Optimising the Role of Islamic Education and Tongkonan in Strengthening Religious Harmony in Tana Toraja

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Abstrack

Tongkonan, for the people of Tana Toraja, is a source of reference for religious peace with the values of siangga, sikamali, sipakaborok, and sialamase. The noble values in Tongkonan are also noble values in Islamic education, so it can be said that there has been a merger of positive values in the climate of religious harmony and tolerance among the indigenous people of Tana Toraja so that religious resilience can reduce tension and opportunities for religious violence.

This research uses a qualitative ethnographic approach. The data sources for this research are officials of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the Head of Madrasah, the Sub-District Head, and Toraja Traditional Guardians. Furthermore, the data collection methods are observation, interviews, documentation, and reference searches. Then, data processing and analysis techniques are carried out through three stages: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing. The results of this study are that the government and related partners from community organisations should: 1) improve the quality of formal education through schools and madrasahs with a curriculum loaded with religious harmony and tolerance. 2) Increase the role of Islamic education in fostering harmony by stimulating a culture of harmony and tolerance among students and the Islamic community in Tana Toraja as an object of non-formal education. 3) Strengthening the role of Tongkonan as a medium for learning religious harmony and tolerance in the Toraja community through training.

Keyword: Optimization; Role; Islamic education; Tongkona; Religious Harmony.
Introduction

The Toraja Muslim community is unique in that Toraja is predominantly Christian. Islam is even a minority religion in this area, although it later became the religion of South Sulawesi Province. The Toraja Muslim community's existence in Tana Toraja is a haven of peace and religious harmony. The family bond in Tongkonan has brought them into a positive habitat with harmony and tolerance as its support. It is noteworthy that the Muslim community has never experienced intimidation or even discrimination in this area; on the contrary, their Christian brothers and sisters have always accompanied them in building a life together.¹

Diversity and religious differences are not obstacles to the community of Tana Toraja's peaceful coexistence. It happens because of close family ties in a kinship named Tongkonan. For the indigenous people of Toraja, the presence of the Tongkonan is a unifier and adhesive for their togetherness in navigating life in the format of the Tongkonan.

Islamic education teaches humans about life's values to achieve order and prosperity. Maintaining harmony in human life and the universe is an important part of the implementation of obedience to Allah SWT because it is not considered an obedient human being when it always presents hatred, chaos, discord, and division among human beings.²

Islam as rahmatan lil 'alamin clearly expresses the broad meaning of Islamic education in creating social structures in society along with its noble goals of creating strong social bonds to make religion a pillar of togetherness and strong ties in creating social order.³

Therefore, Islam rahmatan lil 'alamin should be the basis for managing Islamic education that advances, soothes, and is far from violence. This means that Islam must

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¹ Nuryani, Pola Hubungan LintasAagama Di Tana Toraja, Cet.I (Makassar: Alauddin University Press, 2015). h. 192
bring peace and safety to humanity universally. The concept of *rahmatan lil alamin* contains three dimensions: *first*, Islam is a rational religion; *second*, Islam has concern or empathy; and *third*, Islam is a religion of civilisation. Thus, Islamic education is also expected to give birth to an inclusive attitude: open, respectful, and tolerant of differences in religion, ethnicity, race, and plurality.  

However, to realise true inter-religious harmony, it is necessary to establish a state order that binds all members of social groups with different religions and cultures to avoid conflict. In this way, inter-religious harmony can still be managed and maintained properly so that religious diversity remains part of the wealth of a harmonious national civilisation. With such a harmonious situation, life activities in society become safe and peaceful. Minority communities can enjoy life in peace, both in terms of comfort of worship and economic, social, and cultural, together with the majority (Islam), without any conflict, dispute, or conflict.

Pancasila, as the foundation of the Republic of Indonesia, provides an ideal concept for creating inter-religious harmony. This is also explained in the amended 1945 Constitution in Article 29, paragraph 2, where the state guarantees the independence of each resident to embrace their respective religions and to worship according to their religion and beliefs.

The people of Tana Toraja, South Sulawesi, are a multicultural society with various ethnicities, races, and religions. They have a unique way of maintaining tolerance between ethnicities and religious communities. The tradition of "*Tolu Batu Lalikan,*" which in Toraja means fellowship between culture, religion, and government, is a strong glue of interfaith tolerance in Tana Toraja. Exploring the meaning of cultural and religious symbols in a broad context for the benefit of humanity, which is constantly promoted by the community, government, and religious leaders, makes Toraja not easily provoked by conflict or disharmony between religious communities that often erupts in several regions of the country. What is interesting is that the Toraja people, in enriching...

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4 Kathleen M. Moore and others, ‘Islamic Legal Interpretation: Muftis and Their Fatwas’, *Contemporary Sociology*, 1998, 199
6 Undang- Undang Dasar Neraga Republik Indonesia, “Undang- Undang Dasar Neraga Republik Indonesia 1945” (1945): 1–21.
8 Muhammad Yunus, “Umat Muslim Menyanyikan Lagu Kasidah Di Pembukaan Festival Natal Toraja,”
tolerance awareness, not only utilise their respective religions as a base but also the Toraja culture that has been passed down from generation to generation. The tradition of "Tolu Batu Lalikan" in Toraja is also interpreted as mutual support, preventing the Toraja people from being easily divided despite the ongoing issues of disharmony in various regions.9

Toraja's inter-religious, inter-ethnic, and inter-group unity is strong and not easily shaken despite efforts to undermine the spirit of tolerance from outside the region. The unique tolerance of the people of Tana Toraja can be found in the implementation of religion in Toraja. When Christians celebrate Christmas and Easter, for example, other believers offer any roles they can do as a form of participation and respect without being invited first. Vice versa, when people of other religions, such as Muslims, celebrate religious events such as Idul Fitri, Isra Miraj, and Maulid Nabi, people of other religions also come to offer assistance without being asked.10

This can be an example or inspiration for developing harmony elsewhere. The kinship system of the Toraja people (Torayaan) is tied to a Tongkonan: "Wherever he is, however far he goes, he is tied to his Tongkonan." Among the Torajans, the kinship system up to the seventh cousins is still considered as brothers; they are bound in a Tongkonan.11

A traditional Torajan building serves as a representation of the family system known as Tongkonan. Every Torajan is a part of a Tongkonan that his ancestors built along the paternal or maternal line.12 He is also a member of the *saran community* (a *working community of neighbouring groups*) and a member of a wider regional *community* (*penance, ambakan datu, bua, or climbing*). He has rights and obligations within the alliance, the genealogical alliance, and the regional or territorial alliance (alliance because of the bond of unity or residence) as a bond of the adat or *taluk* alliance.13

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The optimisation of the role of community traditions as an instrument for strengthening harmony has been widely carried out, one of which is Abdur Rahman Adi Saputera's research, which examines the existence of local wisdom and religious organisations in mainstreaming religious moderation in Gorontalo. An important finding of this research is using the community's philosophy of life, namely "Adati hula-hula to syara'a wau syara'a hula-hula to Qurani," as an instrument for mainstreaming religious moderation. In addition, the challenge lies in people's misunderstanding of religious moderation.\textsuperscript{14}

Another researcher is Andi Muhammad Taufiq, who specifically examines the tradition of earth alms to build religious harmony in a pluralistic society. In the presentation of its findings, this research confirms that sedekah bumi has several tolerance values, including cooperation, tolerance, and unity.\textsuperscript{15} Another study was conducted by Sopyan Hadi, who examined Bugis culture's role in building student pluralism. The findings of this study show that cultural learning in religious education in higher education aligns with the values of pluralism. This pluralism value can be found in the concept of peace, such as Sipakatau, Sipakalebbi, Sipakaingge, and Sipakatou. Meanwhile, expressions of affection are revealed in sayings such as Mali siparappe, Rebba sipatokkong, and Malilu sipakainge.\textsuperscript{16}

Some of the research described above, apart from showing the urgency of this research in examining values integrated into societal traditions, also provides an overview of the position of this research among several previous studies. This research on the role of Islamic education and Tongkonan is based on the phenomenon that the Tongkonan tradition is an instrument for building harmony in a pluralistic society. Hopefully, this research can contribute to developing social harmony studies, especially by utilising existing traditions.

Research Method

This research uses a qualitative-ethnographic approach. The author chose this qualitative-ethnographic method to describe the practice of harmony in one particular society or community, including the culture and local wisdom that supports this harmony. The research location includes three Tana Toraja Regency sub-districts: Mengkendek, Sangalla Sub-district, and Makale Sub-district, known as Tallu Lembangna. The selection of the three sub-districts is considered a representation of religious harmony in the Tana Toraja Regency.

To describe the participants and the field in which the shared culture exists. At the same time, the researcher also analyses patterns of behaviour, beliefs, and language and concludes the meaning obtained from the observations of participants and the research field. Data analysis uses Spradley's analysis model, domain analysis, taxonomy analysis, and theme analysis. The data validity tests used in this study are extended participation, peer debriefing, triangulation, and member checks to explore information maintained for validity and reliability.

Tongkonan Islamic Education Instrument

Etymologically, Islamic education in Arabic is called at-tarbiyah with the verb "rabba," and the word teaching in Arabic is "Salim" with the verb "alama." Education and teaching in Arabic are "tarbiyah wa Salim," while "Islamic education" in Arabic is "tarbiyah islamiyah." The verb Rabba (educate) was already used at the time of the Prophet Muhammad. Theoretically, education means "feeding" (opvoeding) the soul of students so that they get spiritual satisfaction; it is also often interpreted as awakening basic human abilities.

Education, in this case Islamic education, is expected to be the main medium to provide a correct understanding of Islam as a religion of rahmatan lil alamin that teaches universal value principles such as humanism, equality, tolerance, openness, and respect for differences and plurality. With the principle of rahmatan lil alamin, Islam prioritises

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the benefit, safety, peace, and harmony of life. The main vision of the presence of Islam is to bring order to human life, nature, and life so that humans can achieve true welfare and safety. Islamic education in various forms, both formal and informal, plays a role in defining Islam correctly so that it gives birth to a correct, deep, and comprehensive understanding that can also be implemented in the reality of social life.\footnote{Muhammad Dachlan, “Establishing Harmony and Social Awareness in Religious Diversity,” \textit{Asian Social Work Journal} 8, no. 3 (2023): e00250–e00250.}

Based on data from the 2020 population census results by the Regional Statistics Agency of Tana Toraja Regency, Toraja has 280,794 people. The number is then divided into several classification groups based on age: 9.41% post-Generation Z born in the 2013 age range of 7 years; 33.69% post-Generation Z, which is calculated to be born in the 1997–2012 age range of 8–23 years; 24.13% Millennial Generation born in 1981–1996 age range of 24-39 years; 18.7% post-Generation X born in 1965–1980 age range of 40–55 years; 10.70% post-Baby Boomer born in 1946–1964 age range of 55–74 years; 3.09% pre-Boomer 3.09% were born before 1945 age range of 75 years and over. The data provides a percentage of the Tana Toraja community as a whole with a population at productive age in the range of 69.03% and a percentage of the number of people in the elderly at 7.75% of the total population in Tana Toraja Regency.

The data above at least provides information on the potential of the younger generation of the Tana Toraja community. Still, the number of people does not affect the dynamics of religious life in Tana Toraja. The religious life of each person does not emphasise the different side because of the beliefs adopted, but more because of the encouragement of the power of nashab and kinship that has been built very solidly for a long time. So it is not surprising that conflicts due to different beliefs do not appear on the surface, even though the passionate attitude of each religious adherent exists and naturally exists due to deeply rooted religious doctrines, but also does not provide friction for a harmonious life between fellow religious believers.

BPS Tana Toraja data can be analysed using maturation theory (religious maturity). According to the theory of maturation, a region's average population age plays a significant role in determining the level of religious maturity there. Although not conducting a large-scale survey, analysis of the distribution and age division of the population in BPS data can reveal that Toraja is in the category of strong maturation. The
high level of harmony in this area also supports the assumption. This assumption is built on the basis that maturation is highly dependent on the level of achievement associated with the age of the population. Furthermore, maturation also strongly influences the conducive climate of harmony in Toraja society. Based on statistical data, the average age of maturity shows that the productive age between 25 and 45 occupies the highest percentage. This means that the maturation level of Torajan society is also very high.

Anti-discrimination also develops from local wisdom, in which they understand a person's existence not based on wealth but on how good they are to others. Understanding the basic philosophy of getting along in society through siangga, sikamali, sipakaborok, and sialamase helps people form strong emotional bonds with each other. These bonds are shown in the practices of rambu tuka (the ritual of joy) and rambu solo (the ritual of grief), which are organised so that extended family groups can participate. Siangga, sikamali, sipakaborok, and sialamase are wisdom values that emerge from the interaction of Torajans in Tongkonan. Such wisdom contrasts with the values of harmony and tolerance within religions within the Tongkonan and between cultures.

Cultivating the principles of siangga, sikamali, sipakaborok, and sialamase in Toraja culture in Tongkonan is a strong adhesive for fostering cultural and religious harmonisation. Although not all forms of cooperation in religion are justified, the principles built into the teachings of Siangga, Sikamali, Sipakaborok, and Sialamase will explain the limits of such cooperation. Nurdin Baturante explained that although adat implies cooperation between religious adherents, it does not mean that cooperation between religious adherents' intolerance must be excessive. There are still limits and values that must be upheld so that tolerance and harmony are maintained but within the corridor of maintaining faith as a Muslim.

One of the informants described the existence of preachers in Tana Toraja as more militant than preachers in other regions, considering the challenges facing preachers in

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24 Ibid.
Tana Toraja are more severe. Nurdin stated this with an example of when there was grief over the death of a relative of a Tongkonan who was Muslim, then takziyah would still be carried out even though no one was found who was Muslim.

Tongkonan is a social place where we go to the secretariat and hang out; there is education, marriage, taqiyah, or rambusolo’. For example, imagine that for Muslims, we can give an example. There is a Muslim family who died, but the family is not Muslim and asked for takziah. That's why I'm saying that Islam in Toraja, whatever our position is, especially as a preacher, Ustaz, is more militant than in other areas. From a scientific point of view, we disagree with the same cardiologist, but there can be differences in handling the heart. There are differences in the same department; therefore, that's where the scientific harmony is.\(^{26}\)

Torajans understand Tongkonan as a symbol of kinship and a unifying institution for the extended family. The format of Tongkonan is interesting to develop because Torajans do not only see Tongkonan as a house but also as a symbol of kinship and unity within a kinship. Tongkonan shows a formal building in the form of a Toraja house and a community group that binds itself to kinship and family ties.

Tongkonan is a traditional Torajan house that has a broad social function. Tongkonan is not only a house but also a customary area, community, or institution. Tongkonan has important social functions for indigenous people. It is the centre of government, the centre of security, the centre of religion, and the centre of traditional ceremonies. Tongkonan cannot be called a Toraja traditional house without these social functions. Tongkonan has a very important social function in Torajan society. Tongkonan symbolises the unity of the Torajan people of various faiths. Tongkonan becomes a place to gather and discuss various important matters for the Toraja indigenous people, including traditional rituals.\(^{27}\)

Tongkonan is a gathering place for families to solve various problems, including differences in family members’ beliefs. Tongkonan is also the centre of traditional ceremonies, both festive and mourning. Tongkonan is considered a gathering place for Torajan elders to control customs and a place for traditional activities to sustain the existence of the religions practised by its people.

\(^{26}\) Nurdin Baturante, 73 Years, Interview, March 14, 2023
\(^{27}\) Erick Cristal Ranteallo, 55 Years, Interview, January 12, 2023
The Faces of Religious Harmony in Tana Toraja

Another version states that Islam entered Toraja starting with the marriage of a man from Palopo (Luwu) named Opu Demmakalu' with a woman from Toraja named Madandan Ne'Rangga in 1857, which took place in Lembang Madandan, Rantetayo District. Opu Demmakalu' came on the initiative to help Ampu Lembang and Palullu', who were fighting against Pong Tamba’, who was in coalition with Lullu', who came from Rembon. After the war ended, Ampu Lembang married his sister to Opu Demmakalu' as a form of brotherhood between the two parties, which began with the Islamization of Madandan Ne'Rangga, which his family followed. The event was the starting point of the entry of Islam into Toraja, which later became the originator of the establishment of a Jami mosque named Madandan Jami' mosque in 1858.28

According to Tamrin Lodo, the Toraja indigenous people's attention and appreciation towards Islam are quite high, as they understand that what their ancestors implemented comes from the noble values of Islamic teachings. The values of harmony and tolerance that have been practised for generations are very contrasting in the teachings of Islam, so they sometimes interpret Islam as the same religion as the teachings of their ancestors.29

The harmony created as a form of implementation of ancestral teachings is contrasted in Toraja society. Anti-discrimination has been practised for generations in the spirit of family ties. Through Tongkonan, the Toraja people have manifested Geertz's theory of harmony and the dominant factors influencing harmony. There is no false tolerance or hidden harmony in the community. It stems from their sincerity and nobleness in accepting the meaning of difference where kinship ties overshadow them. Harmony is impossible if there is no nobility of mind to uphold cultural similarities in a territory. 30

According to Clifford Geertz, harmony is seen as the determination of each person to uphold cultural similarities, a lack of missionary or the will to dominate, the emergence

of a desire to maintain public order, maturity of thinking, and mutual openness, all of which are part of the composition of the presence of good cooperation among religious believers. Such a harmonious society also characterises the potential for integration in religious life inherent in a multicultural society.31

Until recently, Tana Toraja Regency was one of the most predominantly Christian regencies in South Sulawesi. Toraja Christianity notes that 92% of Tana Toraja's population is Christian. With a total population of 291,047 people, Tana Toraja is unique in South Sulawesi because it is a predominantly Christian region, while the rest of South Sulawesi is predominantly Muslim.32

Conclusion

This article discusses the role of Islamic education and Tongkonan institutions in building inter-religious harmony in Tana Toraja, South Sulawesi. Islamic education is seen as the main medium to provide a correct understanding of Islam as a religion that teaches principles of universal values such as humanism, equality, tolerance, openness, and respect for differences and plurality. Meanwhile, Tongkonan, as a traditional Torajan house, has a wide social function and becomes a gathering place for families to solve various problems, including differences in family members' beliefs. Three important points can be concluded from this article: first, Islamic education: In a broad context, Islamic education has the potential to be developed as a reinforcing factor in fostering interfaith harmonisation in Toraja. Secondly, Tongkonan: The symbols of local wisdom contained in Tongkonan become a common place to create harmonious relationships among religious adherents in the bond of kinship. Tongkonan can also accommodate differences and open space for dialogue between all religions. Third, Harmonious Blend: There is a harmonious blend of harmony and tolerance values between Islamic education and Tongkonan. The strategic role of Tongkonan will be stronger with the support of Islamic education values full of messages of religious harmony and tolerance.

For further research, an in-depth study can be conducted on how Islamic education and Tongkonan institutions can be optimised to build inter-religious harmony in Tana

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Toraja. In addition, research can also be conducted to explore how Islamic education and Tongkonan institutions can be adapted and applied in other regions to build inter-religious harmony. Research can also be conducted to evaluate the effectiveness of Islamic education and Tongkonan institutions in building interfaith harmony in Tana Toraja and find ways to improve their effectiveness.
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