

Intercultural Adaptation and Cultural Dominance between Engganese and *Kaamay*

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Abstract

Engganese are a community that adapts well to change. They can anticipate social, political, and economic changes around them by using Engganese customs as a guide. This article aims to describe the adaptation strategies and intercultural communication between the Engganese and migrants (kaamay) to reduce the potential conflict. This study integrates Young Yun Kim's Integrative Communication Theory to analyze the process of migrants' deculturation, and Larry Samovar's concept of High-Context Communication to explain the power of customary rules as a singular guide to life. This study employs a qualitative method through observation and in-depth interviews with Engganese community leaders and migrants. The findings reveal that the Engganese engage in three forms of adaptation: 1) forming kaamay as a form of cultural strategy; 2) using Bahasa as a tool for communication with kaamay; and 3) engaging in intermarriage for social integration. These findings indicate that the Engganese, as a minority group, have successfully demonstrated cultural dominance by preserving Engganese customs and compelling the Kaamay to relinquish their cultural identities and conform to Engganese customs.

Keywords: *Engganese; Kaamay; intercultural adaptation; cultural dominance; conflict management*

Abstrak

Masyarakat Enggano merupakan masyarakat yang adaptif terhadap perubahan. Mereka mampu mengantisipasi perubahan-perubahan sosial, politik, dan ekonomi di sekitar mereka dengan menjadikan adat Enggano sebagai pedoman. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menggambarkan strategi adaptasi dan komunikasi antarbudaya antara Engganese dan pendatang (*kaamay*) untuk mengurangi potensi konflik. Penelitian ini mengintegrasikan *Integrative Communication Theory* dari Young Yun Kim untuk membedah proses dekulturasi pendatang, serta konsep *High-Context Communication* dari Larry Samovar untuk menjelaskan kekuatan aturan adat sebagai pedoman hidup tunggal. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan melakukan observasi dan wawancara mendalam dengan tokoh-tokoh masyarakat Enggano dan juga pendatang. Temuan dalam penelitian ini adalah Engganese melakukan tiga bentuk adaptasi, yaitu 1) membentuk *kaamay* sebagai bentuk strategi kultural; 2) menggunakan bahasa Indonesia sebagai alat komunikasi dengan *kaamay*; dan 3) melakukan kawin campur untuk integrasi sosial. Temuan ini menunjukkan bahwa Engganese sebagai minoritas berhasil menunjukkan dominasi budaya dengan mempertahankan adat Enggano dan memaksa *kaamay* melepaskan identitas kultural mereka dan patuh pada adat Enggano.

Kata Kunci: *Engganese; Kaamay; adaptasi kultural; dominasi budaya, manajemen konflik*

INTRODUCTION

Enggano is a small island in the middle of the Indian Ocean that offers a glimpse of how indigenous people can survive amid a majority of migrants. There is no definitive data on the number of migrants on Enggano, but it is estimated that more than 70% of the population are migrants. Engganese realize they cannot prohibit migrants from entering their territory, but they also recognize that migrants can disrupt the existence of Engganese customs. The Engganese did not assimilate culturally to preserve their cultural identity, as the Betawi people did (Rohim et al., 2023), but instead developed a cultural strategy by integrating migrants into a single clan. Therefore, the Engganese chose to accept migrants as part of them and give them a new cultural identity, namely *kaamay*.

However, the consequence of recognizing *kaamay* as part of Engganese society is to get the same legal rights and obligations as Engganese (Sari, 2017). In addition, the consequence for migrants who want to live on Enggano is to abandon their cultural identity and adhere to Engganese *adat*. The Engganese 'force' migrants who want to live on Enggano to adhere to their *adat*. Engganese customs must be internalized by all members of society living on Enggano (both Engganese and *kaamay*). They do impose social restrictions on migrants to protect their culture from external threats (Barth, 1969). This is a cultural strategy employed by the Engganese to maintain their traditions and prevent the dominance of migrants.

Kaamay is a form of Engganese self-reflexivity (Giddens, 1991) used to maintain Engganese custom (*adat*). The Engganese realise that they cannot reject migrants, but they can control migrants. The Engganese are well aware that their ancestors' decision to treat migrants as "friends" was a cultural strategy for survival. They realize that in the future, many migrants will come to Enggano. With their dwindling numbers, they cannot resist the migrants' dominance. The only way to survive is to make Engganese customs their way of life and to group all migrants into a single clan (*kaamay*).

What the Engganese do aligns with what Samovar et al., (2017) says about high-context communication. The Engganese exhibit characteristics of high-context communication, in which customary rules are not merely norms but are internalized within every cultural symbol, creating a pressure for conformity that compels the *Kaamay* to comply with Engganese customs. On the other hand, *kaamay* must also undergo a process of deculturation (shedding their cultural identity) (Kim, 2001) to be accepted as part of the Engganese community. The *kaamay* have no choice but to undergo cultural assimilation; they are forced into it. As long as they live on Enggano, they must comply with Engganese customs and culture. Thus, Samovar et al.'s theory helps explain the characteristics of Enggano's cultural environment, which demands absolute conformity, while Kim's theory helps analyze the psychological and behavioral dynamics of the *Kaamay*, who are forced to assimilate for the sake of their social survival on Enggano.

The study of the Engganese has been quite widely researched. The only ethnography that describes the Engganese in full was written by Modigliani (1894). He describes the life of the Engganese in the 19th century, including their relationship with foreigners such as the Dutch, Chinese, Javanese, and Bugis. Boewang's (1854) account also describes how he, as a Bugis, traded to Enggano. Other writings such as Amran et al. (1979); Arios (2018); Jaspan (1964); Kaarubi (2007); Keuning J. (1958); ter Keurs (2002); Ramadhani et al. (2019); Sari (2017, 2018, 2020); Winkler (1903, 1908); Zonneveld (2012) also describe the socio-cultural conditions of Enggano from the 19th century to the 21st century, the transmigration program (Fitrianto et al., 2019) and conflicts that have occurred on Enggano (Kurniawan, 2017; Sipahutar, 2016).

In addition, studies on intercultural communication between migrants and the local population have been widely discussed, particularly regarding cultural interactions between them. Many studies have defined the indigenous people as marginal, vulnerable, discriminated against, and have a negative stereotype (Friedman, 2008; Saifullah et al., 2021; Samson & Gigoux, 2017; Sari & Abdullah, 2024; Smallwood, 2020). Their marginalized status has led to threats to the living spaces of indigenous communities and the inadequate protection of their rights (Devinta et al., 2024). The situation of indigenous communities becomes increasingly marginalized when migrants enter their territories,

which often leads to conflict. Conflicts between migrants and indigenous peoples are also caused by the inability of customary institutions to resolve them, the egos of each group (Anas et al., 2019), violations of customary norms by migrants, and stereotypes between the two groups (Putri & Handoyo, 2023). On the other hand, there is little discussion regarding how indigenous communities become dominant actors in their territories despite being a numerical minority.

This article will explain how the Engganese have managed to maintain their existence, not through conflict but rather through adherence to customary law, cultural acculturation of migrants, and the migrants' integration into the Engganese community. It is hoped that this paper will contribute theoretically to the study of intercultural communication, particularly regarding minority group dominance in maintaining cultural identity in remote areas.

METHOD

This study employs a qualitative approach based on the critical constructivism paradigm. This paradigm was chosen because the study aims not only to gain an in-depth understanding of social phenomena from the subjects' perspective, but also to uncover the power relations, hegemony, and regulatory strategies underlying customary rules between the Engganese and migrants (*kaamay*). The fieldwork was conducted over ten days in January 2023 on Enggano.

Data were collected through three main techniques: participant observation, in-depth interviews, and document analysis. Informants were selected through purposive sampling, ensuring representation from both Engganese and *kaamay*. The study involved 10 informants, consisting of *Paabuki* (1), religious leaders (1), village heads (1), transmigrants (3), teachers (2), and students (2). They are people who have lived on Enggano for more than 10 years.

Interviews were conducted using open-ended questions to stimulate dynamic two-way discussion. Data collection focused on experiences of intercultural interaction, the history and potential for conflict, and the strategic role of customary law in regulating social life on Enggano.

This study employs qualitative descriptive analysis using the interactive model developed by Miles et al., (2014). The data analysis process consists of three interrelated conceptual stages: 1) Data Reduction: Identifying, coding, and organizing raw data from interviews and observations relevant to the focus on adaptation strategies and the formation of the *kaamay* clan; 2) Data Display: Presenting the reduced data in the form of a systematic descriptive narrative; 3) Conclusion Drawing/Verification: Formulating the meaning of the presented data, identifying causal patterns between traditional pressures and migrant compliance, and conducting theoretical verification to arrive at robust conclusions.

To ensure data validity and minimize researcher bias and subjectivity, this study employs source triangulation and methodological triangulation. Source triangulation is conducted by comparing and cross-checking the reliability of information obtained from informants and verifying it against other informants. Meanwhile, methodological triangulation was conducted by cross-referencing data from in-depth interviews with field observation notes and customary regulatory documents in effect on Enggano.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Entry of Migrants to Enggano

Enggano is a small island located in the middle of the Indian Ocean with an area of 400.6 km². Administratively, Enggano is located in North Bengkulu Regency, Bengkulu Province. Enggano has six villages, namely Kahyapu, Kaana, Malakoni, Meok, Apoho, and Banjarsari. The name Enggano has been known since the 15th century when the Portuguese first entered the region. The name Enggano itself originates from the Portuguese word "Engano," meaning disappointment, failure, and deception (Suzuki, 1958). After the 1900s, the name became known as Enggano (Zonneveld, 2012: 15).

Around the 1950s, Enggano began to be visited by migrants, especially those from Jakarta, Padang and Java. This is because Enggano was connected to Jakarta and Padang via a ship that arrived every three months. This ship took the Engganese off the island to find work or continue their studies. On the other hand, not only did the Engganese leave the island, but migrants from Java and Padang also entered Enggano. According to an informant, at that time Engganese migrants in Jakarta had good relationships with the people they met, so that information about Enggano was known to those they interacted with. These people were interested in living on Enggano because they knew there was still a lot of uncultivated land there.

In 1956, migrants requested permission from the chiefs to stay on Enggano. Based on deliberations with the Engganese, the chiefs agreed to allow migrants to live. The acceptance of migrants as part of the Engganese community was confirmed through an *adat* ceremony, making it legal by custom. Migrants were given a new clan called *kaamay*. No other clans are recognized on Enggano apart from the five original clans (*Kaitora*, *Kauno*, *Karuba*, *Karubi* and *Kahaoa*) and the migrant clan (*kaamay*). Therefore, the *kaamay* must relinquish their cultural identities as Javanese, Bugis, Batak, Minang, Malay, and other cultural affiliations. All who live on Enggano must abide by Engganese customs. Therefore, *kaamay* get the same legal rights as the other five clans, such as being involved in customary deliberations, having a chief, and participating in customary and socio-religious activities on Enggano. The difference with the indigenous clans is that the *kaamay* were not given customary land; instead, they were given land to live on and farm.

About six years after the *kaamay* were recognized as a clan by the Engganese, the Indonesian government, through the Social Service, sent thousands of unemployed people (*tuna karya*) to Enggano. This was done to increase the number of residents, who had continued to decline. According to Jaspian's records (1964), the Enggano population jumped from 690 to 3,200 in 1963. This indicates that approximately 2,510 *tuna karya* came to Enggano. These homeless people came from the Jakarta area, which, according to informants, were beggars and vagrants brought by the government to be "dumped" on Enggano. However, most of these unemployed people stay on Enggano for only 1-2 years because the government's basic food assistance is only for 6 months. A small number settled on Enggano after marrying Engganese.

In 2001, the first transmigration program was carried out in Kahyapu. Transmigration was carried out to increase the population of Kahyapu, which at the time consisted of only 35 families. The transmigration program brought 50 local transmigrants from Enggano and 50 transmigrants from Bengkulu and surrounding areas. In 2002, another transmigration program was held, involving transmigrants from outside Enggano. However, this program failed because the prospective transmigrants returned to their home areas after surveying Kahyapu. In 2002, a transmigration program was carried out in Kaana, but only involving transmigrants from Enggano. Initially, the program was expected to accommodate 100 transmigrants, but only about 66 families were accommodated. In 2015 and 2016, transmigration was again implemented in Malakoni, involving 150 transmigrants, 50% from Java and 50% from the North Bengkulu region, including Engganese.

The implementation of transmigration on Enggano did not result in a significant increase in population. This is because many transmigrants returned to their home areas (did not complete the 5-year program). Many of their houses and land were abandoned by their owners or sold at low prices. On the other hand, some migrants wanted to live on Enggano independently (*sukarela*). They asked the village head, the chiefs, and the *Paabuki* for permission to live on Enggano. Some of those who could afford to buy land, while migrants who had no money could remain by helping to look after other people's land on a profit-sharing basis. After six months of living in the village and becoming Engganese (by changing their ID card), they are eligible to apply for land from the village.

Currently, the majority of migrants live in several villages such as Kahyapu, Kaana, parts of Malakoni, and Banjarsari, while the majority of Engganese live in the villages of Meok, Apoho, and parts of Malakoni. This is because the areas of Apoho, Meok, and parts of Malakoni (which border Apoho) are close to the administrative center of Enggano, located in the village of Apoho. The areas inhabited

by migrants are sparsely populated, allowing migrants to use them as places of residence. When I interviewed several informants, such as village heads and a chief, they stated that Enggano needs an increase in population so that their region becomes more vibrant, the economy can grow, and forested areas suitable for development can be cleared for gardens or housing. This is one of the reasons why the presence of migrants—whether through the transmigration program or on a voluntary basis—is warmly welcomed by the Engganese.



Figure 1. Map of Enggano
Source: Data of Badan Pusat Statistik, 2024



Figure 2. Transmigrant House in Kaana Village (2024)

Cultural Strategy: Forming *Kaamay*

The Engganese have had experience interacting with foreigners since the 16th century. They have become accustomed to a heterogeneous society. The Engganese realized that their numbers were declining and their children were migrating to the cities to find work or continue their education. They also realized that they needed people to drive their economy and develop their island. The Engganese realize that rejecting migrants is not the best way because they predict that the number of migrants will outnumber the Engganese. They do not want to be a minority in their own territory (as is the case in many parts of Indonesia), so they welcome migrants and give them the same rights and obligations as they do. However, the *kaamay* are required to abide by Engganese customs. They must use it in their daily lives and abandon their cultural identity.

As an indigenous community, Engganese want to maintain their existence through Engganese customs. They are worried that one day their custom will disappear and be forgotten by their descendants. In addition, they are also concerned about the influx of migrants to Enggano, which they cannot resist. The chiefs realized that one way to maintain their customs was to accept migrants and give them a new cultural identity (*kaamay*). Grouping migrants into clans would make it easier for chiefs to ensure that *kaamay* would adhere to Engganese customs. The aim is to maintain harmony, community stability, mitigate future conflicts, and preserve customary identity.

Kaamay is a mechanism through which migrants can integrate with the Engganese, gaining the same rights and obligations. *Kaamay* are also required to be involved in customary activities or activities that involve the community such as traditional ceremonies, weddings, deaths, and other events. *Kaamay* also holds the same voting rights as the Engganese, who are represented by their chief. However, this deculturation is actually a form of power dilution for migrants. This is because migrants, who make up more than 70% of Enggano's population, are represented by only one clan, meaning their share of the vote is just one-sixth of the total (the other five are Engganese clans: *Kaitora*, *Kauno*, *Kahaoa*, *Karubi*, and *Kaaruba*). The Engganese implemented this system to prevent migrants from gaining dominance (given their much larger numbers). By incorporating them into a single clan, the migrant majority would be outnumbered by the larger number of indigenous clans. However, *Kaamay* also has a chief who governs their community. *Kaamay* chiefs and representatives have the same rights as Engganese chiefs. The chief of *kaamay* has voting rights to determine customary policies on Enggano.

Although the number of *kaamay* exceeds the number of Engganese, the Engganese dominate in terms of power. This is because the Engganese consist of five clans, whereas the migrants belong to only one clan. If there are conflicts or new policies that require deliberation, the Engganese have five votes. Engganese still have power over new policies that will be implemented on Enggano. For example, the plan to plant oil palm on Enggano. Engganese through chiefs strongly reject the planting of oil palm in their territory. Palm oil is considered harmful to Enggano's environment because it leads to massive deforestation and a water crisis. On the other hand, some *kaamay* accept the plan to plant oil palm in their area because oil palm can make more money than planting other crops such as coffee, bananas, cocoa, *jengkol*, melinjo and cloves. One traditional leader told me, "This is our home. We were born, live, and die here. They (*kaamay*) are migrants. They do not think about the fate of their descendants in the future." Nowadays, the Engganese have consistently rejected oil palm planting in their territory. The Engganese are quite strict about matters that harm their customary interests and activities that could damage their environment.

On Enggano there is also a *masuk suku* mechanism, which is when a *kaamay* wants to enter one of the Engganese. All people on Enggano will witness an *adat* ceremony. I once interviewed one of the informants who chose to become Engganese. She said, "I feel more at ease when I am part of the indigenous community. The sense of camaraderie here is wonderful, especially once you join one of their clans. They take good care of their clan members." For the Engganese, *masuk suku* means increasing the number of their clan, especially if it is a woman who *masuk suku*. Their clan will increase in number, especially when the woman has children.

For the *kaamay*, adhering to Engganese customs and giving up their cultural identity is not a big deal. *Kaamay* can live in harmony with Engganese because they have the same rights and obligations. Most of them know each other, and some are siblings because they are married to Engganese. *Kaamay* are only required to abide by Engganese customs when they are on Enggano, if they are in Bengkulu, they can follow their own customs. For example, one of my informants is a *kaamay* who has lived on Enggano for decades. He is married to a *kaamay* and has three children. His first son completed his undergraduate degree in Bengkulu City and married a woman from Bengkulu. My informant married his son in Bengkulu without using Engganese customs. I asked my informant, “Is there no obligation to marry according to Engganese adat?” He replied that *adat* only applies on Enggano. If you marry outside Enggano, you can use any custom. As a *kaamay*, especially since his son does not live on Enggano and has not married an Engganese woman, he is free to marry anywhere and follow any custom. This shows that Engganese custom only limits *kaamay* in using their customs when they are on Enggano.

Based on information from informants (there is no written data in the village or sub-district offices), the number of *Kaamay* has now exceeded the number of Engganese. The increase in the number of *kaamay* is not only due to migrants coming (either voluntarily or through transmigration), but also due to intermarriage. As a matrilineal society, their descent is traced through the maternal line; if a *kaamay* man marries an Engganese woman, their children will also become *kaamay*. In Engganese custom, there is no prohibition against marrying a *kaamay*, as they already consider the *kaamay* to be part of themselves. For example, *kaamay* who want to get married on Enggano must use Engganese customary procedures even if the bride and groom are Javanese. They can marry using Javanese customs if they marry outside Enggano. This is how the Engganese build their collectivist communication and also reduce the uncertainty of the existence of Engganese custom in the future.

As for the *Kaamay*, they realized that they had to adapt to Engganese culture. At first, they went through a stressful phase (Kim, 2001), during which they felt alienated from Engganese culture. They were required to obey and understand Engganese’ customary rules. Then, they do a process of deculturation (Kim, 2001), which can be understood as the cultural assimilation of migrants. The Engganese explicitly require anyone entering Enggano territory (such as tourists) and all Enggano residents to adhere strictly to Engganese customs. All community behavior is governed by Engganese customary norms and rules. The result is a “forced” deculturation of the cultural identity of migrants living on Enggano. They are not permitted to use their own cultural symbols on Enggano, such as conducting weddings according to their own customs. All forms of marriage conducted in Enggano must follow Engganese customary rules. Likewise, other activities, such as funerals, childbirth, traditional meetings, and other events, must follow Engganese customs.

Finally, they entered the growth phase (Kim,2001)—a phase in which they were able to adapt and were accepted by Engganese. On the other hand, they continued to preserve their original cultural identity when they were outside Enggano, such as by practicing their traditional customs when getting married off the island. Therefore, the identity of migrants is unique because of its flexible nature. They adhere to and embrace their identity as *kaamay* on Enggano but continue to maintain their cultural identity when outside of Enggano. This represents growth in the form of social resilience. They were forced to abandon their native culture (deculturation)—not because they wanted to, but because it was the only way to achieve growth (in capacity) so they could be accepted, find work, and live side by side with the Engganese without conflict.

On the other hand, the Engganese employ a cultural strategy to integrate migrants into the *kaamay*. They are granted a new identity as members of the *kaamay*, whose existence is recognized by customary law. As a result, they possess the same rights and obligations as the Engganese (except for ownership of customary land). These include the right to live, to seek sustenance, to build dwellings, to receive government assistance (if available), and so on. In return, they must undergo cultural assimilation and strictly adhere to Engganese customary law (while residing on Enggano)

The formation of *kaamay* is a clever cultural strategy to prevent conflict on Enggano. On one hand, the Engganese do not feel threatened by the presence of migrants; on the other hand, migrants are granted the same rights as the Engganese. Their behavior is governed by customary law, and any conflicts are also resolved through customary means. All customary leaders are invited to participate in deliberations to resolve the conflict. If the conflict can be resolved through customary means, the dispute is settled amicably. This is why the crime rate on Enggano is very low. Conflicts that can still be resolved amicably will not be brought to the legal realm (processed by the police).

In addition, the enforcement of customary laws for the entire Engganese will minimize the potential for horizontal conflict. This is because there are no cultural symbols beyond those of Engganese's traditional culture, and there is no ethnic or religious segmentation, which reduces the potential for social jealousy or friction between migrants and Engganese.

Bahasa as a Common Communication Tool

The native language on Enggano is Engganese language. They still use the Engganese language when they talk to fellow Engganese (Wibowo, 2014). The use of Engganese is mostly in the private sphere and among themselves (in a group), while Bahasa Indonesia is used for communication with *kaamay* (out group) and in the public sphere. Engganese still communicate in their language to fellow Engganese (in-group) and at traditional events (such as death, marriage, *tribal entry*, and other traditional events).

In addition, *Bahasa* is also used in formal events or within state institutions, such as village meetings, school lessons, daily conversations in government agencies, and other formal activities. If they talk to *kaamay*, they will use *Bahasa* or Bengkulu Malay to facilitate communication. Everyone on Enggano, both parents and children, can use Indonesia well. They understand and can respond to answers in *Bahasa*, too. *Bahasa* is also used during formal events such as village or sub-district meetings. Children at school communicate using *Bahasa* with their teachers and friends (Alfanda et al., 2023). I once asked some Engganese students why they use Bahasa Indonesia in school. They answered that many of their friends and teachers do not speak Engganese, so it is easier to communicate using Bahasa Indonesia. Their friends and teachers are mostly *kaamay*. Engganese children are actually not very good at using Engganese. The majority of them understand when someone invites them to speak in Engganese, but they are not always able to respond in Engganese, especially children from intermarried families.

On the other hand, the use of *Bahasa* can eliminate the Engganese language because not many young Engganese can communicate in Engganese, especially children from *kaamay* or children from mixed marriages. Additionally, the use of Bahasa Indonesia in daily communication is also considered highly beneficial. Engganese consider that being able to understand Bahasa Indonesia is very important for their children. This is because all textbooks are in Bahasa Indonesia, and many of their teachers and friends do not speak Engganese. In addition, proficiency in Bahasa Indonesia is considered important for their children's future. By being proficient in Bahasa Indonesia, Engganese children will find it easier to get jobs in the city.

The use of *Bahasa* on Enggano serves not only as a means of communication but also as a tool for negotiating social identity. There is a concept of convergence (Giles, 2016), which refers to the process by which an individual aligns or brings their communication style closer to that of their conversation partner. The goal is to reduce the social distance between the Engganese and migrants. Using *Bahasa* (which is understood by all residents of Enggano) will reduce the potential for misunderstandings in communication and minimize regional elements that could lead to conflict.

The use of *Bahasa* on Enggano can be interpreted in two ways: 1) Engganese have successfully integrated into the use of the national language which is understood by the majority of Indonesians. A good understanding of *Bahasa* will make it easier for them to interact with *kaamay*, so that language is no longer an obstacle to communication. So far, language differences have become one of the factors inhibiting intercultural communication (Moulita, 2018). On the other hand, language is also a link in

expressing ideas and building empathy, especially in interacting with others (Widiyanti et al., 2024). Therefore, it is essential to understand the culturally agreed-upon language to facilitate effective communication; 2) The use of Bahasa Indonesia as a daily communication tool will negatively affect the Engganese language. Engganese speakers will be fewer and fewer. From the results of research conducted by (Wibowo, 2014), Engganese speakers are 59.19% (1,424 out of 2,406), while 90% of them use Indonesian to communicate with *kaamay*. This certainly contributes to the inability of Engganese children to communicate in their language. Therefore, the use of *Bahasa* must also be balanced by extensive Engganese learning so that both languages can be fully understood by all people on Enggano.

Intermarriage

On Enggano, it is easy to find cases of mixed marriages. There are several examples of traditional leaders and community leaders whose fathers are *Kaamay* and mothers are Engganese. In Engganese custom, if a child is born to an Engganese mother, then he is an Engganese. Vice versa, if the father is Engganese and the mother is *kaamay* then the child is *kaamay*. People born from mixed marriages still get the same rights as children born to both Engganese parents.

The impact of mixed marriages is that children on Enggano are not integrated with the Engganese language. Engganese parents try to introduce their language by talking to their children. However, the children only understand but cannot answer or communicate in Engganese with their parents. At the time of my research, I stayed at the home of one Engganese who was married to a *kaamay*. The wife is Engganese and the husband is *kaamay*, which means their children are Engganese. The mother tried to introduce her children to the Engganese language, but the children only understood some of what their mother said and were unable to respond in Engganese. In general, I heard them communicating in *Bahasa*. I asked the mother why they do not use Engganese in their family communication. The mother said that even her husband could not speak Engganese, so using Indonesian was considered easier.

Engganese are an exogamous community, meaning they marry people outside their clan. Therefore, Engganese can marry a *kaamay*. Marrying a *kaamay* is not a threat to Engganese custom. However, in mixed marriages, offspring will lack understanding of Engganese customs. However, I would like to see mixed marriage as a strategy to expand the Engganese collectivity network and prevent potential conflict. In the event of conflict between Engganese and *kaamay*, the chief will see if there is a bond of brotherhood through marriage. If there is, the conflict will be resolved in a familial manner. This is consistent with Levi-Strauss (1969) assertion that marriage is a form of social exchange that creates interdependence. Potential conflicts can be easily prevented or resolved because of the social bonds that exist between them in the form of kinship ties.

Intermarriage can also be seen as an attempt to gain access to socio-economic resources or investments. Engganese who marry migrants will gain a new family outside Enggano, making it easier for them to access education or employment. They can also gain knowledge transfer from migrants and expand their social relations.

CONCLUSION

Forming *kaamay* as a cultural strategy to preserve their existence. The Engganese realized they could not prevent migrants from entering their territory. Their past experiences interacting with foreign peoples led to a new understanding that treating outsiders as “enemies” and keeping them at a distance would be detrimental to the Engganese. Therefore, they integrated the migrants into their community by grouping them into a single clan, known as the *kaamay*. In addition to forming a new clan, the Engganese also use Indonesian as the everyday language spoken on Enggano. The goal is to make communication with migrants easier for both sides. Furthermore, the use of Indonesian is also intended to prevent linguistic misunderstandings that could lead to conflict. The Engganese and migrants are also bound by exogamous marriages, which socially bind them to one another.

As migrants, *Kaamay* must go through three phases (Kim, 2001): 1) stress, during which they feel alienated from Engganese culture; 2) deculturation, in which Engganese customs require them to relinquish their cultural identity while on Enggano. They are permitted to use their cultural identity outside the island; 3) Growth, which is a form of social resilience. They are forced to shed their original culture (deculturation) not because they want to, but because it is the only way to achieve growth (capacity development) so they can be accepted, work, and live in harmony without conflict with the indigenous people.

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