

**COMMUNITY TOLERANCE: RELATIONSHIP OF MUSLIM MAJORITY
AND CHRISTIAN MINORITY IN THE CONTEXT OF RELIGIOUS
MODERATION IN PADANG PARIAMAN, WEST SUMATERA**

**TOLERANSI KOMUNITAS :RELASI MAYORITAS MUSLIM DAN
MINORITAS KRISTEN DALAM KONTEKS MODERASI BERAGAMA
DI PADANG PARIAMAN, SUMATERA BARAT**

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Abstract

Intolerance was often pinned on communal societies such as Indonesia because it uses a liberal-secular tolerance perspective which is identical to Western Christian society. If the perspective is shifted, for example using communal tolerance, the communal community will also practice the opposite, tolerance. This paper is intended to reveal and analyze how the Muslim community in the Nagari KH which is considered the majority practices tolerance on a community scale in the context of religious moderation towards the Christian minority in the Nagari. In addition, it also analyzes why the model's tolerance can occur. This research is qualitative research that relies on interview data from elements of the nagari government, penghulu, youth leaders, religious leaders and adherents of Islam and Christianity from both communities. The data is reinforced by document data including journals and research reports that are relevant to the research topic. The results show that community tolerance as a form of religious moderation has been practiced by the Muslim community of KH in the socio-economic and religious realms. In the socio-economic aspect, community tolerance appears in the form of openness to business, buying and selling and ownership of land and houses. While in the religious realm it is limited to individual and family worship at homes. The ambivalence of tolerance practiced by the Muslim community of KH is rooted in the ambivalence of Minangkabau culture on a macro level and the ambivalence of the geographical position of Nagari KH on a micro basis. Minangkabau cultural ambivalence collides and synthesizes matrilineal customs and matrilineal Islam. Meanwhile, the ambivalence of being a coastal area is at the same time bordering on darek. Both have given birth to an inclusive attitude towards immigrants in the socio-economic realm and exclusive when it comes to communal worship.

Keywords: Community tolerance, Muslim majority, Christian minority, individual worship, church

Abstrak

Intoleransi seringkali disematkan pada masyarakat komunal seperti Indonesia karena menggunakan perspektif toleransi liberal-sekuler yang identik dengan masyarakat Barat Kristen. Padahal jika perspektif tersebut digeser misalnya menggunakan toleransi komunal, maka masyarakat komunal pun mempraktikkan hal sebaliknya, toleransi. Tulisan ini ditujukan untuk mengungkapkan dan menganalisis bagaimana komunitas muslim di nagari KH yang terbilang mayoritas mempraktikkan toleransi komunitas dalam konteks moderasi beragama terhadap minoritas Kristen di nagari tersebut. Selain itu juga menganalisis mengapa toleransi model itu dapat terjadi. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif yang bersandar pada data wawancara dari unsur pemerintahan nagari, penghulu, ketua pemuda, tokoh agama dan penganut agama Islam dan Kristen dari kedua komunitas. Data tersebut diperkuat oleh data dokumen termasuk jurnal dan laporan riset yang relevan dengan topik penelitian. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa toleransi komunitas sebagai salah satu bentuk moderasi beragama telah dipraktikkan komunitas muslim KH dalam ranah sosial-ekonomi dan keagamaan. Pada aspek sosial-ekonomi toleransi komunitas muncul dalam bentuk keterbukaan berusaha, jual beli dan kepemilikan tanah dan rumah. Sementara dalam ranah keagamaan terbatas pada kebaktian individual dan keluarga di rumah-rumah. Ambivalensi toleransi yang dipraktikkan komunitas muslim KH tersebut berakar dalam ambivalensi kultur Minangkabau secara makro dan ambivalensi posisi geografis nagari KH secara mikro. Ambivalensi kultur Minangkabau membenturkan dan mensintesis antara adat yang bersifat matrilineal dan Islam yang bersifat matrilineal. Sementara ambivalensi sebagai daerah pantai sekaligus berbatasan dengan darek. Keduanya telah melahirkan sikap inklusif terhadap para imigran dalam ranah sosial ekonomi dan eksklusif jika berkaitan dengan kebaktian komunal.

Kata Kunci: Toleransi komunitas, mayoritas muslim, minoritas Kristen, kebaktian individual, gereja

INTRODUCTION

Even though tolerance is conceptually diverse, the patron to judge is otherwise; intolerance in some Indonesian Muslim communities is often based on liberal-secular tolerance practices. The cases of prohibiting religious activities of the Ahmadiyya group which are also supported by the local government, for example, are often considered as acts of intolerance because they limit religious freedom (Alfitri, 2018; As'ad, 2009; Burhani, 2014; Colbran, 2010; Conflict, 2016; Irawan, 2017; Nastiti & Ratri, 2018). Likewise, the issue of prohibiting the establishment of places of worship in Muslim-dominated neighborhood tends to be seen as a violation of religious freedom, pluralist-secular democracy and moderate Islam (Arief Anshory Yusuf, 2019; MUHTADI, 2020; Savirani, 2020; Sheikh, 2019). The strengthening of the liberal-secular approach in highlighting the issue of tolerance versus intolerance seems to close the tolerance space for communal society.

Meanwhile, Indonesian society, like other Asian societies, tends to share communal values and affective relationships between religion and politics (Ting-Toomey 1999). Restrictions and prohibitions on Ahmadiyya religious activities include the establishment of places of worship in the Muslim-majority environment for them to maintain their communal identity as Muslims (Irawan, 2017). Liberal-secular tolerance actually puts pressure on the opposite, the separation of religion from politics in order to promote freedom, religion and citizenship that is equal to all individuals. Initially, it was aimed at preventing the church from gaining power from political rulers (secularism) and other religious groups such as Lutherans, Huguenots, Papists and the Jewish

community (ADINA BALINT and PATRICK IMBERT, 2019; Godrej, 2019; Habermas, 2004; Hale, 2018). With this concept, real liberal secular tolerance is difficult to implement because every person or group is applied to forcing external factors such as communalism (Crosson 2018). In addition, it is also suspected of being a prerequisite for evangelism and as evidence of firearms for imperial missions and civilizations that tolerate liberal tolerance (Teresa M. Bejan, 2015).

In addition to being liberal-secular, the concept of tolerance is also skeptical-humanist, pragmatic, communal and mystical (Jeremy Menchik, 2017). Skeptic-humanist tolerance pays attention to certain basic values that underlie common welfare (economics) and general values that should be tolerated due to multiple interpretations. Different from the two previous concepts, pragmatic tolerance emphasizes stability. For the sake of stability, there must be a willingness to accept things that are against or not liked. Meanwhile, communal tolerance puts even more limits; prioritizing faith (belief) from other values, separating social issues from religious issues and prioritizing communal interests from individual interests. Different from all previous concepts of tolerance, mystical tolerance exists without limits, making it difficult to apply to a differentiated modern society. For Rumi, for example, tolerance applies both internally to Islam and to non-Muslims. God created the unbeliever (unbeliever) and the deviant (heretics). Both believers and deviants are valuable in God's eyes because they are His creations. Therefore, persecution and conversion are not permitted (Jeremy Menchik, 2017).

A number of studies have shown the practice of tolerance in various segments of the life of the Minangkabau community, West Sumatra. The study of Arjoni et al. and Andri Ashadi examines religious tolerance among Muslim students through Christian educational institutions (Arjoni et al., 2020). The study of Luthfi Dara Amalia et al. reveals the role of village apparatus leadership in realizing socio-cultural cooperation from two ethnicities and three different religions in Nagari Sungai Buluh, Padang Pariaman Regency (Luthfi Dara Amalia, Maria Montessori, 2019). In the context of inter-ethnic relations as well, Adri Febrianto reveals the practice of tolerance between the Batak Mandailing and Minang tribes in Nagari Buayan because they feel they are fellow Muslims (Adri Febrianto, 2011), Rico Gusmanto through the art of Rongiangan between ethnic Minang, Javanese and Batak/Mandailing in West Pasaman Regency (Gusmanto, 2011). 2016), Wanda Fithri through local values where the earth is stepped on, the sky is upheld (*di mana bumi dipijak di situ langit dijunjung*) in the multi-ethnic community in the city of Padang (Fitri, 2015) and tolerance for the Islamic and Christian religious elites in the Lima Puluh Kota Regency (Ajidin, 2020).

Different from the study above, this paper will show the practice of tolerance in the Muslim majority community towards the Christian minority in a nagari in Padang Pariaman, West Sumatra. The practice of tolerance that emphasizes community values rooted in the intersection of the rantau (coastal) and darek (inland) cultures. In social spaces, relations between the two groups are relatively open, while in the ritual-communal aspect, tolerance appears to be limited. The tolerance shown by the majority of the

Muslim community is the tolerance of the community that is bound by Islam and local traditions (adat) and practiced in a limited community. This is different from Menchick's findings which represent the communal tolerance of Islamic organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah and Union Islamic Education (Perti) which are bound to organizational platforms (Jeremy Menchik, 2017). The author argues that in communalism there is also religious tolerance even though it is accompanied by various limitations. This paper specifically aims to portray how community tolerance is practiced in the context of buying land versus establishing places of worship and individual-family worship versus communal worship and why such tolerance practices can occur. The study contributes to finding a model of tolerance that links Islam, customs and the state (nationalism).

RESEARCH METHODS

This is a qualitative descriptive study that will answer two main questions, (1) how is community tolerance practiced in a Muslim-majority community against Christian minorities in Nagari Kapalo Hilalang (KH) Padang Pariaman Regency; (2) why this practice can occur (Creswell, 2016). The choice of research location in Nagari KH in Kabupaten Padang Pariaman is because it reflects two ambivalently different Minangkabau cultures; Heterogeneous coastal culture and deepening culture that tend to be homogeneous (Kamal, 2011). The meeting point of these two cultures is assumed to contribute to strengthening the practice of communal tolerance in the nagari. Data were collected using in-depth interview techniques with important informants

from both communities who could provide answers to the research topic. From the Nagari KH Minang community, interviews were conducted with the *wali nagari* (village head), *wali korong* (sub-village head) Tarok (part of the nagari KH) where various communities have lived for a long time, *ninik mamak* (penghulu), youth leaders, Islamic boarding school teachers, ustad, members of the Minang community who are involved in intense relationships with the nagari Christian community. Meanwhile, the Christian community, who generally come from North Sumatra, are the head of the Christian district in Nagari KH, Catholic Christians, Sintua HKBP Church, HKBP Christians, and several other Protestant Christians. Some of these informants work as traveling merchants (credit). The interview data above is strengthened by secondary sources, namely literature, news and journals related to the issues raised.

Data were analyzed using the proposed measures (Creswell, 2016). First, the preparation and processing of data; they were transcribed, sorted and systematized into different types according to the source of the information obtained. Second, examine holistically to construct a general understanding of the data obtained and reflect its meaning in its entirety. Third, coding data related to the main topics that are widely known to the public, surprising and unexpected codes, unique codes that are seen as conceptually appealing to readers. In this case, it is community tolerance which is rooted in the ambivalence culture between rantau pesisir and darek in the interior of Minangkabau. Fourth, applying the coding process to determine the location, participants, categories, and themes to be analyzed. Fifth, applying a

narrative approach in conveying research results. Sixth, interpreting the data by asking questions, "What lessons can be learned from this whole phenomenon," to reveal the essence of an idea.

RESULTS OF RESEARCH AND DISCUSSIONS

The Rantau (Foreign Land) of Immigrants

In the structure of the Minangkabau area, Pariaman is one of the foreign regions which literally means the closest place for Minang people to migrate from the highlands (darek). Pariaman, which is now divided into Pariaman City and Padang Pariman Regency, has become the homeland of Minang people who came from the interior of Agam and in its development also came from Solok (Nurus Shalihin, 2014). If darek is synonymous with highlands, then rantau is lowlands that are close to water, river and sea traffic. Rantau Pariaman as this area was formerly called (Kato, 1980) is located on the west coast of central Sumatra, stretching along the narrow lowlands between the Pasaman coast in the north and the Padang coast in the south. In the east it is bordered by a series of Barisan ridges and in the west it is directly adjacent to the Indian Ocean (Mestika Zed, 2017).

The geographical character above seems to have influenced the openness of the attitude of the people of this area. Besides being known for a long time as an international trade route, it has also become an attractive destination for various ethnic groups (Edwin M. Loeb, 1985). The oldest records of trade on the west coast, including those in Pariaman, date back to a Tamil inscription dated to 1088. While information from Arabic mentions that from 1511, foreign

ships from various nations have visited cities on the west coast since the first millennium. Apart from the Portuguese (around 1512-1515), the Dutch (1598), English (1600) and French (1602) have set foot in Pariaman (Mestika Zed, 2017).

Other ethnic groups such as China, the Middle East including those from the archipelago such as Java and the Nias and Batak tribes have also been interested in trying their luck in the Pariaman area (Mestika Zed, 2009, 2017). This is at least shown by the Dutch population census in 1985. The census composed the population of Pariaman consisting of 59,887 indigenous people (Minang), 48 Europeans (Dutch), 223 ethnic Chinese, 209 other Asians and 151 people from Nias ethnicity who came from from North Sumatra (Graves, 2007).

From the coast of Pariaman, they then migrated to various inland areas of Padang Pariaman, such as Nagari KH which is the object of this study. In 1904, the Dutch were listed as the second immigrant after the Minangs through a company called NY. Java Rubber Maaschapij. The company leased 470 nagari communal lands for rubber plantations for one Dutch guilder per bow (0.7 hectares). This plantation was called Tandikat Lama with Verponding number 163 and was leased for seventy-five years (1904-1979). However, Nakashima doubted the year the rubber was planted. It was impossible for Dutch companies to plant rubber in that year, because rubber cultivation only started in 1916 (Nakashima, 2007). Seven years later, 1923, the German company, G.O.E Kreeber also leased an area of 68 hectares called Tandikat Baru with Verponding number 190,199 (Fatimah, Titin, Andora, 2010; Nakashima, 2007; Warman, 2010).

However, after independence, the management of the above rubber plantations was taken over by the military (Korem) even though the lease year had not yet ended. The transfer of management by the military was carried out through their own company, PT Purna Karya. Not only controlling, the New Order-educated military cleared the company of PKI elements and arrested the company's leaders, including workers, most of whom came from the island of Java. The number of Javanese workers once occupied a third of the three thousand inhabitants of Tarok, one of the hamlets in Nagari KH (Fatimah, Titin, Andora, 2010; Nakashima, 2007). However, this number decreased after the arrest and after the rebellion of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia (PRRI), as a form of resistance by the Minang people against the central government on the island of Java (Nakashima, 2007).

Besides coming from the island of Java, KH is also a destination for the Batak tribe, who are mostly Christians. However, it is not known exactly when this ethnic group was present in Nagari KH. In large numbers it is estimated that AD, wali nagari KH around the 1980s; "Since I grew up in this nagari, they have been there, but not many. Maybe around the 1980s" (AD, Kapalo Hilalang, 18/12/2020). However, this opinion was denied by AB, a teacher at the Islamic boarding school in the nagari. According to him, those who came in the 1980s were not the Bataks but the Javanese. Those who had received an amnesty from accusations of involvement in the PKI were allowed to stay in the KH nagari. When the nagari land was divided up, the Danramil as the manager of the rubber plantation invited the Javanese to join as independent transmigrants. They

finally settled and mingled with the Minang tribe then followed by the Batak Tribe as itinerant traders who are moneylenders (AB, Kapalo Hilalang, 19/12/2020).

AB's opinion was supported by several other informants even though the year he entered the last ethnic group was different. The subvillage chief of Tarok, where most of the migrants live, for example, estimates the presence of a Christian minority from the Batak tribe in his hamlet in the 1990s or 1995s ahead of the reform (IPH, Wali Korong (hamlet head) Tarok, Tarok, 19/12/2020). More advanced than that, AZ, a well-known penghulu in Nagari KH, said that the presence of the Christian minority who generally came from North Sumatra began in the 1998s (AZ, one of the penghulu, Kapalo Hilalang, 20/12/2020).

Even though there are differences of opinion about the year of entry, they agree that the Christian community from the Batak tribe came later. This is reinforced by the argument of THP, the head of the Christian Religion district in Nagari KH. He came to West Sumatra in 1986, but did not immediately settle in KH, he moved from place to place. In full he said:

"I used to come here in 1986. Previously I lived in Lubuk Alung, Kiambang, Kualo intersection, and Sicincin. After that, I went to this Nagari Kapalo Hilalang. I've moved around a lot. Here, it's probably been around 20 years. Previously, I graduated from junior high school in Medan. In 1986, I attended Sicincin High School. I have lived here since high school. I used to work cutting in Ujung Gading, Pasaman. Now I'm back to selling credit" (THP, Head of the Christian Religion District in Nagari Kapalo Hilalang, 12/12/2020).

ST, Sintua of HKBP Church, Padang had a similar experience. He just moved and settled in KH in 2009. Previously, he planted

oil palm with his parents for about five years in Pekanbaru. After getting married, he moved to KH, following his wife who arrived earlier (ST, Sintua of HKBP Church Padang, interview, 12 December 2020). More or less the same pattern was experienced by several other immigrants who both came from North Sumatra (Interview, ES, TU, Kapalo Hilalang, 13/12/2020; CN, 13/12/2020; SP, 15/12/2020). Even though their presence took place sporadically, it continued to show an increase. The most arrivals recorded by the KH Minang community have occurred since T, a Muslim Batak opened a spring bad business, which employs many non-Muslim employees from North Sumatra. Based on the 2020 data listed in the KH nagari profile, currently the number has reached 25 families (KK) out of 1,880 households with a total population of KH, or about a hundred people from more than 6,890 inhabitants (Nagari KH, Nagari Profile, 2020).

Community Tolerance Practices

Among the characteristics that mark communal tolerance according to Menchick are tolerance for the rights of minority groups in social relations such as in trade, but being intolerant when it comes to religious issues; rituals and beliefs. In inter-religious relations are based on the rights and obligations of the group. Consequently, they cannot accept unlimited individual freedom (Jeremy Menchik, 2017), although in practice, in this research location individual-family rituals are permitted, while communal rituals are prohibited. The following narrative will explain how these two forms of community tolerance are practiced.

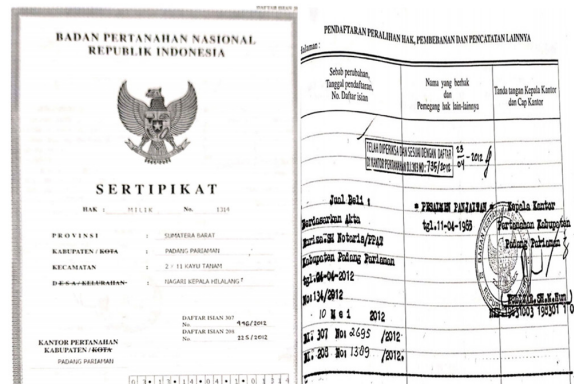
Own Land, Church Forbidden

As immigrants who from their home country have been determined to improve their economic life, the Christian community in Nagari KH has been tenacious in various professions, including being a traveling merchant (credit). In his home country, ES, for example, admitted that he works as a farmer. Uncertain income and often failed crops, making it difficult to meet the necessities of life. This gave birth to the determination to go abroad to improve the standard of living and finally settled in the KH nagari. He underwent his new profession as a traveling merchant with a credit system. Every day he had to visit his customers between ten in the morning and four in the afternoon, to get the bill. Even though it's hard because she's a housewife at the same time, she lives it diligently. In addition, he had no choice to change professions and move to other places including returning to his hometown. His children are already in school in Nagari KH, in the village there are no parents and in-laws anymore as the main destination for going home (ES, Kapalo Hilalang, 12/12/2020).

The same tenacity was also shown by CN and THP. CN previously worked at a company in Batam with inadequate salary. He persisted for several years before deciding on his new adventure to West Sumatra. After trying various jobs, he finally found his new profession as a credit trader. He continued to survive because he earned an adequate income compared to his previous profession (CN, Kapalo Hilalang, 13/12/2020). Longer persistence was also experienced by THP. He once did not receive a salary for eight months as a rubber tapper because his company boss had run away. Then he worked in an odd

job to make a living, three months looking for a green frog and six months as a bus driver. After that, he returned to work on the plantations, working in palm instead of rubber plantations with mediocre wages. Eventually, he changed his direction to become a traveling merchant all the way to Bangka Belitung, Bengkulu and for the last four months in Nagari KH. (THP, Head of the Christian Religion District in Nagari Kapalo Hilalang, 10/12/2020).

The portraits of the lives of ES, THP and CN have become general portraits of the life of the Christian community in KP, although not all of them work as traveling traders. The persistence shown has succeeded in changing the face of the life of some of the Christian communities there. From the beginning they rented out houses, in its development some have bought land from traveling trades and other professions. They bought land from Javanese transmigrants who had lived for a long time, especially in Tandikat Lama, now called Lubuk Bonta. The land around Lubuk Bonta up to one meter from the nagari ulayat land is claimed as state land (verponding), because it has always been a place to live for various ethnic groups (S, Kapalo Hilalang, 15/12/2020). The purchase of this land and the correspondence was relatively easy, even though it was certified.



Picture; a land certificate belonging to one of KH Christian community

In addition to verponding land, they also bought land from the KH Minang community which can be considered as customary land of the people because it has been inherited from generation to generation from the previous generation. These lands are no longer in the plantation area, but within the KH Minang community. The customary land of the people is sold for various purposes. For example, for wedding purposes because of the expensive *uang bajapuik* (wedding dowry), including borrowing it to carry out the tradition of death (AB, Kapalo Hilalang, 19 December 2020).

In the marriage tradition of the Padang Pariaman community in general, *uang bajapuik* is seen as an obligation that must be provided by the bride before the marriage contract takes place. The amount varies, depending on the social status of the prospective groom. If the motorcycle taxi drivers or coconut climbers for example, are about five million. But if you are highly educated, it could be hundreds of millions. Even though the money will also be returned when traveling (visiting) the in-laws for the first time, it makes it difficult for the bride because it must be available at the beginning of the marriage (Martha 2020). For those who can't afford it, they have to borrow anywhere and to whoever, including moneylenders. When it could not fulfill the requirement, the land or house is at stake (AB, Kapalo Hilalang, 19/12/2020). Likewise for the implementation of post-death prayer activities on the third, seventh, twenty-first and hundredth day which were attended by many family and community members.

Others were tempted to sell because they were bought at a high price. The community was then compelled to increase the selling price of their land so that it was not bought

by the internal Muslim community of KH themselves. If it was not allowed to be sold to the Batak people, "*Balilah land den*" (buy my land), as soon as the seller confronts his own community (S, Kapalo Hilalang, 15/12/2020). On the other hand, the sale and purchase of land was facilitated by the profession of the Christian community as debt collectors. This profession has enabled them to recognize the various needs of the KH Muslim community and interact intensely.

However, even if the land has a certificate of ownership status which allows them to build a place of worship (church), it does not necessarily strengthen their determination to build it. This was motivated by their previous experience when they were prevented from buying land in a larger size for the tomb (A, one of the deputy head of the village, Kapalo Hilalang 19/12/2020). In addition, he was also reprimanded for holding group prayers at home and singing loudly (CN, Kapalo Hilalang, 13/12/2020). The two events were read as resistance by the KH Muslim community to the presence of their places of worship.

Even though their presence was accepted, they were still under suspicion. Suspicions have grown even stronger since T, a Muslim Batak man, runs a spring bad business. He, who is also a soldier, employs many non-Muslim employees from North Sumatra. Because his business was growing, he bought land and made housing for the non-Muslim employees (IPH, the sub-village chief of Kapalo Hilalang, 17/12/2020). In addition, the Muslim community of KH also observed the habits of the Christian community there when returning home. On his return often bring other family members. Because most of them come from North Sumatra, they are labeled as "Tailed Batak". The KH Minang

community suspects this pattern as a strategy to increase the number of communities/congregations until they are sufficient and allowed to build churches as regulated in article 14 of the Joint Regulation of the Minister of Religion (PBM) and the Minister of Home Affairs (A, Kapalo Hilalang, 20/12/2020).

On the other hand, the KH Minang community found legitimacy through Law No. 32 of 2004. In this Law, the local government also has the authority to regulate and manage the interests of the local community (Law No. 32 of 2004). West Sumatra followed by Jambi and Riau are Level I autonomous regions where there are lands within the customary community whose management, control, ownership and use are based on local customary law provisions (REGIONAL REGULATIONS OF WEST SUMATERA PROVINCE, 2014). For the KH Minang community, the establishment of houses of worship and other Christian community activities must go through the *ninik mamak* agreement in the *nagari* (S, Kapalo Hilalang, 12/12/2021). The *ninik mamak* agreement is a strong juridical reason for the KH Muslim community in anticipating the increase in Christian communities in their area.

Therefore, even if the Christian minority has fulfilled the requirements according to government regulations, the majority group will still not accept and facilitate it. "If asked personally, I will refuse" was emphasized at the end of the conversation with AR, a member of the KH Muslim community when asked about the establishment of a church in his village (AR, Kapalo Hilalang 14/12/2021). A similar attitude is also the attitude of A who recognizes the potential for diversity possessed by the nation, but still tends to disagree if the church is established in that

area (A, Kapalo Hilalang, 14/12/2021). The local Wali Korong (head of the RW) added that in general the community was not ready to face the challenges of plurality. According to him, other religious symbols will not affect the faith of the Muslim community there, but they are still taboo on the issue (IPH, Kapalo Hilalang, 10/12/2021).

Individual worship at home, community service outside

In general, "worship" (*avoda*, Hebrew and *latreia*, Greek) in Christianity can be thought of as service. The term was originally used to describe a slave's work towards God. In order to offer something as a form of devotion, a slave prepares himself with great fear, reverence and amazement. In its development, all activities to show devotion to God based on obedience to orders and leaving prohibitions are interpreted as worship (Henny, 2020). These actions can be in the form of praying, reading the Bible, Sunday School, Easter and Christmas celebrations, behaving politely and so on. However, the term worship used in the New Testament is an absorption from the Greek term, "leitourgia" (liturgy) which is related to religious rites. This work is usually carried out by church leaders who want a church as a forum for gathering (Panjaitan & Lumingkewas, 2019).

The KH Christian Community does not have such a forum. The absence of a place to carry out religious services and ceremonies has created a polarization in religious practice among the KH Christian community. The practice is patterned into two forms; individual worship and communal worship. Individual services, such as daily prayers and reading the holy book (Bible), take place

in the family circle. They do not have to come to church, activities can be carried out at their respective homes in Nagari KH, where they are domiciled (ES, Kapalo Hilalang, 18/12/2020). Daily worship, usually in various prayers such as prayer for eating, praying for sleep, said CN and LKP (CN and LKP, Kapalo Hilalang, 13/12/2020). ST as Sintua of the Padang City HKBP Church who lives in KH replied, Our daily worship is at home, like praying and reading the Bible with all family members. For the latter, by inviting several families if the houses are close together (ST, Sintua of Padang HKBP Church, Kapalo Hilalang, 12/12/2020).

In addition, they also welcome and celebrate religious holidays, especially Christmas and New Year in a simple way. THP then describes the cycle. At home, said THP, we made a Christmas tree for the children so that they are close and share in the joy of welcoming the birth of Jesus Christ. On Christmas Eve we pray with the family at home. At the time of entering the new year AD, followed by making cakes, various foods and drinks. In the evening we also prayed with family members. The next day we visited each other's relatives to be friendly, including with Muslim neighbors (THP, Head of the Christian Religion District in Lubuk Bonta, Kapalo Hilalang, 12/12/2020).

Because it is individual and takes place in homes, it is not widely known by the KH Minang community. When asked, have Christian minorities from various groups held services in their villages? AD as the wali nagari KH spontaneously replied, "I don't know, whether or not they worship in Lubuk Bonta, one of the Korong (hamlets in KH)". As a representative of the government (wali nagari), he said he was welcome and tolerant

of anyone. In terms of services and social activities, there will be no differentiation, as long as they do not deviate from the norms agreed upon by the Muslim village community (Ad, Wali Nagari Kapalo Hilalang, Kapalo Hilalang, 18/12/2020).

This was proven when someone died from the Christian minority, the Muslim community of KH also went to mourn. Meanwhile, KH Christian minority was allowed to hold part of the funeral procession. Even the release of the corpse itself is carried out by elements of the nagari government such as the wali korong (hamlet head), relatives and neighbors. However, burial cannot be carried out either on government land or on ulayat land even though it is one's own property. If allowed according to them, the same as providing an opportunity for the Christian minority to perform services because the tombstone will be replaced with a cross. As much as possible this should not happen in their village. The KH Minang community as illustrated in the previous sub-topics are not ready to accept the presence of other religious symbols in their environment even though they have lived with various communities for a long time (IPH, Wali Korong Tarok, Nagari KH, Kapalo Hilalang, 13/02/2020).

Therefore, the bodies of adults or parents are usually brought back to their country of origin, North Sumatra. Besides not being allowed to be buried, it also involves many traditional processions and family members. Meanwhile, the bodies of small children were buried outside the nagari, namely at Pasar Usang, a place that specifically provides funerals for Christian minorities (THP, Head of the Christian Religion District in Nagari Kapalo Hilalang and ES, interview, 13/10/2019).

Then what about communal services? THP mentions a number of services and commemorations of religious holidays that require the presence of the church as a gathering place. First, a worship service on a weekly basis as well as a Sunday school for the children. This service can be considered as mandatory worship. Second, monthly services at least 3 times a week in May and October must gather to hold the rosary prayer. In addition, every November, the way of the cross/confession in the form of listening to the pastor's advice. Third, every April 10 commemorates the death of Isa Al-Masih, April 12 is the celebration of Easter, May 21 Ascension of Isa Al-Masih and its peak, Christmas is every December 25.

Even though in reality they are not allowed to carry out various services in Nagari KH, they are not discouraged. Instead, they went to carry it out outside Nagari KH, such as the City of Padang Panjang, City of Bukittinggi, City of Padang, and the closest one in Pasar Obsolete. They have to travel a distance of several Km to get to the church they are going to. "We always try to go to church. Especially, in Sunday children have religious classes too. It is impossible to rely solely on worship at home and what we teach. We are also busy working, but since Covid-19, all our worship activities and celebrations at the church are not conducive, everything is limited. Moreover, it is not allowed to bring children under the age of 7 years, said the Head of the Christian Religion District, KH" (THP, Kapalo Hilalang 13/10/2019).

A similar experience was also experienced by SP. In the past, he said, he almost every week took his children to the church because religious lessons in the church is one part of requirement for getting the scores in school. For this reason, he chose the Risen Christ

Catholic church in Pasar Usang. Different from other churches that immediately give the scores, this church actually gives lessons immediately. The teachers are complete starting from elementary, middle, and high school. However, since the outbreak of COVID-19, teaching and learning activities are no longer taking place because they do not want to violate the government's appeal; Minors and the elderly are not allowed to go to church (SP, Kapalo Hilalang, 15/12/2020). The argument is to always try to go to church every week because it is also a place for children to go to Sunday school, ES, TU, RS and DP agree.

However, not all of them are able to carry out the mandatory worship service every week. The long distance traveled by sacrificing energy began to tire some of them, especially when they had to pay a lot of additional costs. This is felt as an additional burden that cannot be fully carried out, especially for those who have a mediocre income. CN, for example, only attended two times a month and even once a month came to his church in Padang City. Moreover, he said, we brought the children on motorbikes. Sometimes it started to rain in the morning, the children were cold on the way. "Twice a month is already grateful. By the time we arrived at the church, we were tired, weak, no longer focused on worshiping. Catholicism are even better, their church is near at Pasar Usang, only half an hour to get there. We are far at the end of Padang City," said this Penta Kosta Christian adherent (CN, Kapalo Hilalang 13/12/2020).

Just like worship services on Sundays, they also routinely do monthly services. For example, they must gather 3 times a week when entering the months of May and October to pray the rosary. For Catholics such as THP

and ES, this activity is considered important to improve their quality as Catholics. The activities led by the pastor/elder are directed to meditation centered on the mission of the incarnation of Jesus in saving. They call it *Pertangiangan* (praying together). Just like Sunday services, they also carry out this activity outside the KH village, taking turns in *Sicincin* and *Kiambang* (ST, Sintua HKBP Padang Church, interview, Kapalo Hilalang 21/12/2020).

Meanwhile, celebrations of religious holidays such as the death and ascension of Jesus Christ and Christmas are practically carried out in the church. This activity clearly involved many members of the community and religious groups. "On the celebration of the death/penta-cost of the Lord Jesus in March, we worshiped at the church and visited the family grave, his death was on April 10 and we also prayed for condolences in the church. On Easter Day on April 12, this great Christian holiday, we prayed, ate bread and drank wine in church. Meanwhile, during the Ascension of Jesus Christ on May 21, pray in church," said THP (THP, Head of the Christian Religion District in Nagari Kapalo Hilalang and ES, Kapalo Hilalang 16/12/2020). The climax, on December 25, at the celebration of the birth of Jesus Christ, we revealed that CN and LKP worshiped at the Padang City church. New Year's celebration, new day, new atmosphere visiting relatives for hospitality (CN and LKP, Kapalo Hilalang 13/12/2020).

Cultural Ambivalence

This paper has explained that the KH Minang community is not only tolerant of socio-economic aspects, but also in the religious realm. It should be noted though

that tolerance in this last aspect is limited to individual and family worship. In the socio-economic aspect, the KH Minang community and the Padang Pariaman community in general have shown a spirit of openness to various ethnic groups who trade in their area. Some of the Christian communities in Nagari KH have shown success in trading, so they can buy land, including the customary land of the people and have been certified. In addition, tolerance is also shown towards the practice of individual and family services that take place in the homes of members of the Christian community. Some of the processions for the death of members of the Christian community, such as the release of corpses, even involve elements of the nagari government, neighbors and the surrounding community. It's just that even though they already have certified land, they are not allowed to build churches. The same prohibition also applies to services that involve many members of the Christian (communal) community in the nagari or who come from outside.

The above phenomenon has shown that tolerance, including religious freedom, does not only appear in liberalism-secularism which upholds the values of freedom and equality (Bakry, 2020), but also in communalism. Communalism which emphasizes group rights and community interests also provides space for tolerance, including religious tolerance, although it is not as free as in liberalism-secularism. In addition, it has also shown the ambivalence of the practice of tolerance that takes place in the KH Minang community. In the socio-economic domain and individual worship services, they appear tolerant, while in the religious and communal areas they are intolerant. Why can two different

things (tolerant versus intolerant) happen at the same time (Conner & Sparks, 2002). Isn't it cosmopolitanism; Open, democratic, tolerant, dialogical and peaceful coexistence has long been addressed to coastal communities, including the KH Minang community. (Nurhayati, 2020; Tri Sulistiyono, 2015).

The ambiguous attitude of the KH Minang community above may reflect what Festinger calls cognitive dissonance; the occurrence of discrepancies or inconsistencies between two cognitive elements caused by logical inconsistencies. These inconsistencies can occur between knowledge, beliefs and feelings (Cheng & Hsu, 2012). They are willing to sell the land for various purposes, but refuse to build a church on land that no longer belongs to them; accept certain service processions but refuse other processions; and acknowledge the diversity of the nation but are not ready to accept the presence of other religious symbols around them.

But culturally, what is called the inconsistency of the attitude of the KH Minang community above reflects the ambivalence of Minangkabau culture which is mixed from different and even contradictory things. For example, between Islam which spread massively to various regions in Minangkabau, but at the same time it is well known for its strong attachment to customs which are generally considered contrary to Islamic law. Or in a specific formula between patrilineal Islam and matrilineal Minangkabau customs as the basis for the formation of "Minangkabau character" (Abdullah, 1966). In addition, the cultural ambivalence of the KH Minang community also represents the geographical character of their nagari. Geographically, Nagari KH is one of the Nagari in Padang Pariaman

Regency which is located on the west coast of Sumatra Coast. But in other parts it is a bit far from the beach which is directly adjacent to one of the darek areas, namely Tanah Datar Regency. This geographical position is described as *ikua darek kapalo rantau* (land tail of the head of the sea) because it is on the border between darek (inland) and the coast of the coast (Kamal, 2011).

Therefore, the KH Minang community is not only part of the cosmopolitanism of the open and tolerant coastal community, but more than that, it is micro-environmented by the dominative culture of Islam over the exclusive and homogeneous customs in the Darek area. In local formulas it is often referred to as "*Adat Basandi Syara' Syara' Basandi Kitabullah*" (Adat based on Islam and Islam based on the Qur'an and *Hadith*). This means that a cosmopolitan-universal coastal culture is dialogued and symbiotic with the Islamic order and particular community interests in the form of being inclusive in certain aspects and exclusive in other aspects. If so, different from what Festinger imagined, this community does not experience psychological discomfort, because these ambiguous views and attitudes are aimed at limiting the religious activities of the Christian minority which are considered not in accordance with the customary norms they agree on. Past experiences such as what Festinger called in facing the arrival of increasingly aggressive minorities or in their terms "Tailed Batak" and their attachment to customary and cultural norms are the reasons for the emergence of these dual attitudes and patterns of thinking (Maythalia Joni & Sutarmanto, 2019).

The ambivalence of the KH community above looks unique compared to several other coastal communities. Mahrudin's

study states that amalgamation, economic dependence and tolerance have become factors driving the integration between the sea nomads and the coastal communities of the Buton tribe, including in religious practices (Mahrudin, 2013). Abdul Jalil also shows that the harbor ceremony; throwing palace objects into the sea, Padangtritis, was followed by the entire Yogyakarta community, including Hindus. Integration meets on the same motive; asking for the welfare of the world and the hereafter (Jalil, 2015). In another section, it is also stated that the modernization that hit the residents of Patoman village did not undermine the social capital that had previously been built. They manage diversity in several ways; dialogue and cooperation between religious communities, and respecting the religions of others (Wahyudiono, 2019). If tolerance in some of these communities occurs both in the social and religious fields, including those that are communal, then in the KH community it only occurs in the socio-economic realm and does not occur in communal rituals at all.

The question is whether the practice of community tolerance is in line with democratic principles that emphasize diversity and respect? Instead of answering, quoting Menchick would be more important to answer what kind of tolerance is desired by a community like the KH Muslims? As already described, of course, it is not tolerance without limits, but tolerance which is a middle ground between individual, communal, religious (read Islamic) rights on a micro scale and in the context of a state with positive state law. This also shows that Indonesian Muslims in a small scope such as the KH Muslim community have tried to reconcile the rights of minorities with

their Muslims and piety at the same time (Jeremy Menchik, 2017; Mujani, 2007). It is no longer appropriate to ask the question whether tolerance (democracy) is in line with Islamic interests. Because in practice it has been carried out for hundreds of years in managing interactions between the KH community and various other communities.

Such tolerance has also provided certified business space, home ownership and land for the Christian minority there, although communal services are not yet permitted. Ideally, both the socio-economic and spiritual-religious dimensions must be in line because humans are inherently included in the position as immigrants. Lori Peek claims that religious institutions are the focus of immigrants in solving acculturation issues and reviving new socio-cultural activities in the host community more than what happened in the village of origin (Peek, 2005). Claire W. Wolfteich shows that the spiritual aspect is increasingly influencing life. Women as objects in his study are depicted in a slumped condition. To get out of that situation, the thing he did was return to his faith. With that faith, they are more likely to animate the core of the struggle in fortifying the problems of social life they face (Wolfteich, 2017). On the other hand, without being fulfilled in the spiritual aspect, it will have a negative impact on psychological adjustment. Faith with religious practices that are firmly embedded in oneself is strongly associated with a higher quality of life and lower levels of depression when faced with a problem (Wood et al., 2016). Even so, communal services that become their spiritual needs, as has been shown, can still be done in various nearby areas outside the nagari.

CLOSING

It turns out that tolerance and freedom cannot be claimed to be completely identical with liberal and secular understanding. In an ideology that emphasizes communal values, it also accommodates space for tolerance, but it is not as free as that provided by liberalism-secularism. Not only in the socio-economic realm, but also in the religious aspects that are individual and family. The findings show that although communal services are not permitted along with the prohibition on the establishment of places of worship, individual and family services in homes have at least fulfilled the spiritual and religious needs of the Christian community in Nagari KH. Meanwhile, communal services can still be held in the nearest area, even if not in the KH village.

The perspective of communal tolerance used in this study has made it possible to find an explanation of the ambivalence character of tolerance practiced by the Muslim community of KH from the colonial period to the current era of democratic rule. This ambivalent character is in fact rooted in the ambivalence of Minangkabau culture and the ambivalence of the geographical position

of Nagari KH on a micro basis. Minangkabau cultural ambivalence collides and synthesizes matrilineal customs and matrilineal Islam. Meanwhile, the ambivalence of being a coastal area as well as bordering on darek has given rise to an inclusive attitude towards immigrants in the socio-economic realm and exclusive when it comes to communal services.

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