married. After the marriage between Ramandalangi and Wekoila, King Ndotongano Wonua ordered Wekoila and her husband Randalangi to move the center of the Padangguni kingdom from Abuki to Unaaha (now the capital of Konawe Regency) which at that time was called Kambo Ilaronii.

The transfer of the center of the Padangguni kingdom at that time from Abuki to Unaaha also marked a new era for the people and ethnic Tolaki in the socio-political and cultural fields. After Unaaha was made the center of the Konawe kingdom by Wekoila, his next step was to call all village leaders (Toono Motuono

Okambo) along with all residents of the Konawe kingdom around Unaaha. Wekoila then explained, that their existence (husband and wife Wekoila and Ramandalangi) in Unaaha, was to unite all citizens and ethnic groups of Tolaki in Konawe. In addition to uniting them, he would also resolve and stop all the chaos that had occurred under their rule. On that occasion, Wekoila also introduced kalo as a magical and powerful object as well as explaining the reason why it arrived at Konawe. After Wekoila's explanation was complete (according to Muslimin) he then ordered all village heads and heads of Tobu units, located throughout the Konawe region to make duplicates of the object as the original.

After all the kalo duplicates had been made, Wekoila then selected a number of worthy villagers, those with intellectual capacity and good diplomatic skills, especially in communicating in the Tolaki language. They were assigned to contact and invite the Toono Motuo (village heads), Pu'utobu (regional heads) scattered throughout the land of Konawe. In carrying out their duties, each messenger brought kalo objects as a symbol of the presence of the king who did not have time to go down and come directly to meet the heads of villages and regions. With the kalo objects brought down by the king's messengers, the community understands that the call and invitation is the call of the King (Sangia Wekoila).¹²

Seeing the kalo object brought by Wekoila's messenger, the Toono Motu'o and Pu'utobu welcomed them respectfully. The welcome was made because the object was a symbol brought by Wekoila from the land of kayangan which they believed held an aura of magic and miracles. Wekoila's invitation, delivered by his messengers, was welcomed with open arms and full of respect by Toono Motu'o and Puutobu throughout Konawe. All Toono Motu'o and Puutobu then went to fulfill and attend the invitation. During the meeting, Wekoila then introduced and explained in detail his presence on Tolaki land as well as the mandate he brought from King Kayangan. Furthermore, Wekoila then introduced and explained about the ins and outs of kalo and its functions. The socialization conducted by Wekoila about the existence and function of kalo in the Tolaki community at that time was accepted gracefully and respectfully by the entire Tolaki ethnic group. As a result of the meeting, all invitees unanimously agreed to accept kalo as Regalia (traditional royal regalia) and at the same time appointed Wekoila as their king.

The inauguration of Wekoila as king and the kalo object as a symbol of unity and unification of the Tolaki nation had a positive impact on people's lives at that time. As king, Wekoila succeeded in restoring a safe, peaceful and unified atmosphere of community life. The concept of kalo carried out by Sangia I Wekoila as head of government in the Konawe kingdom; in turn, it was proven that kalo was

¹² To honor the kalo object as a powerful and sacred object, all kalo carrying officers agreed to give a place to make it look more sacred and sacred, as for the equipment agreed upon at that time, the kalo was placed or covered with a clean white cloth (balatu) and then placed on kitchen utensils called (siwole uwa), the use of the base and decoration as a form of appreciation, glorification of the Tolaki Tribe to the kalo, because the kalo is seen as an object of divine drops from heaven that has extraordinary magic power.

not only a sacred object but also held a concept of value and high social ethics teachings. Therefore, starting from the time of Wekoila until the next period, kalo was agreed to be a concept and ideology in which all the rules used by the Tolaki community in making decisions were summarized, and became a theoretical reference in dealing with all situations in the Tolaki community's life environment. In subsequent developments, according to Su'ud; all regional leaders and village leaders agreed that the implementation of kalo in community affairs was differentiated according to the level of community strata.

For this reason, kalo is divided into 3 (three) categories, namely: (1) For community affairs of the noble class must use a kalo that is the size of an adult human body. (2) For community affairs, the Toono Motuo group (the group of state customary leaders must use a kalo the size of a human shoulder). (3) For the size of ordinary people (toono dadio/Pakambo, must use kalo the size of an adult's head or knee size¹³. Based on the results of the agreement on the use of kalo in community affairs as mentioned above, in the life of the Tolaki tribe from the past until now for generations using 3 (three) forms of kalo in accordance with the social stratification of the Tolaki Tribe, this is in accordance with the teachings of kalo and instructions from the king of Wekoila.

The groups in question are the noble class (Anakia), the middle class (Susundo'ono Motuo) and the common people (Toono dadio / pakambo).¹⁴ Such is the history of the beginning of the existence of *kalosara* in the life of the Tolaki people. For the Tolaki people, *kalosara* is an inseparable part of their lives, this concept has been integrated into the self and life of the Tolaki people, so that all attitudes and behaviors carried out by the Tolaki people always refer to the concept and teachings of *kalosara*.

2. Kalo as a Value System

According to Tarimana, the most valuable things in the life of the Tolaki people are what they call *medulu mepoko'aso* (unity and integrity), *ate pute penao moroha* (purity and justice), and *morini mbu'umbundi monapa mbu'u ndawaro* (prosperity and well-being). These three things as a whole are always heard delivered by traditional leaders when Tolaki people perform traditional ceremonies. These ideas are communicated and expressed by the Tolaki people in various fields of life, both related to social and cultural and economic activities, and even integrated in religious ceremonies.¹⁵

The three values quoted above are nothing but a form of family-society system from the concept of kalo in the life of the Tolaki people. In addition, it can be stated that the values contained in the concept of *medulu mepoko'aso*, *ate pute penao moroha*, and *morini mbu'umbundi monapa mbu'u ndawaro*, are actually an

¹³ Interview with Sumaini, October 07, 2024.

¹⁴ Interview with Haslita, October 07, 2024.

¹⁵ Abdurrauf Tarimana, *Kebudayaan Tolaki: Seri Etnografi Indonesia No. 3.*, (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1989), p. 284.

integration culture that has lived since ancient times and is currently maintained and maintained by the Tolaki people. Moving on from this reality, it can be stated that kalo is a cultural value system, which functions as an expression of ideas that communicate the most valuable things in the life of the Tolaki tribe. These values are not only manifested in the form of traditional and religious ceremonies, but the ideas are also actualized by the Tolaki people in their daily activities and lives.

The concept and idea of unity, for example, is expressed by the Tolaki people in the form of mete'alo-alo activities (helping, helping and working together). The idea of sanctity in the cultural concept of the Tolaki people is realized in the ritual activities of the circle of life both in the nature of permanent repetition and in the form of cyclical ceremonies. The idea of justice is expressed in decision-making such as in the distribution of inheritance to those entitled to receive, customary judicial decision-making carried out by customary institutions, customary judges. While the value of prosperity is expressed as an idea in the form of efforts to realize what the Tolaki people call mondaweako (abundant harvest as a source of staple food) which according to Tolaki custom this harvest reaches hundreds of bundles, if now it can be seen the amount of harvest in the size of sacks or weight, tepohiu o'epe ronga lua-luaono wawaraha (the extent of agricultural land, the number of agricultural crops) as a value of prosperity, perseverance, and one's craft.

According to Tarimana, kalo at the level of norms is an expression of cultural values that function to build specific relationships or relationships for Tolaki people in society. In this context, kalo actually has value as a symbol of guidance in behavior for Tolaki people in their efforts to interact with fellow Tolaki people. Kalo as a symbol that is guided by Tolaki people in building relationships between fellow human beings is manifested in the use of kalo symbols as values and legal systems. The symbol of kalo as a value in the customary legal system in Tolaki society functions as a regulator of various aspects of Tolaki life. Kalo as a symbol of customary law appears in various social activities of the Tolaki community, in this context kalo functions as a means of communication between families and between groups.¹⁶

The use of kalo symbols in all activities of Tolaki people as described above, illustrates that in the concept of Tolaki culture, kalo is a legal provision that must be implemented and obeyed by Tolaki people. Violation of kalo values or not making kalo in their activities, will be subject to sanctions. According to the Tolaki people, the sanctions that will be received for those who violate the provisions of Tolaki customary law can be in the form of social and customary sanctions.

Violation of kalo values as a symbol of communication in social activities will be subject to sanctions or penalties in the form of fines according to the customary provisions of the Tolaki people, namely being excluded from social life. The value contained in kalo in the life of the Tolaki people is something that must

¹⁶ Abdurrauf Tarimana, "Kalo Sebagai Fokus Kebudayaan Tolaki," *Disertasi*, Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia, 1985, p. 283-285.

be implemented and obeyed by all components of the Tolaki people, both those who have the status of ordinary people and upper-class community groups / which in the concept of Tolaki culture is called mokole (king).

Kalo as a symbol of special rules is contained in activities called mero'u (special rules of the Tolaki people that regulate good language/communication that shows politeness); *Atora* (special rules in communication and social interaction of the Tolaki people), *O'wua* (special rules governing farming in general), *O'lawi* (are special rules governing the activities of the Tolaki Tribe in farming, especially rice crops), *O'sapa* namely (special rules governing the Tolaki people in activities, hunting, raising livestock, and catching fish); *Mepori* (special rules governing the activities of the Tolaki Tribe in making and using tools and equipment), *Wowai* (is a special rule governing Tolaki people in the activity of interpreting natural signs), and *O'pado* (is a special rule governing the activities of Tolaki people in abstinence, something that Tolaki people should not do because there will be consequences) and *Mondondo* (which is a special rule governing the activities of Tolaki people in artistic work).

Religion in the Life of the Tolaki People

In general, Tolaki people adhere to Islam. In addition to Islam, there are also Tolaki people who adhere to Protestant Christianity and Catholicism. Tolaki people first learned Islam from Ternate, Buton and Bugis people and this happened since the beginning of the 16th century.¹⁷ Those who adhere to Protestant Christianity learned from Dutch pastors who came to the Tolaki people's distribution area in 1917.¹⁸

Although historically the Tolaki people have long embraced Islam or Protestant Christianity, in the daily lives of this ethnic group, it is still found, if not to say, many of them still believe in and trust in the teachings and concepts of beliefs inherited from the past. The concept of animism and dynamism which believes in the power of spirits, ancestral spirits and gods that appear in shamanic activities and in traditional ceremonies/rituals, still appears in the lives of some adult Tolaki people, especially those who live and settle in rural areas.¹⁹

Belief in spirits, ancestral spirits and gods, who are believed to have powers beyond human capabilities, makes them (the Tolaki tribe) always maintain relationships by holding rituals. The Tolaki people believe that the ritual is a form of human interaction with spirits, ancestral spirits and gods. Through the ritual, the

¹⁷ Muslimin Su'ud, *Konsep Konahu (Budaya Malu) pada Orang Tolaki*, (Kendari: Balai Penelitian Universitas Haluoleo, 1989).

¹⁸ Husen Chalik, *Beberapa Catatan Mengenai Kebudayaan Daerah Tolaki*, (Kendari: Kanwil Depdikbud Sultra, 1997).

¹⁹ Sabdah, "Persepsi Orang Tua Terhadap Lembaga Pendidikan Islam (Studi pada Masyarakat Tolaki di Kelurahan Bungguosu)," *Shautut Tarbiyah* 27, No. 2 (2021), p. 211-235. Dedisyah Putra, "Konsep 'urf dan Implementasinya pada Ihdad Wanita Kareer," *El-Usrah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 2, No. 2 (2019), p. 269-285.

Tolaki people believe that they have communicated with spirits. Communication with the power of spirits is done by using sentences of worship and surrender, as well as offering various offerings in the form of food and animals. Through this ritual, some Tolaki people feel that they have been protected by spirits.

The religion practiced by the Tolaki people in Konawe Regency is predominantly Islam, the large number of Tolaki people who are Muslim is because since ancient times the Tolaki people have chosen and known Islam as their religion of belief. The Islam practiced by the Tolaki people was received from preachers who came from Buton, Bugis traders, Ternate and others who came to trade and spread Islam. Historically, Islam is the oldest monotheistic religion among the Tolaki people because it has been practiced since the time of their ancestors, so it is not surprising that the number of Tolaki people who are Muslim in Konawe Regency reaches 215,560 or 98.58%. Then followed by Christianity which reached 3,105 or 1.41%, the existence of the Tolaki Tribe who embraced Christianity, both Protestant and Catholic, is inseparable from the influence of Dutch colonialism, because the Dutch entered the Tolaki area, especially in Konawe, besides colonizing, they also spread their religion, many Tolaki parents were influenced to embrace Christianity because the Dutch offered a decent life (offered assistance with basic food and other types of goods), besides that they offered anyone who converted to Christianity would be schooled, this method was carried out by the Dutch because they saw the conditions of the Tolaki Tribe in the past whose lives and education levels were very low. There are also Tolaki Tribes who embrace Christianity today because of intermarriage, especially those (Tolaki Tribe) women who marry Christian men, if this happens automatically women who marry Christian men then the women must follow their husband's religion. But whatever the religion of the Tolaki Tribe in Konawe Regency, the majority are still Muslim.²⁰

The Historical Roots of Christianity in Konawe

Kapusbonde said that Christianity was present in Tolaki society long after Islam had established its influence in this region.²¹ Thus, the existence of Christianity is a recent development in Tolaki society. Christianity was brought by the Dutch government at the beginning of the 20th century. Christianity (Protestantism) entered Southeast Sulawesi brought by the Dutch and Indonesian Christians. At the end of 1915, the *Nederlandse Zendings Vereniging* (NZV) sent Hendrik Van Der Klif and chose Kolaka as his seat. In 1917, this Dutch official moved to Mowewe, because he found it easier to get to know the character of the Tolaki people. His arrival brought many changes to the Tolaki people's way of life. Finally, many Tolaki people embraced Christianity, so that in 1938 2,970 people were recorded, 235 people participated in Catechization, and the preaching of the Gospel was held in 100 places. Christian religious norms then influenced the customs of the Tolaki tribe, including

²⁰ Interview with Haslita, October 07, 2024.

²¹ Interview with Pastor Kapusbonde, Christian Pastor, October 08, 2024.

in marriage. This influence is seen in the marriage system (monogamy), the formalization of the marriage at the moment of the confirmation of the marriage is carried out in a service at the Church, without forgetting the conditions of marriage which are carried out according to custom.²²

In the historical records of the Southeast Sulawesi region, it is stated that Christians were present in this region long before the arrival of Zending. The presence of Christianity seems to coincide with the arrival of the Dutch through officials in each of the Onderafdeling capitals. Christian movements and missions are accompanied by educational missions and other social missions. At that time, almost all the people of Southeast Sulawesi had embraced Islam, even though the stability of its teachings and Shari'a had not yet been internalized by the entire community.²³

Zending then developed so that the mainland of the Southeast Sulawesi peninsula was divided into four areas of evangelism, namely: 1). Mowewe, 2). Sanggona, 3). Lambuya, and 4). Taubonto (Moronene).²⁴ Until the outbreak of World War II, which was after almost 30 years of the presence of Zending and Mission, the leadership of the church/resort was still in the hands of the Dutch Pastor. This situation was almost fatal to Christianity (Catholic and Protestant), this was because Japan viewed Christianity as identical to the Netherlands so that it was very restrained and suspected and even prohibited from holding services.

Islam and Its Influence on Konawe Land

In historical records that have been passed down from generation to generation, it is stated that Islam was present in the Konawe kingdom during the reign of Sangia Inato (Mokole Tebawo) at the end of the 16th century, or approximately 16 years after the Buton Sultanate accepted Islam.²⁵ As with the presence of Islam in other regions, in the Konawe Kingdom, Islam came through the process of preaching carried out by scholars and preachers who deliberately came to this area. The preacher who gave a touch of Islam in the early days was a preacher from the Buton Sultanate who was said to be named La Embo. The area or region that was stated as the area that was first touched by Islam in the land of Konawe was the coastal area. According to several sources, the Wawoni'i archipelago was the first center for the spread of Islam in Konawe. Since Wawoni'i became the base area for Islamic broadcasting, this island began to be visited by people to study Islam. The geographical location of Wawoni'i which is on the shipping route across Sulawesi makes this area increasingly crowded with visitors.

²² Ferdinand Sandu, et.al., "Peranan Zending bagi Kehidupan Masyarakat Tolaki di Poli-Polia Kolaka Bagian Timur: 1918-1942," *Journal Idea of History* 4, No. 1 (2021), p. 46-56.

²³ Basrin Melamba, "Perempuan dan Kekristenan pada Masyarakat Tolaki dan Moronene di Sulawesi Tenggara, 1915-1946," *Citra Lekha* 5, No. 1 (2020), p. 87-97.

²⁴ Interview with Muslimin Su'ud, October 20, 2024.

²⁵ Ashadi L. Diab, et.al., "Akulturasi Islam dalam Budaya Manggilo pada Suku Tolaki," *KALOSARA: Family Law Review* 4, No. 2 (2024), p. 109-125.

The presence of Islam in Konawe has created a new social and cultural environment in this region, resulting in a transformation of values.²⁶ Although in the early period Islamic values were not yet fully used as a reference source for the socio-cultural system in the Konawe community, it can be assumed that these Islamic values have infiltrated and blended with the traditions and culture of the local community. With the assimilation of existing values, Islam slowly but surely exerted its influence on the environment and socio-cultural system of the local community. And, during the reign of King Konawe XXXIII known as Lakidende who came to power in 1641, the Konawe kingdom officially declared that it had adopted Islam.

With the proclamation of Islam as the indigenous religion for the Konawe community during the Mokole Lakidende era, this religion spread to the remote areas of the Konawe land, so that the development of Islam ran smoothly and quickly. The conversion of local people to Islam did not encounter obstacles, because at this time, it seemed that Islam was part of the King's policy. The development of Islam in this era was increasingly advanced, which was marked by the presence of a number of Islamic teachers and missionaries from the Buton Sultanate at the request of King Lakidende, the missionaries were led by a Moji descendant of Tiworo Buton named LaOde Teke, to teach and broadcast Islam in the center of the Konawe Unaaha Kingdom.

From local sources, data was found that before Lakidende was crowned King, he was known to have studied and learned about Islam in Wawoni'i. The results of the learning he received later made Lakidende a pious person as a result of his understanding of the Quran. In the following period, as a follow-up to the King's policy towards Islam, King Lakidende issued an edict to the Konawe community as an effort to embody Islamic values, namely: (1) stop eating pork, (2) burying corpses according to Islamic law, (3) establishing prayer rooms and mosques in every village, (4) learning to read the Quran, (5) circumcision for men who have reached puberty, (6) reciting the two sentences of the shahada for children of manggilo (Islam), (7) completing the Quran (hatamu), (8) reading the marriage contract at the wedding party.²⁷

At the end of the 18th century Mokele Lakidende died, he was buried in an Islamic way and was given the title "Sangia Nginoburu" (Sangia the first to be buried) as taught by Islam. The process of transforming Islamic values in the culture of the Konawe community occurred through two stages of approach, first, an informal approach, through economic trade relations between missionaries, both from the Buton Sultanate and traders from South Sulawesi (Bugis) in the early 16th century and also through the process of marriage, especially for people living in coastal areas. Second, a formal approach, through the center of the Konawe kingdom

²⁶ Nur Alim, et.al., "Edukasi Kepemimpinan Berbasis Tradisi Lokal pada Masyarakat Tolaki di Kabupaten Konawe," *Shautut Tarbiyah* 26, No. 1 (2020), p. 32-49. Sabdah & Sastramayani, "Menjaga Tradisi Islam Orang Tolaki Melalui Pengenalan Al Qur'an pada Masyarakat di Kelurahan Bungguosu, Konawe," *Shautut Tarbiyah* 24, No. 1 (2018), p. 91-108.

²⁷ Interview with Muslimin Su'ud, October 20, 2024.

in Unaaha by converting the King of Konawe to Islam, from this process the ruling king then announced a policy to his people and society.

Patterns and Forms of Conflict in the Aoma and Ambesakoa Communities

According to Taquiri in Newstorm and Davis, conflict is a legacy of social life that may occur in all circumstances as an implication of the emergence of a state of disagreement, controversy and conflict between two or more parties continuously. Conflict is a state or expression of conflict between individuals and other individuals, groups and other groups for certain reasons. In this perspective, conflict refers to the differences between two or more individuals that are expressed, remembered and experienced. In conflict theory, there are at least two forms of conflict that may occur in a social system. Namely destructive and constructive conflicts. Destructive conflict occurs because of feelings of displeasure, hatred and revenge from an individual or group towards another party. Usually in this conflict it is possible for physical clashes to occur which can have implications for the loss of life, loss of life or even the destruction of all property and economic assets, such as the Poso, Ambon, Kupang, Sambas conflicts, and so on. This kind of conflict throughout the researcher's investigation in the research area has not or has never occurred. This is because almost all the people living in Aoma and Ambesakoa come from the same family group, so that emotional family ties are always put forward when there are conflicts between the two communities.

Unlike destructive conflicts, constructive conflicts are functional, these conflicts arise because of differences of opinion from groups in facing a problem. This conflict will produce a synthesis of various opinions that lead to the birth of a consensus in society so that in the end it produces an improvement for all. For example, differences of opinion in an organization.²⁸ In the context of inter-religious relations in the Aoma and Ambesakoa communities, differences of opinion between these two communities of different religions usually occur when there is a pair of prospective brides and grooms who come from two communities of different religions.

In the past, this case caused tension and even friction between the two communities, but now along with socio-cultural changes, and the intensive socialization of the implications of interfaith marriages by the Ministry of Religion and learning from various past experiences, the conflict that was previously triggered by interfaith marriages has now become constructive and functional, because each party now avoids interfaith marriages. This understanding is increasingly socialized in the social and cultural structures of the related communities caused by past experiences that occurred between the two parties that were less than pleasant. The close relationship between the two interfaith

²⁸ Robert H. Lauer, *Perspektif tentang Perubahan Sosial*, (Jakarta: PT. Rineka Cipta, 2001), p. 98. Kiki Nur Amelia & Muhammad Idrus, "Pelaksanaan Tradisi Metirangga pada Masyarakat Suku Tolaki," *SELAMI IPS* 17, No. 2 (2024), p. 97-101.

communities has made both communities more careful or even avoid the opportunity for interfaith marriages.

Implications of Conflict and Consensus between Two Communities in the Social and Cultural Life of the Aoma and Ambesakoa People

As explained in the previous section, the Aoma and Ambesakoa communities, although still ethnically related, live separately spatially due to their different religious choices. The choice to live separately with geographical boundaries is actually a manifestation of cultural tension between the two communities. This condition has implications for the placement of geographical boundaries based on religious choices. The social fact is that within certain limits it can be stated that there has been socio-cultural tension in the local community. However, this tension does not manifest in the form of physical clashes but only in clashes of mindsets. The visible implication of this clash of mindsets is the birth of a segregative society or social system between the two communities.

The social and cultural segregation that occurred in both communities at a later stage became the cause of the strengthening of identity culture based on the ideology of belief in each group. This condition directly or indirectly educated each party to become a gated community. This historical legacy has created social space through physical boundaries. For the Aoma and Ambesakoa people, fences are used not only as a means to define individual ownership territory, but also to define community groupings based on belief. In this context, the Ambesakoa and Aoma communities were formed not through a social process, but through a form of "spatial engineering" in creating a community.

The social segregation that occurred in the Muslim Christian communities in Aoma and Ambesakoa, then had an impact or infiltrated the recesses of thought, furthermore this condition built a space of suspicion of each party towards the other party. The phrase "living in a homogeneous group as a safe and comfortable choice", indicates the fear of intimidation by the majority against the minority group. On the other hand, for the majority group, "safe and comfortable", is more on the psychological level than the physical, namely; in the Muslim group, they are free and protected from the shadow of "haram" food.

However, the case of inter-religious relations in the two communities cannot be reduced to just a matter of family partner choices, juvenile delinquency, or food choices at communal events as previously explained. The relationship between the two communities becomes more complicated when connected to past history. The spatial classification between the two communities as a historical legacy from their parents and predecessors raises questions. This fact can be questioned, whether the choice occurred as a coincidence or because of tension over the fact of Christianization. Uniquely, the reality of this spatial classification is maintained until now, and there seems to be a tendency for each party to maintain geographical boundaries in the name of religion.

In the condition of the relationship between two communities separated by territorial boundaries based on the religious identification of each community, according to the author at a certain culmination point will encourage the birth of excessive prejudice. Cases of interfaith marriages that are perceived as efforts to Christianize or Islamize, cases of teenage fights between two villages that are the impact of juvenile delinquency, with the existence of this segregation can be perceived by each party as tension between two religions. Therefore, at this point it is suspected that negative stereotypes will be born, which are very likely to be created with or as an implication of spatial engineering that is built by their history.²⁹

Another fact produced by the classification of space based on ideological basis is the creation of cultural fences that lead to the strengthening of solidarity of each group. This of course has an impact on their response to the concept of plurality of beliefs. William Graham Sumner, a professor of sociology from the United States (Yale College), argued that segregation can cause (automatically) each group to have the opinion that they are superior to other groups and therefore (the opportunity for) conflict is increasingly wide open when two groups meet. According to Pettigrew and Tropp, it is said that at the end of the 19th century, the leading idea of social psychology dictated that contact between two different groups (many things can form a 'group' such as gender, source of income and educational background, culture, one of the most common: race) almost certainly ends in conflict. Although the opinion on the impact of segregation as stated above, is not always proven or has even been refuted by the actual reality that occurs in the Aoma and Ambesakoa communities which have so far seemed "harmonious". This is proven by the absence of physical conflict for a long period of time between the two communities, but the psychological ripples that are disturbing the two communities of the same ethnicity with different beliefs indicate evidence of latent conflict.

In general, conflict always or sometimes brings great disaster in society, especially if the conflict touches the ideological level. Conflict can appear in two faces, functional conflict and dysfunctional conflict. Dysfunctional conflict can occur if each party feels aspirations that are contrary to the other party and there is no opportunity for problem solving that can accommodate the interests of both parties. In such conditions, conflict appears in various forms. On the other hand, functional conflict appears as an effort to empower the potentials of elements of society in order to create a new social system and structure that is more established and fair for all parties. In functional conflict, the conflict itself is sometimes needed as a solution that is carried out by bringing latent conflict to the surface to then seek a solution that can accommodate the interests of all parties.

Referring to the perspective of the conflict described above, in the author's opinion, the form of tension between the Aoma and Ambesakoa communities if it

²⁹ Imtihana Dewi & Badarwan, "Tolaki Tribe Leadership and Religious Configuration (Konfigurasi Kepemimpinan dan Keberagamaan Suku Tolaki)," *Edu Mandara: Jurnal Pendidikan dan Ilmu Sosial* 1, No. 1 (2022).

is to be stated as a conflict, for the current context is on the path or realm of functional conflict. In both communities, although each party views the other party as being able to become a stumbling block in developing and carrying out the mission of their respective religious teachings, there are clearly efforts to reduce cases of conflict by listening to each party's aspirations. As an example of a case, for example, it can be mentioned: the objection of a number of Muslims to attend traditional events held by their Christian brothers because of concerns about the presence or presentation of "forbidden objects" from the perspective of Islamic beliefs, answered by the willingness of Christians and Muslims to work together in preparing the food that will be served. The example of the case above is in principle an effort by each party to overcome or reduce the space for conflict to occur.³⁰

Based on the results of interviews and observations conducted by the author, in principle, the conflict and consensus in the Ambesakoa and Aoma communities can be seen in the dynamics of their daily lives. In general, conflict is inherent in the community itself where the communities of the two religious groups are units of the social system that are visible in the community. The conflict in the Aoma and Ambesakoa communities, if read through conflict theory, is a functional conflict as previously explained. The social structures that are built in both communities face each other in separate, balanced boundaries, have the same aspects, are equal in reality and are balanced with their respective strengths. In the reality that can be read in the various behaviors of the two communities, they do not only face each other to conflict, but at the same time encourage the realization of integration in a sense of unity and awareness to live side by side in organizing the community that is produced by consensus.

This is evident if we want to observe various things that also encourage dynamism. Different orientations between the two communities sometimes appear at very critical stages and can endanger their social life. However, at that stage, cultural values produced by consensus also emerge. These values then emerge as a tool for integrating, where cultural values gradually unite two communities with different beliefs for the sake of their harmonious lives. The integration that arises as a result of the adjustment of cultural values is a functional implication of conflict, as well as a reflection of the symbol of the Tolaki community which is very meaningful and significant for them. This change is caused by internal conflict and contradiction. In other words, the social changes that occur are actually determined and occur in the community itself where conflict is attached to it. Thus, every time you are in a position of tension, at the same time you are also facing integration.³¹

³⁰ I Ketut Suardika, et.al., "Kalosara di Kalangan Masyarakat Tolaki di Sulawesi Tenggara," *Mudra Jurnal Seni Budaya* 32, No. 2 (2017). Abdul Hafid & Raodah, "Penerapan Mosehe dalam Penyelesaian Konflik oleh Masyarakat Tolaki dan Masyarakat Pendatang di Kabupaten Konawe Provinsi Sulawesi Tenggara," *Walasuji* 9, No. 1 (2018), p. 37-51. Rilda Yanti & Zainal, "Ritual Mosebi pada Masyarakat Tolaki," *Kabanti: Jurnal Kerabat Antropologi* 6, No. 2 (2022), p. 255-266.

³¹ Mahrudin, "Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan Berbasis Multikultural di Institut Agama Islam Negeri Kendari," *Shautut Tarbiyah* 21, No. 2 (2015), p. 56-76. Sulsalman Moita, et.al., "Proses

Thus, the cultural tension that occurs in latent form in the Aoma and Ambesakoa communities implies a cultural and social consensus that leads to integration between the two communities. However, an important note that needs to be emphasized from the results of this study is that integration as a result of consensus in both communities can be stated as vulnerable integration or not based on a strong foundation, considering that both communities still live in a segregated situation.

In such a context and atmosphere, the role of community leaders, religious leaders, traditional leaders and the government becomes very important for the sustainability of integration in the Aoma and Ambesakoa communities. Based on the results of the author's interviews with various parties including Mustakim, Fedelia, and Pelita Sara, it was firmly stated that the unity and togetherness that has been built in the two communities so far, is more due to the strategic role of traditional leaders, while the government (tripika) and even religious leaders have not played a significant role.

Conclusion

Based on the description above, it is concluded that *kalosara* is a conflict resolution model based on local wisdom of the Wolasi community, Tolaki Tribe, which paves the way for consensus in the form of socio-cultural integration in society in an atmosphere of segregation, with the value of *medulu mepoko'aso* (unity and oneness), *ate pute penao moroha* (sanctity and justice), and *morini mbu'umbundi monapa mbu'u ndawaro* (prosperity and welfare). Through this study, implications for conflict resolution based on local wisdom were obtained, including the stages of presenting *Kalosara* (a sacred symbol of peace), a joint oath or statement about the promise of peace, an attitude of accepting customary decisions, and reconciliation or parties in conflict.

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Interviews

- Interview with Pastor Kapusbonde, Christian Pastor, October 08, 2024.
- Interview with Muslimin Su'ud, October 20, 2024.
- Interview with Pastor Fidelis Buke, October 10, 2024.
- Interview with Sumaini, October 07, 2024.
- Interview with Haslita, October 07, 2024.