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THE HABITUATION OF TONGKONAN COMMUNICATION AS ADHESIVES FOR RELIGIOUS HARMONY IN TORAJA PEOPLE

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Abstract

Religious differences within one family are often found in Toraja society. The four faces of God in one family are a symbol of a family living in harmony and upholding religious tolerance. This study examines how the habituation of communication in maintaining tolerance in building religious harmony in Toraja community is mediated through the existence of Tongkonan (traditional house of Toraja). This study used a qualitative descriptive method in the form of observations, interviews, and focus group discussion (FGD) at three locations which are the research objects, Lembang Madandan, Lembang Kaduaja and Lembang Tombang Langda. The results of this study indicate that a harmonious relationship among religions is a habitus that is built into the mental and cognitive domains that each individual is given freedom to choose religion, is respected (*dianggak*), is supported in worshiping (*diangkak*) which is the behavioral internalization of the three main attitudes; *sianggak*, *sikalik*, and *siangkaran*, with Tongkonan as the communication center for collective decision making, problem solving, and conflict resolution. The substance of this research can be used as a reference in realizing religious tolerance through the heritage of local traditions and culture.

Keywords: Habitus; Religious Harmony; Tongkonan; Toraja.

الملخص

غالبًا ما توجد الاختلافات الدينية داخل عائلة منطقة واحدة في مجتمع توراها وجوه رب الأربعة في شرفة واحدة هي تشبيه عائلي حي التناغم والتمسك بالتسامح الديني. تبحث هذه الدراسة في كيفية تعويد التواصل في الحفاظ على التسامح في بناء الانسجام الديني في مجتمع توراها من خلال وجود تونغكونان (Tongkonan). استخدمت هذه الدراسة المنهج الوصفي النوعي في شكل الملاحظة والمقابلات ومجموعات التركيز مناقشة (FGD) في موقعين كانا موضع

بحث ، مقاطعة ماداندان في شمال توراها وليمبانج كادواجا ، مقاطعة تانا توراها. نتائج هذه الدراسة يوضح أن العلاقة المتناغمة بين المعتقدات هي عادة مبنية في المجالات العقلية والمعرفية أن كل فرد يُمنح حرية اختيار الدين ، ويحترم (يحترم) ، ويدعم في ممارسة العبادة (diangka) وهو الاستيعاب لسلوك المواقع الثلاثة الرئيسية : siangga و ' sikamalik و siangkaran ، مع Tongkonan كمركز في صنع القرار وحل المشكلات وحل النزاعات. يمكن استخدام جوهر هذا البحث كأحد التوصيات.

الكلمات الدالة : التعود; الانسجام الديني; Toraja; Tongkonan;

Abstrak

Perbedaan agama dalam satu rumpun keluarga kerap ditemukan di masyarakat Toraja. Empat wajah Tuhan dalam satu beranda, merupakan analogi keluarga yang hidup harmonis dan memegang teguh toleransi beragama. Penelitian ini mengkaji bagaimana habituasi komunikasi dalam menjaga toleransi dalam membangun kerukunan beragama pada masyarakat Toraja yang dimediasi melalui keberadaan Tongkonan. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif berupa observasi, wawancara, dan focus group discussion (FGD) pada tiga lokasi yang menjadi objek penelitian, Lembang Madandan, Lembang Kaduaja dan Lembang Tombang Langda. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan hubungan rukun antar keyakinan merupakan habitus yang dibangun dalam ranah mental dan kognitif bahwa setiap individu diberi kebebasan untuk memilih agama, dihargai (*diangga'*), didukung dalam menjalankan ibadah (*diangka'*) yang merupakan rinternalisasi dari perilaku tiga sikap pokok; *siangga'*, *sikamalik'*, dan *siangkaran*, dengan Tongkonan sebagai pusat dalam pengambilan keputusan, pemecahan masalah, dan penyelesaian konflik. Substansi penelitian ini dapat dijadikan acuan dalam mewujudkan toleransi beragama melalui warisan tradisi dan budaya lokal.

Kata Kunci: Habituasi; Kerukunan Beragama; Tongkonan; Toraja

A. Introduction

Since the declaration of independence in Indonesian, this nation has revived the spirit of unity in diversity. The diversity of the population is certainly due to the

religion, ethnicity, race, ethnicity, language, and culture.¹ Living side by side in differences has been the dream and aspiration of the founder of the nation since Indonesia's independence. The philosophical formulation has been embodied in the Pancasila ideology with the slogan "*Bhineka Tunggal Ika*", bearing in mind that the struggle for independence has been achieved with the will and struggle with the tribes and races in Indonesia. In addition, preserving differences is an ideal in maintaining the treasures of the nation so that differences are respected and recognized in the sovereignty of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

In Toraja people, religious differences in the family are not a barrier to maintaining harmony. From generation to generation the Toraja people are known as people who have strength because of unity and harmony that has been maintained since the colonial era. They have always had jargon which means unity, for example the heroes fighting against colonialism with the jargon '*Topada tindo tomisa pangimpi* (together in sleeping with one dream),² which means fighting together with one determination and purpose. Another well-known motto is *misa' kaada diputuo pantan kaada dipumate*' (one word we win, each one or another makes us die)³.

The people of Toraja are divided into two districts, namely North Toraja with the capital of Makale Regency and Tana Toraja Regency with the capital of Rantepao Regency. The areas bordering Enrekang and Pinrang Regencies in the south, Luwu and Mamuju Districts in the north, Polmas Regency in the west and Luwu Regency in the east. Before becoming a regency, it was given the name *Tondok Lepongan Bulan Tana Matarik Allo*", which means land or an area whose government is round like the sun.⁴

In social life, there are often religious differences, both within a family and within the community. The early religion that began to be embraced was the belief in *alu' todolo* (indigenous belief) as the religion of the ancestors of the Toraja people. Islam began to develop in 1876, Christianity entered in 1908 and Catholicism in 1938.

In Toraja, the district of Madandan was the initial place for the spread of Islam in Toraja which was known as '*madandan ditulak tallu*', which means Madandan was built on three pillars symbolizing three different religions in its area.⁵ The description of the symbols of these three different religions can be found through the existence of the pillars found in the Tongkonan traditional house.

Tongkonan comes from the word *tongkon*, which means sitting. Tongkonan means a place to sit, a house, a gathering place for large families to carry out

¹Muhammad Amri, Risna Mosiba, and Saidna Zulfiqar Bin-Tahir, "Interreligious Tolerance in the Perception of Maluku Muslim Society," *Jurnal Adabiyah* 20, no. 1 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.24252/jad.v17i120i1a8>. p. 180

²Nurdin Baturante, *Tongkonan Dan Kerukunan* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Alzakra, 2019).

³Baturante. p. 144.

⁴Baturante.p. 2.

⁵Baturante. h. 118-162.

traditional ceremonies together.⁶ Toraja people, symbolize Tongkonan as mother, while the *alang sura* (rice barn) which is usually in front of Tongkonan is symbolized as father. The front of the Tongkonan are also lined with buffalo horns which is proof that in the Tongkonan family ritual ceremonies were held, both the death ceremony (*Aluk Rambu Solok*) and the wedding ceremony (*Aluk Rambu Tukak*).⁷

The shape of Tongkonan Toraja, although it has undergone a transformation from time to time along with its development, includes transformations of spatial structure, function, and use of materials,⁸ but it does not eliminate its original form. The original building is *banua* tongkonan with a boat-shaped roof, facing north and south with the structure of the building only consisting of wood and bamboo without using nails.⁹ The first tongkonan built was the *Layuk Tongkonan*.

Tongkonan is the traditional house of the Toraja people, which is the residence, customary power, and the development of the social and cultural life of the Toraja people.¹⁰ This definition shows that the function of Tongkonan is not only as a cultural identity of the Toraja people but also as a center of life in the social dynamics of the community. Efforts to maintain the social consensus of the Toraja people through the existence of the Tongkonan occur in the realm of habitus.

The concept of habitus is a theory expressed by Bourdieu which describes the realm of the dialectical relationship that occurs between cultural traditions and the existence of social space in society.¹¹ Habitus exists in the individual's mind while the environment is outside the individual's mind, but both are interrelated and influence each other. Habitus is a mental or cognitive structure that is formed in a person in carrying out social interactions.

Habitus describes a series of tendencies that encourage social actors or actors to act and react in certain ways. Habitus is a product of history, as a legacy from the past which is influenced by existing the social structures. As a product of history, habitus creates individual and collective actions according to patterns generated by history. Habits acquired through life experiences and have a function, are then

⁶Ezra Tari, "Teologi Tongkonan: Berteologi Dalam Konteks Budaya Toraja," *EPIGRAPHE: Jurnal Teologi Dan Pelayanan Kristiani* 2, no. 2 (January 23, 2019): 93, <https://doi.org/10.33991/epigraphe.v2i2.40>. p. 95.

⁷Nursalam Nursalam, "Makna Sosial Tongkonan Dalam Kehidupan Masyarakat Tana Toraja," *Equilibrium: Jurnal Pendidikan* 5, no. 1 (2019), <https://doi.org/10.26618/equilibrium.v5i1.972>. p. 31.

⁸Shandra Stephany, "Interior Tongkonan Di Tana Toraja Sulawesi Selatan," *Dimensi Interior*, Vol.7, No.1, Juni 2009: 28-397 (2009). p. 28-39.

⁹Baturante, *Tongkonan Dan Kerukunan*. p. 210.

¹⁰Marcelina Sanda Lebang Pakan, Maria Heny Pratiknjo, and Welly E Mamosey, "Rumah Adat 'Tongkonan' Orang Toraja Kabupaten Tana Toraja Propinsi Sulawesi Selatan," *HOLISTIK, Journal of Social and Culturef Social and Culture* XI, no. 22 (2018). p. 2.

¹¹GEORGE DAN DOUGLAS J. GOODMAN RITZER, "Teori Sosiologi Modern," *Protein Science*, 2007. p. 522

internalized in themselves, to be used to feel, understand, realize and assess the social world.¹² It is through these patterns that individuals produce their actions and also judge them or in other words, the habitus controls the thoughts and choices of individual actions.

Habitus is carried out through habituation and continuous socialization so that social reflexes to maintain harmony can occur without realizing it.¹³ Habitus is as a result or product of internalization of the social world structure which is manifested and obtained as a result of the length of position in social life, so that the habitus will vary, depending on where and how the individual's position is in social life. If someone who occupies the same position in the social world then he has a tendency towards the same habits. In this sense, habitus can also be a collective phenomenon.

Habitus produces is produced by social life. On the one hand the habitus is a structured structure. That habitus is a structure that structures social life. On the other hand the habitus is a structured structure in which position the habitus becomes a structure structured by the social world. In other words, Bourdieu explains habitus as a dialectic of internalization of externalities and externalization of internalities.¹⁴ Thus, on the one hand, habitus is created by practice or action; on the other hand, habitus is the result of actions which social life creates.

Habitus is simply proposing what people should think and what they should choose to do. In making choices, actors use in-depth considerations based on awareness, even though this decision-making process reflects the role of the habitus. Habitus provides principles upon which actors make choices and choose strategies to use in social life, actors act in a reasonable manner. They have a feeling in acting, there is a logic for what the actor acts, this is called Bourdieu's logic of action.¹⁵ Bourdieu's logic of action (practical logic) is different from rationality (formal logic). There is a concept of relationalism from Bourdieu which is used to lead individuals to recognize that the habitus is not a fixed, immutable structure, but is adapted by individuals not unaware but using it strategically who are constantly changing in the face of the conflicting situations in which they exist.

Therefore, based on the description of the cultural characteristics of Toraja people from the existence of Tongkonan in collaboration with habitus theory, this study discusses problems related to the form of habituation that occurs in Toraja society in responding to religious diversity in one family that have a Tongkonan.

¹²RITZER, p. 522.

¹³I Nyoman Yoga Segara, "Kampung Sindu: Jejak Islam Dan Situs Kerukunan Di Keramas, Gianyar, Bali," *Jurnal Lektur Kcagamaan* 16, no. 2 (2018), <https://doi.org/10.31291/jlk.v16i2.563>. p. 315-346.

¹⁴ RITZER, "Teori Sosiologi Modern." p. 523.

¹⁵Paul Rabinow and Pierre Bourdieu, "Structures, Habitus, Practices," in *Rethinking the Subject*, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429497643-2>. p. 92.

B. Research Method

This study used descriptive qualitative method. Data collection methods include primary literature, observation, focus group discussion, and interviews with the grand tour question (GTQ) strategy developed by Spradley, which is a strategy that encourages informants to 'keep talking' (ramble on and on)¹⁶ in describing verbally about their views on research issues. The informant's statement becomes the unit of analysis described.

This research was conducted in three locations including: Lembang Madandan, in Rante Tayo District, Lembang Kaduaja in Gandang Batu Sillanan District and Lembang Tombang Langda in Sopai District. The three places are heterogeneous areas of religious adherents in one family who have lived from generation to generation in one Tongkonan. There are four categories of informants taken as a source of information, such as: religious leaders (Islam, Catholic, Protestant) adherents of religion and beliefs, government and religious counselor. The categories of informants can be seen as follows:

Table 1
The categories of informants

| No | Name | Position | Address |
|----|-----------------------|--|---|
| 1 | Safruddin, SE | Member of Toraja Parliament and Leader of Al Hidayah Islamic Boarding School | Lembang Kaduaja, Tana Toraja Regency |
| 2 | Marten Saronglangi | Catholic Priest | Lembang Madandan, Tana Toraja Regency |
| 3 | Benyamin Turu' Padang | Protestant Priest | Lembang Madandan, Tana Toraja Regency |
| 4 | Yosepina Rombelayuk | Protestant Priest | Lembang Kaduaja, Tana Toraja Regency |
| 5 | Halimah | Religious Counselor of Muslim in Religion Ministry | Gandang Batu Sillanan District, Tana Toraja Regency |
| 6 | Sampe Baralangi | <i>Aluk Todolo</i> Believers | Sopai District, North Toraj Regency |
| 7 | Fransiska Sarong | <i>Muallaf</i> | Lembang Madandan, |

¹⁶Nurul Ilmi Idrus, "Mana' Dan Éanan: Tongkonan, Harta Tongkonan, Harta Warisan, Dan Kontribusi Ritual Di Masyarakat Toraja," *ETNOSIA: Jurnal Etnografi Indonesia* 1, no. 2 (2017), <https://doi.org/10.31947/etnosia.v1i2.1612>. p. 5.

| | | | |
|--|--------|--|---------------------|
| | Langi' | | Tana Toraja Regency |
|--|--------|--|---------------------|

The results of the interviews were then analyzed using a descriptive method to explain the symbolic meaning contained in a Tongkonan and the habituation of the community in carrying out a pattern of religious tolerance in a family in one Tongkonan.

C. Results and Analysis

1. The Symbolic Meaning of Tongkonan

Tongkonan in practice and community action through tongkonan is very constructive in building the religious harmony of the Toraja community. Tongkonan comes from the word tongkon which means to sit, which gets the suffix (*an*),¹⁷ as a description of the verb in Toraja society which means to sit together in large numbers or commonly called *sitongkon*. Thus, the use of the word Tongkonan is more symbolic as a situation of mutual interaction, the presence of a family of one Tongkonan.¹⁸ Tongkonan as the main element of a *tondok* (region) is a symbol of the class level of a family that is in the social space of society (*silaukna*). This illustrates that Tongkonan is not only seen as a physical building but also a manifestation of the socio-cultural class that exists in a village (*sillanan*).¹⁹

Tongkonan as a form or artifact consists of *tongkonan* land and *banua tongkonan* as a form of Torajan physical culture. Tongkonan land is a form of land that belongs to a family that has several functions, including a cultural center, a place to live, fostering family rules.²⁰ Tongkonan land is not owned individually but jointly with families (collectively). Is an inheritance that is owned jointly by the family and their descendants. The assets are in the form of wet land, namely rice fields, *palimbongan* (gardens) and *padang panglambaran tedong* (buffalo breeding land). On the land area of the Tongkonan family, one family (clan) builds residential houses called *banua* (residential houses)²¹ as the Toraja traditional houses as buildings that are built together in the Tongkonan land area.

¹⁷Baturante, *Tongkonan Dan Kerukunan*. p. 223.

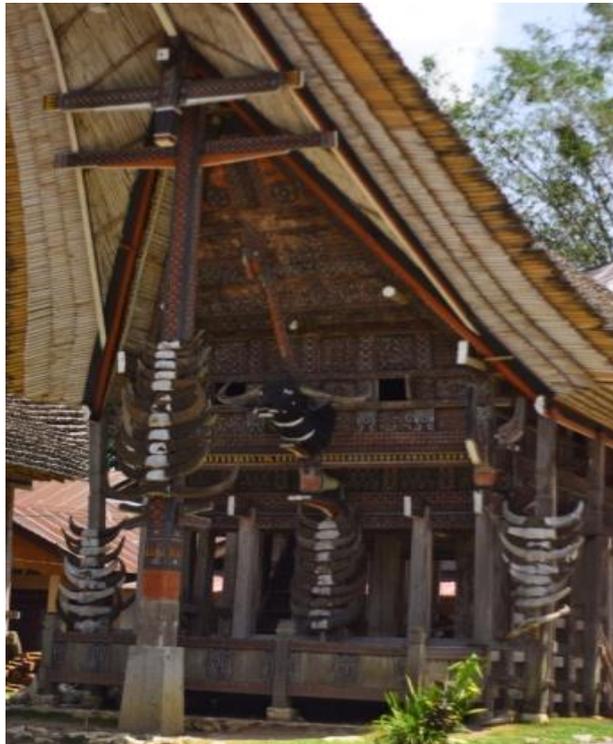
¹⁸Interview with Safruddin, SE. Member Toraja Regency Parliament and Leader of Al Hidayah Islamic Boarding School in Lembang Kaduaja, 21 January 2020.

¹⁹Imam Indratno et al., "SILAU'NA TONGKONAN SEBAGAI SEBUAH REALITAS TONDOK," *ETHOS (Jurnal Penelitian Dan Pengabdian)*, 2016, <https://doi.org/10.29313/ethos.v0i0.1694>. h. 75-84.

²⁰Interview with Marten Sarolangi. Catholic priest in Lembang Madandan, Rante Tayo District, 21 May 2019..

²¹Sam'un Mukramin and Lukman Ismail, "Social Meaning of Mangara Banua Tongkonan Ceremony in Toraja Society," *SIMULACRA: JURNAL SOSIOLOGI* 1, no. 1 (2018), <https://doi.org/10.21107/sml.v1i1.4984>. h. 57-64.

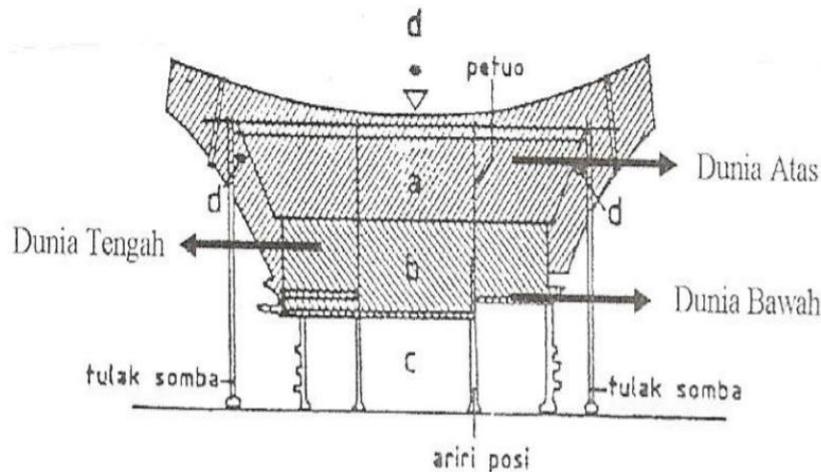
Figure 1
Picture of Tongkonan



The basic form comes from the concept of *Aluk Todolo*, which sees the world of order (cosmos) in three parts, namely the upper world (*ulunna langik*), the middle world (*kale banua*), and the underworld (*sulluk banua*).²² The upper world (*ulunna langik*) is symbolized by the roof in the Tongkonan which is shaped like a boat. Second, the *kale bola* as a world meeting place between the Upper World and the Underworld. *Kale Bola* as a place for '*sitongkon*' is given '*sali*', which is a wooden structure that is understood as a form, the arrangement connotes harmony, mutual cooperation, and harmony. *Kale Bola* is a place to maintain balance, to maintain harmony in social life horizontally by maintaining a balance between orders and prohibitions (*pemali*). Third, *sulluk banua*, which symbolizes underworld was previously used as an area for buffalo or pig stalls.

²²Interview with Marten Sarolangi. Catholic priest in Lembang Madandan, Rante Tayo District, 21 May 2019.

Figure. 2
Division of space in Tongkonan²³



In the *banua Tongkonan* building, carving is also characterized by what is known as *passurak*. *Passurak* is a decoration attached to the Tongkonan with various colors which symbolizes the philosophy of the social form of life and human life of Toraja and symbolizes the position, role and function as well as the status of the tongkonan owner. There are approximately 150 types of *passura* which are grouped into four types, namely *Pattedong*, *Pammanuk Londong*, *Pabbarre Allo*, and *Pasussuk*.²⁴ Carvings depicting symbols of objects and creatures in the life of the Toraja people and containing messages as symbols of the social status of the Toraja people are the philosophy of life of the Toraja people themselves.

Passurak Pabbarre allo which is a carving of a circle that resembles the sun and moon with its rays. *Passura*, which symbolizes the unity and unanimity of the *Tondok Lepongan Bulan* and *Tana Matarik Allo*, which is a function like the sun and the moon that can illuminate anyone with a round shape which means a unity which is expected to illuminate, guide, and bring glory to society. *Passura* Pammanuk Londong or carving resembling a rooster, where the rooster symbolizes honesty and justice, law and patriotism. There is a Toraja custom in the form of *silondongan*, which is pitting a rooster so that a rooster symbolizes the patriotism of a leader who

²³Stephany, "Interior Tongkonan Di Tana Toraja Sulawesi Selatan." h. 28-39.

²⁴ Yudha Almerio Pratama Lebang, "Adat, Analisis Semiotika Simbol Kekuasaan Pada Rumah Layuk), Toraja (Tongkonan," in *Prosiding Temu Ilmiah IPLBI* (Program Studi Arsitektur, Fakultas Teknik, Universitas Malikussaleh, Lhokseumawe, 2017).

upholds rules and norms and is fair in leading because the Toraja people basically believe that the crowing of a rooster is a determinant of time known as *manarang usuka bongi* (the arrival of evening) and *ungkararoi malillin* (the ending of darkness).²⁵

Passurak *pattedong* carving buffalo. The buffalo (*pattedong*) is based on the belief of the Toraja people, symbolized as *Garontok Eyanang* or the basis of wealth so that the buffalo is a symbol of wealth, prosperity, and prosperity for the Toraja people. *Passurak passusuk*, namely passura 'which is in the form of a half hole made parallel and given a color symbolizing a struggle based on unity, kinship, mutual cooperation'.²⁶

Therefore, based on the meaning of the *passurak* (carving) contained in a Tongkonan has a function as a forum for various communication activities that take place in strengthening unity and harmony, including: a symbol or source of power as well as customary government that makes orders and *pemali* that governs the government and the social life that applies to the respective Tongkonan customary areas, the family history centers, the place for fostering family unity and unity to instill a sense of *sianggak*, *sikamalik*, and *siangkaran*, the symbol of family pride with an attractive and beautiful *banua* Tongkonan decorated in *passurak*, the activity center for the traditional ceremony of *Rambu Tukak* and *Rambu Solok*, a place for deliberation and solving family problems, *kaada doolu banua* (saying / saying something above the house) and all problems are resolved through Tongkonan.

The Toraja people, in their social relationships instill the value of habituation to their family members on how to operationalize the hierarchical identity model in an effort to harmonize between families through Tongkonan identities that are placed vertically as collective identities, while religious identity as personal-based social identities are placed horizontally. This shows that the social space in the family is a relationship of interaction between family members in Tongkonan who is directly tied to social activities, while religious matters are the rights and obligations of individuals in carrying out God's commands. The mutual respect for individual social identities in a family is a reflection of the form of habituation in the Toraja community, which consists of *sianggak*, *sikamalik*, and *siangkaran* habits.

2. Habituation in Tongkonan

a. Habit of *Sianggak* (Respecting for each other)

Sianggak comes from the word *anggak* with the prefix *si* which means mutual. *Sianggak* is giving each other prices in terms of important and valuable even though they are not valuable. An important value in communication because every object that

²⁵Interview with Sampe Baralangi. Aluk Todolo Believers in Lembang Tombang Langda, Sopai District, North Toraja Regency, 25 January 2020.

²⁶Interview with Sampe Baralangi. 25 January 2020.

is assumed to have important value functions as a stimulus that greatly influences our thoughts and feelings in responding. A stimulus that is considered important to get priority is to give each other high appreciations.

In Tongkonan, *Sianggak* can be found on the *Passurak Pabbarre Allo*, the symbol of the moon and sun, which means that the moon and sun are different but they can complement each other and do not interfere with each other. appearance. If it is analogous to the different forms of belief that exist in the Toraja community, then this shows a mutual respect for every form of religious difference that exists in a Tongkonan family.

Sianggak (mutual respect) is the value of internalizing and organizing oneself individually and collectively so that it becomes a shared culture created from time to time in tongkonan. Strengthening the choice of religion is given a price for the ability to choose a religion according to beliefs.

Religious differences between siblings in a family can be accepted and appreciated because religion is an important thing for each individual to have. If there are religious differences in the family, *Singgak* can provide a sense of comfort in carrying out worship. One form of the implementation of *Sianggak* in families with different religions can be seen in the following interview results:

“I chose Islam when I was a teenager because I believed that Islam was the true religion. Parents and siblings accepted my decision, we stayed at the same house. Nothing stands in the way of my choice of religion. In carrying out my worship, I was given freedom, kept away from food that according to my religion was haram, because my siblings knew what I could and could not eat. During Ramadan, my Christian brother makes food for breaking the fast and sahur.”²⁷

The choice of different religions is not seen as a threat to separation physically or psychologically. Different religions still occupy the same house and tongkonan land. Intimacy and mingling in interactions are preserved on the basis of one tongkonan. Give each other flexibility with one another to carry out worship according to religion. The high prices are maintained with each other so that a sense of comfort over differences is maintained from time to time.

“I feel comfortable living next to a Muslim brother for life. The sound of the prayer to the mosque at dawn woke me up, so it was not too late to feed my pigs.”²⁸

²⁷Interview with Sampe Baralangi. 25 January 2020.

²⁸Interview with Benyamin Turu' Padang. Protestant Priest in Lembang Madandan, Rante Tayo District, 21 May 2019.

Kasianggaran are built in the context of affection and cognitive through the context of everyday life. *Sianggak* is a representation of relations through cultural practices of everyday life. Religion is an individual's important value and gives a price to each other's religions in life. Apart from belief, marriage is a factor of religious conversion in Toraja society. Interfaith marriages are carried out according to the traditional *diparampo adak* (come according to culture). As a ritual and customary recognition in the process of delivering the prospective groom, as well as the process of giving blessings to the partner. The marriage process is determined according to religion by the two partners without the intervention of the parents of both parties, without tug of war, without feeling of losing, winning, but giving price and recognition to the decision agreed upon by the couple to marry. Marriage as something *busarungngu* (smells good and fragrant), so it is rewarded with *diparampo adak* without debate, discussion, and family opposition, but the power and authority to decide the religious procession in the marriage process is fully given to the couple.

Sianggak in religious differences that has been built in interactions creates an understanding of sense making, both at the individual's internal perceptual level and at the level of intelligibility (cognitive intuitive). *Sianggak* at the perceptual level is the sensory activity of Toraja people to stimulate religious differences which is intensely responded to through sensory activities such as sight, hearing, touch, taste, and smell. Implementation of the level of intelligibility alert through communication practices that involve cognitive, emotional and intuition activities, as well as spiritual forces that will guide interactions both internally and externally.

In this habituation, a common understanding has been built on the importance of attitudes and behaviors to value of *kasianggaran* in that the difference is the human habit of Toraja as an internalization of cultural practices in tongkonan. Physical and psychological union is maintained based on kinship and puts a price on each other's choice of religion. Thus, *sianggak* habit is internalized and constructed continuously through tongkonan. *Kasianggaran* gave birth to a spirit of living together called *sipori padang, sikambik aluk*.

Sipori means an inseparable bunch, *padang* means the land area, *sikambik* means an unite and *aluk* is the religious teachings. So the meaning of this principle is to remain united and uphold the price of certain customary teachings or habits, whether there is a *kasallangan* (Islamic custom), there is a *kasaranian* (Christianity custom), or there is *'todolo* (a custom from the teachings of *aluk todolo*).

Relational control that is built into tongkonan so that no one party or individual destroys relations between religions is known through the regulation of *pemali* (prohibition). One of them is the prohibition against damaging human relations which is called *pemalinna aluk mellolo tau* (prohibition concerning humans and humanity), among others: (1) *pemali urromok sapean tabang* (prohibition of restricting humans from facing safety ceremonies). (2) *Pemali urromok panda*

dibolong (prohibited from restricting humans to face funeral ceremonies). (3) *Pemali unnola tang lalanna* (prohibition of doing inappropriate activities in social life).

b. Habit of *Sikamalikk* (Longing for each other)

Malik means longing. The use of sentences that are prefixed with *si* which means each other, so that *sikamalikk* means missing each other. Missing in psychological studies reflects a person's positive emotional atmosphere in the form of a strong desire for interpersonal affiliation with others in pleasure-based interactions. An emotional condition experienced when a relationship is limited by physical distance or proximity.

In Tongkonan, *Sikamalik* can be found in *Passurak passusuk* which is in the form of half holes made parallel and colorful. This symbol symbolizes a strong emotional connection bound to the great sense of unity and kinship that is owned and creates a desire to always maintain it.

Distance or physical separation for the Toraja ethnic group will give birth to feelings of *sikamalik* between one another. This assumption is of course based on the process of building relationships and escalation of relationships that have provided a comfortable climate of communication with each other when together both on verbal and non-verbal expressions on the basis of *sianggak* attitudes and behavior. *Sikamalikk* has been implemented by Toraja ethnicity through meetings at traditional ceremonies, either *rambu tukak*, *rambu solok* or *mangrara* ritual. In the traditional procession, all distant families are invited and must come during the ceremony which is held at the family's Tongkonan house.

Kasikamalikran (meetings) are a very urgent communication situation in the Toraja community, including meetings with families who have died even. On this basis, so that if there are family members who are non-Muslim, they are temporarily left in the Tongkonan house to wait for families who live outside Toraja to gather together to carry out the funeral ceremony for *rambu solo*, for Christians and followers of *aluk todolo* it is obliged to invite distant Muslim families. Also involved as *ampu sara* (the owner of the ceremony) during the ceremony procession and given the authority to take the role of carrying out the 'kasallangan' including preparing food for Muslim families, and vice versa.

Rambu solok ceremony (*death*) in Muslim families is called *mattambun*.²⁹ All families of one tongkonan were invited and attended for the big family gathering. The procession is carried out for three days and three nights filled with recitation activities at night, and during the day receiving guests in *barung-barung* (house terrace).³⁰ The whole family is present and mingles to meet at the *mattambun* ceremony even though

²⁹Interview with Sampe Baralangi. 25 January 2020.

³⁰Interview with Sampe Baralangi. 25 January 2020.

they are non-Muslims. Likewise, when the celebration of religious holidays visits each other, such as Muslim families getting visits from non-Muslim families during Eid celebrations and vice versa.

Sikamalik is a depiction of belonging to one another. If they are separated, they will always try to create an atmosphere for the meeting. In addition to meetings through traditional ceremonies in Toraja for family gatherings they are also familiar with the activities of meeting all Toraja people in joint activities such as annual activities organized by the community such as Toraja Mamali and the government such as Lovely December Celebration.³¹

The feeling of *sikamalikk* is symbolized through the installation of a painting or *passurak passusuk*, which is a carving as a Tongkonan decoration in the form of a half hole made parallel and given a color symbolizing the feeling of *sikamalikk*, unity, kinship, mutual cooperation despite different beliefs. Tongkonan construction on *kale banua* as a center for family gatherings.

c. Habit of *Siangkaran* (Helping for each other)

Siangkaran (helping each other) is reflected in the climate of life of the Toraja people which is implemented through the context of life together. *Siangkaran* based on the word *angkak* which means to raise. *Siangkaran* is an attitude and behavior to mutually improve the quality of life and achieve the goals of mutual welfare and happiness.

The meaning of *Siangkaran* is illustrated in the *Passurak Paktedong* (carving of a buffalo) in Tongkonan which is symbolized as an effort made together in the family to obtain prosperity and prosperity for all family members, regardless of differences.

An attitude that is always oriented on the spirit to try to provide benefits in the relationship. Thus, Toraja people are always in a stable relationship despite religious differences. A stable relationship is a relationship that is predicted to last for a long time because each party in the relationship maintains it by providing mutual benefits, assistance, and support. The implementation of *Siangkaran* in responding the religious differences in society is illustrated in the following forms of social interaction that occurs in Toraja society in the following statement:

*“When the church was inaugurated and there was a combined Christmas celebration at the church, I and the group of Majelis Taklim cooked for them and hopes they could focus on praying.”*³²

³¹Devi Roza Krisnandhi Kausar and Myra P. Gunawan, “Managing Heritage Tourism in Toraja: Strengthening Local Values and Improving Tourists’ Experiences,” *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 13, no. 6 (2018), <https://doi.org/10.1080/1743873X.2017.1411356>. h. 550-561.

³²Interview with Halimah, Religious Counselor of Muslim in Religion Ministry in Gandang Batu Sillanan District, Toraja Regency, 19 January 2021.

In terms of maintaining harmonious relations between religious adherents, sometimes it is also implemented in the form of each other's awareness to help each other and protect the property owned by others, so as to avoid the emergence of an attitude of fear and worry. In addition, the application of *Sianggkaran* can also be found in the involvement of adherents of other religions to participate in traditional events, without receiving discriminatory treatment. This is illustrated in the following statements:

*"I never worried that my pigs would starve when I returned home in a few days, because our Muslim neighbors would help to look after and feed my pigs."*³³

*"Since I became a Muslim, I have always been given the task of being a *sallang* cook (chef) when there are traditional parties."*³⁴

The three statements from the informants above are a form of implementation of *sianggkaran* in relations between religious communities in Toraja. Helping each other in the sense of trying to provide assistance so that others can get out of the difficulties faced and contribute to meeting needs. Because the problems faced are considered to reduce the quality of life and condition of someone who experiences them, so that *sianggkaran* becomes a better life solution. This is a reinforcement for the creation of harmony because in this principle, each other facilitates the achievement of life goals and provides support for each other to benefit in interfaith relations. Harmony between religions is well established on the basis of the implementation of *sianggkaran* that religious differences are actually able to facilitate the achievement of physical needs, affection, completion of tasks, and obtaining resources.

*"When I was a member of the Tana Toraja Regency parliament. The session to discuss the construction of the Jesus statue in Buntu Burake became a long discussion because of concerns about the emergence of discrimination prejudice against Muslims and non-Muslims in Tana Toraja district. Through the session I gave my opinion, development was continued as a tourist destination center that was attractive to tourists, both Muslim and non-Muslim, because it would help boost the economy of the community. Construction continued, and gave priority to Muslim traders to open stalls and sell Toraja accessories."*³⁵

³³Interview with Yosepina Rombelayuk, Protestant Priest in Lembang Kaduaju Gandang Batu Sillanan District, Toraja Regency, 19 January 2021.

³⁴Interview with Fransiska Sarong Langi, a *muallaf* in Lembang Madandan, Rante Tayo District, 21 May 2019.

³⁵Interview with Safruddin, SE. 21 January 2020.

The above statement shows the assumption that the building of Jesus has two functions, namely to become a symbol of pride for Christians and to provide a way for Muslims to increase their economic income.

The construction of the *Banua* Tongkonan which involved the whole family even though they were of different religions. Starting from the planning process, building construction (*mengrimpun, massudduk, manglalleng, mangrimpun kaju, mangloppok, mangpabendan, mangriri posik, mangpalumbnag paatak makkemun rinding, makbaba lekok, mappetuo, malluntean, manggonok*), and the inauguration (*mappallin, sitaama, makgarugak, massuruk alang, manrimpun, untammui sukaran aluk, untammui lalanna tagari sangguyun, untammui lalanna kalimbuang booba, untammui lalanna tetean bori sola bulaan, mangrara banua*) are the customary procession of tongkonan development which is subject to customary rules and involves the entire family including making material contributions to the construction of the Tongkonan. All elements of the family are given space to contribute in the form of money and energy to build. Thus the establishment of the Tongkonan becomes a symbol of pride for the attitude of *siangkaran*.

Tongkonan is a symbol of harmony as well as a center for family gatherings. It belongs at the same time to a common value and the center of cultural practice of *sianggak, sikamalik, dan siangkaran*. In order for the implementation of the three values to continue in tongkonan, the selection of elders known as *peka amberan* and *peka indoran* who are appointed as the father and mother of the Tongkonan is important. *Peka amberan* and *peka indoran* that are *ditokko* (legalized) as elders must be someone who has the credibility according to the passura symbol on the banua tongkonan. It must be someone who has a spirit of patriotism, is patient, honest, and fair to all (*passurak manuk londong*) has properties such as the sun and the moon which are the implementation of the symbol *passurak pakbarre allo* which has the spirit of maintaining family unity and is able to illuminate anyone regardless of religious differences. Having the ability to foster a spirit of helping each other to achieve prosperity which is symbolized by *passurak pattedong*. As long as the tongkonan custom is maintained in the Toraja people, inter-religious harmony is maintained.

D. Conclusion

Habituation that occurs in Toraja society generally leads to the internalization process between the local tradition of *aluk todolo* and the rituals of the new religions adopted by the people. The habituation process that focusing on the interaction between family members on the Tongkonan, proves that the series of images in the Tongkonan are symbols of an inseparable bond with the habituations of the Toraja people in responding to religious differences.

The habit of *sianggak* (respect), *sikamalik* (longing) and *siangkaran* (help) for each other are the concepts of the social behavior of the Toraja people in maintaining

and preserving the ancestral traditions which aim to prevent conflicts and splits in a family which can be caused by there are differences in religion. The great enthusiasm to always maintain the existence of Tongkonan in the process of social interaction that occurs is believed to be able to maintain and maintain harmony between religious communities in Toraja society.

E. Recommendation

The research related to the habituation of communication that is built in a Tongkonan in order to maintain inter-religious harmony for the Toraja community which is discussed in this research, still needs to be developed further. Therefore, the researcher suggests and recommends to academics to conduct further studies and interpretations related to the meaning, function and role of symbols of cultural identity as a forum in building harmony and tolerance between religious communities.

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Example in footnotes:

¹Mircea Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 8 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995), h. 18.

²Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West* (Oxford: One World Publications, 1991), h. 190.

³Syeikh Ja’far Subhānī, *Mafāhim Al-Qur’ān* (Beirut: Mu’assasah Al-Tarīkh Al-’Arabī, 2010), Juz 5, h. 231.

⁴Syeikh Ja'far Subhānī, *Maḥāhim Al-Qur'ān*, h. 8-9.

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Detail informations of the footnotes:

1. Holy book

Al-Qur'ān, Al-Baqarah/2: 185.

Perjanjian Baru, Mrk. 2: 18.

2. Qur'anic translation

¹Departemen Agama RI, *al-Qur'an dan Terjemahannya* (Jakarta: Darus Sunnah, 2005), h. 55.

3. Book

¹Muḥammad 'Ajjaj al-Khaṭīb, *Uṣl al-Ḥadīth: 'Ulumuh wa Muṣṭalahuh* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1989), h. 57.

4. Translation Books

¹Toshihiko Izutsu, *Relasi Tuhan dan Manusia: Pendekatan Semantik terhadap al-Qur'an*, terj. Agus Fahri Husein dkk (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2003), h. 14.

5. Voluminous book

¹Muḥammad al-Ṭāhīr b. 'Ashur, *al-Taḥrīr wa al-Tanwīr*, Vol. 25 (Tunisia: Dār al-Suḥūn, 2009), h. 76.

¹Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukharī, *al-Jam' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, Vol. 2 (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 1999), h. 77.

6. Article in book

¹Sahiron Syamsuddin, "Metode Intratekstualitas Muhammad Shahrur dalam Penafsiran al-Qur'an" dalam Abdul Mustaqim dan Sahiron Syamsuddin (eds.), *Studi al-Qur'an Kontemporer: Wacana Baru Berbagai Metodologi Tafsir* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2002), h. 139.

7. Article in encyclopaedia

¹M. Th. Houtsma, "Kufr" dalam A. J. Wensinck, at al. (ed.), *First Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 6 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987), h. 244.

8. Article in journal

¹Muhammad Adlin Sila, "The Festivity of *Maulid Nabi* in Cikoang, South Sulawesi: Between Remembering and Exaggerating the Spirit of Prophet", *Studia Islamika* 8, no. 3 (2001): h. 9.

9. Article in mass media

¹Masdar F. Mas'udi, "Hubungan Agama dan Negara", *Kompas*, 7 Agustus 2002.

10. Article in Internet

¹Muhammad Shaḥrūr, “Reading the Religious Teks: a New Approach” dalam <http://www.shahrou.org/25> Februari 2010/diakses 5 Juni 2010.

11. Thesis or dissertation

¹Syahrudin Usman, “*Kinerja* Guru Pendidikan Agama Islam pada SMAN dan SMKN Kota Makassar”, *Disertasi* (Makassar: PPs UIN Alauddin, 2010), h. 200.

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