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Harmony Among Family Members with Different Religions: Case Ngaju Dayak

Armonía entre miembros de la familia con diferentes religiones: caso Ngaju Dayak

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RESUMEN

En la perspectiva de la teoría del conflicto, la armonía familiar se crea debido a la coerción, tanto por el sistema como por los grupos más fuertes a los grupos más débiles. Académicamente, los resultados de este estudio tienen una contribución científica para enriquecer las teorías sociales modernas como lo sugieren los sociólogos en la teoría estructural funcional y la teoría de conflictos. Además, también se espera que los resultados del estudio puedan proporcionar información suficiente para crear una forma alternativa de reducir los conflictos interreligiosos en Indonesia.

Palabras clave: Armonía interreligiosa, familia Dayak Ngaju, teoría del conflicto, teoría estructural funcional

ABSTRACT

In the perspective of conflict theory, family harmony is created due to coercion, both by the system and by the stronger groups to the weaker ones. Academically, the results of this study have a scientific contribution in order to enrich modern social theories as suggested by sociologists in functional, structural and conflict theory. In addition, it is also expected that the results of the study can give sufficient information to create an alternative way of reducing inter-religious conflicts in Indonesia.

Keywords: Conflict theory, Dayak Ngaju family, functional, inter-religious harmony, structural theory.

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INTRODUCTION

Religious conflict is a common problem in a country with various religious beliefs or two countries or more with different religious beliefs. In general, there are two ways of conceptualizing religious conflicts, namely identity-based conceptualization and issue-based conceptualization (Svensson & Nilsson: 2017). Identity-based conceptualization deals with conflicts, which happen between two different religious groups without any specific religious issue. While on the contrary, Issue-based conceptualization has something to do with conflicts which focus merely on specific religious issues. In addition, considering the ethics, which are involved in the religious conflict, it also can be classified into a single ethnoreligious conflict or a multi ethnoreligious conflict. An example of a single ethnoreligious conflict is the religious conflict in Sri Lanka which took place between Sinhala-Buddhist majority community and minority community (Gunatilleke: 2018). While the example of multi ethnoreligious conflict is the conflict that happened in Nigeria, that is argued caused by the diversities of religions and ethnics in that country (Ahmad & Ahmad: 2019; Ede & Chiaghanam: 2018).

Religious conflicts bring various negative impacts on the country. In some cases, religious conflicts may cause ethnic conflicts, especially when one religious belief of a certain ethnic threatened the other beliefs of a different religion from different ethnic (Fox: 2000). Religious conflict may also become a subordinate source of political conflicts, but it has a great role during its process that able to affect national security (Hasenclever & Rittberger: 2000). In other words, religious conflicts may cause national insecurity (Use: 2015). Furthermore, national insecurity may bring greater impacts, such as the world views on the country's reputation, economic growth and stability (Fatima: 2014). In Africa, for instance, religious and ethnic nationalism has led to conflicts about control of state power, unequal allocation of resources, citizenship issues, state collapse, economic decline and ethnoreligious clashes (Canci & Odukoya: 2016; Ahmad & Ahmad: 2018). It means that religious conflicts will make the country suffers a severe condition both in the national and international levels. Moreover, religious conflicts also may bring a bigger problem than interstate war since it may lead to intrastate war (Juan: 2014).

Religious conflict can be triggered by several problems. Religious discrimination, for example, caused armed conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa (Basedau & Schaefer-Kehnert: 2019). Justifying violence by the use of religious myths, symbols, beliefs, and images, and dehumanization is also the cause of the fight between two different ethnics with different religions (Kadayifci-Orellana: 2009). It is believed that there is an endogenous relationship between religion and violence and it is argued that, in some cases of religious conflicts, religious rhetoric was adopted by the people who committed violence (Isaacs: 2016). Religious conflicts can also be related to political conflicts (Brubaker: 2015). It is also reported that inter-religious based organization has something to do with religious conflicts (Omotsho: 2014; Ahmad & Sahar: 2019). Furthermore, other factors that may lead to religious conflicts are historical, social, cultural, environmental, leadership and governance factors (Moywaywa: 2018).

This study tries to enrich the results of the previous studies using a different point of view. Since the previous studies identified the factors that cause religious conflicts, this study describes things that create harmony among people of different religions. Building inter-religious harmony is very important to maintain the economy, politic, and national stability (Zulkefli et al.: 2018). Restoring peace and religious harmony can be done by reducing factors which trigger the conflicts and enriching the factors which bound the members of those religions in harmony. This study focused on the harmony of Dayak Ngaju tribe families with different religions but lived in the same house. The Dayak Ngaju tribe is one of the tribes in Central Kalimantan that initially did not adhere to a particular religion recognized by the Indonesian government. This tribe adheres to a belief called Kaharingan. Along with the entry of Islam in the 14th century which spread through culture and Christianity in the 16th century which was brought by the Dutch through colonialism in Borneo, some Dayak tribes began to recognize later adhering to one of these two religions both through marriage and the transfer of belief to one's own consciousness. The process of the conversion took place until now so that one family can have various religions. In other tribes, if a family member converts, he/she will be sanctioned by exclusion

from the family and hostile. However, this rarely happens to the Dayak Ngaju tribes. They can still live in harmony, some of whom live in one house despite different beliefs.

Various researches have been done on the Dayak tribe, such as Dayak land and garden management systems (Crevello: 2004; Rahu et al.: 2014), the language and culture of the Dayak Ngaju people (Jay: 1989; Brunelle & Riehl: 2002), and people's beliefs in the Ngaju Dayak tribe (Chalmers: 2006; Baier, 2007a,b). However, the research focused more on Dayak culture and religion in general. Chalmers (2006), for example, illustrates how the process of Islamization took place in the Dayak Ngaju community that happened not because of coercion, but because of the factor of the high interaction between religions in the community. The study also discusses how different religious communities can live in harmony in society. Although the study discusses harmony in society, no study has specifically examined how harmony in the Dayak Ngaju tribal family can be formed even though family members are of different religions. This is an interesting phenomenon to study, especially from the perspective of functional, structural theory and conflict theory.

Considering the urgency of building peace among people of different religions, identifying things that create harmony among those people of different religions is important to be conducted. Therefore, this study aims to describe the dynamics of harmony between religious groups in the Ngaju Dayak tribe family in Central Kalimantan, analyzing the dynamics of harmony between Dayak Ngaju tribal family members according to the perspective of functional, structural theory, and analyze the dynamics of harmony according to the conflict theory perspective.

METHODS

This research used a qualitative approach. This study is classified into ethnography study, a study that describes people and culture (Marvasti: 2004). Since the purpose of this study is to describe the dynamics of harmony between religious groups in the Ngaju Dayak tribe family in Central Kalimantan, based on its purpose, this study is also can be categorized as descriptive study. A descriptive study is a type of research that its major purpose is to describe the state of affairs as it exists at present (Kothari: 2004). In selecting the sample of the study, the researcher used criterion-based or purposive sampling. It means that the chosen samples have particular and similar features or characteristics which enable the researcher to find the information that is needed in answering the research questions (Ritchie et al.: 2003). Therefore, in this study, the researcher selected Ngaju Dayak tribe families whose members of the families are of different religions, and all of them are living in one house and families of different religions who are living in different houses.

Ten families of Dayak Ngaju Community in Central Kalimantan, Indonesia with different religious backgrounds, such as Moslems, Christians, Catholics, and Hindus were part of the data. Data were collected using interview and observation techniques. An in-depth interview, which was conducted in four months, was conducted to members of the family with different religious beliefs to obtain a description of how inter-religion harmony works within the family, and how the members of the family view this harmony. In addition, the observation was also conducted to understand the house structures and the ornaments related to religious beliefs found in the house. The collected data were then analyzed using the interactive model analysis that consists of three steps, namely data reduction, data display, and conclusions: drawing/verifying (Miles et al.: 2014).

RESULTS

The dynamics of harmony between the religious communities of the Dayak Ngaju family

The inter-religious harmony in ten families in this study can be grouped into two categories. First, the true harmony category is a family group that has never experienced conflict when family members convert to the religion. The second category is conflicting family groups where families experience physical and/or mental violence when one of their family members changes their beliefs. The conflicts that have occurred in the second group are divided into two, namely, mental conflict with physical violence and mental conflict without physical violence.

True harmony occurs in eight families. It means that in those families, there is no violence or angry disagreement. Because in a simple way, harmony can be defined as order, which means the absence of strife (Neo: 2019). Based on the results of interviews, the harmony that occurred in these eight families can be divided into two categories, namely harmony in different religious families living in one house (three families: SK, ML and RW) and harmony in different religious families living in different homes (five families: Y, AM, MN, MJ and MA). The form of true harmony in the SK, ML and RW families is to give freedom to members of different religious families to carry out their respective worship, without any feeling of reluctance or discomfort with each other. Besides, non-muslim family members also provide prayer facilities for Muslim family members, celebrate the festivities of each religion, separate cooking and eating equipment, help prepare sahur and breaking the fast during Ramadan and to attend the wedding ceremony of Christian family members in the church, and vice versa. In addition, based on observations and interviews, there are religious properties or symbols of each religion hanging on the walls of the house, such as Jesus' pictures or posters, crosses and calligraphy verses of the Qur'an. However, some families have no religious properties or symbols at all because there is an agreement not to highlight religious symbols in homes inhabited by various religious family members. This is intended to safeguard the feelings of each believer so that harmony can be created.

Furthermore, religious harmony in different religious families that do not live in one house is in the families Y, AM, MN, MJ and MA. Harmony is manifested in activities such as visiting each other during the holidays of each religion and attending religious services for each party of different religions. Even though they did not attend the ritual ceremony, they allowed family members who wished to convert sincerely. Based on Mujiburrahman's theory, the form of harmony in these five families is in the category of mutual acceptance because family members who have different beliefs never question or prevent other family members from carrying out their religious teachings. In fact, family members can respect each other and accept each other sincerely.

Meanwhile, in the AS and YL families, harmony between family members from different religions was created after a conflict occurred. Deep conflicts that have caused physical violence have occurred quite long in the AS family while the YL family has experienced mental conflicts and does not lead to physical violence. This conflict can gradually come to an end because converts always show good attitudes towards other family members. The AS Muslim family finally allowed one of his family members to adhere to his new religion, Christianity, although in fact Muslim families still want that one-day family member who has converted to Christianity will return to Islam. Conversely, while on vacation and staying at the home of his Muslim parents, Christian family members never attend church services on Sundays to maintain the feeling of a Muslim family.

Likewise, for YL families who are predominantly Christian, their form of harmony is to visit each other during the holidays of each religion (Christmas, Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha), allowing members of different religious families to worship each other even though Christian families still want family members who converted to Islam returned to Christianity and vice versa. Based on Mujiburrahman's theory, harmony in these two families is in the tolerance category.

The dynamics of Ngaju Dayak religious harmony from the perspective of functional structural theory

Functional, structural theory views society as a social system consisting of parts that are interrelated and united in balance. Parsons states that functional, structural theory has the following assumptions. Firstly, the system has regular property and interdependent parts. Secondly, the system tends to move towards maintaining self-order or balance. Thirdly, the nature of the part of a system affects the shape of other parts. Fourthly, allocation and integration are two fundamental processes needed to maintain the balance of the system, and the last, the system tends towards the direction of self-balance that includes maintaining the relationship between parts and the whole system, controlling the different environments and controlling the tendency to change the system from within (Ritzer & Goodman: 2008).

From Parsons' first theories and assumptions, family members from eight families (SK, Y, ML, AM, MN, MJ, RW and MA), have feelings of interdependence, kinship ties or blood ties with one another despite different religions. They always maintain and maintain a balanced relationship between family members so that harmony can be created (second and third assumptions of Parsons). In addition, harmony is also supported by the system of life philosophy of the Dayak tribe, namely Huma Betang (a large and long traditional house, inhabited by 10 to 100 families) that is actually practised as a habit, passed down through tradition, not through verbatim (fifth assumption of Parsons). The values of togetherness, democracy, equality and mutual respect are value systems that attach family members, upheld above all differences and interests (Parsons' fourth assumption).

The inter-religious harmony in the eight families above can be created because of the four important functions in the social system as stated by Talcott Parsons in functional, structural theory, namely the function of Adaptation, Goal Attainment, Integration and Latency (AGIL). Each family member in the eight families adapted to each other by using the values or moral norms of the Dayak culture so that security was fulfilled. It began in the Huma Betang environment and then spread and expanded into the family system or structure. The values or moral norms of the Dayak culture are kinship values (oloh itah), blood ties (heredity) and the values of the philosophy of Huma Betang. The adaptation is carried out by each family member to achieve goal attainment, namely the peace and harmony of relations between family members. Therefore, family members of different religions can be integrated into a family social system. Furthermore, harmony, peace and harmony continue to be maintained (Latency). They have a general agreement in the form of the philosophical values of Huma Betang and the values of kinship ties (oloh itah) and blood ties (heredity) that can overcome differences in religion or belief among family members. The same thing happened to families of AS and YL who had conflicts first before finally living in harmony.

The dynamics of Ngaju Dayak religious harmony from the perspective of conflict theory

In the perspective of conflict theory, the existence of harmony in society does not mean there is no conflict. Conflict always exists in the community because harmony and order are built based on coercion by the system or law. In the ten families above, there were conflicts, both closed conflicts (SK, Y, ML, AM, MN, MJ, RW and MA families) and open conflicts (AS and YL families).

Conflict theory, as defined by Alo Liliweri, states that a conflict is a form of disagreement produced by individuals or groups because of differences in attitudes, beliefs, values or needs. Religious differences can be interpreted as differences in attitudes, beliefs and values, as shown in the families of SK, Y, ML, AM, MN, MJ, RW and MA. Real conflicts also occur in two families (AS and YL families). According to conflict theory, people's lives are always characterized by competition that leads to conflict despite the fact that conflicts that have occurred in AS and YL families and eight other families are not due to competition, but because of opposition or differences in beliefs/beliefs. Conflict in the form of disagreement in AS and YL families eventually gave birth to harmony. Conflict theory states that the order found in society comes from coercing its members by emphasizing the role of power in maintaining order in society (Ritzer & Goodman: 2008).

Harmony in families experiencing conflict can be rebuilt. For example, harmony in AS family can occur even though most family members adhere to Islam while their daughter (MM) converts to Protestant Christianity. In the perspective of conflict theory, what happens to AS families is not caused by consensus among family members. It is caused by the coercion from stronger groups (in this case, Muslim family members) to weaker groups (MM which is a Protestant Christianity). Besides, harmony can exist due to the existence of laws, regulations, values or norms which, according to the perspective of conflict theory, is actually something that is forced such as the value of the philosophy of Huma Betang, the philosophy of *oloh itah* (as fellow Dayak Ngaju people), and values heredity (blood ties). When coercion from a stronger group is accepted without any resistance from the weaker group, it is called harmonious. The same thing happened in the YL family. The families of Protestant Christians are a stronger group, while YL who are Muslims are a weak group.

Similarly, Dahrendorf stated that conflict theory examines conflicts of interest and coercion that unite the community in facing the pressures of conflict of interest in society. Conflicts that occur in AS and YL families, as stated by Lewis A. Coser, have two functions: positive and negative. The negative function of conflict in the two families resulted in division and damage to the social structure of the family, especially in AS family where physical violence occurred. However, the conflict in these two families also had a positive function that led to the unification of the family's social structure because of the "safety valve." In AS families, the safety valve was in the form of no resistance from MM who converted to Protestant Christianity and continued to show good attitude towards Muslim families, while in the YL family, the safety valve is a well-formed communication channel so that non-Muslim family members can understand the conversion of YL from Protestant to Islam.

What happened to eight other families also showed that conflict or dispute of belief did not arise because communication between family members and also the safety valve in the form of culture and philosophy of Huma Betang, kinship culture among fellow Dayaks (feeling), feeling of blood ties (heredity), and religious attitudes occur. When viewed from the type of conflict in Coser's theory, conflict is divided into two types, namely, realistic conflict and non-realistic conflict. Conflicts that occur in AS and YL families are called realistic conflicts, originating from the demands of the family to remain in the same religion or belief. Related to this fact, Dahrendorf linked conflict theory to consensus theory. According to him, conflict and consensus are two essential phenomena that always exist in every society. Conflict theory examines conflicts of interest and coercion that unite society, while consensus theory examines integration in society. Communities will not exist without conflict and consensus. Conflict will not exist without the presence of consensus, and conversely, consensus will not exist without conflict.

Thus, harmony between family members who have experienced the conflict or not is actually created because of structural coercion that family members who have blood ties must live in harmony despite different beliefs. In addition, the values of the philosophy of Huma Betang that are still held and practised can be seen as a force from the structure.

Based on the description above, this study proved that functional, structural theory that was pioneered by Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer and was developed by Emile Durkheim and Talcott Parsons, and conflict theory that was coined by Karl Marx and Max Weber which was later developed between others by George Simmel, Dahrendorf and Lewis Coser, have strengths and weaknesses at once. The strength is that the Dayak community can create harmony without preceded by previous conflicts because each party without any coercion functions to build harmony (functional, structural theory). In addition, there is also harmony created after being preceded by a conflict between family members (conflict theory). This fact shows the weak side of the two theories. Not all harmony is created without conflict (the weakness of functional, structural theory) and not all harmony is preceded by conflict and not all harmony is created because the element of coercion by the group is stronger to the weaker group (weakness of conflict theory).

DISCUSSION

According to Mujiburrahman (2006), harmony must be sustained by at least two things, namely a positive cultural attitude towards pluralism and structural conditions that support this positive attitude. A positive cultural attitude towards pluralism has three levels, from the lowest to the highest level, namely tolerance, mutual acceptance, and cooperation. First, tolerance is an attitude of refraining from prohibiting, disturbing and oppressing other people or groups for certain reasons. It must be recognized that tolerance also has limits, which means something or someone else's actions that are not liked is placed at certain limits. Second, mutual acceptance is an effort to understand each other in social life while maintaining their respective identities, including religious identity. Third, cooperation is the willingness and ability of each different party to build mutual cooperation to achieve mutual interests (Mujiburrahman: 2009).

From the finding of the study above, it can be understood that the harmony between religious people at the level of "tolerance", i.e. acceptance of the very things one disagrees with, disapproves of or dislikes (Doorn: 2014). However, it still contains feelings of lack or dislike of other parties who have different beliefs but try to accept it by not disturbing, prohibiting or oppressing others to carry out their beliefs. It means that there is a need for tolerance to strengthen activity. The study that was conducted by Zulkarnain & Samsuri (2018) in Alor Regency East Nusa Tenggara Province shows that government leadership and religious leader figures have great role intolerance among people of different religions. Thus, the local government in Central Kalimantan and the religious leaders in that area should promote tolerance to their people. Besides government and religious leaders, education also has a great contribution in building tolerance (Kusuma & Susilo: 2020). Tolerance can be socialized at schools through the tolerance education in the hidden curriculum (Kurnawan: 2018). Another study that was conducted at school in order to foster ethnic and religious harmony is the study conducted by Obiekezie and Timothy (2015), their study found that the classroom language experience could foster positive changes in ethnic and religious prejudices. According to Istiningsih & Sumarni (2016), who conducted a study about tolerance character building through education, the most effective way of cultivating tolerance through education is "beyond the wall" model. This education model relies on factual practice. Students are brought to do real activities to help others of different beliefs or religion. This model becomes the best model because tolerance should be implemented not delivered theoretically (Achmad: 2013). This kind of education model can be adopted by schools where Dayak Ngaju Tribes live in order to improve their tolerance, especially in religious education, because religion education has the greatest impact toward the inter-religious tolerance (Baidhaw, 2007). Yet, to build tolerance should be begun with the commitment of personal change (Szilagyi et al.: 2017).

The inter-religious harmony at the level of "accepting each other" is that each party accepts and acknowledges with full awareness the existence of other parties' beliefs as a social reality while maintaining their respective identities or beliefs. A study conducted by Asmara (2018), who tried to find the principles of religious harmony among the people of Sasak Tribe in Lombok, found that the principles are mutual respect, appreciating differences, keeping togetherness, fraternity, love of peace and abstinence to spread the disgrace of others. If it is seen from the result of that study, the inter-religious harmony in Ngaju Dayak families follows the mutual respect principle. Meanwhile, the harmony between religious people at the level of "cooperation" is the existence of cooperation built by each party with different beliefs to achieve common interests. The collaboration does not only concern daily needs but also involves cooperation in terms of facilitating the implementation of worship of each party with different beliefs. Based on the theory put forward by Mujiburrahman (2006), the form of harmony in the family of SK, ML and RW is cooperation. Both "accepting each other" and "cooperation" can bring inter-religious dialogue among people of different religions. Based on the result of the study that was conducted by Khotimah (2015), inter-religious dialogue is a good way of maintaining religious harmony. The similar finding also found by Popovska, Ristoska, and Payet (2017), who identified that dialogue can bring restoration to religious harmony. In Malaysia, based on the study conducted

by Yusof and Majid (2012), inter-religious dialogue model, which has been proven effective in building tolerance in Malaysia is educational type dialogue. This type of dialogue focuses on the similarities and differences, which consequently increase understanding and strengthen meaningful engagement among people of different ethnic and religious background.

CONCLUSION

Some conclusions can be drawn based on the results of the study, namely: (1) In general, the harmony between the religious communities of the Dayak Ngaju tribe has unique dynamics with certain characteristics not shared by other tribes. In particular, the dynamics of harmony can be described in three categories as follows; first, harmony between family religious communities is well established so that the members are at the level of "cooperation". Secondly, harmony began to be created after there had been little conflict so that they were at the level of "receiving each other". Thirdly, harmony is created after a very deep conflict has occurred so that they are at the level of "tolerance"; (2) In the perspective of the functional structural theory that views society in an orderly manner, each member of society plays four functions known as AGIL. Each family member in the ten families in this study has a role and function in creating harmony by adapting, integrating and maintaining relationships so that the family's social structure is maintained based on the values, norms or morals of their Dayak culture. However, according to the perspective of conflict theory that views the nature of society as a conflict because of competition, opposition or difference, harmony is created from forced coercion, such as by Huma Betang philosophy system, kinship and blood ties, religious attitudes and stronger to weaker groups. The conflict in the two families in this study, according to Lewis A. Coser, is a conflict that has a positive function, namely conflict as a process that is instrumental in the formation, unification and maintenance of social structures; and (3) Functional, structural theory and conflict theory based on the results of this study turned out to have weaknesses in addition to having strengths. Not all harmony is created without conflict (the weakness of functional, structural theory) and not all harmony contains or is preceded by conflict and not all harmony is created because the element of coercion by the stronger groups to the weaker groups (weakness of conflict theory).

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